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I hereby recommend that the thesis prepared under my supervision by Benjamin Townley Spencer entitled A Critical Edition of Philip Massinger's
The Bondman

be accepted as fulfilling this part of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Approved by:

Robert Shafer

AN EDITION

OF

PHILIP MASSINGER'S

THE BONDMAN



Presented
to the Faculty of
the University of Cincinnati
In Candidacy for the Degree
of Doctor of Philosophy

By

Benjamin Townley Spencer

"

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INTRODUCTION

I. DATE OF COMPOSITION.

The composition of The Bondman may be with ^{safely} all probability assigned to the latter part of the year 1623. The license for acting ^{it} appears in Sir Henry Herbert's office book under the date, December 3, 1623:

"For the Queen of Bohemia's Company; The Noble Bondman: Written by Philip Messenger, gent." ✓

I. The Dramatic Records of Sir Henry Herbert (ed. J.Q. Adams) p. 25.

Moreover, the unmistakably topical allusions in V, Ult., 248, ✓²

2. See the note to the line.

to the fall of the room in Blackfriars on October 26, ^{of that year} and to the burning of Sir William Cockaine's house on November 12, offer reasonable evidence of Massinger's not having finished the play until within three weeks of the issuance of the acting license.

In the absence of other definite allusions (except for the reference to gold thread, which goes back two or more years; see the note to II, iii, 70.), further conjectures as to the period over which the composition extended are nearly valueless. Gifford accepted Gilchrist's interpretation of I, i, 46-48, as a reference to the Duke of Buckingham's introduction of sedan-

chairs into England. If this be true (I think it is improbable, as the note to the passage shows), Massinger did not begin the play until after the Prince's and the Duke's return, October 5, 1623, unless he inserted the passage later. Such a conception, however, crowds the composition of the play into less than two months, at the most, and is unlikely. The political feeling, moreover, which the play expresses and reflects was so largely a cumulative attitude involving several years that it offers nothing specific to guide one in fixing the date more definitely. ¹ Yet the height of such feeling was reached

1. The contemporary historical element is discussed in IV, SOURCES, (2) "Contemporary Events."

during the closing months of 1623, and thus offers substantiating evidence for that period as the time of authorship.

Owing to the uncertainty of the date of most of Massinger's plays tentatively placed near the time at which The Bondman was licensed, and the dramatist's lack of regular development, ²

2. Cf. the metrical table of Massinger's plays in Baldwin's edition of The Duke of Milan, p. 2.

comparative metrical studies offer no help in fixing a more specific time than the latter part of 1623.

II. EDITIONS.

Quartos.

The first quarto (1624) is entered on the Stationers' Register under the date of "12th March 1623 [i.e. 1624]:" ✓

1. S.R., IV, 75.

"John Harrison and Edward Blackmore
 Entred for their Copie under the handes of
 Sir HENRY HERBERT Master of the Revelles
 and master Cole warden A play called the
Bond s man by Phillip Messenger . . . vjd "

Sir Henry Herbert's office book confirms the allowance of the play "to be printed on the 12th March, 1624." ✓² The second

2. The Dramatic Records of Sir Henry Herbert (ed. J. Q. Adams), p. 41.

quarto (1638), owned by the same publishers, was undoubtedly reprinted from the first edition. The advertisement on the title-page appears either for John Harrison or for Edward Blackmore, and not for the booksellers jointly, as in the 1624 quarto. Thus,

"Printed by Iohn Raworth for Iohn Harrison, and
 are to be sold at his shop, at the signe of the
Golden Vnicorn in Pater-noster row. 1638."

appears on some title-pages, and on others Edward Blackmore replaces Iohn Harrison, and Angel in Pauls-Churchyard replaces Golden Vnicorn in Pater-nbster Row. Elsewhere the titlepage

stood set throughout the edition, except the "and" and "in" in the first and third lines, respectively, of the advertisement, which had to be reset on account of the different length of the proper names. Otherwise the editions for both booksellers are the same, having been printed badly, left virtually uncorrected, and then bound with either title-page prefixed, according to the bookseller's order.¹✓

1. The textual differences in the various copies of the two quartos and between the two editions are discussed fully in the "Textual Note."

Altered and Partial Editions.

"The Bond-man: or, Love and Liberty. a Tragi-Comedy. As it is now acted at the Theatre Royal in Drury-lane. By His Majesty's Servants. London, Printed for A. Bettesworth at the Red Lyon in Pater-Noster Row, F. Pember-ton at the Buck and Sun in Fleet-street, F. Brotherton and W. Meadows at the Black Bull in Cornhil, and W. Chetwood at Cato's Head under Tom's Coffee house in Russell-street, Covent-Garden. 1719. (Price One Shilling and Six-pence.)" 2✓

2. I have inclosed in quotation-marks titles which are quoted fully for their descriptive content.

Such is the title-page of the 1719 alteration of The Bond-man. This edition presents an entire reworking of the play. For the most part there have been deletions, usually involving the following kinds of passages:

1. Extended declamations of philosophic nature, such as those on friendship and Platonic love (II,i,67-88);

2. Lines containing extremely vulgar references, such as those throughout I, ii;

3. Extended narrative speeches, such as Timoleon's relation of his killing Timophanes(I,iii,123-49).

Act III, scene iv, is entirely omitted. There are many omissions throughout the play of phrases and lines which are not essential to the story. An uncorrected first quarto must have been used as the basis for the 1719 edition, as many of the errors found there ("Surely" for "Sicilie," I,iii,82; "Hand" for "Heard," I,iii,183) are retained.

Phrases and words probably unfamiliar and offensive to an early eighteenth century audience were altered, and often formalized: "Termenty pot" to "hot soup," (I,iii,65) "cautelous" to "cautious" (II,ii,125), "Madame" to "Lady" (II,ii,133), "Shake not, best lady" to "Tremble not, fair creature" (III, ii,53), "how to lye" to "what the speech of falsehood is" (V, Ult., 18).

Abrupt passages were often softened by insertions, such as "Come to the wars, Gentlemen," after Archidamus' words to Pisander and Cleora (II,i,54).

A song of two stanzas is added for the slaves to sing in Act II. (It is reprinted in the notes for II,ii); and three

lines are affixed to the closing scene of the play (see the note to V, Ult., 268).

This edition has usually been ascribed to Betterton. As early as 1650 The Bondman had offered, in the character of Pisander, one of the means by which the great Restoration actor gained instant fame. ¹ The Bookseller, in his address to the

1. See III, STAGE HISTORY.

Reader, however, prefaces a non-committal note on the authorship of the edition. After giving a digest of Massinger's life according to Langbaine, and stating that Rowe probably had revised his plays for the press, he concludes:

"But this play was reckon'd in his Life-Time to be the best of his Works. What additions have been made since his Death, (if anyone will give themselves the Trouble to read the Original) will, I hope, find they have done no Injury to his Memory. I only wonder such an excellent Play has escap'd being alter'd by some of our modern Poets I shall not say anything of the Gentleman's Abilities that took the Trouble to alter it; but this I am sure, He would not have taken the Pains, if the Goodness of the Play had not spoke for itself."

Genest, in commenting upon the performance of the play, The Bondman, or Love and Liberty, June 8, 1719, states that the "Editor of the B[iographia] D[ramatica] attributes this alteration to Betterton, but without sufficient reason." And further commenting on the Bookseller's preface, Genest asserts that "the players did not know that Betterton had acted The Bondman — it

cannot be supposed that the bookseller knew more than they did—the alteration was perhaps made by Walker — in all probability by some person, whose name, if mentioned would not promote the sale of the play — the bookseller therefore made a mystery about the matter — if he could with any degree of truth have attributed the alteration to Betterton, he would have spoken out."¹

1. Some Account of the English Stage, etc. II, 644-46.

It can be seen, from the above quotation, that Genest's claim, though plausible, is at best conjectural. Although he is logical in assuming that the Bookseller, had he known that Betterton made the alterations, would have spoken out, he surely errs in saying that none of the players knew that Betterton had acted in the play; for Bowman, who knew Betterton intimately and had acted with him, was playing Diphilus in 1719.² More-

2. John Downes, Roscus Anglicano (ed. Montague Summers), n., pp. 162-63.

over, outside the fact that Biographica Britannica does not list the play among Betterton's, other eighteenth-century sources which I have seen attribute it to him.³ The British Museum

3. So John Egerton, Theatrical Remembrances (1788), p. 109; Charles Dibdin, Complete History of the Stage (1800), IV, 302; and D.E. Baker, Biographica Dramatica (1782), I, 28.

Catalogue unreservedly gives it to Betterton, as does the Catalogue to the Advocates' Library in Edinburgh. Finally, Joseph Knight in his article on Betterton in the D.N.B.¹ definitely

1. IV, 440.

assigns to him the 1719 alteration, Inasmuch as there are not sufficient additions in the 1719 play to justify conclusions from the point of view of style, the problem of authorship must rest largely on the above evidence, which seems to point to Betterton.²

2. Phelan, in his monograph "On Philip Massinger," p. 54, in a note to remarks on the 1719 edition, states, "It appears to have been printed again, with a slight change in title: 'Love and Liberty, a Tragi-comedy as it is now acted at the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane, by his Majesty's Servants, printed for A. Bettesworth. By Philip Massinger! No doubt a surreptitious edition, printed to undersell Betterton's." I have attempted to verify Phelan's assertion, but so far I have found no trace of this surreptitious edition, which, if found, might aid one in ascribing the 1719 play to its proper author. Mr. W.G. Crane kindly examined the copy in the British Museum for me, but it offers no variation from the one in the Princeton Library, except a few in punctuation.

"The Bondman; A Comedy, In Five Acts. By Philip Massinger." Published by Bradford and Inskeep, in The Mirror of Taste, and Dramatic Censor. Vol. II (1810).

This text is evidently based on Gifford's 1805 edition, but it is expurgated of all coarse and suggestive passages. Act I, scene ii, is entirely omitted, as is much of the Corisca-Asotus dialogue in II, ii. In other instances objectionable words and

phrases are rewritten.

"The Plays of Philip Massinger, Adapted For Family Reading And The Use of Young Persons, By The Omission of Objectionable Passages." In three volumes.

This edition was prepared by the Rev. William Harness, and was published by John Murray, London, 1830-31, and for Harper's Family Library, New York, 1831. The Bondman is included in Vol. I.

Complete Later Editions.

In the following collections containing some or all of Massinger's plays, The Bondman is included:

"The Dramatic Works of Mr. Philip Massinger, Compleat . . . Revised, Corrected, and all the Various Editions, Collated. By Mr. Coxeter . . . 1759."

This Edition was reissued in 1761. That Coxeter knew the first quarto as well as the second edition, despite Gifford's implications to the contrary, ¹ is proved by his readings in

1. Massinger's Plays, I, xcii, n.

I, iii, 342, 374; II, i, 158; II, ii, 120, 142; III, iii, 170, and in numerous other lines.

"The Dramatick Works of Philip Massinger . . . Revised and Corrected, With Notes Critical and Explanatory, By John Monck Mason, Esq. . . . 1779."

Mason virtually repeated Coxeter's edition, except for a few emendations of his own.

"The Plays of Philip Massinger, With Notes Critical and Explanatory. By W. Gifford, Esq. . . . 1805."

This edition was revised, and was reprinted under Gifford's supervision in 1813.¹ The latter edition remains the standard

1. The differences in The Bondman in the 1805 and 1813 editions are as follows: Changes in the names of the characters' speech-tags from Pisander to Marullo, and from Timandra to Statilia; rearrangement in the dramatis personae; insertion and revision of punctuation; further modernizing in spelling; addition to stage directions, especially of asides; a few emended readings in words.

for Massinger's plays. Gifford's edition has since been reprinted several times both in England and America.

Modern British Drama. Edited by Sir Walter Scott. - London 1811. In five volumes. Vol. I: contains The Bondman.²

2. The Boston Athenæum Catalogue lists Massinger's The Bondman in the second volume of Sir Walter Scott's "British Dramatists," 1804.

"Contemporains de Shakespeare. Massinger, traduit par E. Lafond. [The Fatal Dowry, The Bondman, The Picture, The Virgin Martyr]. Precede d'une notice sur la vie et les oeuvres de Massinger." Paris, 1864. 8°.

The Dramatic Works of Massinger and Ford. Edited by Hartley Coleridge. The text followed is Gifford's.

"The Plays of Philip Massinger From The Text Of William Gifford With the Addition Of The Tragedy 'Believe As You List' edited by Lieutenant Francis Cunningham." 1867 (et seq)

Cunningham makes a few insignificant changes in The Bondman text.

Great English Plays. Selected by H. Rubinstein. London, 1929.

Excerpts.

Passages from The Bondman notable for their beauty or eloquence may be found in the following collections:

The Beauties of Massinger. London, 1817.

This volume, dedicated to Gifford, contains extracts from Act V of The Bondman.

Specimens of the British Poets. 1819.

Readings from British Drama. New York, 1928. Selected by Allardyce Nicoll.

There was also published a placard, entitled "Countrymen," London, 1803, which consisted of I, iii, 213-368, and applied to the expected invasion. The intention of the excerpts is explained in the prefatory words:

"it would be to call in Question the good sense no less than the Spirit and Patriotism of Englishmen, to suppose the forcible arguments used here, will have less effect on them, than they had upon the Syracusans."

III. STAGE HISTORY.

Sir Henry Herbert's office book records the first known presentation of The Bondman in the following entry under the date of December 27, 1623:

"Upon St. John's night, the prince only being there,
The Bondman, by the queene of Bohemea's company. Att
Whitehall." ¹✓

1. The Dramatic Records of Sir Henry Herbert (ed. J.Q. Adams), p. 51.

Lady Elizabeth's men had returned to London, November 5, from Leicester. ²✓ Following their presentation of the play at court, th

2. J.T. Murray, English Dramatic Companies, I, 256.

they evidently gave it repeatedly at the Cockpit, as the title-page to the first quarto states that it was "acted often with good allowance" at that theatre. The Bondman, together with The Parliament of Love and The Renegado, was written for the Queen's Men by Massinger after he had left, in 1623, the King's Men, to whom he returned in 1625.

On August 10, 1639 an order was issued confirming Beeston's Boys in a number of plays, among which was The Bondman. This stage-right forbade all other companies to act them. ³✓

3. ibid., I, 368.

After the Restoration The Bondman seems to have been the only play of Massinger's acted until Betterton took a fancy to the character of Paris in The Roman Actor.¹ Moreover, it was

1. J. Downes, Roscius Anglicanus (ed. Davies), p. 26.

MS. . in the repetoire of both dramatic companies, D'Avenant's (Duke's) and Killigrew's (King's), and was one of the most popular plays of the time. That The Bondman was acted by the King's Company is attested by its appearance in a play-list which was evidently prepared to exact payment from the King's Company as promised by Killigrew. The dramas had been presented between 1660-62 at the Red Bull and the new house in Gibbon's Tennis Court near Clare Market.² Malone prints the concluding part

2. Cf. The Dramatic Records of Sir Henry Herbert (ed. J.Q. Adams), p. 117, and A.C. Sprague, Beaumont and Fletcher on the Restoration Stage, p. 16.

of the list thus:

1661	March	All's Lost by Lust
	April	The Maid in the Mill
	May	

A Wife for a Month
The Bondman.³

3. Malone's Shakespeare, III, 273.

But the more important company for the history of The Bondman is D'Avenaut's, for it was a member of this group, Betterton, who was partly responsible for the popularity of the play, although the character of Pisander offered him one of his earliest opportunities for his great interpretations. Downes, states that

"In the year 1659, General Monk, Marching then his Army out of Scotland to London, Mr. Rhodes a Bookseller being Wardrobe-Keeper formerly (as I am inform'd) to King Charles the First's, Company of Comedians in Black-friars; getting a License from the then Governing State, fitted up a House then for Acting call'd the Cock-pit in Drury-Lane, and in a short time Completed his Company." ✓

1. Roscius Anglicanus (ed. T.Davies), p. 25.

Among the members of the company was Betterton, and in the list of the plays acted by this company, which was assembled not later than March 1659 (i.e. 1660, modern reckoning), Downes records The Bondman. In November of this year Rhode's Company was transferred to D'Avenant, and Betterton became the leading player of this amalgamated group. These players were to act at Salisbury Court Playhouse (or elsewhere) until D'Avenant should provide a new play house. D'Avenant opened the new playhouse at Lincoln's Inn Fields in June 1661, and here again The Bondman was revived successfully in the years immediately following. It seems to have fallen out of the repertoire before the union of the companies in 1682.

sp

With Betterton playing Pisander, and Mrs. Betterton playing Cleora, The Bondman was one of Pepys's favourite plays. He saw it in 1661 on March 1, 19, 26; May 25, November 25; in 1662, April 2; in 1664, July 28; in 1666, November 2. ^{1/} Ed-

1. The Diary of Samuel Pepys, *passim*.

ward Browne, in manuscript jottings which bear no date but seem to record events of 1662 and 1663, speaks of having seen The Bondman "at Salisbury or Dorset Court." ^{2/}

2. Cunningham, Shakespeare Soc. Papers, IV, 89 ff. and A.C. Sprague, Beaumont and Fletcher on the Rest. Stage, p. 23.

When The Bondman was given next in 1719 it had been considerably altered, probably by Betterton, ^{3/} and had the added

3. See II, Altered and Partial Editions.

title, Love and Liberty. The players asserted that The Bondman had not been acted since the reign of Charles I, but, as Genest remarks, they should have known that Betterton had played in the drama at the Restoration. ^{4/} Pisander was played by Walker, ^{5/}

4. Genest, Some Account of the English Stage, II, 644.

5. Biographica Dramatica (1812), II, 64 has the following mis-

leading statement about the performance: "This is only a revival, by Betterton, with alterations of the foregoing play." Ward, History of English Dramatic Literature, III, 16, and Ristine, English Tragi-Comedy, p. 189, both repeat the error in calling this 1719 performance a Betterton revival. The actor in question had been dead nine years.

Cleora by Mrs. Thurmond. Records show that the alteration was given in Drury Lane Theatre on June 8, 9, 12, and on October 29 of 1719. ¹✓

1. Cf. Genest, op.cit., II, 644; and Allardyce Nicoll, Eighteenth Century Drama 1700-1750, p. 366.

For the revival at Covent Garden in 1779 Richard Cumberland is said to have made the alterations. His changes are said to have dealt chiefly with the comic scenes to suit the refined taste of his age. ²✓ John Egerton, a contemporary of Cumberland's,

2. Cf. John Downes, Roscus Anglicanus (ed. Summers), note, p. 163.

states that the alteration was not printed. ³✓

3. John Egerton, Theatrical Remembrances, p. 218.

Biographica Dramatica records that the version of Cumberland "was very coldly received, being acted only about six nights." ⁴✓

4. II, 64.

Another contemporary account, however, states that the tragi-comedy "met with applause." ^{1/} Still another dramatic chron-

1. W.C.Oulton, History of the Theatres of London, I, 91.

icler of the time states that the alteration was judicious and "highly spoken of by the critics, but it did not succeed to the degree that was reasonably expected." ^{2/} Genest states that

2. Charles Dibdin, Complete History of the Stage, III, 234.

Pisander was acted by Wroughton, Cleora by Mrs. Yates, and that the play was performed seven times. ^{3/} The theatrical

3. Some Accounts of the English Stage, VI, 140.

register of The Gentleman's Magazine (Vol. XLIX, 1779) fixes six of these nights: October 13, 20, 27; November 2, 18; December 30.

The most recent performance of The Bondman seems to have been in the United States, at the New Theatre in Philadelphia, June 19, 1795. This production, like the two which were given in 1719 and 1779, was an alteration. A new title, The Female Patriot, was given the play by the author of this revision, Mrs. Rowson, who acted the role of Statilla (Statilia). No copy of The Female Patriot is extant, but that the vulgar scenes

were expurgated is suggested by the omission of Cleon, Asotus, and Corisca from the dramatis personae. A new character, Hernando, is added.¹

1. See George O. Seilhamer, History of the American Theatre, pp. 176, 181, 184. I am indebted to Mr. Robert Ball for calling my attention to this American adaptation.

IV. SOURCES.

Justin.

The basic situation of the plot of The Bondman, the rebellion of the slaves in the absence of their masters, the defense made by the bondmen against the returning warrior class, and the final subjection of the slaves through fear at the sight of their masters' whips, is generally thought to have been taken from Justin. But the story in a slightly different form occurs also in Herodotus, IV, i-iv, and it was so generally referred to in Elizabethan literature that Massinger may have made no direct reference to either of these classic versions in writing his play. Koeppele cites the edition of Justin's Coloniae Agrippinae, MDXCIII, Liber II, p. 24, Strategema Scytharum contra servos, as the possible specific passage to which Massinger may have referred.² The following is the brief account as Justin

2. Emil Koeppele: Quellen-Studien zu den Dramen George Chapman's, Philip Massinger's, und John Ford's, pp. 95-97.

relates it:

"Scythae autem tertia expeditione Asiana cum annis vii, a conjungibus & liberis absuissent, servili bello domi accipuntur. Quippe conjuges eorum longa expectatione virorum fessae, nec jam teneri bello, sed deletos ratae, servis ad custodiam pecorum relictis nubunt: qui reversos cum victoria dominos velut advenas armati finibus prohibent. Quibus cum varia victoria fuisset, admonentur Scythae mutare genus pugnae, memores non cum hostibus, sed cum servis praeliandum, nec armorum, sed dominorum jure, vincendos: verbera in aciem, non tela ad feranda; omissoq; ferro, virgas ac flagella; caeteraq; servilio metus paranda instrumenta. Probato omnes consilio, instructi sicut praeceptum erat, postquam ad hostes accēseere, inopinantibus, verbera intentant; adeoq; illos perculerent, ut, quos ferre non poterant, metu verberum vincerunt: fugamque non ut hostes victi, sed ut fugitivi servi capesserant. Quincunq; capi potuerunt, supplicia erucibus luerunt. Mulieres quoque male sibi consciae, partim ferro, partim suspendio, vitam finierunt." ¹

1. Gifford was the first to point out a version of the story told in Massinger's time in the second part of Purchas his Pilgrims, Book III, chap.4: "A Treatise of Russia and adjoining Regions, written by Doctor Giles Fletcher Lord Ambassadour from the Late Queenē, Ever glorious Elizabeth, to Theodore then Emperour of Russia A.D. 1588:"

"The next in greatnesse, and in a manner as large, is the Citie Novograde: where was committed (as the Russe sayth) the memorable warre so much spoken of in Stories of the Scythian servants, that tooke Armes against their masters: which they report in this sort: vz. That the Boiarens or Gentlemen of Novograde and the Territorie about (which onely are souldiers after the discipline of those Countries) had warre with the Tartars. Which being well performed and ended by them, they returned homewards. Where they understood by the way, that their Cholohey or Bondslaves whom they left at home, had in their absence possessed their Townes, Lands, Houses, Wives, and all. At which newes being somewhat amazed, and yet disdayning the villanie of their servants, they made the more speed home: and so not farofrom Novograde met them in warlike manner marching against them. Whereupon advising what was best to be done, they agreed all to set upon them with no other shew of weapon but with their

Horse whips (which as their manner is, every man rideth with withall) to put them in remembrance of their servile condition, thereby to terrifie them, and abate their courage. And so marching on, and lashing altogether with their whips in their hands they gave the onset. Which seemed so terrible in the eares of their villaines, and stroke such sense into them of the smart of the whip which they had felt before, that they fled altogether like Sheepe before the Drivers. In memory of this victory the Novogradians ever since have stamped their Coine (which they call a dingoe Novogradakoy, current thorou all Russia) with the Figure of a Horse-man shaking a whip aloft in his hand . . ." (Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas His Pilgrimages, XII, 514-15).

Massinger, in accordance with the principles of tragi-comedy, has altered the motives of the slaves in their rebellion and made Pisander's love the actuating feature, and for a tragicomic conclusion had softened the ending with forgiveness and mutual understanding between the bondmen and masters instead of adopting the severe punishments recorded in Justin. Through such an ending the dramatist enforces one of the moral themes of the play, that which treats of the humane relationship that ought to exist between the socially inferior and superior. In the whip scene Massinger has supplied additional details of situation and character from his imagination, and through this elaboration has emphasized the implication in Justin and another motif in The Bondman, the impossibility of surmounting a mind abject both by nature and by habit.

Plutarch's Life of Timoleon:

Although the rebellion of the slaves as recorded by Justin

afforded Massinger his plot in bare outline, it afforded him little more. Into this plot he has inserted a grave general to lead the army of the masters, a humane judge to mete out a merciful sentence to the bondmen, and an unreserved patriot to point the way to an aggressive English foreign policy. Such a character he found, for the most part, in the Timoleon of Plutarch. There is no evidence that he knew either the account of Diodorus or that of Nepos concerning the Grecian general.

Although Massinger was faithful to the character of Timoleon as given in Plutarch, the setting and the time he has reconstructed to suit his critical purpose. The exigencies of his tragi-comic medium also necessitated some modification in both situation and character. Most of the changes in the historical events, therefore, may be accounted for by Massinger's desire to impress upon the English audience the analogy of their own situation to that of Sicily in about 340 B.C., and the differences in Plutarch's and Massinger's Timoleon are traceable to the dramatist's aim either to attribute Timoleon enough of the Renaissance courtier's traits to make him an acceptable major character for a tragi-comedy, or to suggest the essential similarity between his character and that of Maurice, Prince of Orange.¹

1. Cf. Introduction III, SOURCES (2), "Contemporary Events."

Plutarch, in the opening paragraph of his life of Timoleon,

describes the state of the Syracusans, prior to the Carthaginian attack. Having driven out the tyrant, Dionysius, and having treasonably slain his successor, Dion, they were now in such dissension that there was continually a succession of new tyrants. Syracuse, as a result of these evils, was almost desolate, and the rest of Sicily was virtually destroyed by the long wars. As a result of the kingdom's weakness Dionysius returned and set himself up as the most cruel of tyrants. Many of the noblest citizens joined together under Hicetes against his despotism.

The Sicily and Syracuse of The Bondman are quite differently pictured. For the tyrannic government of Sicily, according to Plutarch, Massinger has substituted a republican form, with a praetor and senators in control. This change was certainly dictated by his desire to make the Sicilian government comparable to the English, with their Houses of Parliament. Consequently his critical allusions to English governmental policies were clearer to his audience. Moreover, there is a notable alteration from the internal warfare and destruction of Sicily that are found in Plutarch's description. In place of these internecine hostilities, Massinger has pictured a country dominated, not by bold tyrants, but by effeminate and careless courtiers (I,iii,178 ff.), and vitiated, not by war, but by the softness "and fat of peace" (I, iii,203 ff.). Undoubtedly England's difficulties were substituted in The Bondman for those which ac-

tually had afflicted Sicily. ¹✓

1. See the notes throughout I, iii, for ample illustration of this statement.

Meanwhile, according to Plutarch, the Carthaginians bore down through Sicily with a great army. The Syracusans, in their fear, determined to send ambassadors into Greece unto the Corinthians, to pray aid of them against the barbarous people, having better hope of them, than of any other of the Grecians. And that not altogether because they were lineally descended from them, and that they had received in times past many pleasures at their hands: but also for that they knew Corinth was a city, that in all ages and times, did ever love liberty and hate tyrants, and that had always made their greatest wars, not for ambition of kingdoms, nor of covetous desire to conquer and rule, but only to defend and maintain the liberty of the Grecians." ²✓

2. Plutarch's "Life of Timoleon" (Englished by Sir Thomas North), "Temple Classics" ed. of Plutarch's Lives, III, 136.

Plutarch's characterization of the Corinthians as a liberty-loving people Massinger has preserved in Archidamus' explanation of the goodness of "our neighbor Corinth," who,

"(Pittyng the vniust gripe Carthage would lay
On Siracusa) hath vouchsafed to lend vs
Her man of men Timoleon to defend
Our Country, and our Liberties."

(I, iii, 5-9)

But Corinth's motive for aiding Sicily was not solely her hatred of oppression, for there was also the fear of invasion of her own territory. This point, barely suggested by Plutarch, is somewhat stressed by Massinger since it was especially applicable to the situation existing between the States and England. Timagoras explains (I, ii, 57-63) that Corinth's foremost reason for aiding Sicily is her own dread that Carthage, having conquered Sicily, would attack her. Therefore she seeks to unite forces against the common danger, as the Dutch did with England. ¹✓

1. See below, "Contemporary Events."

The attempt of Hicetes to secretly treat with the Carthaginians and to forestall Corinthian aid, as Plutarch records it, is omitted from The Bondman. So, too, is the account of the Corinthians' decision to help Sicily, and the voluntary offer of Timoleon, "a mean commoner" who "until that time was never called on for service, neither looked for any such preferment." Then Plutarch recounts the life of Timoleon up to the time of the Sicilian expedition — an account which Massinger so closely adapts that it should be given here:

This Timoleon was born of noble parents, both by father and mother: his father was called Timodemus, and his mother Demarete. He was naturally inclined to love his country and commonweal: and was always gentle and courteous to all men, saving that he always hated tyrants and wicked men. Fur-

therefore nature had framed his body apt for wars and for pains: he was wise in his greenest youth, in all things he took in hand, and in his age he shewed himself very valiant. He had an elder brother called Timophanes, who was nothing like to him in condition: for he was a rash, harebained man, and had a greedy desire to reign, being put into his head by a company of mean men, that bear him in hand they were his friends, and by certain soldiers gathered together which he had always about him. And because he was very hot and forward in wars, his citizens took him for a noble captain, and a man of good service, and therefore oftentimes they gave him charge of men. And therein Timoleon did help him much to hide the faults he committed, or at the least, made them seem less, and lighter than they were, still increasing that small good gift that nature brought forth in him. As in a battell the Corinthians had against the Argives and Cleoneians, Timoleon served as a private soldier amongst the footmen: and Timophanes his brother, having charge of horsemen, was in great danger to be cast away, if present help had not been. For his horse being hurt, threw him on the ground in the midst of his enemies. Whereupon part of those that were about him, were afraid and dispersed themselves here and there: and those that remained with him, being few in number, and having many enemies to fight withal, did hardly withstand their force and charge. But his brother Timoleon seeing him in such instant danger afar off, ran with all speed possible to help him, and clapping his target before his brother Timophanes, that lay on the ground, receiving many wounds on his body with swords and arrows, with great difficulty he repulsed the enemies, and saved his own and his brother's life. Now the Corinthians fearing the like matter to come that before had happened unto them, which was to lose their city through default of their friends' help: they resolved in counsel, to entertain in pay continually four hundred soldiers that were strangers, whom they assigned over to Timophanes' charge. Who, abandoning all honesty and regard of the trust reposed in him, did presently practise all the ways he could to make himself lord of the city: and having put divers of the chiefest citizens to death without order of law; in the end he openly proclaimed himself king. Timoleon being very sorry for this, and taking his brother's wickedness would be the very highway to his fall and destruction: sought first to win him with all the good words and persuasion he could, to move him to leave his ambitious desire to reign, and to salve (as near as might be) his hard dealing with the citizens. Timophanes set light by his brother's persuasions, and would give not ear unto them. Thereupon Timoleon then went unto one AEschylus his friend, and brother unto Timophanes' wife, and to

one Satyrus a soothsayer, (as Theopompus the historiographer calleth him, and Ephorus calleth him Orthagoras) with whom he came again another time unto his brother: and they three coming to him instantly besought him to believe good counsel, and to leave the kingdom. Timophanes at the first did but laugh them to scorn, and sported at their persuasions: but afterwards he waxed hot, and grew into great choler with them. Timoleon seeing that, went a little aside, and covering his face fell a-weeping: and in the mean season, the other two drawing swords, slew Timophanes in the place. This murder was straight blown abroad through the city, and the better sort did greatly commend the noble mind and hate Timoleon bare against the tyrant: considering that he being of a gentle nature, and loving to his kin, did notwithstanding regard the benefit of his country, before the natural affection of his brother, and preferred duty and justice, before nature and kinred. For, before he had saved his brother's life, fighting for the defence of his country: and now in seeking to make himself king and to rule the same, he made him to be slain. Such then as misliked popular government and liberty, and always followed the nobility: they set a good face on the matter, as though they had bin glad of the tyrant's death. Yet still reproving Timoleon for the horrible murder he had committed against his brother, declaring how detestable it was both to the gods and men: they so handled him, that it grieved him to the heart he had done it. But when it was told to him that his mother took it marvellous evil, and that she pronounced horrible curses against him, and gave out terrible words of him, he went unto her in hope to comfort her: howbeit she could never abide to see him, but always shut her floor against him. Then he being wounded to the heart with sorrow, took a conceit suddenly, to kill himself by abstaining from meat: but his friends would never forsake him in this despair, and urged him so far by entreaty and persuasion that they compelled him to eat. Thereupon he resolved thenceforth to give himself over to a solitary life in the country, secluding himself from all company and dealings: so as at the beginning, he did not only refuse to repair unto the city, and all access of company, but wandering up and down in most solitary places, consumed himself and his time with melancholy. [Here follows Plutarch's philosophy of the situation.] Whether that inward sorrow struck him to the heart for the death of his brother Timophanes, or that shame did so abash him, as he durst not abide his mother, twenty years after, he never did any notable or famous

act. And therefore, when he was named to be general of the aid that should be sent into Sicily; the people having willingly chosen and accepted of him: Teleclides, who was chief governor at that time in the city of Corinth, standing upon his feet before the people; spoke unto Timoleon, and did exhort him to behave himself like an honest man, and valiant captain in his charge. For, said he, if that you handle yourself well, we will think you have killed a tyrant: but if you do order yourself otherwise than well, we will judge you have killed your brother." ¹

1. Plutarch's "Timoleon," Plutarch's Lives (tr. North), III, 138-43.

An examination of Massinger's treatment of this portion of Timoleon's life shows that he has deviated little from his source. Generally, in fact, the version in The Bondman is a poetic paraphrase of North's translation, with identical phrases frequently occurring. The same sensitive, serious-minded and earnest patriot appears in both Plutarch's and Massinger's accounts. The dramatist has added, one feels, a bit of severity and executive forcefulness to the character, possibly to bring it into accord with that of the Prince of Orange. ² Massinger's chief change,

2. See below, "Contemporary Events."

however, has been one of condensation. He omits the account of Timoleon's parentage, his heroic rescue of his brother Timophanes, the details of Timophanes' rise to power, the enumeration of the several means which Timoleon took to dissuade his

brother from his tyrannous course, the description of Timoleon's friends murdering Timophanes and Timoleon's subsequent retirement for twenty years. These elements, indeed, are for the most part foreign to Massinger's purpose. The essential traits of Timoleon's character, and those events which are significant in his hatred of tyranny, Massinger has carefully preserved and forcefully narrated in Timoleon's autobiographical account (I, iii, 113-37), and in the Syracusans' exposition before his appearance (I, i, 64, 65; I, iii, 5-8). It should be noted that Massinger has retained the judgment of the Corinthian citizens with regard to Timoleon's act: the "better sort" believed he had had his country's good at heart; the chief governor said if he should handle himself well in the Sicilian campaign, it would be thought that he had killed a tyrant; but if otherwise, a brother. But in The Bondman these sentiments are expressed not by the Corinthians, but by the Syracusans. Thus Timagoras and Leosthenes proclaim it a noble deed (I, iii, 137-40); but Diphilus and Archidamus, like Teleclides in Plutarch, would fix the criterion of Timoleon's real love of freedom on his ability to cope with "barbarous Carthage." The test in Plutarch is rather one of personal demeanor, in Massinger one of able generalship. It may be that the dramatist has thus included this somewhat peculiar mode of evaluating Timoleon's worth, in its slightly different version, as a reflection of the attitude which the English people should a-

dopt toward Maurice, Prince of Orange, who had, according to some, tyrannously murdered Sir John van Olden Barneveldt, but who should be exonerated of all charges of personal designs if he should be able to lead the Protestant forces successfully against Spanish aggression.¹ In several instances Massinger

1. See further discussion below, "Contemporary Events."

has elaborated. The "livery of sorrow" (l. 126) does not occur in Plutarch. More important is the philosophy of freedom and slavery which Massinger has Timoleon enunciate in ll. 84-104. From the suggestions that Plutarch gives concerning Timoleon's hatred of tyranny and public honors the dramatist frames from Greek and Stoic philosophy in general, and from Seneca and Aristotle in particular, a theory of true freedom which forms one of the three major expressions of that problem in the play.²

2. See the note to the passage, and Introduction, V, CLASSICAL IDEAS.

By the addition of a philosophy of slavery expounded by a principal character, therefore, Massinger has not only been consistent with the implications of his source, but he has also thereby strongly enforced the humane message of the play.

Plutarch, in continuing his narrative, tells how Hicetes

tried to forestall the Corinthian aid and joined with the Carthaginians to divide Sicily. The Corinthians with all good omens set out, nevertheless, but at Rhegium were forced to stop by the Carthaginian fleet, which Timoleon cunningly evaded with the aid of the citizens of Rhegium. The Corinthians at length landed at Tauromenion in Sicily. Here they were met by liberty-loving Andromachus, the governor of the city, a character who may be the prototype of Archidamus. Andromachus allied his city with Timoleon, and refused to treat with the envoys of the Hicetes-Carthaginian forces. Of these events Massinger takes no account in The Bondman.

The attitude of Sicily and Syracuse toward Timoleon is not represented in The Bondman as in Plutarch. In the source most of the Sicilians distrust Timoleon because they think he is but another tyrant. While there are traces of this feeling in I, iii, of the drama, he is generally acclaimed by the Syracusans as a deliverer. Nor did Timoleon come directly to Syracuse before engaging the enemy, as The Bondman has the story, but defeated Hicetes at Adranus and took possession of that city. Then many cities joined in league with the Corinthian general, and Dionysius of Syracuse (which was ruled by this tyrant and not by the senators, as in The Bondman) yielded himself and his fortress into Timoleon's hands. The tyrant was sent to Corinth where he lived in abject circum-

stances. The subsequent besieging of the city by Hicetes and his attempt to kill Timoleon has also been omitted by Massinger, *grammar* as have the numerous engagements between the united forces of the Carthaginian general, Mago, and Hicetes, and the Corinthians in the stronghold of Syracuse. Hanno, and not Gisco, according to Plutarch, *was* the Carthaginian admiral at this point in the *trust* narrative. Mago and his forces, meanwhile, deserted Hicetes, who nevertheless fought with Timoleon for the possession of Syracuse, and suffered defeat. Timoleon caused the castle of the tyrants to be destroyed, and the Syracusans felt themselves free. It was at this point, and not previously as in The Bondman, that free and popular government was established in Syracuse. The city was repopulated, and banished Syracusans returned. Therefore Massinger has notably altered his source material: Timoleon, in Plutarch, restored prosperity to Syracuse; in The Bondman he merely took command of a people weakened by their own luxury.

Plutarch next records the renewed attack of the Carthaginians on Syracuse under the command of Hamilcar and Hasdrubal. Timoleon marched with a small army out to meet them, and despite mutiny and desertion in his ranks defeated the enemy. It is evidently this victory which is won by the absent Syracusans in The Bondman. But Massinger, in the interest of dramatic condensation, has omitted the details of the battle as recorded by

Plutarch, and has placed the engagement immediately after the Corinthians' arrival in Sicily.

The influence of the remainder of Plutarch's narrative on The Bondman is negligible except for a suggestion here and there. Thus, after the battle, Timoleon sends spoils to the Corinthian temples as "offerings unto the gods, to give thanks for their victory."¹ This allusion to Timoleon's religious nature has-

1. Plutarch's Life of Timoleon, in "Temple Classics" ed. of Plutarch's Lives, III, 176.

singer has preserved in Timoleon's wish before the battle to make

"A Sacrifice to the Gods for good successe.
For, all great actions the wish'd course doe rune,
That are, with their allowance, well begun"(I,iii,395-97),

and in Timoleon's final words:

"'Tis lawfull thankes paid to the powers diuine,
To drowne our cares in honest mirth, and Wine"(V,Ult.367-68).

Then Plutarch relates that at Hicetes' behest the "Carthaginians sent Gisco thither with threescore and ten sail."² But

2. ibid. III, 177.

Plutarch refrains from all characterization of Gisco, and Massinger's portrayal of the unmanly Carthaginian admiral must be taken as a satirical reference to Buckingham.³ The ensuing

3. See The Bondman, I, 1, 49-56 and note.

battle between Timoleon and Hicetes , the former general's victory, in this and various skirmishes, and Timoleon's conquest of all the tyrants of Sicily, find no counterpart in the action of The Bondman.

Plutarch closes his account by saying that Timoleon and his family lived thereafter in Sicily in honour and happiness. But the entire picture that Massinger gives us in his drama after Timoleon's return comes from outside Plutarch. Timoleon's attitude toward the slaves and his final judgment on them represents Massinger's extension of the character into the account of the slaves which he found in Justin; Timoleon's devotion to Cleora and his kindness to Pisander are developments which apparently must be credited entirely to Massinger's own imagination.

The dramatist, indeed, has made good use of his source. He has preserved the heroic bearing with which Plutarch has endowed Timoleon; he has skillfully adapted the narrative into a political criticism of his own day; he has given it condensation, and emphasis proper to his dramatic purpose; and he has preserved consistently the nobility of the great general's character in the rebellion and romantic love scenes which occupy the latter part of the play.

Diodorus Siculus.

There appeared in 1604 the following edition of the collected works of Diodorus, in the original Greek together with

a Latin translation:

"ΔΙΟΔΩΡΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΣΙΚΕΛΙΩ

DIOD. SICULI

Bibliothecae Historicae

Libri XVI, De XL.

His accesserunt Eclogae seu fragmenta, ex libris
quibusdam Auctoris, qui disiderantur.

Omnia cum interpretatione Latina ...

Studio & labore

Laurentii Rhodmani Cherusci

Hanoviae Typis Wecheliani, apud

Claudium Marnium & haerede Ioannis Aubrii.

MDCIIII

Cum Priuilegio S. M. Caes. Maiest. ad decennium."

Books XXXIV and XXXVI are fragments given over entirely to
the relation of the servile wars in Sicily.¹ So far as I

1. These two books are twice found in this 1604 edition. On pp. 842-44, 844-48 is reproduced the version "De Bellis Servilibus ex Diodori Siculi ... Excerptae Historiae, ab Henrico Stephano factae." On pp. 901-915 the books are repeated, this time with the original Greek in one column, and Rhodomanus' translation beside it. I have made use of the Rhodomanus' Latin in the quotations, although Stephanus' version differs but little.

have been able to discover, no one has called attention to the similarity between much of the material related in these ec-

logues and certain features in The Bondman. For the most part the account of Diodorus corresponds to Massinger's treatment in such general features as the behavior and attitudes of the bondmen, but in some instances there are more definite analogies. ² Massinger scholars are continually demonstrating the dramatist's knowledge of classic languages, and literature, and there is little doubt that Massinger could have readily used the Latin version of the Sicilian wars, if not the Greek original. ¹✓

1. Cf., e.g., the conclusions of Canon Cruickshank in his Philip Massinger, as well as those of Miss E.A. Byrne in her introduction to The Maid of Honour.

In the first place, the conditions of slavery in Sicily, the thoughtlessness and cruelty of the idle, luxurious masters, as described by Diodorus, are in general suggestive of those in Massinger's play. The prefatory description in Book XXXIV, with its account of the consequent rebellion, closely resembles Massinger's setting; Sicily is suffering from the fat of luxury and peace; there are certain men very rich who own droves of slaves whom they regard as mere cattle (cf. Cleon), or use the abundance of slaves for other purposes (cf. Archidamus, Corisca, etc.); finally, the downright torment inflicted upon the bondmen caused them to join one another in rebellion: ^{these}

"Cum post euersas Carthaginensium opes Sicularum res ad L.X. annos, per omnia prosperos habuissent successus, ser- uile tandem bellum apud eos hac de causa excitatum fuit, Postquam facilitatibus magnopere amplificatis ingentes sibi dititias cōparauerant, magnum seruorum multitudinem cōm- ebant Quibus elocis ubi pascebantur gregatim pro ductis, certai per inustionem corproum notae imprimebantur. Vte- bantur autem illis, si iuniores essent, ad rē pastoritiam; aliis, prout cuiusque usus exigebat. Sed duro & rigidos in ministeriis si illis exhibebat, & tū quod ad victū, tū quod quod ad vestitum, minimaillos cura dignabantur

"Cum itaque aerumnis serui premerentur, & verberibus identidem praeter rationem contumeliosè afficerentur, non ferendum amplius iudicarent. Quare inter se, ubi oportu- num esset, congressi, de excutiendo seruitutis iugo sermones conferebant, donec re ipsa cōsiliū tandē exsecuti sunt." 1

1. The affairs of Sicily after the overthrow of Carthage having continued successful and prosperous for the space of sixty years; at length broke out the servile war upon the following occasions. The Sicilians (through the enjoyment of a long peace) being grown very rich, brought up abundance of slaves; who being driven in droves like so many herds of cattle from the several places where they were bred and brought up, were stigmatized with certain marks burnt in their bodies: those that were young, they used for shepherds, others for such services as they had occasion. But their masters were very rigid and severe with them, and took no care to provide either necessary food or raiment for them. The slaves therefore being in this distress, and vilely beaten and scourged beyond all reason, were now resolved not to bear any longer. Therefore meeting together from time to time as they had opportunity, they consulted how to free themselves from the yoke of servitude they lay under, till at length they really executed what they had before agreed upon." (Diodorus Siculus, tr. by Booth, London, 1814.)

Then follows a characterization of the leader of this rebel- lion, a conjurer named Eunus, who seems to have nothing in com- mon with Pisander. Diodorus next relates in a series of incidents which remind one of Massinger's bondmen's' treatment of rich Cleon and cruel Corisca, the slaves' treatment of Damophilus and his

wife, Megallis, "Ismodis ta indignis servos accipiebat, ut nil supra. Uxor vero eius Megallis cum marito suppliciis afferendis, & omni inhumanitate servos declaranda certabat."¹

1. "This man above all measure cruel and severe to his servants; and his wife Megallis strove to exceed her husband in all kinds of cruelty and inhumanity toward the slaves."

Eunus then encouraged a rebellion of the slaves in protest against this inhuman treatment, as Pisander encourages Gracculo, Cimbric and others in The Bondman. Then some four hundred of them fell to pillaging and ravaging the city in such a manner as Pisander suggests at the end of II, iii, but which Massinger does not allow to be consummated on account of his tragi-comic purpose. Damophilus and his wife were captured and exposed to the scoffs and scorn of their bondmen, as are Cleon and Corisca in The Bondman. The rebels, however, were kind in every respect to Damophilus' daughter because she had always been compassionate toward them. Damophilus was accused and executed, a sentence which Massinger softens to mere ridicule and moral enlightenment, befitting his type of play; Megallis, too, was turned over to her women slaves, just as was Corisca to Zanthia, for suitable revenge. They whipped her and tormented her, then threw her down a precipice — another conclusion which in The Bondman could not be tolerated. Meanwhile, Eunus himself was made king, and with the slaves ravaged the country, and succeeded in defeating the Roman generals until he was fin-

ally betrayed and killed. Diodorus records other similar defections of which Massinger had made no use.

In Book XXXVI are found more parallels between the servile rebellions in Diodorus and in Massinger. These uprisings were of a more serious nature than those under Eunus. The third insurrection is especially significant as a possible influence on The Bondman. While it differs in some respects from the Pisander plot, it offers the closest parallel that I have been able to discover to the Pisander-Cleora love story: A nobleman is enamoured of a slave-girl, whom he has bought, but whom caste prevents him marrying; In danger of losing her for default of payment, by reason of his unconquerable love he conceives a plan of stirring up slaves to a defection and setting himself up as a monarch. He then declares himself the deliverer of the slaves. With his armed slaves he kills all who oppose him. Finally he is suppressed by Roman soldiers. In The Bondman the positions are reversed, the slave being the man, not the girl; but the situation is fundamentally the same in that a nobleman, halted in his love, seeks his mistress through inciting a rebellion of bondmen, assumes complete charge as leader, and wages war on those who oppose him in his passion. Diodorus' relates the story thus:

"Tertia mirum in modum accidit. Titus quidam Mimitius erat, eques Romanus, patre locupletissimo natus. Is famulae alienae insigniter formosae amore exarsit, & complexu

eius potitus, mirificè puellam, ac subinde magis, deperire cepit. Cumq; amoris infania hominē ita subigeret, ac dominus illius emtionē aegrè cōcederet, septem Atticus talentis eam tūdem emit, certumq; soluendi pretii tempus definiuit. Fidem autē cōciliabat patrimonium. Tamq; solutionis dies instabat. Verū ille solvendo non erat XXX egitur dierū pro-rogationem denuo petebat. Cū verò his etiam expletis pre- dium exigeret, at hic nullā expediendi nominis ratione in-ueniret, amorem interim efferuisceret: Facimus tandē in- solens aggressus, insidias illis qui debitum exigebant, struit; & monarchicā sibi potentiā cōciliat. Quin gentas armaturas, certū solutioni tempus constituens, emit; fideq; sibi habita, clam in agrum quendā transtulit. Tum excitatis ad defectione seruis domesticio numero 400. Cū diadēma & purpuram sibi in- duisset, ceteraque assumisset imperii insignia, & seruorū auxilio regēse declarasset: ante omnia illos q̄ preciū puelle exigebāt virgis, cēsos securi percussit. Tū armatis seruitiis villas p̄pinquas inuā debat: & q̄ p̄mte se ad defectionis sociera tē applicabant, hos armis instruxit, aduer fantes verò in- teremit. Cūq; breui plures locc. coegisset, in cēturias illos distribuit: iactoq; vallo, cūctis q̄ desciscēbāt à dominis suis receptū p̄buit. Quare rebellioe Rōnūficiata Senatus pru- dente cōsilio illi oc currit, feliciq; malum euentu cōpressit.¹

1. "The third happened after a strange manner, which was thus, there was one Titus Minutius a Roman knight, who had a very rich man for a father; he chanced to fall in love with another man's servant who was very beautiful; and having enjoyed her, he was the more wonderfully inflamed, and even to madness, in- somuch as he would needs buy her of her master; who being with much ado prevailed with to part with her, the lover at length bought her for seven Attic talents, and limited a certain time for the payment of the money, to which time the greatness of his father's estate procured him credit; but now, when the day of payment was come, he had not the money then ready, but prayed forbearance for thirty days longer. That time being run up, the creditor then demanded his money; but the lover knew not how to perform his word, and yet his love still continued as hot as ever. At length a wicked design came into his head, which induced him to lay a trap for them that demanded the money, and to that end to take upon him the state and dignity of a monarch. To which purpose he bought five hundred arms of all sorts, and appointed a date for payment; and being trusted, withdrawing himself privately into a certain field, he stirred his own slaves to a defection, to the number of four hundred; and, putting on the diadem and purple, assuming all the badges and ensigns of royalty, declared himself king, the deliverer

of the slaves. In the first place he caused all those who had demanded the money he had given for the young woman to be scourged, and then cut off their heads. Then he entered the next towns with his armed slaves and those that came readily to join with him he furnished with arms, and killed all that opposed him. Having in short time got together above seven hundred, he divided them into companies; and then fortifying and intrenching himself, he received all the slaves that ran away from their masters. The rebellion being noised at Rome, the senate (by the help of prudent advice) put a stop to the mischief, and happily suppressed it." (Diodorus Siculus, tr. Booth)

Diodorus, in the remainder of the book, relates succeeding defections. In order to plan one of the rebellions, the slaves gathered together at a grove just outside Syracuse, the identical meeting-place of the slaves in The Bondman (II,iii). Sicily was desolated by the acts of rapine committed by the slaves and poverty-stricken freemen as was Syracuse in Massinger's play. Those in cities scarcely enjoyed anything of their own.

It seems probable, therefore, that the dramatist in depicting the motives and nature of the uprising in The Bondman may have made at least general use of the descriptions of the servile rebellions in Sicily as told by Diodorus. The passages from Books XXXIV and XXXVI quoted in this section picture in a brief space, at least, characters, situations and conditions having such unusual resemblances to those in The Bondman that a mere fortuitous repetition on Massinger's part seems unlikely.

* * * *

As the literary sources, therefore, of his plot and setting

Massinger used Justin, Plutarch, and probably Diodorus. The romantic Platonic love elements, except for suggestions from Diodorus, so far as is known, are entirely Massinger's own invention. For minor situations and for many of the philosophic speeches there are suggested sources given in the notes. Thus the virgin kiss may have been taken from Shakespeare's Coriolanus, and there are unquestionably adaptations of passages in Seneca and Plutarch in several instances.

SOURCES (2)

"Contemporary Events."

There can be no doubt of Massinger's use of contemporary history and political conditions for much of the material of his play. In fact, most of the first act, is given to an exposition not so much of the dramatic situation as of ^{the} unhappy state of Sicily — material which is not found in Plutarch, and for the inclusion of which the only justification is that it offers a political criticism which would have had sufficient point for a contemporary audience who were accustomed to seeing England represented on the stage as Sicily.¹ Moreover,

1. Cf. e.g., Massinger's The Maid of Honour, and Lyly's Sappho and Phao.

however wary one may be in identifying specific characters of

the play with national figures in Massinger's day, there is certainly a general criticism, through Timoleon's harangues, of England's failure to provide sufficient funds for national enterprises and of the abn of patriotic feeling and decay of military discipline. ✓ Especially does Massinger seem to set

1. There is an ample substantiation, I believe, of this conclusion in notes to specific passages throughout I, iii, where the evils are recounted by Timoleon. In this introductory survey the more general bearing of the play on the conditions of the time and Massinger's relation to them are discussed. Such specific allusions as those to the gold thread and the patents, in II, iii, 70-72, need no additional explanation other than that given in the annotations; and I have thought it better to cite in the notes contemporary parallels in England to specific charges of Timoleon, than to recount them in a general introduction apart from the definite context.

himself against James's policy of a shameful peace at the expense of England's inter-national position.

The chief criticism which Timoleon offers of the Syracusans in I, iii, 171-263 relates to the luxurious selfishness of the noble class together with their failure to respond to their country's need for money with which to carry on war. After censuring the Sicilians for their "sordid thrift," their mercenary attitudes, and their private fortunes made at the expense of hollow public coffers, Timoleon prescribes a single remedy:

"For the maintenance of the warre
It is decreed all moneys in the hand,
Of private men, shall instantly be brought
To the publike Treasurie."

The Sicilians immediately resented this decree, thinking it out of all reason, until Cleora presented the case with such *trava* an appeal to pride that the men, old and young, responded.

Even a slight knowledge of the history of England during 1620-24 reveals a situation peculiarly analogous to that which Massinger invents for Sicily. The notes to the lines in I, iii, 171-263 show undoubtedly that in his references to the empty public treasury and to the great private fortunes Massinger was upbraiding his own countrymen. James had spent money lavishly on his favourites, and as a consequence the royal treasury was depleted. To replenish it he had sold titles and places, patents and privileges, until the rule of the land was engrossed by "greene heads" (I, iii, 184), or young licentious courtiers (I, iii, 185), or rich extortioners (I, iii, 188). Meanwhile came the choice of Frederick, Elector Palatine, husband of James's daughter Elizabeth, to lead the Protestant state of Bohemia. Frederick was hard pressed to defend his cause against Catholic forces and called on the English king for help. James, seeking the epithet of "the peaceful king," was loathe to come to active aid of his son-in-law and continued his policy of mediation. Sentiment in England was increasingly favourable and ardent toward Frederick and Elizabeth and their Protestant defense against Spain. England's part in aiding the cause was hindered, however, both by James's tem-

peramental dislike of Imperialism and by his lack of money. But in 1621 he requested of the Commons a subsidy for helping the Palatine cause (so he avowed) against Spain. The Commons, however, aware of James's friendliness for Gondomar, and his susceptibility to this Spanish Ambassador's cunning, and therefore fearful of whom they were really fighting, granted only a small sum. Later, Dec., 1621, they asked for a definite breach with Spain and an assumption of the lead of the Protestant States in Germany.¹ To the consequences of

1. Cf. Gardiner, History of England 1603-42, IV, 226 ff.

this situation The Bondman, through its Sicilian setting, relates allegorically.

In 1621 Parliament, in response to James's assertion that he wanted money to raise an army with which to recover the Palatinate the next summer, granted him two entire subsidies before entering upon their grievances.² But when the Commons

2. R. Cokes, Detection, I, 110.

petitioned the King concerning the danger of the Palatinate and urged that he proceed to carry out his plans of military aid, he refused to listen to them, pleading for an extension of peaceful methods, and saying, "which is all as if we should tell a

Merchant we had great need to borrow money of him for raising
 an Army, and thereupon it should follow, that we were bound
 to follow his Advice in the Direction of the War." ¹ Parlia-

1. ibid. , I, 115.

ment then refused further sums, James dissolved his third Par-
 liament, and resorted again to the means of benevolences for
 the securing of money for carrying on the war. His method was
 that of Timoleon, a call for a donation of private fortunes, to
 be placed at the disposal of those who were carrying on the war.
 Stating that he wished money for the defense of the Palatinate,
 James ordered the Privy Council to send letters to the justices,
 to courts in Westminster Hall, and to Barons of the Exchequer
 to move them and persuade all others to a liberal contribution
 according to their abilities and qualities; and if any out of
 obstinacy or disaffection should refuse, the officials were to
 certify their names to the Council Board. ² Letters were also

2. ibid., I, 123 ff.

sent to High Sheriffs, and Justices of Peace, Mayors and Bailiffs
 of every City and Corporation, requiring them to summon all be-
 fore them of known abilities within their jurisdictions and

move them all to a cheerful contribution. A "schedule" of the names of the contributors was to be returned to His Majesty that he might take notice of the good inclination of his subjects to a cause of such importance, and of such who refused. "All this was for the cause of war, but really to squander on favorites."¹

1. ibid., loc. cit.

James's attempt to secure benevolences met with the same resentment that Timoleon encountered in Cleon — "He neuer yeeld to it..." (I,iii,223), or in Diphilus — "This rough course will neuer be allowd of" (I,iii,227-28), or in Timagoras — "This bites sore..." (I,iii,222). A typical English attitude is furnished by that of Oliver St. John in a letter (written a decade before the appearance of The Bondman, concerning earlier benevolences of King James) to the Mayor of Marlborough, protesting against a levy of King James as a violation of the Magna Charta and fundamental law of the land.² No such free grants,

2. Cabala, Sine Scrinia Sacra, p. 332.

St. John argued, could be taken but by general assent of the realm. Such benevolences be damned and annuled forever. The

representatives of the people in Parliament had denied James money, and the people reasonably supposed they should "neuer yeeld to it." St. John concludes, "Sir, Hearing that tomorrow Justices will be there about this busie work of Benevolence wherein you have sent unto and talked with me, and thinking that it may be you would deliver up Names of Non-givers ... they shall scarcely be at home to make further answer ... Understanding my mind yourself and, if cause require let Justices perceive as much." ✓

1. R. Coke, loc. cit.

Consequently, the benevolences had little success, voluntary contribution was small, and the Palatinate was neglected. What funds were raised seem to have been the result, in many instances, of the devotion of the English people to Princess Elizabeth, now Queen of Bohemia. This fact calls attention to the situation in The Bondman: only after the inspiring example of Cleora, that "brave masculine spirit," did the Sicilian people respond to the national need. Thus England's response to the benevolences through their love of Princess Elizabeth was reviewed in the next Parliament (1623-24) by Sir Edward Sackville:

"Lastly, when we had no other object in our Contemplations, but the memory of her virtue, (which remaineth in durable Characters in the heart of every honest man)

what a forwardness and serventness did we express in these our voluntary contributions, notwithstanding that some base, sordid and avaritious men, who adored their Mammon, deterred men from that noble and pious work ... His Majesty calls to us for aid, he invites us to it; and he that was born to command, now vouchsafes to entreat us: now, if ever, is the time to do our country good." ✓

1. John Rushworth, Historical Collections, I, 133.

Again, this passage calls to mind descriptions in The Bondman, in which Timoleon harangues the moneyed men for their stinginess — "Do you prize youmucke Aboue your liberties?" (I,iii,231-32), — or praises the character of Cleora as Sackville does the Princess — "The vertues of her mind would force a Stoic to sue to be her servant" (I,iii,311-12).

It seems clear, then, that Massinger uses appreciable portions of I,iii of The Bondman to suggest that England, like Sicily, must awake from her apathy and make a solid, monetary contribution in the interest of a militant, foreign policy. The play was written, it may be remembered, after Parliament had failed to grant sufficient subsidies (however well-founded its reasons may have been) to finance James's proposed plan of carrying on war in behalf of the Palatinate. Moreover, the King was loathe to summon Parliament again, and his benevolences had had scarcely partial success. It would seem reasonable to conclude, therefore, that Massinger is implying that either the

luxurious and idle wealthy class must sacrifice through further benevolences, if such should be undertaken, or that Parliament should grant the money for the Palatine cause. From Timoleon's long diatribe on selfish private luxury enjoyed at the expense of Sicily's greatness, it seems that the dramatist regards a benevolence exacted from the rich to be entirely just and proper. Gardiner, however, in his treatment of the political element in the play,¹ believes that Massinger, had an eye rather to the

1. S.R.Gardiner, "The Political Element in Massinger," Shak. Soc. Transactions, 1875, pp. 316-19.

future House of Commons.² The third scene of Act I, too, may

2. Massinger makes a slighting reference to the indifference and apathy of members of Parliament in II,iii,55-57.

be a suggestion to James himself,³ that he remember that he, like

3. There are undoubtedly in the play strictures upon James's policies; e.g., his tyranny, which is discussed later in this section.

Timoleon, had exacted contributions in the past few years for a patriotic cause, and that the people who had given should not be betrayed, but that the war in defense of the Protestant cause in the Palatine should be executed as he had promised when rais-

ing his benevolences. For it had undoubtedly been in James's mind that a pretext of a war would bring to the treasury funds which were due for other causes already. The Bondman may be considered, therefore, as an appeal, to the wealthy, to the Commons, and to the King, for a united effort and recognition of responsibility toward providing sufficient resources for the Palatinate war.

* * * * *

In the latter part of 1623, when The Bondman was written, England was almost obliged to side definitely with the Protestant cause in the Palatinate, or to make an alliance with Spain, the Catholic proponent and aid of Frederick's Imperialist enemies who were trying to wrest Bohemia from him. Gondomar, the Spanish ambassador to England, by his cunning had long forestalled James's weak inclinations toward his son-in-law. The English King had in 1622-23 been negotiating a marriage of Prince Charles to the Infanta of Spain; and Charles and Buckingham had gone to Spain in 1623, at the latter's instigation, to complete arrangements for the union of the two countries through the marriage of the English Prince and the Spanish Princess. Meanwhile the English people, for the most part, waited in fear and trembling, and hoped that the contract would fail to materialize. In October, a few weeks before The Bondman was licensed, Charles and Buckingham returned from Spain, and to the great joy of the English

mass of the nation, it became known that the Spanish match, directly because of the insults to the Duke and the Prince, had been broken off.

But for years there had been a growing antipathy toward Spain, a feeling not only that an alliance should not be perfected, but that Spanish imperialism should be definitely opposed by armed force. The feeling of many an old Englishman is represented by a portion of a letter written to the Duke of Buckingham by one Dr. Sharp at the time of the negotiations for the Spanish marriage:

"I know not how the case stands ^{how} between us and the Spaniards; but methinks it should not be very well, when nothing will satisfie him, but the Head of him that spake the Truth for the Good of the King and Kingdom. ¹ Certainly

1. Evidently Raleigh, who had been beheaded by James in 1618, for the sake of the Spanish match.

if we break with him, as they which sit at the Helm know what is best to do, he is ready to strike, and will peradventure strike quickly, before we be fully prepared; therefore our Preparations had need to be more speedy thorough, lest we fall into a Snare. While they were treating of Peace in '88, they did even then invade us. I pray God they have not used this Treaty of Marriage to as bad a Purpose; for it seems they did never intend it, but for Delays and to make it serve their Turn, they have plainly abused us in the Palitinate thereby. But I can say nothing for the Present, yet what is to be done, it is proper to an higher Judgment; only I tell what was then, when we were enemies." ²

2. Cabala, p. 343.

A leader in this anti-Spanish faction was William Herbert, brother to Philip Herbert, to whom Massinger dedicated The Bondman after that Earl by his liberal suffrage had taught it to be allowed for current at court.^{1/} Gardiner had pointed out in

1. Cf. Dedicatory Epistle.

his consideration of the political element in the play^{2/} that,

2. "The Political Element in Massinger," Shak. Soc. Transactions, (1875) pp. 316-19.

in his wish to please Philip Herbert, Massinger has expressed himself in a way which would have been satisfactory to the el- *eld - or*
der brother, Wm. Herbert, Lord Counsellor. Meanwhile, when Buckingham returned from Spain, irritated and vengeful from his Spanish trip, he immediately began to urge a war with Spain. Then the Earl of Pembroke, although previously opposed to the Spanish Alliance, distrusted Buckingham as a leader, thought his reversal of policy toward the Spanish indefensible, and therefore temporarily hesitated to align himself with the Spanish war faction. The Bondman reflects undoubtedly, in two passages, this antipathy of the Herberts for Buckingham, who was Lord Admiral: the description of the effeminate admiral of the Carthaginians, Gisco;^{3/} and Archidamus' sorrow due to the fact

3. See the note to I, i, 49-56.

that Sicily had no one fit to be her general (I,iii,17).

However much Pembroke may have been opposed to Buckingham's leadership, fundamentally the Herberts were in favour of England's opposition to Spain. And Massinger seems to have gone further in his allusions to a war policy in accord with their position. The Bondman presents Sicily, a country weakened by luxury, carelessness, and selfishness, attacked by an overbearing enemy, Carthage, and aided by a neighbor, Corinth, a lover of liberty, who sends her renowned general, Timoleon, to lead the forces against Carthage. Boyle, in a single sentence of comment on the political intention of The Bondman, suggests that if for Sicily we read England, for Corinth we read Holland, for Carthage we read Spain, for Timoleon read Maurice, we have a summary of the political tendency of the play.¹ That the

1. R. Boyle, "Beaumont, Fletcher, and Massinger," Englische Studien, IX, 234, 35.

inter-national situation in the play does coincide closely with the relations of Holland, England, and Spain in 1623 is shown by a review of the relations of these countries at the time.

In I,i,55 ff. Leosthenes inquires the motives for Corinth's giving Sicily aid. He is told that the Corinthians recognize that ambitious Carthage is seeking to enlarge her empire and seize all Greece, that they and the Sicilians share a common

danger, and that if Sicily should perish, so would Corinth. Thus Corinth has taken the initiative, and has sought to arouse Sicily to an allied defense against the "unjust gripe" of Carthage. Now this situation is not that of Massinger's source, Plutarch's Timoleon;¹ but Massinger has taken care in the

1. See above, SOURCES, "Plutarch's Timoleon."

first scene of the play to explain this eagerness of the Corinthians to ally themselves to Sicily. That this noticeable departure from the source has contemporary significance is further suggested by the identity of the Dutch attitude toward England from 1621-23 and the Corinthian attitude toward Sicily in The Bondman. Sp

Despite the rivalry and a certain amount of somewhat serious contention between the English and the Dutch from 1621-23, the latter nation consistently sought to interest England in a campaign against Spain. On January 28, 1621-22 the Dutch had sent an ambassador to England for the purpose of urging union against Spanish interests and defending the common Protestant cause against the common enemy. James then assured him that he was kindly disposed toward the States, and assured him that he had called a Parliament for that purpose, but Gondomar or Spanish victories caused this Christian resolution to come to nothing.²

2. Cf. D'Ewes, Autobiography and Correspondence, I, 172.

Moreover, Buckingham was avowedly hostile toward the States, desired war with them, and assured Gondomar no money should go to the defense of the Palatinate.¹

1. Gardiner, History of England, 1603-42, IV, 186 ff.

Therefore the Dutch were left to bear the brunt of the opposition against Spanish, Catholic domination. When Frederick was defeated at Prague he retired with his wife, Elizabeth, into Holland, "more supported by the Dutch, Prince of Orange, and some of the English Nobility, and Archbishop Abbot, than by the King, whose Bounty lay another way."² James, influenced by

2. R.Coke, Detection, I, 109.

Buckingham and Gondomar against the Dutch, continued to try to recover the Palatinate by marrying the Infanta to Charles and to get two millions of Money for her portion to boot.³ Yet

3. ibid., p. 134.

favourable feeling for the Dutch alliance against Spain as the only means of aiding the Protestant cause, increased in England.

Under the year 1622 Coke writes:

"Besides, in the case the King made War for the Recovery of the Palatinate, he could not hope to do it upon his own single Account, but in Conjunction with Foreign Confederates,

and with the States of the United Netherlands (who now had renewed the War against the King of Spain, and Truce made between them and the King of Spain in 1609, being expired).¹

1. ibid., p. 134.

Again in 1623, the Dutch sent an embassy to England, but with apparently no success, to enlist an official alliance against Spain. The extent of pro-Dutch and pro-Palatine sentiment in England at the time is shown by the fact that at this time four English and two Scottish regiments formed the kernel of the States' army, and in campaign after campaign bore the brunt of the fighting.² When the Spanish had seized Bergen-op-Zoom,

2. Cf. George Edmundson, Anglo-Dutch Rivalry, 1600-1653, passim.

July, 1622, Maurice had reenforced the garrison by fourteen English and Scottish companies, and two Englishmen, Colonel Henderson and Sir Charles Morgan, were heroes of the defense. The Dutch concluded that Spain would join with England only in hope of reducing the United Provinces by the Spanish match, or in fear that the English would join with the provinces against her. And in England, too, after the Spanish marriage failure, further impetus had been given toward a Dutch alliance when Buckingham and his party, who had hitherto been hostile toward the States, advocated an anti-Spanish policy, and James himself seemed almost convinced that armed force in behalf of his son-

in-law was necessary. The necessity of a closer bond between the two countries is evidenced by an interview between Prince Maurice and the English ambassador, Dudley Carlton, December 9, 1623¹ (less than a week after The Bondman was licensed), in which the Prince of Orange assured the Englishman of the affection "of this State" toward a Prince embracing their cause of opposition toward Spain. "The Prince of Orange expressed good will to an intimate friendship with England, and assured the English Resident at the Hague, that whensoever the King would be to those Provinces, as Queen Elizabeth was in her time, they would be the same to him ..." ¹ Accordingly, Sir Dudley advised the Duke

1. J. Rushworth, Historical Collections, I, 110. Anno 1623.

by all means to accept the proffers of the Prince. ² The Prov-

2. The entire letter of Sir Dudley Carleton to Buckingham, urging immediate alliance, may be seen in Cabala, p. 178.

inces, meanwhile, put themselves on the offensive, refused to listen to the overtures of Spain, and prepared a strong fleet to interrupt the Spanish Gold Fleet from the West Indies.

"Those enterprises were commended to the King, as approved by all good men, to be a principal means to cast down the fearful power of Spain: Onely it was too vast a design for that little country; but if the King were pleased thoroughly to close with them, their affections and constant interest would so bind them to him that he might absolutely dispose of them, and by their forces by

Sea and Land, conjoyning with his own, be able to give the Law to Europe." ¹✓

1. ibid.,

This Dutch expression of fear of Spanish imperialism offers indeed a close parallel to Corinth's fear in The Bondman. Thus it appears reasonable to conclude that in these weeks when the question of Dutch alliance was being most largely supported by the pro-Palatine party in England and when The Bondman was almost certainly written, Massinger is not only alluding to an international situation, but also, through presenting liberty-loving Corinth as friendly to weakened Sicily in her necessary defense against Carthaginian imperialism, he is suggesting the feasibility of England's accepting the Provinces' overtures of combining forces in order to aid the Palatine in the defense of Protestantism and to offer a barrier to Spain's desire of controlling Northern Europe... Such a topical position in The Bondman was pleasing to the Protestant Herberts, whose temporary defection from promoting a war against Spain resulted not from any growing friendliness toward that country, but from personal skepticism with regard to Buckingham, who is ably satirized in Gisco (I,1,49-56).

The possibility that in the attitude of Corinth Massinger is representing the United Provinces is further substantiated by the certain interesting parallels between Timoleon, in The

Bondmen, and Maurice, Prince of Orange.¹ The identification

1. Massinger, together with Fletcher, had treated Maurice as a dramatic character in Sir John van Olden Barneveldt in 1619, and therefore was well acquainted with his life and personality.

cannot be pressed too closely, however, because most of the characteristics which Massinger attributes to Timoleon are found in Plutarch.² It may be, however, that he was partially

2. See ante, SOURCES, Plutarch's Life of Timoleon.

led to select Timoleon as an important character in his play because he recognized the significant analogy between the Greek general and the Dutch prince, and could easily adapt the events of his career to his topical purpose.

As Massinger describes Timoleon, there are certain prominent traits stressed: He is above all a great soldier (I,i,165); the most eminent man in Corinth (I,ii,8); he is blunt, rough, downright, unpolished, and determined (I,iii,103,121,216 ff.); he is liberty-loving and democratic (I,iii,86 ff.), and for the liberty of Greece and for love of Sicily he would willingly lay down his life (I,iii,115-16); many men have condemned him, however, as a tyrant, because he has had to murder his brother, Timophanes, on account of his attempt to tyrannize over Corinth (I,iii,123 ff.); he is particularly devoted to, though not the lover of, Cleora, who best expresses his own thoughts (I,iii,

327-28); and he asserts that he is her soldier [I,iii,369-71] and that she is representative of the true genius of her country (I,iii,266).

These attributes and attitudes can, in the main, be assigned to Maurice, Prince of Orange, as to no other man in Massinger's time. In the first place, he was generally regarded by both friends and enemies, as the greatest military genius of the day, having had 40 years military experience. ¹ Maurice himself had

1. Cf. Petrus Johannes Blok, History of People of Netherlands, III, 241 ff., 434, 480.

said in 1616, "Gentlemen, I am a warrior. I neither understand nor trouble myself about matters of theology." His youthful studies enabled him to plan brilliant sieges and to move rapidly his troops. Strada de Bello Beldico, although a bigoted Jesuit and prejudiced against Protestants, gave Maurice the following character: "Hic illi Mauritius est, a nobis saepe, nec sine fortis et cauti Ducis laudi memorandus." ² And Sir Edward Sackville

2. "This is that Maurice whom we often speak of, and never without the character of a brave and cautious general."

in the House of Commons, 1623-24, spoke of him as the greatest of generals, "after whom, to be esteemed second, is highest praise." ³

3. J. Rushworth, Historical Collections, p. 132.

Maurice beheaded Barnavelt in 1619, and attempted to hang Gratius,¹ This rough policy caused him to be regarded by some

1. Cf. Coke, Detection, pp. 142, 143.

as tyrannical. Is it not possible that Massinger's care to have Timoleon justify, in a full defense from his lips, his killing of Timophanes against his own will and solely for the preservation of his country's well-being, is intended to shield Maurice against his critics, who condemned his action as a bit of selfish aggrandizement? Then Leosthenes and Diphilus both state that if Timoleon succeeds in leading Sicily to victory, the Sicilians will know that in Timophanes he had slain a tyrant (I,iii,140 ff.). Many Englishmen may have had the same feeling toward Maurice, thus judging his unselfishness by his leading the Dutch and English to a victory against Spain. Such a genuine devotion as Timoleon is said to have had for both Corinth and Sicily, Maurice had for the United Provinces and England. Especially did he hope for a united effort to check Spanish aggression. "And this he assured me for conclusion that as their affections and affairs now stand, nothing but Despair can bring these Provinces to Peace or Truce with Spain."² So wrote Sir

2. Cabala, p. 178.

Dudley Carleton to Buckingham, Dec. 9, 1623. Indeed, Sir Dudley advocated the English acceptance of this friendliness of Maurice's:

"The present opportunity of the Prince of Orange's good affection, and strength of these Provinces both by Sea and Land, as it yet stande, (but not possible so long to continue) being seasonably laid of, His Majesty may have with State a firm and fruitful Alliance.

But if the Prince of Orange should die, (as he is much broken, and the last year at this time, we did not think he could live to May,) or the Enemy break into the Borders of this State, all the best link we have for a Bond of Friendship would fail, and as much difference be betwixt this State as it now is, and what it is like to be upon any such ill accident, all as betwixt a strong Staff, and broken Reed." ¹✓

1. ibid.

This excerpt shows both the attitude of Maurice toward England (like Timoleon's toward Sicily), and his importance to the States (Corinth's "man of men"). The Prince of Orange was, moreover, an ardent anti-papist. He had aided Protestantism in Bohemia, offering advice, personal protection, and subsidies to soldiers fighting for the Palatinate, and had protected Frederick who had established himself at the Hague in April, 1621. The Princess Elizabeth, many times in severest difficulties, was aided by him, who was a lover of her mind and thought her as did Timoleon of Cleora, "a brave masculine spirit" (I,iii,306). ²✓

2. James Howell (Epistolae Ho-Eliaiae, p. 91) says that Elizabeth was known as the Queen of Hearts because of "her winning princely comportment."

His devotion to her cause was in much the same spirit of the worshipper of a heroic woman patriot, as was Timoleon's. Thus it appears that in Timoleon Massinger may have been not only picturing a classic hero, but also may have been suggesting to the English people that, because of the analogies that existed between that great Greek general and the most eminent warrior of his own time, the overtures of the Prince of Orange toward an alliance against Spain should be no longer neglected, but that England should under his guidance repel the Spanish threat.¹

1. There are also suggestions of the brave and independent Warrior friend of the Palatinate, Count Mansfeld, in the character of Timoleon,--especially in view of his earlier dependence on English aid for his support of Frederick and of his later trip to England, in 1624, for men and supplies; but, on the whole, Maurice is a much likelier possibility. The campaigns of Elizabeth's cousin, Duke Christian of Brunswick, and his knightly conduct toward her, are also analogous to Timoleon's relation to Cleora. But there are other instances, too, of men who swore themselves to be her servants. (Cf. D.N.B., A.W. Ward's Life of Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia.)

It seems unsafe to make specific identifications of other characters of The Bondman. Cleora reminds one of Princess Elizabeth in many ways, and the character may have been so identified by Massinger's audience. The intense and even robust patriotism of both, the devotion Elizabeth called forth from all people and especially from military leaders such as Maurice, as Cleora did from Timoleon, and their personal sacrifice of jewels and wardrobe² for patriotic principles are all in point. Other-

2. See the note to I,iii,304.

wise, however, there were great differences in their situations.

There may also be in Timoleon's remarks on tyranny and restraint of liberty in I,iii,84-145, allusions to the high-handed policy of James with regard to Parliament for the previous decade, fining and sending to the tower those who opposed him. Timoleon killed his brother for attempting to change Corinth into an absolute monarchy (I,iii,131,132); and many thought James was doing just this in his indifference toward Parliamentary decrees. He would only reply to the Commons that there were many matters too high for the peoples' representatives of state. At times James went so far as to forbid discussion of state affairs. ¹✓

1. Cf. Coke, Detection, p. 110 f.

The Bondman, therefore, through its political allegory, seems to suggest first of all a liberal contribution from people or Parliament. Secondly, this money is to be used strictly for reconstruction of the military forces of the nation, and not for private luxuries. Finally, England should unite with the States under the great general, Maurice, on behalf of the Palatinate and Protestantism, and to quell definitely the menace of Spanish imperialism.

V. CLASSICAL IDEAS.

However far Massinger may have erred in inserting anachronistic details and contemporary comment in The Bondman, the philosophic background of the play is, for the most part, true to classic thought in general if not precisely to the Greek period (540 B.C.) in which the action of the play is set. Not only may the play be considered in the light of classic thought, but it can be understood only in the light of the ideas of the Greek and Roman philosophers, and especially of those of the Stoic tradition.

It is not easy to believe Anthony a Wood's account of Massinger's neglect of "logic and philosophy" as a student at Oxford.¹ In the eighteen extant plays which were written com-

1. Cf. Gifford, Massinger's Plays, I, xli.

pletely or chiefly by him there is ample evidence of a mind familiar with more than the popular phases of ancient philosophy which were common property of most of the poets and dramatists of his time. The reason for his interest in ancient thought, and especially in its ethical considerations, is not difficult to account for: Massinger was a moralist. Both the preoccupation with moral problems in his dramas and the scanty facts that can be ascertained concerning his life

and character show a man with a serious, inquiring nature, convinced of an eternal difference between good and evil, and eager for ethical criteria. The treatment of jealous desire in The Duke of Milan, of infidelity in The Maid of Honour, of individual vengeance in The Fatal Dowry, of incest and filial relationship in The Unnatural Combat, of public and private morality in Believe as You List, The Roman Actor, and The Emperor of the East, of riches in A New Way to Pay Old Debts and The City Madam are a few instances in point. The ample discussion which these various problems receive in the several plays evinces almost a dramatic moralist, -- at least a man with deep moral convictions and purposes, embodying his ideas in dramatic form.

It is natural, moreover, that Massinger, possessing the temperament and character that he did, should draw on classic sources for many of his ideas and standards. Like many another man of the Renaissance, he had probably found in the Greek and the Roman authors a highly estimable basis of virtue, complementary in some respects to that which his religious affiliations had given him; or, he had found it necessary to substantiate rationally, through recourse to the systems which the old philosophers had promulgated from logic and experience, certain ethical principles which a church, whose authority had begun to be more constantly questioned in an age of increasing individualism and of ecclesiastic corruption, had offered as the decrees of divine revelation. Fore-

most of the systems to which these Renaissance thinkers turned was that of the Stoics, for it offered not only a system of morality analogous to that of Christianity, but also placed a high estimate on, and value in, the individual himself. The Stoic belief in the primacy of reason and in one's ability to save himself through the restraint of the rational faculty was an attitude increasingly in accord with the zeitgeist of Massinger's age. Moreover, by persons of a religious temperament and of a training involving Christian principles --- and such Massinger was, unless in The Virgin Martyr, and in The Renegado, for instance, he has failed to do what he does elsewhere to a great extent, to express his own convictions in unmistakable terms---Stoicism was seized upon also because it offered many points of contact with Christianity: the belief in a Divine Providence, for instance, who is the Father of all men and who is infinitely good, merciful and powerful. Yet it was not on metaphysical problems, such as the Nature of God, that traditional Stoicism was brought to bear, as Mr. Leontine Zanta has pointed out in his The Renaissance of Stoicism in XVI Century,[✓] but on establishing a rationalistic support for prac-

l. pp. 77 ff.

tical morality/ The metaphysical rationalism of the Stoic system, indeed, was rather checked because it militated against

certain Christian theological beliefs. But especially was there an appeal to antiquity's experience and conclusions so far as they concerned contemporary moral states. In fact, in the schools of France, morality began to be taught not so much through scholasticism as through the life and teachings of ancient men, such as Socrates, Plato, and Pythagoras. The Stoic sage rather than the Christian martyr exemplified the scorn of riches, courage in the face of death. Consequently there arose a kind of Christian humanism, which going under the name, Christian, went to pagan antiquity for illustrations of how to live honestly and die well. So Bishop Guevara in his need calls on Cicero for consolation, and in Erasmus' independent moral comments one almost forgets the supernatural in his neglect of dogma.¹ This fusion of the

1. ibid., pp. 84-90.

two systems, Stoic and Christian, was no new thing, for Lactance, Tertullian, St. Ambrose, and St. Augustine had all long before taken cognizance of the virtue of the Stoic school, although they recognized certain significant divergences from Christian teachings, chiefly involving Stoic self-sufficiency. Therefore, even in the middle ages the way had been paved for the neo-Stoicism of the Renaissance. In Italy, in Germany and France especially was there a revival of interest and concern in Stoic teachings. Perhaps the most conspicuous of these "Christian

humanists" in 17th century Europe were Justus Lipsius and Guillaume du Vair, both of whom reconciled Stoic principles with various phases of the Christian System.

Although Massinger cannot be said to be wholly aligned with a definite philosophic system and is indeed not a Christian apologist, he clearly reveals himself in accord with the neo-Stoic thought of his time. At least the morals which his plays enforce are generally Stoic rather than specifically Christian, although they do not necessarily conflict with Christian principles. The failure of Sforza to control his jealous passions in The Duke of Milan through the "inner check" is distinctly Stoic; the extreme insistence on the duty and respect of a son for his father in The Unnatural Combat can be regarded reasonable chiefly in the light of the Stoic view of filial duty; the conception of riches in A New Way to Pay Old Debts and in The City Madam as an indifferent tool but a proper possession is Stoic in conception and not that of Christian denial; the mutability of Fortune is prominent in The Guardian, and in The Roman Actor; and the conception of virtue in The Very Woman, as a victory of the rational part over the passions, follows Stoic teaching. So it is that most of Massinger's dramas, not alone the ones which have classical settings, have for their central moral idea one which is primarily or peculiarly that of the Stoic teachers. Such a consistent reliance on these teachings certainly points toward

Massinger's lasting interest in Stoic thought, his high regard for the moral conclusions of Classic philosophers, and a considerable acquaintance with their teachings.

Especially did the dramatist rely on Seneca for his Stoicism. In addition, there are conceptions which more closely at times accord with the teachings of Plutarch, Cicero, Epictetus, and (rarely) Marcus Aurelius. Evident adaptations in The Bondman of passages from Seneca and Plutarch¹ show that

1. Cf. the notes to III, iii, 90 ff. and IV, ii, 53 ff.

Massinger must have revered these two ancients most highly as moral teachers. That his contemporaries in many instances shared his opinion is shown by a passage written by Henry Peacham a year or so before The Bondman was first licensed:

"For Morality and rules of well living, delivered with such sententious gravity, weight of reason, so sweetened with a lively and apt similitudes, entertaine Plutarch; whom according to the opinion of Gaza the world would preserve, should it be put to the choice to receive one onely author (the Sacred Scriptures excepted) and to burne all the rest: especially his Lives and Morals. After him, the vertuous and divine Seneca, who for that he lived so neere the times of the Apostles, and had familiar acquaintance with S. Paul (as it is supposed by those Epistles that passe under either names) is thought in heart to have bene a Christian; and certes so it seemeth to me, by that Spirit, wherewith so many rules of Patience, Humility, Contempt of the world, are refined and exempt from the degrees of Paganisme. Some say that about the beginning of Neroes reigne, he came over hithor into Britaine: but most certaine it is, he had diverse lands bestowed on him here in England, and those supposed to have laine in Essex neere to Camalodunum, now Maldon."²

2. Henry Peacham, The Compleat Gentleman, p. 52.

The passage well illustrates the attitude of the educated English gentleman of Massinger's day toward the two ancients in question, and accounts, at least in some measure, for the frequent use which Massinger makes of them in The Bondman. The courtly audience, before whom the play was first presented,^{1/}

1. See ante, III, STAGE HISTORY.

certainly recognized the Stoicism that permeates the play, having received it indirectly through the Neo-Stoics of the day, or, guided by such conduct-books of the day as that from which the above quotation is taken, having secured it from their own reading in the numerous editions (both in the original and in translation) of classic philosophy at the time.

In commenting on the purpose of the stage, Paris, who seems to serve as a chorus character throughout most of The Roman Actor, asserts that

"Actors may put in for as large a share
As all the sects of the philosophers.
They with cold precepts (perhaps seldom read)
Deliver what an honourable thing
The active virtue is: but does that fire
The blood, or swell the veins with emulation,
To be both good and great, equal to that
Which is presented on our theatres?"^{2/}

2. The Roman Actor, I, iii.

In the remainder of the scene Paris enlarges on the implication

of the above lines: the stage presents vividly and concretely before the spectator characters acting in such a way as to confirm the same moral truths which philosophers have been constrained to place on the cold pages of books. Massinger is here, of course, only following Sidney and other apologists for the theatre; but certainly his plays are all verifications of his actual belief that plays primarily are principles of philosophy embodied in a dramatic narrative. And there is usually one, and sometimes more, of these moral truths at the heart of his dramas --- maxims which he seeks to impress by means of a moving story. And while Massinger did not, perhaps, have a particular philosophic passage in mind, the cold precept which he sought to exemplify through The Bondman is well expressed by Seneca in his De Beneficiis:

"...judge those the most miserable amongst men (how rich and refulgent in wealth whatsoever) [that] are slaves to their belly and lust, whose minds are benumbed with slouthfull idleness: let him say unto himselfe, Pleasure is fraile and fleeting, she is quickly wearied of her object ... This is the pleasure that is worthy a man and a noble mind, not to fill and flatter the bodie, not to provoke his lustful desires, which are least hurtful when they are most quiet."¹✓

1. VII, 2; Lodge's translation, 1620.

Such is the principal theme of The Bondman: the nature of slavery, the bondage that ensues from caring for the pleasures of the body, the misery of him who neglects to study Stoic

constancy, and who depends on Fortune instead of Virtue.

The fate of three characters, Corisca, Cleon, and Asotus, illustrates the unfortunate course of those who forget what Seneca repeatedly refers to as "human frailty." They form a rich family who rely on their external fortunes for happiness, and the collapse of these fortunes and subsequent misery of the three is the general course of one of the plots of The Bondman. In the first act they are presented as sensual, prosperous, and secure in their possessions. When the warriors departed to seek honour in the battle, Cleon and his son, Asotus, stayed at home, incompetent in body and deficient in spirit; and Corisca suffered from lack of outlet for her passions. Act II, ii presents them offering extremely cruel punishments to their slaves, and revelling in sensual reversions. With the strong men of the city absent, however, Nature reasserted herself, and the bondmen, led by Pisander, dominated the weaklings who through the regulations of society had been in power over men stronger than themselves. Subsequently reduced to servitude by their former slaves, those recently secure were stripped of all the external accessories that Fortune had brought them, and possessing no inward virtue, they lamented their miserable state.

Such a story might serve for ethical instruction from many standpoints, but Massinger is careful to point the moral in strictly Stoic terms, and to judge the errors by Stoic standards.

This he does both in the repentance of Corisca and in the extended comment which Pisander makes on the state of those who rely on Fortune. Through humiliation at the hands of her servant, Zanthia, Corisca is brought to see the mistakes of her former course. Cleon and Asotus suffer likewise from Gracculo and other servants whom they have mistreated. Corisca states that she is justly punished for her lust and pride (III,iii, 15-17); that she has only herself to accuse, and not the "all-creating power" above, who is just. She is now instructed by misery that Heaven looks down and with Justice judges those who have accounted the blessings of the gods in the number of their own merits. She who had pampered her taste with the rarest of foods would now be satisfied with bread. She had refused to recognize virtue in rags and had scorned all who did not better nature with "adulterate arts." (III,iii,57-81)

Some of the material of Corisca's confession is clearly imitative of a passage from Seneca;¹ and her whole line of

1. See the note to III,iii,65 ff.

thought is in accord with his moral teaching. The conception of Nature as a bountiful source of all that is needful to the good life, the "mother of all things" (III,iii,68-70; I,iii,13) belongs to the Stoic philosophers, who identified Nature, God, Destiny, and Fate, and considered that such desires, as Corisca's, for artificial arts to better Nature, and for luxurious

food and clothes, always result in misery because they are inconsistent with the essential rule of good and happy living—"Follow Nature."¹ "Virtue is according to Nature" and Nature

1. Cf. Seneca's De Beneficiis, IV, vii; and Epistle XC; Of the Blessed Life, chap. III.

has given us those things which will make us like God, but money, slaves, litters, reputation, and beauty cannot avail.² Corisca

2. Cf. Seneca, Epistles XXI, I.

recognizes her sin as one of self-indulgence, vicious because it is unnatural and rests on love of the superfluous.³ Cor-

3. Cf. Seneca's Epistles CXXI, CXXII.

isca's repentance for her failure to recognize virtue when in rags (III,iii,77) is distinctly Stoic in character. Now, so the implication goes, she would hail virtue, for "although she be poore and abject, yet is she never obscured, but she sheweth the beames of her brightness a farre off, and whosoever is capable will acknowledge, and follow her steps."⁴ Instruction

4. Seneca's Of the Tranquillitie of the Mind, chap.III; Lodge's translation, 1620.

concerning Providence, Justice, and the rewards of life comes to Corisca through misery (III,iii,59-60). So it was that the Stoic sage emphasized that God makes a trial of all spirits by adversity.^{1/} Thus Corisca comes to understand what her "lust

1. Seneca, Of Providence, chap. IV.

and pride" (III,iii,16,61) had caused her to forget, that she "was made of flesh and blood" (III,iii,73). This recognition of her "human frailty," as Pisander later designates it (III,iii,93), is a familiar theme in Stoic writings. Every day and hour admonishes us that we are forgetful of our frailty, says Seneca, urging us not to promise ourselves future things, neither to hope nor to fear.^{2/} "All humane things are fraile, and scarce

2. Seneca, Epistle CI.

occupie any place in this vast extent of infinite time,"^{3/}

3. Seneca, Epistla XX, Lodge's translation, 1620.

And in Of Consolation to Marcia Seneca again reminds Marcia that we are all born mortal, inclined to corruption and distraction:

"What is man? A broken Vessel, a thing more fraile than may be imagined; there need no great Tempest to breake thee, wheresoeuer thou art cast, thou art shattered. What is man? A weake, fraile, and naked bodie, disarmed

by Nature, that needeth anothers helpe, abandoned to all the outrages of Fortune; ...framed of those things that have no firmities or continuance; faire in appearance, and in outward lineaments, but neither able to endure either cold, heate, or travell ... sickly, rotten, broken, and ...hee beganne his life with teares." ^{1/}

1. Chap. XI.

And elsewhere (III,iii,110 ff.) Corisca, grieving for the almost impossible tasks which she had imposed upon her slaves, approaches the question of kindness to servants as does Seneca in his Epistle XLVII. ^{2/}

2. Cf. the note to III; iii,112 ff.

Massinger points the Stoic moral of Cleon's, Corisca's, and Asotus' fall, in the second place, through the long meditation of Pisander, provoked by his viewing that "sad spectacle" (III, iii,69). I have shown elsewhere the probability of Massinger's having adapted the entire passage (III,iii,88-110) from Seneca, and the similarity and applicability of other Ciceronian and Senecan sentiments to several expressions of Pisander's. ^{3/} The

3. Cf. the notes to the passage, where specific citations explain the Stoic terminology involved.

first part of the passage (ll. 88-92) is a Stoic meditation upon the weakness of human fortune and the insecurity of those who,

like the three in question, have trusted in a future which rests only on the uncertain foundations of worldly possessions. Happy are those, continues Pisander, who prepare by inward virtue to bear either adversity or prosperity. Such an approach is, of course, that of the Stoic sage toward perfect constancy, and entire self-sufficiency through right reason. In fact the test of a virtuous man, according to Seneca, is his ability to bear any Fortune, to master all calamities.^{1/} The

1. Of Providence, chap. IV.

dependencia of Cleon, Corisca, and Asotus, on the goods that Fortune had given them constituted their error. They lacked that virtue in which the Stoics considered the summum bonum. They had been careless of the proposition which Seneca pronounced in Of Natural Questions: "Let no man therefore be confident in prosperitie, nor diffident in adversitie. The affaires of this world have their changes."^{2/} From Fortune we

2. Book III, chap. i, Lodge's translation, 1620.

may expect only fickleness. That prosperity often proves too much for the judgment and so wrecks one's happiness, as Pisander observes (ll. 99 ff.), was a commonplace in Stoic philosophy, typically expressed by Seneca:

"Adversitie hath never overthrowne any man; but him whom prosperity hath deceived. They that have loved her [Fortune's] presents as if they had bin perpetuall and properly theirs, who would have themselves respected by reason of those trifles; discomfort themselves incontinently when these false and frail delights abandon their feeble and childish under-standings, who know not what true pleasure is."¹ ✓

1. Of Consolation to Helvia, chap. V.

Pisander then explains that the slaves, in their new-found liberty and prosperity, are forgetting, as their masters had done, that all the external gifts of Fortune may be destroyed any moment, and those who depend on such "borrowed helps" (1:107) will be left wretched and dependent. Thus both classes, the rich Syracusans and the freed bondmen, offer examples of weakness that follows the lack of Stoic self-dependence. They are slaves of Fortune because they have only the goods which she has lent them (1. 110) and have failed to cultivate "a well-composed mind ... able to consist and dwell with herself,"² ✓ because

2. Seneca, Epistle, II; Lodge's translation, 1620.

they have not possessed riches as fleeting ~~as~~ benefits, and have not made "povertie familiar" so that they would "be more assuredly rich,"³ ✓ and because they have not founded "their

3. Seneca, Epistle XVIII.

boasted greatness" (l. 110) upon contempt for casual and accidental things, but have esteemed most highly those things which were not a part of themselves. They have proved true Cicero's statement that not only is Fortune blind herself but she also renders blind those whom she embraces, and that accordingly such persons are commonly puffed up with pride and insolence, thereby exposing themselves as the most intolerable of all things, fortunate fools. ✓¹

1. Cf. On Friendship, chap. XV.

Just as Massinger has used the Corisca-Cleon-Asotus story to illustrate the Stoic maxim that the gifts of Fortune are precarious foundations on which to build happiness, so he uses the correlated plot of the revolt of the slaves to express and approve the humanitarianism of later Roman Stoicism. ✓² These two

2. There may have been at the time The Bondman was written, some specific act of inhumanity toward slaves to call forth Massinger's extensive discussion in the play of the rights of a Bondman. It may be well to note that the African slave trade had begun in 1562 under Sir John Hawkins. Although Queen Elizabeth expressed concern lest any African be carried off without free consent, Hawkins continued to transport slaves. In the 16th century there had been extensive debates by the Franciscans and the Dominicans, as a result of the extensive trade in Spanish America. In 1618, five years before The Bondman was composed, a charter was granted Robert Rich and his associates, merchants of London, for the exclusive privilege of carrying on the trade from the coast of Guinea. And by 1626 the West India Company imported negroes among the burghers of New Amsterdam. The city owned shares in a slave ship and slaves

were sold at public auction. (Cf. Bryan Edward's West Indies, II, 47-52)

Stoic themes constitute, for the most part the ideas which Massinger through The Bondman seeks to impress on its spectators and readers.

There are three philosophies of slavery expounded in the play, that of Timoleon (I,iii,89-104; IV, 107-08, 113-124, 130-32) representing perhaps most nearly the Aristotelian attitude toward the bondmen, that of Cleora (I,iii,329-341, 343-359) approximating the Platonic theory of classes set forth in The Republic, and that of Pisander (II,iii,31-47; IV,ii,52-88) deriving certainly from Seneca and Plutarch, and perhaps, to some extent from Cicero, Epictetus, and Marcus Aurelius. These three positions are, however, inter-related; and owing to the very gradual change in the Greek's and the Roman's attitude toward the slave, it is almost impossible to say "Lo here" or "Lo there" in the search for a specific source among the ancient theories. Thus, in the 4th century, Alcidamus, the successor of Gorgias, in the rhetorical school, was the first to pronounce, in opposition to the common teaching, that "God sent out all men to be free; nature has made none a slave." Then Antisthenes and his followers declared that slavery is wrong; and out of their teachings came the Stoic point of view. Such a view, at least, was predominantly accepted by the Stoics in their desire to abolish social distinctions, but there was no one consistent philosophy among them, as a com-

parison of Cicero's and Seneca's writings on the subject shows.¹✓

1. Cf. Seneca, Epistles XLVII, XCV; Cicero, Duties of a Magistrate; Diogenes, Laertius, VI,5.

Timoleon is seemingly democratic in his initial statement concerning his hatred of those who would hold absolute powers over others (I,iii,87), but at the conclusion of the declaration in question and at the end of the play this position is somewhat modified. All men are born to an equal freedom, and as Nature's sons all should have access and lay claim to her bounteous blessings (ll. 90-93). Those who attempt to curb others' freedom for their own ends, continues Timoleon, in an apparently Stoical fashion, are rebels to Nature, and therefore, so follows the implication, are acting evilly (ll. 92-93). Yet the final import of this theory is not that there shall be no superior and inferior in society, that there shall be no differentiation in rank and employment; for a man may forfeit his birthright to freedom through vice (l.95). Justice decrees that the virtuous shall rule, and that those who are vicious must serve (ll. 96-97). One who rules and commands first of all must be absolute master of his passions, and must be endowed with courage and understanding (ll. 100-103). Thus, when¹ was obliged to deal with the bondmen he treated them not as equal enemies (IV, 11,108), but as wild beasts (l. 113) to be punished with

whips, and to be considered only as a part of one's wealth(1.132).

Examining Timoleon's view as a whole, one finds it somewhat inconsistent, involving both the aristocratic "property" idea of most of the early Greeks, and the democratic "natural rights" view of the opposite school. At least Timoleon's expression in Act IV coincides with Aristotle's pronouncement that a slave is but an instrument (although a living one) of the household, belonging wholly to his master.¹ Nor can the slave share in the state,

1. Cf. Aristotle's Politics, I, 3,4,5,6; III, 4,9; IV, 4.

for it exists for the good life. In the state that aimed at life only, slaves, as well as brute animals, could share. The slave has no independence, and not being a producer cannot share in the ideal state. A master must not be on friendly terms with a slave. A slave is a living tool.² But Aristotle is not always clear.

2. Ethics, VIII, 11.

At one time he states that there are some by nature slaves, born with defects that fit them only to minister with their bodies to the needs of life. Nature would like to distinguish in the bodies of freemen and slaves, but sometimes slaves have the souls or bodies of freemen.³ Thus, in this determinism, that some at

3. Politics, I, 5.

birth are marked for subjection, some for rule, Aristotle would not subscribe to Timoleon's view that all men lay claim to nature's gifts in equal freedom. But elsewhere he, like Timoleon, insists that those superior in virtue should be the rulers, and, again, like Timoleon, that such a distinction is both natural and just, because a virtuous master would combine both power and right.^{1/} The slavery which is unjust, continues Aristotle, is

1. Politics, I,6.

based on violence; so Timoleon decries those who "uzurpe on others liberties" [I,iii,91]. Elsewhere Aristotle treats of two kinds of slavery, slavery by ^{law} and nature, and admits that the noble often unjustly become slaves constitutionally. And despite the fact that, as Professor Jowett declares, Aristotle has not offered satisfactory conclusions to us or separated his own view from that of his opponents,^{2/} with the

2. Politics (ed. Jowett), I, xx-xxi).

exception of his tentative standpoint that nature intends some for slaves, Aristotle's theory of slavery apparently coincides with Timoleon's in three important aspects: the pronouncement of virtue as the basis of the ruler and the bondman, the denunciation of a class system which is based on violence, and the consideration of the vicious slave as the property of his virtuous lord.

Resembling Timoleon's view of the slave as essentially the property of a master or of the state, is Cleora's declaration on the place of bondmen in society. And something of the same resemblance exists between the political philosophy of Aristotle and Plato on the matter. Both philosophers pointed out that the slave had duties to perform which keep him dependent and relegate him to a class which must minister only to the physical necessities of life and must not covet the virtues of the nobler classes nor aim at the good life.¹ Yet Cleora's elu-

1. Cf. Aristotle's Politics, I, 13; IV, 4.

Plato, Laws, VI, 776, 777; Republic, VIII, 549.

cidation of the social theory in which the slaves in their relation to their masters are considered analagous to the passions' subservience to the reason, seems to be derived rather from Plato's full exposition on the matter in The Republic than from Aristotle's more meagre pronouncements in his Politics. Cleora asserts to the young nobles of Syracuse, those who should by their youthful spirit defend the state, that the honour of warfare is not open to base men, such as their labourers and slaves (I, iii, 331-38). The young courtiers have been born noble (l. 339), but the bondmen at highest value differ little from horses and beasts of burden (ll. 340-41). This lowest class has only the right to contend within itself, to see what slave can labour

hardest, and may expect only the reward of having performed menial tasks well (ll. 344-47). As artificers they are fit only for use and ornament (l. 349), not for noble tasks that involve the mind or spirit (l. 350-353), for which only the nobler classes were born (l. 354). Honour and patriotic defense require the heroic courage with which Nature has endowed only the freemen of Syracuse (ll. 354-59).

Cleora seems to have in mind Plato's idea of the state, corresponding as it does, with its labourers, warriors, and rulers, respectively to the three parts of the soul, the appetitive, the spirited, and the judicious. As these faculties are clearly differentiated so ought the three classes perform their own duties for the maintenance of the whole state. Justice consists in each doing its own part, according to Plato, and for a labourer to force his way into the class above him, the courageous warriors, tends toward the ruin of the perfect state. Cleora states the same idea: "Let them prove good artificers..." (I,iii,348). There should be temperance in the state as in the individual, the reason controlling the appetitive parts, or the wise and spirited men of the state controlling the appetitive class, or those who minister only to the body, the bondmen. So Cleora's emphatic appeal to the noble youth of Syracuse not to allow those of "meaner quality" to usurp their place rests chiefly on the theory that bondmen may perform only physical labour, and

the spirited youth of the city should achieve their function, for which their native courage fits them, in defending the country. Corresponding to Cleora's characterization of the slaves as "next to horses" is Plato's conception of them as a brute class with corrupt souls.¹ Any kindness showed to slaves should

1. Laws, VI, 776-77.

result not from any regard for them, but out of respect to ourselves, the masters, admonished Plato. Like Timoleon, Plato believed they should not be treated as freemen, but commanded in severe language, and likewise punished. The slavery of the Republic, moreover, like Cleora's, is villeinage, a tilling of the soil by men who are capable only of manual toil, and who must leave the guardianship of the state to those who do not possess merely minds imperfectly developed. Plato includes (as Cleora seems to do in her terms, "Labourers and Slaves") in this lower class all those who supplied the basic wants of food and clothing. The warrior class are the guardians of the city, brave and spirited, as Cleora urges the Syracusan youths to be.²

2. Cf. Republic, II, 368-376 and IV, 428-34, for Plato's outline of the duties of the classes.

Thus, while Cleora's and Timoleon's theories are in some respects similar, Cleora's conception of the state and the place

of bondmen in it seems most nearly allied to the general conception of Plato.

Opposing Aristotle's and Plato's general view of the bondman as merely a living tool born with a slavish Nature and only for service, there appeared, as has been noted, Antisthenes and the school of Cynics who believed in the potential equality of all men. These later philosophers declared that slavery is wrong. This line of teaching was adopted in the main by the Stoics, and Roman Stoicism and the growth of humane and friendly attitude between master and slave are usually associated together. This idealistic view, although in part enunciated by Timoleon, is elaborated in The Bondman by Pisander.

Pisander, as a basis for his theory of perfect relationship between inferior and superior, goes not to Nature as does Timoleon, but virtually to the same source when he sketches conditions that obtained in the Golden Age --- a period in which the Stoics often depicted the ideal state of the human race. At this time, according to Pisander's expression, the Ens Entium bound in the universe with a "Golden chayne" (II,iii,35).^{1/}

1. See the note to the line, in which Cicero and Seneca are Quoted in explanation of the figure.

As God has planned the universe each link in the chain must perform its specific function; and the failure of any part results

in a disruption of universal order. In the Golden Age such harmony prevailed: each man occupied an appropriate station in life, humanity lodged in the hearts of men, and creatures inferior in reason were carefully provided for by masters who numbered those who served them practically as equal to their sons (IV, ii, 53 ff.). But as the world grew older, individual ambition caused the stronger to tyrannize over the weaker, and the masters failed to consider the limitations of those over whom they had jurisdiction.¹ Hence the "goodly frame of

1. The Stoic sources of Pisander's exposition of the Golden Age, combined from Plutarch and Seneca, are quoted fully in the notes to the passage.

Concord" was broken (IV, ii, 70). As Pisander thus traces the beginning of slavery to "ods of strength in tyrants" (II, iii, 34) and to "pride" and "ryot" (IV, ii, 79), so Seneca attributed servitude to "ambition or injury."² Such a conception led

2. Epistle XXXI.

Pisander to the further Stoic conclusion, so fully expounded by Epictetus as well as by Seneca, that since all men are "fashion'd ... in one molde" by Nature, the mightiest master and the lowest slave are distinguished only by the "outward glosse and politticke forme;" all are truly equal and entitled to freedom (II, iii, 31, 32, 42). Such, too, is Timoleon's view of the natural

rights of man (I,iii,91), but he later, by branding the slaves as mere property, departs from his initial Stoic outlook. This universal brotherhood of mankind is discussed similarly by Seneca in his Benefits:

"All men have the same beginnings, and the same original; no man is more hoble than another, except it bee such an one that hath a better wit, and is more apt to Good Arts... We have all of us but one parent, which is heaven, whether it be by famous, or bare (? base) descent: every man conveys his first pedegree from it..." ¹✓

1. Book III, chap. XXXIII.

Apparently Pisander's conception of all men's nobility is derived from the numerous expressions of that idea in Stoic philosophy. Seneca's admission in the passage just quoted, moreover, that there is a superiority at least in the man who "hath a better wit" parallels Pisander's query as to the justice of those who "know the cause of thinges" paying tribute to "ignorant fooles" (II, iii,40,41).

Thus does Massinger incorporate into the play, through Pisander's speeches (in II,iii, and IV, ii) the Stoic doctrines concerning the origin, the basis, and the justice of slavery in its external aspects, in its relation to the social order. Besides Pisander's two eloquent declamations on legal bondage, however, other passages in the play present additional aspects of the Stoic teachings regarding slavery. Other characters introduce the problems, discussed by the Roman philosophers, that of the

possibility of a slave benefitting his master, that of the humane feeling due to an inferior, and, finally, that of the most serious kind of servitude, inward bondage.

Leosthenes' question to Cleora; "Do you call What was his duty, merit?" (IV,iii,158-59) and, in fact, the whole of Pisander's protection of Cleora, must be regarded in the light of the ancient question: how may a slave benefit his master. After discussing the matter and viewing it in the light of the several theories of social relationship of the time, Seneca, in his Benefits, arrives at the affirmative Stoic conclusion given by Cleora (IV,iii,159).¹ Moreover Cleora's, and later Archid-

1. See the note to IV,iii,158-59.

amus' esteem, for Pisander, and their gratitude for his protection (V,i,10 ff.), are not in accord with the severer views of slavery expressed generally in Greek philosophy which denied the slave the power of leading the good life.² Cleora, under

2. Cf., e.g., Aristotle's Politics, III,9.

influence of her personal admiration for Pisander, therefore virtually renounces her inhuman attitude toward the slaves, whom she formerly considered beasts,³ and conceded that a

3. I,iii,330 ff.

noble mind may exist in one in a slave's position, and that his services may be at times regarded not as mere duties but as the meritorious acts of one man to another.

The inhumanity of masters to their servants is a constantly recurring theme in The Bondman. It appears in the action both in Graculo's and Zanthia's sufferings (II,ii), and in Pisander's humiliation (IV, Ult. 58 ff.), and in Corisca's confession of her inhumanity (III,iii,111 ff.). Massinger's condemnation of such merciless treatment is evident. The slaves' rebellion is justified on this basis (V,iii,321-22); Corisca learns that kindness and pity are always to be used if possible (V,iii,237); and Pisander's tirade on the tyranny of the Syracusan masters and his plea for a return to the age when humanity lodged in the hearts of men (IV,ii,53,65) Massinger intends for us to take to heart. Similar sentiments may be found in Juvenal and Horace and many other Roman writers, but chiefly in the Roman Stoics proper. Seneca's writings are full of passages such as the following:

"It is an honour to know how to command a mans servants modestly, and in our slave we are to thinke not how much punishment he may endure and we inflict upon him without reproofs, but what nature of right and justice will permit thee! which commandeth us to spare our Captives and such whom washave bought ot be our bond-slaves. How much more just is it for thee not to abuse men free, ingenuous, and honest, as thybondmen? but to entertaine them, for such are under thy government, to defend them as thy subjects, and not afflict them as thy slaves.... Although wee have authoritie to doe what we list with our slaves, there is somewhat which the common right of living creatures permittoth us not to execute upon a man, because hee is of

the same nature that thou art." ¹✓

1. Of Clemencie, Bk. I, chap: XVIII (Lodge's translation, 1620.

Cicero, though he did not dwell on the subject as did Seneca, adhered to a less extent to the same school of humanitarian Stoicism. Be just to all mankind, he advises, --- even to slaves. ²✓

2. De Officiis, Bk. I, chap. XIV.

Yet Massinger does not allow this kindly philosophy of external slavery, the slavery of Fortune, --- stressed as much as it is in The Bondman --- to carry him into any such romantic illusions concerning the worth of the lower classes as does Pisander in the first part of the play (II, III, 40-42). Moreover, the dramatist takes care that Pisander himself is disabused of this democratic chimera. For it is after the hero has relied for the success of his entire plan on the courage of the slaves that he is brought to see the fundamental

"...baseness of
These villaines, who from the pride of all my hopes,
Have throwne me to the bottomlesse Abisse
Of horror, and despayre..." ³✓

3. IV, 111, 3-6.

Pisander had previously recognized two kinds of slavery, the inner, and the external, in trusting that his rebels were not

"Slaves in your abject mindes, as in your fortunes..."¹

1. III,iii,165.

And thus does Massinger emphasize slavery in its more significant form; mental bondage. And here, too, he is following the teachings of the Stoics, especially of Epictetus and Seneca, who recognized and hoped to alleviate the slavery of the state, but who still more stressed the necessity of a free mind, self-sufficient in Virtue. The servitude from which the bondmen, Cymbrio and Gracculo, sought to escape is only half servitude:

"He is deceived, whosoever thinketh that servitude taketh possession over the whole man: the better part of him is exempted. The bodies are subject and obliged to their masters, but the mind is privileged in itself: which is so free and restlesse, that it cannot be restrained in this prison, wherein it is inclosed: it cannot bee held from his forces, and performing great matters, and passing beyond all bounds, as companion of the celestiall Gods. It is the bodie therefore that Fortune hath submitted to the Master, This bought he, this selleth he: that interior part cannot be bought, sold, or suffer servitude. Whatsoever issueth from that is free: for neyther can our bond-men be compelled to obey us in all things: they are not bound to execute that which shall be prejudiciall for the common weale: they are not tyed to assist any wicked and insolent action."²

2. Of Benefits, chap.XX, (Lodge's translation, 1620).

Cicero expresses the same truth in Paradox V, in discussing the dictum that all wicked men are slaves: obedience to a disordered, abject mind, destitute of self-control, is the true slavery; only those who have lofty, exalted souls, intrenched in virtue,

neither can be or ought to be slaves. Old Cleon, Corisca, and Asotus proved themselves abject-minded in their dependence on lust, riches, and cruel domination for their happiness. But as soon as Cymbrio, Gracculo, and Zanthia had gained their liberty they, too, proved themselves abject-minded in their unbounded license and in their refusal to recognize any authority in their new-found freedom (III,iii,passim). Pisander's ill-founded belief in the slaves' mental steadfastness almost cost him his life, and Timoleon's recognition and knowledge of the cowardice of a slavish nature gained for the Syracusans their victory through a mere ruse which reminded the bondmen of their former state.

Thus The Bondman offers as a conclusive philosophy of slavery not a belief in the essential equality of all men. The play recognizes rather a necessity in social distinctions based on virtue and intelligence, but calls for the most humane treatment on the part of the master. It deplores most not the slavery of Fortune which controls a man's body, but the abject mind which fixes itself not on Virtue and right Reason, but on the gifts of Fortune, and thereby lends itself a prey to misery by such dependence. Clearly Massinger derived his ideas from classic, and especially Stoic sources.

Next in importance to Fortune and slavery, from the point of view of classic ideas, in The Bondman, is the idea of friendship which is implicit in the relationship between Timagoras and Leos-

thenes if not always fully expressed as such. Their significance as a pair of youths who have adopted the formal obligations and mystical philosophy of classic friendship is evident throughout the drama whenever the two are thrown together. In the opening lines of the play Leosthenes speaks of the fullness and high seriousness of their association:

"When I have said my friend; think all is spoken
That may assure me yours;..."¹

1. I,1,6,7.

Timagoras reassures Leosthenes of the perfect devotion which their friendship elicits from him, and reviews the history of his past affection toward him, insisting that he is entirely at his friend's service:

"I am thine, (and pardon me
Though I repeat it thy Timagoras)..."²

2. I,1,25,26.

On their return from the victory over the Carthaginians Timagoras warmly praises Leosthenes for his valour (III,iv,1-7), and in the same scene assures him that he is ever his "creature" (III,iv,78). And again, when he feels that his sister's honour has been justly questioned, Timagoras prefers the continuance of their friendship and Leosthenes' peace of mind beyond any advantage that he, his sister, or his family might secure from the

marriage of Cleora to his friend (V,1,81-86). On each occasion when Leosthenes protests his own unworthiness, Timagoras bolsters up his courage and asserts his right to Cleora.

In this peculiarly close comradeship Timagoras and Leosthenes are the first of Massinger's exemplars of friendship. The fullest expression of the theme, especially in its philosophic aspects, is found in A Very Woman, in the friends Pedro and Antonio, who discourse on the "idea of perfect friendship,"^{1/} and refer to

1. A Very Woman, II,1.

the precedents set by the ancients in this virtue. In The Bashful Lover Farneze and Uberti are assured of the real "substance" of friendship.^{2/} The seriousness of a break in the bonds of such

2. V, 1.

an ideal friendship is pictured in the terrible revenge of Montreville upon his former friend, Malefort in The Unnatural Combat. Montrose and Cleremond in The Parliament of Love constitute a pair of friends almost estranged by the tendency of one of them to place love above friendship.

So diffused was the idea of classic friendship in the Renaissance that it would be difficult to attempt to establish those to whom Massinger is indebted for the versions which he gives us in his plays.^{3/} Plato^{4/} and Aristotle^{5/} had been the first to

3. Cf the full treatment of classic origins by L.J.Mills in The

Renaissance Development in England of the Classical Ideas about Friendship. University of Chicago Thesis (Ph.D.), 1925.

4. Symposium and Lyrics.

5. Nichomachean Ethics, Bks. VIII, IX.

give friendship a place in philosophic thought, but thereafter it is often found in discussions of virtues by classic and Renaissance writers. Aristotle's conception of friendship as one of the private virtues existing between two persons, ideal insofar as it is intimate, and based on virtue, intimacy, and the life of action for a friend is sufficient to account for such expressions of personal obligation, absolute devotion, and service as have been summarized above in the statements of Leosthenes and Timagoras. But Cicero's De Amicitia was extremely influential in Renaissance thought on the subject, with its evaluation of friendship as more desirable than any earthly thing:

"...he who looks on a true friend looks as it were upon a kind of image of himself...

"True friendships are eternal.

"A friend is a second self..."¹ ✓

1. De Amicitia, chaps. VII, IX, XXII (translated C.R. Edmonds, in Harper's Classical Library).

Seneca, following Plato and Aristotle, likewise insists on the ideal character of true friendship, and it may be that Massinger, as often elsewhere, uses that Stoic's writings for suggestions of

the virtue which Timagoras and Leosthenes exemplify: Only the wise can be friends; when one accepts a friend's lover "discover unto him readily thy whole heart, and as boldly communicate thy secrets with him, as with thy selfe." ^{1/} "Do not forsake (thy

1. Epistle III, (Lodge's translation, 1620).

friend) in Adversities." ^{2/} "It avail much to perfect that in-

2. Of Benefits, Bk. VI, chap. xxxiv.

terior society of friendship." ^{3/} "Nothing will so much delight

3. Epistle XLVII.

the mind as a faithful and pleasing friendship," ^{4/} Seneca else-

4. On Tranquillitie of the Mind, chap. VII.

where insists, too, on the devotional aspect of friendship, holding that the end of such a relation is to have one for whom one may expose oneself "to danger and death." ^{5/} In the same tra-

5. Epistle IX.

dition Guevara discusses, in The Golden Booke of Marcus Aurelius, ^{6/}

6. pp. 359-60.

the unity of soul in two friends. And the Platonic teaching concerning it is revived in The Courtier, where it is championed by Syr Fridericke, who laments the unlucky state of men were it to depart, urges it as requisite for the Renaissance gentlemen who must make it "endure untill death...no lesse then those manne of olde time," shows its necessary limitations to two people, and explains the necessity of a friend's forbearance and humility. ¹✓

1. The Courtier, (tr.Hoby), Bk.II, pp.137 ff., Tudor Translations.

In England of Massinger's day there were numerous summaries of the doctrine, such as the one in Greene's Morando (1584).

Such, summarily, was the traditional philosophy which came to Massinger. In Timagoras' and Leosthenes' mutual devotion, confidence, and willingness to sacrifice, Massinger represents the chief points of the classic teaching as it was received by the Renaissance. Although later treatments, seem to point to a specific source, such as the definitely Aristotelian friendship of A Very Woman, the virtue as it is represented in The Bondman is so generalized and concerns itself with such common principles of the tradition, that it cannot be definitely traced to a classic original. ²✓

2. Other classical ideas appear at times in The Bondman. On account of their infrequent appearance, however, they require no generalized discussion in this introduction, inasmuch as notes to the specific passages, such as Cleora's description of temperance (IV,iii,124), explain the classic conceptions involved.

It has been demonstrated, I believe, to what extent Massinger relied on classic and especially Stoic thought for the fundamental precepts which he sought to inculcate by the action of The Bondman. How definite a part of Massinger's personal philosophy of life these Stoic views form it is difficult to say. How thoroughly his life was actuated by the dicta of Stoic teachers is a problem that defies definite answer because of the scant record that survives concerning his doings among his fellows. That he subscribed in his belief to the Stoic way of life is the logical conclusion to be drawn from its significant place in all his plays. This fact has been already noted. But whether Massinger's whole nature was completely gripped by the spirit of classic and Stoic philosophy, as such men as Gréville and Dyer appear to have been, seems less certain. So often does the Stoicism of his characters tend toward somewhat declamatory preachments and didacticisms in the Stoic vein---for instance, Pisanter's extended review of human relationships in the light of Stoic teachings (III, i, 86 ff.) --- that one is led to feel a certain philosophic detachment in the attitudes of the characters themselves. Their actions are rarely, it seems, the spontaneous result of fixed philosophic convictions. That Massinger's own case was similar does not, of course, logically follow. His inability to weld the thoughts and actions of a character into a unified personality with consistent practices may be due to his

lack of the art of impressive characterization. But the same divergence may have been a part of the author's character. That he knew much of classic philosophy is unquestionable, and that he revered its major principles is equally certain, but the rhetorical use to which his characters often put it per se suggests that Massinger likewise may have been rather drawing on his store of philosophic doctrines to serve as basic precepts for stirring eloquence than expressing his own inner convictions which both life and learning had implanted in him. In other words, his Stoicism, like Pisander's, however serious and however much revered, impresses one as being largely theoretic. And lacking the test of experience, as does Pisander's philosophy of slavery, it is often the less convincing.

VI. FINAL ESTIMATE.

Perhaps no play of Massinger's is more typical of his art than the Bondman. It represents him at his best and at his worst. Its beautifully eloquent passages, its high moral theme, and its swift action are probably the qualities which account for its inclusion in a recent anthology of twenty-six great English plays,¹ and led Swinburne to deem it, with one exception,

1. Great English Plays, Selected by H. Rubinstein. London, 1929.

the best of Massinger's plays.² And, on the other hand, its

2. "Philip Massinger," in The Fortnightly Rev., III (July, 1889).

flat imitation of ribald Fletcherian comedy, and the artificiality and pretentiousness of its characters are sufficient justification for Professor Allardyce Nicoll's remark that "No play, perhaps, better illustrates the descent of the drama than does this." ¹

1. British Drama, p. 137.

The Bondman, too, offers evidence, and is truly indicative of, Massinger's methods of dramatic composition. Apparently, in the composition of his plays, he proceeded from the general to the particular, from the abstract to the actual. Thus, beginning with an ethical idea, he sought an action and characters with which to illustrate it. Consequently, one finds in Massinger's plays, and especially in The Bondman, an abundance of philosophic utterance, all bearing somehow on the moral theme of the play. In the present tragi-comedy, as I have tried to point out elsewhere, ² Massinger attempts to reveal the nature of true freedom and slavery. This underlying problem is constantly discussed by the characters, too often with little provocation; and the equally sententious statements of the wise and the foolish, the thoughtful and thoughtless, often mar the effectiveness and distinctiveness of the characterization. Indeed, the reality of the characters, in Massinger's eyes, was subservient to the point of his departure, the moral idea. The plot,

2. See V, CLASSICAL IDEAS.

Too, often suffers from improbable wtenchings in order that the moral may be stressed. A case in point is that of Corisca, who suddenly turns from a courtesan's life of sensual pleasure into a mature Stoic sage.^{1/} No one of the dramatis personae, of Mas-

1. Cf. III,111,56 ff.

singer's theatre more clearly validates Leslie Stephen's charge that this dramatist's characters all display an easy "convertibility."^{2/}

2. Hours in a Library, II,156 ff.

Massinger's characters, moreover, betray the same mode of creation. First and foremost conceived as types, they are often unconvincing when the realistic details of individual characters are imposed upon them. Even in his tragedies, Massinger seems never entirely to have freed himself from the "humour" characterization which he adopted from Jonson to use to good effect in his The City Madam and A New Way to Pay Old Debts. Certainly the characters in The Bondman all too easily fall into the groove of comic and tragi-comic types. The high-minded Timoleon verges dangerously near the typical chivalric lover who is devoted to his mistress in a pure Platonic fashion, wears her colours in battle, and finds in her, angelic inspiration. Leosthenes is the ideal courtier of the Renaissance, devoted to his saint, born of

a noble family, accomplished and handsome, but possessing also the usual characteristics of the jealous lover found so frequently in the drama of the time. Again, he and Timagoras are representative of the idea of perfect friendship. As a pair of friends they serve to give expression to this important philosophy inherited from classic times.¹ In the low comedy of The Bondman,

1. See V, CLASSICAL IDEAS.

too, the types still persist. The most interesting and successful is Corisca, the typical Elizabethan courtesan who marries an old man for his wealth. Constantly Massinger reminds us that Corisca is one of her "tribe" (IV, Ult., 44): there is the reference to the short heels (I, ii, 3), to her chapped lips (I, ii, 23), to her garden house (I, iii, 52), to her use of ambergris (IV, Ult., 26-29), ---all of which had implications which Massinger's audience well understood inasmuch as they were part of the stock description of similar characters of the day. Cleon and Asotus were equally as familiar to Massinger's audience, the first as the rich old wittol, the second as the foolish lover (cf. Sylli in The Maid of Honour).

In his two major characters, Pisander and Cleora, Massinger again has fallen far short of greatness in delineation. Both are intent on making fine speeches, and in this way, rather than through specific actions, they contribute to the impression of

the ideas embodied in the play. And, although Restoration audiences were charmed with the two characters when Betterton and his wife played the parts,¹ a closer examination of their

I. See III, STAGE HISTORY.

motives shows them insincere and equivocal. Cleora, apparently in love with Leosthenes, too easily becomes enamoured of Pisander, and her desertion of Leosthenes on grounds of jealousy is obviously a rationalization of her own impulsive infatuation for her bondman. This is clearly evident in her soliloquy in V, i, 25-34. Her maidenly innocence and modesty, which she claims for herself in the beginning of the play (I, iii, 269 ff), in the light of her subsequent aggressiveness and officiousness in dealing with both Leosthenes and Pisander, seem merely a pose. Pisander, too, equally lacks straight-forwardness. To Timandra he confesses his motive for inciting the rebellion, to possess Cleora; and at the same time he invents a plausible fabrication for his own defense if he should fail, that of teaching the Syracusans a lesson and thereby preventing future servile rebellions (III, ii, 15 ff., and V, Ult., 220 ff.). Pisander is a hero who deliberately involves his mistress in difficulties over which he alone has control and then lands himself for his temperance in not forcing her love. Koepfel has rightly concluded that Pisander's seeking justification for his conduct is a very unhappy one, and that his whole scheme makes him appear a most inconsiderate play-fellow

with the goods and lives of his fellowmen.¹ Pisander's chief.

1. Quellen-Studien zu den Dramen George Chapman's, Philip Massinger's und John Ford's, pp. 95-97.

claim to glory is neither his temperance nor his love, but his eloquent expression of Stoic doctrines and ideas. Yet in character he follows the Stoic ideal afar off. Massinger, in this instance, has again sacrificed consistency of character in order to present through the mouth of his hero an idealistic conception of human slavery.

Statilia, Pisander's sister and aid in his scheme, also fails to elicit the sympathy that one in her position would usually merit. Perhaps, again, there is the same lack of ingenuousness and stability in her character that is found in Pisander and Cleora. As Koeppe² has noticed, her principle of action

2. ibid., loc.cit.

is that the end justifies the means ---a view none too consistent with the character of exemplary dramatic heroines.

It is evident, then, that Massinger has been somewhat unfortunate in the handling of his love plot and characters. It is a source of regret to Koeppe that a source for the Pisander-Cleora story cannot be discovered so that the entire blame will not rest on Massinger. Perhaps the weaknesses of structure may be due to

Massinger's endeavor to work independently in a Fletcherian manner. The two dramatists had been collaborating frequently before the composition of The Bondman.¹ Now left to independent

1. According to a consensus of recent criticism Massinger and Fletcher probably had worked together in the following plays before 1623: Thierry and Theoderet(1617); The Knight of Malta (before 1619); Sir John van Olden Barnavelt(1619); The Custom of the Country(1620); The False One(1620; The Prophetress(1622); The Little French Lawyer(1620); The Spanish Curate(1622).

workmanship, Massinger naturally follows in the elder dramatist's steps. Thus he adheres to Fletcher's general method in using a historic character and event (Timoleon and his delivery of Sicily) as his point of departure, and, against this background, constructing a romantic story with fictitious characters and a tragicomic conclusion. And, although he has skillfully reconstructed the material of his sources for one thread of his plot, he has failed to weave in harmoniously the material of his own invention.

Moreover, the scenes of low comedy are decidedly after Fletcherian style, especially II,ii, in which Corisca attempts to lead her stepson into sin. But Massinger's mind was not Fletcher's mind, and his imitation of the coarse situations of the latter dramatist's comedy failed because in tone these vulgar scenes are essentially foreign to Massinger's serious genius.

As Leslie Stephen has written, such attempts by Massinger at humour are "at once dull and dirty."¹ Thus, what of failure

1. Hours in a Library, II, 156.

there is in The Bondman in plot and situation, may at least partially be ascribed to Massinger's early attempt to work independently of Fletcher, and to follow as a model a dramatist who wrote in a vein foreign to the spirit of Massinger's finest art.

Despite these technical faults, however, The Bondman repays the careful reader. Especially in its illuminating picture of the decadence of England in the days of James I, and in its presentation of an essentially sound and proved philosophy of human freedom, the play shows itself to be the composition of a thoughtful and high-minded dramatist.

VII. TEXTUAL NOTE.

The aim of this edition of The Bondman has been to present a definitive text of the play. For this text the first quarto (1624) has served as a basis. I have examined three copies of this first edition, owned respectively by the Huntington Library, the Princeton Library, and the Morgan Library. The texts vary in correctness, and each is superior in some respects to the other two. The Morgan quarto, however, has the fewest errors, and is a comparatively accurate edition. The author's friend, W.B., in

his "Epistle to the Reader" implies that Massinger himself supervised the printing of the first quarto. ¹ A comparison of the

1. See p.5, ll. 19,20.

three first editions substantiates W.B.'s remark. Practically every one of the eleven sheets (A-L) has been corrected in at least one of the three quartos, so that from the three a fairly perfect quarto may be secured. A comparative examination of the separate quarto sheets reveals the following corrected and uncorrected:

- Sheet A. Huntington quarto superior, showing two corrections over the Morgan and Princeton quartos.
- " B. Only one side of the sheet is corrected. The Morgan quarto here shows seven corrections over the Huntington and Princeton quartos.
- " C. Both sides are corrected. The Morgan and Princeton quartos on one side show ten corrections over the Huntington; on the other side the Morgan quarto shows thirty corrections over the Huntington, but only twenty-one over the Princeton quarto, which has therefore been partially corrected.
- " D. One side only shows revision. The Huntington quarto here is superior, having two corrections over the Morgan, and three over the Princeton, quarto.
- " E. One side only shows corrections. The Huntington and Morgan are superior in three places to the Princeton quartos.
- " F. One side shows corrections. The Princeton quarto here is superior, showing three corrections over the Morgan, and nine over the Huntington, quarto.

- Sheet G. Same throughout on both sides.
- " H. One side only shows corrections. The Morgan and Princeton quartos have seven corrections over the Huntington.
- " I. Each side has one correction. The Princeton quarto is superior in both instances to the Morgan and Huntington quartos.
- " K. One side shows corrections. The Morgan and Princeton quartos are superior, showing two corrections over the Huntington.
- " L. One side only shows corrections. The Morgan and Princeton quartos are again superior, showing six corrections over the Huntington text.

These conclusions, involving some eighty revisions in the first edition as it went through the press, have been used as the starting point in the preparation of the critical text, or, in other words, of the play as Massinger would have wished it printed.

Almost invaluable have been the autograph corrections which Massinger himself made on a copy of the first quarto. According to Doctor W.W.Greg, who recently published the list of 360 corrections made in The Bondman and seven other plays which were possibly bound together for presentation to Massinger's friend or patron,¹ the revisions are undoubtedly autograph. The quarto

1. "More Massinger Corrections," Library, V (Fourth Series, 1925), 59-95.

of The Bondman, however, which Massinger used, is a copy which is composed of the first sheets from the press, since the dram-

artist has had to correct with his pen many inaccuracies which extant quartos (the three which I have examined, and also copies in the British Museum) show were altered in the process of printing. Moreover, Massinger's revision was evidently a hasty one, for he has often overlooked obvious errors, and, in some instances, has made additional mistakes in his alterations.¹ The fifty-nine

1. Cf. IV,i,21; ii,128.

corrections, however, have been very useful, in checking both changes made in the printing of the first edition and the emendations of later editors, and have in some instances cleared up serious textual difficulties.

The second quarto (1638) is a careless reprinting of an uncorrected first quarto, and consequently offers little help in the preparation of a definitive text. Words and, at times, lines are omitted. The spelling is modernized; the modern "j" replaces the consonantal "i", the modern "u" replaces the vocalic "v," the modern "v" replaces the consonantal "u," of the first quarto. The second quarto seems not to have been supervised in the printing. The five copies which I have examined (two owned by the Huntington Library, two by the Rosenbach Company of New York, and one by the Library of Congress) reveal only two significant differences, one in spelling ("pride," IV,iii,4), and the other in the addition of a speech-tag ("Gracc." V,Ult.,245). The copies

of the quarto fall into one of two groups: in one are the Huntington copy owned by the Booksellers, Blackmore, the Rosenbach copy owned by the bookseller, Harrison, and the Washington copy owned by the bookseller, Blackmore; in the other are the Huntington copy owned by the bookseller, Harrison, and the Rosenbach copy owned by the Bookseller, Blackmore. The first group have the text corrected in the two instances cited above; in the latter two copies, it is unaltered.

Other editions which have been collated and used in establishing the present text are: the 1719 adaptation, which is almost negligible since it is an extremely free reworking of the play; Coxeter's & Mason's, and Gifford's editions, each of which has played its part in the evolution of a correct text, despite Gifford's mockery of his two predecessors; Cunningham's and Rubinstein's, which are essentially repetitions of Gifford's 1813 edition.

The first quarto text in its corrected form, therefore, is virtually reproduced in the present edition. In addition, however, I have accepted all but one of the autograph corrections. Yet obvious errors still remained after the above changes, and it was necessary to accept the second quarto reading as authentic in a few instances and to add a very few emendations in punctuation based on my own judgment or on that of later editors. All departures from the 1624 quarto are fully explained and justified, I

believe, either in the footnotes or in the annotations following the text. And all significant variant readings of editions later than the first, whether adopted or not, are recorded in the textual notes. Whenever only a brief explanation of a textual matter has been necessary, I have placed it, for the sake of convenient reference, in the footnotes. Longer textual discussions are included in the general annotations. The first quarto spellings have been retained throughout. Modern "s's," however, have been substituted for the old "f's" of the quarto. A few inverted "e's," "n's," and "u's" have been righted without comment. Other emendations, such as the rearrangement of lines, are explained in the notes.

Only in a very few instances has the original punctuation been altered. When considered in the light of Mr. Percy Simpson's explanation of the Elizabethan system,¹ which was rhythmi-
cal and

1. Shakespearean Punctuation.

cal and rhetorical in character rather than grammatical, the punctuation of the first quarto offers few difficulties. I have freely referred to Mr. Simpson's treatise whenever the quarto system seems illogical, and in instances where it confuses the modern reader I have commented on the fact in a textual footnote.

TEXTUAL SYMBOLS.

Q₁ - First quarto, 1624.

HQ₁. Copy owned by Huntington Library.
 PQ₁. " " " Princeton " .
 MQ₁. " " " Morgan " .

Q₂ - Second quarto, 1638.

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 HB. Huntington Library copy, printed for Blackmore.
 HH. " " " " " Harrison.
 RB. Rosenbach — " — " " " Blackmore.
 RH. " — " — " " " Harrison.
 WB. Congressional " " " " Blackmore.

C. Coxeter's edition.

M. Mason's edition.

G. Gifford's edition (1813).

An. Massinger's autograph corrections.

7
 Other editor's readings are referred to by name.

THE
BOND-MAN:
AN
ANTIENT STORIE.

As it hath been often Acted with good
allowance, at the Cock-pit in Drury-lane:
by the most Excellent Princesse, the Lady
ELIZABETH her
Seruants.

By Phillip Massinger.

DEVICE

LONDON,
Printed by Edw: Allde, for Iohn Harison and
Edward Blackmore, and to be sold at the great
South dore of Pauls.

1 6 2 4.

DEVICE

THE ACTORS NAMES.

Timolion, the Generall of Corinth.
 Archidamus, the Pretor of Siracusa.
 Diphilus, a Senator of Siracusa.
 Cleon, a fat impotent Lord.
 Pisander, (disguise) a Gentleman of Thebes. 5
 Leosthenes, a Gentleman of Siracusa enamoured of
Cleora.
 Asotus, a foolish Louer, and the sonne of Cleon.
 Timagoras, the Sonne of Archidamus.
 Cleora, Daughter of Archidamus. 10
 Corisca, a proud wanton Lady, wife to Cleon.
 Olimpia, a Rich Widdow.
 Statilia, Sister to Pisander, slave to Cleora.
 Zanthia, Slave to Corisca.
 Poliphron, (disguise) friend to Pisander. 15
 Gracculo,
 Cimbrio. Bond-men.
 A Iaylor,

-
1. Timolion. Q2, C.M.G, Timoleon.
 5. Gifford, 1805, reads: Pisander, a gentleman of Thebes; disguised as a slave, and named Marullo.
 Gifford, 1813, reads: Marullo, the Bondman (i.e. Pisander, a gentleman of Thebes; disguised as a slave.)
 Throughout the latter edition Gifford accordingly uses "Marullo" for "Pisander" until his disguise is abandoned.
 13. Gifford, 1805, reads: Statilia, Sister to Pisander, slave to Cleora; and named Timandra.
 Gifford, 1813, reads: Timandra, slave to Cleora (i.e. Statilia, sister to Pisander.)
 Throughout the latter edition Gifford accordingly uses "Statilia" for "Timandra" until her disguise is abandoned.
 Gifford adds: Other Slaves, Soldiers, Officers, Senators.
 SCENE, Syracusa, and the adjacent country.
 He also changes the order of characters.

DEVICE

T O

The Right Honourable, my singular
 good Lord, PHILIP Earle of Mountgomery,
 Knight of the most Noble order of the
 Garter, &c.

Right Honourable,



ow euer I could neuer arriue at the
 happinesse to be made knowne to
 your Lordship, yet a desire borne
 with me, to make tender of all du-
 ties, and seruice, to the Noble Family of the Her-
berts, descended to me as an inheritance from my
 dead Father, Arthur Massinger. Many yeares hee
 happily spent in the seruice of your Honourable
 House, and dyed a seruant to it; leauing his, to be
 euer most glad, and ready, to be at the command
 of al such, as deriue themselues from his most ho-
 nour'd Master, your Lordships most noble Father.
 The consideration of this, encouraged me (hauing
 no other meanes to present my humblest seruice
 to your Honour) to shrowde this trifle, vnder the
 wings

5

10

15

A 3

5. Herberts. PQ₁, MQ₁, Harberts; HQ₁, Q₂, C,M,G,Herberts.
 7. Arthur. Q₁, C,G, Arthur; Q₂, M, Philip. Coxeter, however,
 in his list of errata says "for Arthur read Philip". See
 the note to this passage.

9. leauing his. M, leauing His Son.

11. honour'd. PQ₁, MQ₁, honourd; Q₂, HQ₁, honour'd; C,G,
 honoured; M, honourable.

12. Q₂ omits "most noble".

14. humblest. Q₂, humble.

The Epistle Dedicatorie.

wings of your Noble protection; and I hope out
of the clemency of your Heroique disposition, it
will finde, though perhaps not a welcome enter-
tainment, yet at the worst a gracious pardon.

When it was first Acted, your Lordships liberall
suffrage taught others to allow it for currant, it
hauing receaued the vndoubted stampe of your
Lordships allowance: and if in the perusall of any
vacant houre, when your Honours more serious
occasions shall giue you leaue to reade it, it an-
swer in your Lordships iudgement, the report and
opinion it had vpon the Stage, I shall esteeme
my labours not ill imployde, and while I liue
continue,

20

25

The humblest

of those

That truly honour your Lordship.

Philip Massinger.

DEVICE

The Authors Friend to the
Reader.

The Printers haste calls on; I must not drive
My time past Sixe, though I begin at Fiu.
One houre I haue entire; and 'tis enough,
Here are no Gipsie Iigges, no Drumming stuffe,
Dances, or other Trumpery to delight, 5
Or take, by common way, the common sight.
The Avthor of this Poem, as he dares
To stand th'austerest Censure; so he cares,
As little what it is. His owne, Best way 10
Is to be Iudge, and Avthor of his Play.
It is his Knowledge, makes him thus secure;
Nor do's he write to please, but to endure.
And (Reader) if you haue disburs'd a shilling,
To see this worthy Story, and are willing
To haue a large encrease; (if rul'd by me) 15
You may a Marchant, and a Poet be.
'Tis granted for your twelue-pence you did sit,
And See, and Heare, and Vnderstand not yet.
The Avthor (in a Christian pittty) takes
Care of your good, and Prints it for your sakes. 20
That such as will but venter Six-pence more,
May Know, what they but Saw, and Heard before;
'Twill not be money lost, if you can reed,
(Ther's all the doubt now,) but your gaines exceed
If you can Vnderstand, and you are made 25
Free of the freest, and the noblest Trade.
And in the way of Poetry, now adaves,
Of all that are call'd Workes the best are Playes.

DEVICE

The Bond-man.

Actus Primi. Scaena Prima.

Enter Timagoras, and Leosthenes.Timagoras.

Hy should you droope Leosthenes, or dispaire
 My Sisters fauour? What before you purchased
 By Court-ship, and faire language in these Wars,
 (For from her soule you know she loues a Souldier)
 You may deserue by action:

Leost.Good Timagoras

5

When I haue said my friend; thinke all is spoken
 That may assure me yours; and pray you beleue
 The dreadfull voice of warre that shakes the City,
 The thundring threates of Carthage; nor their Army
 Raisde to make good those threats, affright not me.
 If faire Cleora were confirmd his prize,
 That has the strongest Arme, and sharpest Sword,
 I would court Bellona in her Horrid-trime,
 As if she were a Mistrisse, and blesse Fortune
 That offers my young valour to the prooffe,
 How much I dare doe for your Sisters loue.
 But when that I consider how auerse
 Your noble Father great Archidamus;
 Is, and hath euer beene to my desires;
 Reason may warrant me to doubt and feare:
 What seeds soeuer I sowe in these warres
 Of Noble courage, his determinate will

10

15

20

B

Stage direction. Timagoras. Q₁, Timagorus; Q₂, C, M, G,
Timagoras.

Gifford prefixes the following setting:

The Camp of Timoleon, near Syracuse.Speech-tag. Timagoras. Q₁, Timagorus; Au, Q₂, C, M, Timagoras.

3. Modern punctuation requires a comma after "language"
 and not after "Wars".

5. Timagoras. Q₁, Timagorus; Au, Q₂, C, M, G, Timagoras.

For the colon after "action" see the note.

13. Horrid-trime. So Q₁, Q₂. C, M, G, horrid trim.

18. Archidamus. Modern punctuation would not require so
 heavy a stop after Archidamus. See the note.

21. these. Q₁, this; Q₂, C, M, G, these.

May blast, and giue my haruest to another
That neuer toyld for it.

Timag. Prethes doe not nourish
These iealous thoughts; I am thine, (and pardon me
Though I repeate it thy Timagoras)

25

That for thy sake, when the bold Theban su'd
Farre fam'd Pisander, for my sisters loue,
Sent him disgrac'd, and discontented home.
I wrought my Father then, and I that stopt not
In the careere of my affection to thee,
When that renowned Worthy that brought with him
High birth, wealth, courage, as fee'd Aduocates
To mediate for him, neuer will consent
A foole that only has the shape of man,
Asotus, though he be rich Cleons Heire
Shall beare her from thee.

30

Enter Pisander.

Leos. In that trust I liue,

Timag. Which neuer shall deceiue you.

Pisander. Sir the Generall

Timoleon by his Trumpets hath giuen warning
For a remoue..

Timagoras. 'Tis well, prouide my Horse.

40

Pisander. I shall Sir.

Exit Pisander.

Leost. This Slaue has a strange aspect.

Timag. Fit for his fortune, 'tis a strong limm'd knaue;
My Father bought him for my Sisters Litter.

O pride of women! Coaches are too common,
They surfet in the happinesse of peace,
And Ladyes thinke they keepe not state enough,
If for their pompe, and ease, they are not borne
In triumph on mens shoulders.

45

Leost. Who Commands

The Carthaginian Fleet?

Timag. Giscos their Admirall,
And tis our happinesse: a rawe young fellow,
One neuer traind in Armes, but rather fashiond
To tilt with Ladyes lips, then cracke a Launce,
Rauish a Feather from a Mistresse Fanne

50

26. Thy Timagoras. So Q₁,G; Q₂, my Timagoras; C,M, my Leosthenes.
Modern punctuation requires a comma after "it". See the note.

32. M omits "that". See the note.

37. liue. Q₁,Q₂,C,G, loue; Au,M, liue. For the comma after
"liue" see the note.

38. Pisander. Gifford reads Marullo instead of Pisander until
V,iii,163.

49. Giscos. Q₂,C,M,G, Gisco's.

51. traind. Q₂, train'd up.

52. then. Modernized to "than" in Q₂, and in all later editions
here and throughout the text.

And weare it as a Fauour; a steele Helmet
Made horrid with a glorious Plume, will cracke
His womans necke.

55

Leost. No more of him, the motiue's
That Corinth giues vs ayde:

Timag. The common danger
For Sicily being afire, she is not safe;
It being apparant that ambitious Carthage,
That to enlarge her Empire, striues to fasten
An vniust gripe on vs (that liue free Lords
Of Syracusa) will not end, till Greece
Acknowledge her their Soueraigne.

60

Leost. I am satisfied.
What thinke you of our Generall?

Timag. He is a man A Trumpet sounds.
Of strange and reserude parts; But a great Souldier.
His Trumpets call vs, I'll forbear his Character.
To morrow in the Senate house at large,
He will expresse himselfe.

65

Leost. Ile follow you. Exeunt.

ACTVS I. SCAENA II.

Cleon, Corisca, Gracculo.

Corisca. Nay good Chucke.

Cleon. I haue said it; Stay at home,
I cannot brooke this gadding, you are a faire one,
Beauty inuites temptation, and short haeles
Are soone tripd vp.

Corisca. Deny me? by my honour
You take no pittie on me. I shall swoune
As soone as you are absent, aske my Man else,
You know he dares not tell a lie.

5

Gracculo. Indeed,
You are no sooner out of sight, but shee
Does feeble strange qualmes, then sends for her young Doctor
Who ministers phisicke to her, on her backe,
Her Ladyship lying as she were entranc'd.

10

B₂

56. motiue's. Q₂, motiue's; C,M,G,motives.

57. All modern editors place an interrogation point after "ayde".
Q₂ has a period. See the note.

giues. So Q₁,Q₂,M,G; C,give.

58. afire. G,afire; Q₂,C,M,on fire.

64. A Trumpet sounds. G,Trumpets within.

Stage Setting. Gifford: Syracuse. A Room in Cleon's House.

Enter Cleon, Corisca, and Gracculo.

2. this Q₁,Q₂, with; C,M,G,your; Au,this.

4. Deny me? The quartos have a comma after "me"; G substitutes
an exclamation point,Au,C,M, andinterrogation point.

6. As soone. Q₁ prints as one word.

11. entranc'd. HQ₁,PQ₁, enthanced; MQ₁,M, entranc'd; Q₂,C,
intranc'd; G, entranced.

(I haue peeped in at the key hole and obserued them)
 And sure his Potions neuer faile to worke,
 For she is so pleasant, in the taking them
 She tickles againe.

Corisca. And alls to make you merry
 When you come home.

15

Cleon. You flatter me, I am old,
 And Wisdome cries beware.

Corisca. Old, Ducke to me
 You are young Adonis.

Grac. Well said Venus,
 I am sure she Vulcans him.

Corisc. I will not change thee
 For twenty boistrous young things without Beards.
 These bristles giue the gentlest Tittillations,
 And such a sweet dew flowes on them, it cures
 My lippes without Pomatum; heres a round belly,
 'Tis a Downe pillow to my backe. I sleepe
 So quietly by it; and this tunable nose
 (Faith when you heare it not) affords such musicke,
 That I curse all night Fidlers.

20

Gracc. This is, grosse,
 Not finde she flouts him.

Corisc. As I liue I am iealous.

Cleon. Iealous! of me Wife?

Corisc. Yes, and I haue reason,
 Knowing how lusty and actiue a man you are.

30

Cleon. Hum, hum!

Gracc. This is no cunning queane! slight, she will make him
 To thinke, that like a Stagge he has cast his hornes,
 And is growne young againe.

Corisc. You haue forgot
 what you did in your sleepe, And when you wakd
 cald for a Cawdle.

Gracc. 'Twas in his sleepe,
 For waking I durst trust my Mother with him.

35

Corisc. I long to see the man of warre. Cleora
Archidamus Daughter goes, and rich Olimpia,
 I will not misse the showe.

15. alls. Q₂, C, M, G, all's.

17. Modern punctuation would require a stop after "Ducke".
 G uses a period; C, M, interrogation points. See the note.

(continued)

18. young Adonis. C,M,G, read "a young Adonis". See the note.
19. I am sure she Vulcans him. C,M,G, designate this remark Aside.
23. hares. Q₂, here's; C,M,G, Here's.
28. finde. Q₂, C, find; M,G, finds. Gifford places an exclamation point after "him"; C,M, interrogation points.
C,G, designate the remark: Aside.
29. reason. Q₂, C,M, a reason.
31. Huml C,M, give here the stage direction: Struts.
32. a Stagge. Q₂, C,M, the stag. M,G, designate the entire speech: Aside.
11. 33-35. Lines re-arranged. See the note.
37. I have inserted the period after "warre!". The quartos have no punctuation-mark, although a heavy stop must have been intended. Modern punctuation would require a comma after "Cleora" but the Elizabethan system frequently omitted them in appositives. (cf. Simpson, Shakespearian Punctuation, sect. 5.)
38. Archidamus. Q₁, Q₂, Archadamus; C,M, Archidamus's.
Olimpia. Q₁, Q₂, Olimpa; C,M,G, Olimpia.

Cleon. There's no contending,
For this time I am pleas'd, but I'll no more on't. Exeunt. 40

ACTVS I. SCÆNA III.

Archidamus, Cleon, Diphilus, Olimpia, Corisca,
Cleora, Zanthia.

Archidamus. So carelesse we haue beene, my noble Lords,
In the disposing of our owne affaires,
And ignorant in the Art of gouernment,
That now we need a stranger to instruct vs.
Yet we are happy; that our neighbour Corinth
(Pittying the vniust gripe Carthage would lay
On Siracusa) hath vouchsafed to lend vs
Her man of men Timoleon to defend
Our Country, and our Liberties.

Diphilus. Tis a fauour
We are vnworthy of, and we may blush,
Necessity compels vs to receiue it. 10

Archid. O shame! that we that are a populous Nation,
Ingag'd to liberall nature, for all blessings
An Iland can bring forth; we that haue limbs
And able bodies; Shipping, Armes, and Treasure, 15
The sinnewes of the Warre, now we are call'd
To stand vpon our Guard, cannot produce
One fit to be our Generall.

Cleon. I am olde and fat,
I could say something else.

Archid. We must obey
The time, and our occasions, ruinous buildings,
Whose bases and foundations are infirme 20
Must vse supporters; we are circled round
With danger, o're our heads with sayle stretch'd wings,
Destruction hovers; and a cloud of mischief
Ready to breake vpon vs; no hope left vs 25
That may diuert it, but our sleeping vertue
Rowsd vp by braue Timoleon.

Cleon. When arriues he?
B₃

Stage Setting. Gifford reads: The same. The Senate-
house. Enter Archidamus, Cleon, Diphilus, Olympia,
Corisca, Cleora, and Zanthia,

23. sayle stretch'd. Q₂, saile-stretch'd; C,M,G, sail-
stretch'd.

Diphil. He is expected euery houre.

Archid.

The braueries

Of Syracusa, among whom my sonne
Timagoras, Leosthenes, and Asotas
(Your hopefull heire Lord Cleon) two dayes since
Rode forth to meet him, and attend him to
The Citie, euery minute we expect
To be blessed with his presence.

30

Cleon.

What shout's this?

Diphilus. Tis seconded with lowd Musique.

35

Archid.

Which confirms

His wish'd for entrance. Let vs entertaine him
With all respect, solemnity, and pompe,
A man may merit, that comes to redeeme vs
From slavery, and oppression.

Cleon.

Ile locke vp

My doores, and gard my gold; these Lads of Corinth
Hauie nimble fingers, and I feare them more
Being within our walls, then those of Carthage,
They are farre off.

40

Archid.

And Ladies be it your care

To welcome him, and his followers with all duty;
For rest resolu'd; their hands, and swords, must keepe you
In that full height of happinesse you liue:
A dreddfull change else followes.

45

Exeunt Arch.Cleon.Diphilus.

Olimpia.

We are instructed.

Corisca. Ile kisse him for the honor of my Country,
With any she in Corinth.

Olimpia.

Were he a Courtier,

I haue sweet meats in my Closet should content him
Be his pallat ne're so curious.

50

Corisca.

And if needs be

I haue a Couch, and a banquetting house in my Orchard,
Where many a man of honour has not scorn'd
To spend an afternoone.

Olimpia.

These men of warre

As I haue heard, know not to court a Lady.
They cannot praise our dressings, kisse our hands,

55

30. Timagoras. Q₁, Timagorus; Q₂, C, M, G, Timagoras.

34. Gifford inserts: [Shouts within; then a flourish of trumpets. C, M, [Shout at a Distance. [Trumpets flourish within.

39. Ile. Q₂, I'll; C, M, G, I'll.

49. Ile. Q₂, I'll; C, M, G, I'll.

50. meats. Q₁, Q₂, sweet meat; C, M, G, sweetmeat; Au, meats.
should. So Q₁, Q₂, C; M, G, shall.

Vsher vs to our Litters, tell loue Stories;
 Command our feet, and legs, and so search vpwards.
 A sweet becomming boldnesse: they are rough,
 Boystrous and sawcy, and at the first sight
 Ruffle, and towse vs, and as they finde their stomacks
 Fall roundly to it.

60

Corisc. Troth I like em the better.
 I cannot endure to haue a perfum'd Sir
 Stand cringing in the hammes; licking his lips,
 Like a Spaniell o're a Fermenty pot, and yet
 Has not the boldnesse to come on, or offer
 What they know we expect.

65

Olimpia. We may commend
 A Gentlemans modesty, manners, and fine language,
 His singing, dancing, riding of great horses,
 The wearing of his cloathes, his faire complexion,
 Take presents from him, and extoll his bounty,
 Yet, though he obserue, and waste his state vpon vs,
 If he be stanch and bid not for the stocke
 That we were borne to traffick with; the truth is
 We care not for his company.

70

Corisc. Musing, Cleora?
Olimp. She's studying how to entertaine these Strangers,
 And to engrosse them to her selfe.

75

Cleora. No surely;
 I will not cheapen any of their Wares,
 Till you haue made your Market: you will buy
 I know at any rate.

Corisc. She has giuen it you.

Olimpia. No more, they come.
 The first kisse for this Iewell.

Archid. It is your seate.

Diphil. Which with a generall suffrage,
 As to the supreme Magistrate, Sicellie tenders,
 And prayes Timoleon to accept.

Timoleon. Such honours
 To one ambitious of rule or titles;
 Whose heauen on earth, is plac'd in his commaund,
 (B₄)

85

65. Fermenty. Q₁, Firmenty; Q₂, Firmity; C,M, Furmety; G,
 furmenty; Au, Fermenty.

75. Musing, Cleora. PQ₁, HQ₁, Musing Cliora; MQ₁, Musing,
 Cleora; Q₂, Musing Cleora.

82. Gifford adds the stage direction: [Offering Timoleon
the state.]

HQ₁, PQ₁, Q₂, omit the comma after "suffrage"; it is inserted in
 MQ₁.

83. Magistrate, Sicellie. PQ₁, HQ₁, Q₂, Magistrates surely; MQ₁,
 Magistrate, Sicillie; C,M,G, Magistrate, Sicilly; Au, Magistrates,
 Sicellie. See the note.

85. rule. M, rules.

- And absolute power on others; would with ioy,
 And veynes swolne high with pride, be entertain'd.
 They take not me: for I haue euer lou'd
 An^eequall freedome: and proclaym'd all such 90
 As would vsurpe on others liberties,
 Rebels to nature, to whose bounteous blessings
 All men lay clayme as true legitimate sonnes.
 But such as haue made forfeit of themselues
 By vicious courses, and their birthright lost; 95
 Tis not iniustice they are mark'd for slaues
 To serue the vertuous; for my selfe, I know
 Honours and great imployments are great burthens,
 And must require an Atlas to support them.
 He that would gouerne others, first should be 100
 The Master of himselfe, richly indude
 With depth of vnderstanding, haight of courage,
 And those remarkable graces which I dare not
 Ascribe vnto my selfe.
- Archid. Sir, empty men
 Are Trumpets of their owne deserts: but you 105
 That are not in opinion, but in prooffe
 Really good, and full of glorious parts,
 Leane the report of what you are to fame,
 Which from the ready tongues of all good men
 Aloud proclaimes you.
- Diphil. Besides you stand bound 110
 Hauing so large a field to exercise
 Your actiue vertues offerd you, to impart
 Your strengths to such as need it.
- Timoleon. Tis confessed.
 And since you'll haue it so, such as I am
 For you and for the liberty of Greece 115
 I am most ready to lay downe my life:
 But yet consider men of Syracusa,
 Before that you deliuer vp the power
 Which yet is yours to me, to whom tis giuen,
 To an impartiall man, with whom nor threats, 120
 Nor prayers shall preuaile, for I must steere

87. on. M,G, o'er.
 88. proclaym'd. M, proclaim.
 89. on others. Q₂, anothers; C,M, another's.
 93. For the period after "sonnes", see the note.
 113. strengths. Q₂,C,M,G, strength.
 119. The comma is omitted in Q₁,Q₂; inserted in Au. after "giuen."
 121. shall preuaile. C,M, shall o'er prevail.

?P The oath you take; that whatsoever I shall
propound for safety of your Common-wealth,
Not Circumscrib'd or bound in, shall by you
Be willingly obey'd.

155

Archid. Dip. Cleon. So may we prosper,
As we obey in all things.

Timag. Leost. Aso. And obserue
All your commands as Oracles.

Timoleon. Doe not repent it. Takes the State.

Olimpia. He asked not our consent.

Corisca. Hee's a clowne, I warrant him. 160

Olimp. I offred my selfe twice, and yet the Churle
Would not salute me.

Corisc. Let him kisse his Drumme,
Ile saue my lips, rest on it.

Olimpia. He thinkes women
No part of the republique.

Corisc. He shall finde
We are a Common-wealth.

Cleora. The lesse your honour. 165

Timoleon. First then a word or two, but without bitterness,
(And yet mistake me not, I am no flatterer)
Concerning your ill gouernment of the State,
In which the greatest, noblest, and most rich,
Stand in the first file guilty.

Cleon. Ha! how's this? 170

Timoleon. You haue not, as good Patriots should doe, studied
The publike good, but your particuler ends.
Factious among your selues, preferring such
To Offices, and honours, as ne're read
The Elements, of sauing policie,
But deeply skild in all the principles,
That vsheer to destruction.

175

Leost. Sharpe.

Timagor. The better.

Timoleon. Your Senate house, which vs'd not to admit
A man (how euer populer) to stand
At the Helme of gouernment; whose youth was not

180

157. MQ₁ inserts the comma after "prosper"; lacking in HQ₁, PQ₁.

160. MQ₁ inserts the comma after "clowne"; lacking in HQ₁, PQ₁.

161. churle. The "rle" is defective in HQ₁, but is corrected
in PQ₁, MQ₁, and Au.

163. PQ₁, HQ₁, Ile saue my lips I rest on it. MQ₁ inserts a
comma after "lips".

Q₂, I'le. Au deletes "I!". See the note.

168. MQ₁ replaces the period after "State" in HQ₁ and PQ₁ with
a comma.

171. MQ₁ supplies the comma after "not", missing in HQ₁ and PQ₁.

Made glorious by action, whose experience
 Crown'd with gray haire, gaue warrant to her counsailes
 Heard, and receiu'd with reuerence, is now fild
 With greene heads that determine of the State
 Ouer their Cups: or when their sated lusts 185
 Afford them leisure, or suppli'd by those
 Who rising from base arts, and sordid thrift
 Are eminent for their wealth, not for their wisdoms,
 Which is the reason, that to hold a place
 In Counsell, which was once esteem'd an honour, 190
 And a reward for vertue, hath quite lost
 Lustre, and Reputation, and is made
 A mercenary purchase.

Timag. Hee speakes home.

Leost. And to the purpose.

Timoleon. From whence it proceeds,
 That the treasure of the City is ingros'd 195
 By a few priuate men: the publique Cooffers
 Hollow with want; and they that will not spare
 One Talent for the common good, to feed
 The pride and brauery of their Wiues, consume
 In Plate, in Jewels, and superfluous slaues, 200
 What would maintaine an Armie.

Corisc. Haue at vs.

Oлимп. We thought we were forgot.

Cleor. But it appeares,
 You will be treated of.

Timol. Yet in this plenty,
 And fat of peace, your young men ne're were train'd
 In Martiall discipline, and your ships vnrig'd, 205
 Rot in the harbour, noe defence preparte,
 But thought vnusefull, as if that the gods
 Indulgent to your sloth, had granted you
 A perpetuitie of pride and pleasure,
 Nor change fear'd, or expected. Now you finde 210
 That Carthage looking on your stupid sleepes,
 And dull securitie, was inuited to
 Inuade your Territories.

C₂

-
181. action. HQ₁, PQ₁, Q₂, Achon; MQ₁, Au, C, M, G, action.
 182. counsailes. "eis" defective in HQ₁; corrected in PQ₁,
 MQ₁, counsels; in Au, counsailes. G, M, read "his counsels".
 183. Heard. HQ₁, PQ₁, Q₂, Hand; MQ₁, Au, M, G, Heard; C, Hear'd.
 188. Q₂, C, M, omit "their".
 194. MQ₁ supplies the comma after "proceeds", lacking in
 PQ₁ and HQ₁.
 202. MQ₁ supplies the comma after "appeares", lacking in
 PQ₁ and HQ₁.
 206. noe. HQ₁, PQ₁, nor; MQ₁, C, M, G, no; Au, noe.
 MQ₁ supplies the comma after "preparte", lacking in PQ₁, HQ₁.
 210. Nor change fear'd. HQ₁ and PQ₁ have the comma after "change"
 instead of after "fear'd". MQ₁ corrects, placing the comma after
 "fear'd". G reads "No" for "Nor".
 212. securitie. HQ₁, PQ₁, Q₂, seureship; MQ₁, securitie; C, M, G,
 security.

Arch. You haue made vs see, Sir,
To our shame the Countries sicknesse: now from you
As from a carefull, and a wise phisitian
We doe expect the cure. 215

Timoleon. Old festred sores
Must be lanc'd to the quicke and cauteriz'd,
Which borne with patience, after i'lle apply
Soft Vnguent: For the maintenance of the warre
It is decreed all moneys in the hand, 220
Of priuate men, shall instantly be brought
To the publike Treasurie.

Timag. This bites sore.

Cleon. The Cure
Is worse then the disease; Ile neuer yeeld to it.
What could the enemy, though victorious
Inflict more on vs? all that my youth hath toyld for
Purchas'd with industry, and preseru'd with care 225
Forc'd from me in a moment.

Diph. This rough course
Will neuer be allowd of.

Timol. O blinde men!
If you refuse the first meanes that is offer'd
To giue you health, no hope's left to racouer 230
Your desp'rate sicknesse. Doe you prize your mucke
Aboue you liberties? and rather choose

To be made Bondmen, then to part with that
To which already you are slaues? or can it
Be probable in your flattering apprehensions, 235
You can capitulate with the Conquerour

And keepe that yours, which they come to possesse,
And while you kneele in vaine, will rauish from you?
But take your owne wayes, brood vpon your gold,
Sacrifice to your Idoll, and preserue 240

The prey intire, and merit the report
Of carefull Stewards, yeeld a iust accoount
To your proud Masters, who with whips of Iron
Will force you to giue vp what you conceale,
Or teare it from your throates, Adorne your walls 245

218. i'lle; Q₂, I'lle.

223. Ile. Q₂, I'lle.

227. Forc'd. HQ₁, For'd; MQ₁, PQ₁, Q₂, Forc'd.

228. In Q₂, HB does not show the "l" in "blind" distinctly,
but all other copies I have seen have a clear impression.

230. you health. Q₂, your health.

236. Conquerour. G, conquerors.

242. Stewards. Q₁, Steward; Q₂, Au, C.M.G, Stewards.

With Persian Hangings wrought of Gold and Pearle;
 Cover the floores on which they are to tread
 With costly Median silkes; perfume the roomes
 With Cassia, and Amber, where they are
 To feast and reuell, while like seruile Groomes 250
 You wayte vpon their trenchers; feed their eyes
 With your massie Plate vntill your Cupbords cracke
 With the weight that they sustaine; set forth your Wiues
 And Daughters in as many varied shapes
 As there are Nations, to prouoke their lusts, 255
 And let them be imbrac'd before your eyes,
 The object may content you; and to perfit
 Their entertainment, offer vp your Sonnes,
 And able men for Slaues; while you, that are
 Vnfit for labour, are spurn'd out to starue 260
 Vnpittied in some Desart, no friend by,
 Whose sorrow may spare one compassionat teare,
 In the remembrance of what once you were.
Leost. The blood turnes.
Timag. Obserue, how olde Cleon shakes,
 As if in picture hee had showne him, what 265
 He was to suffer.
Corisc. I am sicke, the man
 Speakes poniards, and diseases.
Olimp. O my Doctor,
 I neuer shall recouer.
Cleora. If a Virgin,
 Whose speech was euer yet vshe'd with feare,
 One knowing modestie, and humble silence 270
 To be the choysest ornaments of our sexe,
 In the presence of so many Reuerend men,
 Strucke dumbe with terrour and astonishment,
 Presume to cloath her thought in vocall sounds,
 Let her finde pardon. First, to you, great Sir, 275
 A bashfull Mayd's thanks, and her zealous prayers
 Wing'd with pure innocence, bearing them to Heauen,
 For all prosperitie, that the Gods can giue
 To one, whose pietie must exact their care,
 C₃

249. Q₁ has a colon after "Amber"; Au and Q₂ correct to a comma.

258. Their. Q₂, The.

264. Cleon. PQ₁, MQ₁, have a period after Cleon.

268. Gifford inserts after "Cleora" the stage direction: [Coming forward].

276. Mayd's thanks. So PQ₁, and MQ₁; HQ₁, Mayds thanke's; Q₂, Mayds thanks.

Thus lowe I offer.

Timol. Tis a happie Omen. 280
Rise blest one, and speake boldly: on my vertue
I am thy warrant; from so cleere a Spring
Sweet Riuers euer flow.

Cleora. Then thus to you
My noble Father, and these Lords, to whom 285
I next owe duty, no respect forgotten
To you my Brother, and these bolde young men
(Such I would haue them) that are, or should be
The Cities Sword and Target of defence.
To all of you, I speake; and if a blush 290
Steale on my cheekes, it is showne to reprove
Your palenesse; willingly I would not say
Your cowardise, or feare: thinke you all treasure
Hid in the bowels of the Earth, or Shipwrack'd
In Neptunes watry Kingdome, can hold weight 295
When Libertie, and Honour, fill one scale,
Triumphant Justice sitting on the beame?
Or dare you but imagine that your golde is
Too deare a salary for such as hazard
Their blood, and liues in your defence? For me
An ignorant Girle, beare witnesse heauen, so farre 300
I prize a Souldier, that to giue him pay
With such Deuotion as our Flamens Offer
Their Sacrifices at the holy Altar,
I doe lay downe these jewels, will make sale 305
Of my superfluous Wardrobe to supply
The meanest of their wants.

Timoleon. Braue masculine spirit!
Diphil We are showne to our shame what we in honour
Should haue taught others.

Archid. Such a faire example
Must needs be followed.

Timag. Euer my deare Sister,
But now our Families glory.

Leost. Were she Deform'd 310
The vertues of her minde would force a Stoicque

280. lowe: HQ₁, Q₂, low; PQ₁, MQ₁, lowe.

282. PQ₁ and MQ₁ replace the comma of HQ₁ with the semi-colon.

285. Modern punctuation would require a stop after "forgotten".

288. Cities. C,M,G, city's.

For the period after "defence" cf. I,iii,93.

295-96. I have accepted the reading of PQ₁ and MQ₁. See the note.

300-01. MQ₁ gives the correct reading as above, deleting the
commas after "farre" and "pay" in HQ₁ and PQ₁, and inserting a
comma after "heaven", missing in HQ₁ and PQ₁.

306. Gifford inserts: Lays downe her jewels &c; the rest follow
her example.

309. MQ₁ supplies the comma after "Sister", missing in HQ₁ and PQ₁.

310. Families. C,M,G, Family's.

311. vertues. Q₂, vertue.

To sue to be her seruant.

Cleon. I must yeeld,
And though my heart blood part with it, I will
Deliuier in my wealth.

Asotas. I would say something,
But the truth is, I know not what.

Timol. We haue mohey
And men must now be thought on.

315

Archid. We can Presse
Of Labourers in the Countrey (men in-vr'd
To colde and heate) ten thousand.

Diph. Or if need be
Inroll our Slaues, lustie, and able Varlets
And fit for seruice.

Cleon. They shall goe for me,
I will not pay and fight too.

320

Cleora. How! your Slaues?
O staine of Honour! once more, Sir, your pardon,
And to their shames, let me deliuier, what
I know in justice you may speake.

Timol. Most gladly,
I could not wish my thoughts a better organ,
Then your tongue, t'expresse them.

325

Cleora. Are you men?
(For Age may qualifie, though not excuse
The backwardnesse of these) able Young men?
Yet now your Countries libertie's at the stake,
Honour, and glorious tryumph, made the garland
For such as dare deserue them; a rich Feast
Prepar'd by Victory of immortall vyands,
Not for base men, but such as with their Swords
Dare force admittance, and will be her Guests,
And can you coldly suffer such rewards
To be propos'd, to Labourers and Slaues?
While you that are borne Noble (to whom these
Valued at their best rate, are next to Horses,
Or other Beasts of carriage) cry ayme,
Like idle lookers on, till their proud worth

330

335

340

(C₄)

319. Inroll our. Q₁, Q₂, Inroll of; Au, (Inroll) our;
C, M, Inrol of; G, Enrol our.

326. t'expresse. Q₂, C, M, G, to express.

329. libertie's. HQ₁, liberties; PQ₁, MQ₁, libertie's;
Q₂, C, M, G, liberty's. MQ₁ and Q₂ delete the comma after
"libertie's", found in HQ₁ and PQ₁.

Countries. C, M, G, country's. M omits "the" in
"at the stake".

333. MQ₁ and Q₂ delete the comma after "Swords", found
in HQ₁ and PQ₁.

334. MQ₁ has a comma after "Guests", HQ₁, PQ₁, and Q₂, a
period. I have followed MQ₁, which elsewhere throughout
sheet C is superior.

335. MQ₁ and Q₂ remove the comma after "rewards", found
in HQ₁ and PQ₁.

339. ayme. Q₂, C, M, ay me. See the note.

Make them become your masters?

Timol. By my hopes,
There's fire and spirit enough in this to make
Thersites valiant.

Cleora. No; farre, farre be it from you,
Let these of meaner qualitie contend,
Who can indure most labour; Plough the earth,
And thinke they are rewarded, when their sweat
Brings home a fruitfull Haruest to their Lords;
Let them proue good Artificers, and serue you
For vse and ornament, but not presume
To touch at what is Noble; if you thinke them
Vnworthy to taste of those Cates you feed on,
Or weare such costly garments; will you grant them
The priuiledge and prerogatiue of great mindes,
Which you were borne to? Honour, wonne in warre
And to be stiled preseruers of their Countrey
Are Titles fit for free and generous Spirits,
And not for Bond-men: had I beene borne a man
And such ne're dying glories made the prize
To bolde Heroicke Courage; By Diana,
I would not to my Brother, nay my Father,
Be brib'd to part with the least peece of honour
I should gaine in this action.

345

350

355

360

Timoleon. Shee's inspir'd,
Or in her speakes the Genius of your Countrey
To fire your blood in her defence. I am rap'd
With the imagination! Noble Mayde,
Timoleon is your Souldier, and will sweat
Drops of his best blood, but he will bring home
Triumphant conquest to you. Let me weare
Your colours, Lady, and though youthfull heates
That looke no further then your outward forme,
Are long since buryed in me, while I liue,
I am a constant louer of your minde,
That does transcend all presidents.

365

370

Cleora. 'Tis an honour: Giues her Scarfe.
And so I doe receiue it.

341. Make. The final "e" seems to be a "c" in Q₁.

342. Q₂ omits "and spirit".

343. PQ₁, MQ₁, and Q₂ supply the comma after "you", missing
in HQ₁.

344. these. Q₂, C, M, those.

352. garments. HQ₁, garmenes; PQ₁, MQ₁, garments.

357. MQ₁ and PQ₁ replace the comma after "Bond-men" in HQ₁
with the heavier stop, the colon.

361. M omits "least".

372. louer. HQ₁, louet. Cf. IV, i, 60 and V, iii, 94.

- Corisc. Plague vpon it,
She has got the start of vs. I could e'ne burst
With enuy at her fortune. 375.
- Olimpia. A raw young thing,
I haue too much tongue sometimes, our Husbands say,
And she out-strips vs.
- Leost. I am for the journey.
- Timag. May all Diseases, sloath and lachery bring,
Fall vpon him that stayes at home.
- Archid. Though olde, 380
I will be there in person.
- Diphil. So will I.
Me thinkes I am not what I was; her wordes
Haue made me younger, by a score of yeares,
Then I was when I came hither.
- Cleon. I am still 385
Old Cleon, fat, and vnweldy, I shall neuer
Make a good Souldier, and therefore desire
To be excusde at home.
- Asotus. Tis my suite too.
I am a grissell, and these Spider fingers,
Will neuer hold a Sword. Let vs alone
To rule the Slaues at home, I can so yerke em, 390
But in my Conscience, I shall neuer proue
Good Iustice in the warre.
- Timoleon. Haue your desires:
You would be burthens to vs, no way aydes.
Lead, fairest, to the Temple, first we'll pay
A Sacrifice to the Gods for good successe. 395
For, all great actions the wish'd course doe run,
That are, with their allowance, well begun. Exeunt all but the
Slaues.
- Pisander. Stay Cymbrio, and Gracculo.
- Cymbrio. The businesse?
- Pisander. Meet me to morrow night, neere to the Groue
Neighbouring the East part of the Citie.
- Grace. Well. 400
- Pisander. And bring the rest of our Condition with you,
I haue something to impart, may breake our fetters,
D

374. Plague. Q₂, pox. Cf. II,ii,143 and II,iii,14.
375. e'ne. Q₂, C, M, ev'n; G, even.
378. out-strips. C, M, G, alter the mood: outstrip.
388. grissell. Q₂, C, M, G, gristle.
397. Gifford changes the stage direction to: [Exeunt all
but Mar. Grace. and Cimb.

If you dare second me.

Cymbrio. He'll not fayle.

Grac. A Cart-rope.

Shall not binde me at home.

Pisander. Thinke on't, and prosper. Exeunt.

ACTVS II. SCAENA I.

Archidamus, Timagoras, Leosthenes with Gorgits,
Pisander.

Archid. So,so,'tis well, how doe I looke?

Pisander. Most sprightlyfully.

Archid. I shrinke not in the shoulders, though I am olde,
I am tough, steele to the backs, I haue not wasted
My stocke of strength in Feather-beds: heer's an arme too,
There's stuffe in't, and I hope will vse a Sword
As well as any beardlesse Boy of you all.

Timag. I am glad to see you, Sir, so well prepar'd,
To indure the trauaile of the warre.

Archid. Goe too sirra,
I shall indure, when some of you keepe your Cabins,
For all your flaunting Feathers, nay Leosthenes
You are welcome too, all friends, and fellowes now.

Leost. Your seruant Sir.

Archid. Fish, leaue these Complements,
They stincke in a Souldiers mouth, I could be merry,
For now my Gowns's off, farewell Grauitie,
And must be bolde to put a question to you,
Without offence, I hope.

Leost. Sir, what you please.

Archid. And you will answer truely?

Timagor. On our words, Sir.

Archid. Goe too, then, I presume you will confesse,
That you are two notorious Thore-maisters.
Nay spare you blushing, I haue beene wilde my selfe,
A snatch, or so, for Physicke, does no harme;
Nay, it is physicke, if vs'd moderately,
But to lye at racke, and manger,

Stage direction. Gifford reads: The same. A room in Archidamus's House. Enter Archidamus, Timagoras, Leosthenes, with gorgets, and Marullo.

2. MQ₁, PQ₁ and Q₂ have clearly a comma after "olde"; HQ₁ possibly has a semi-colon, but the upper part is extremely faint.

8. too. Q₂, C, M, G, to.

18. too. Q₂, C, M, G, to.

21. snatch. C, M, G, smack.

23. The comma after "manger" denotes an unfinished speech. Cf. I, i, 37 and note; II, iii, 100.

Leost. Say we grant this,
 For if we should deny it, you'l not beleue vs,
 What will you inferre vpon it?

Archid. What you'l groane for, 25
 I feare, when you come to the test. Old Stories tell vs
 There is Moneth cal'd October; which brings in
 Colde weather, there are trenches too, 'tis rumor'd
 In which to stand all night to the knees in water,
 In Gallants breeds the tooth-ach, there's a sport too 30
 Nam'd lying Perdien, (doe you marke me) tis a game,
 Which you must learne to play at: now in these seasons,
 And choyse varietie of Exercises,
 (Nay I come to you) and fasts not for Deuotion,
 Your rambling hunt-smocke, feelles strange alterations, 35
 And in a Frosty morning, lookes as if
 He could with ease creepe in a pottle Pot
 Instead of his Mistris placket, then he Curses
 The time he spent in midnight visitations;
 And findes what he superfluously parted with, 40
 To be reported good, at length, and well breath'd,
 But if retriu'd into his backe againe, Enter Diphilus, and Cleora.
 Would keepe him warmer then a Scarlet wast-coate,
 Or an Armour linde with Furre. O welcome, welcome,
 You haue cut off my discourse, but I will perfit 45
 My lecture in the Campe.

Diphil. Come, we are stay'd for,
 The General's a fire for a remoue,
 And longs to be in action.

Archid. Tis my wish too, .
 We must part, nay no teares, my best Cleora, 50
 I shall melt too, and that were ominous.
 Millions of blessings on thee, all that's mine,
 I giue vp to thy charge, and sirra, looke
 You, with that care and reuerence obserue her
 Which you would pay to me, a kisse, farewell Girle.

Diphil. Peace wayte vpon you, faire one. Exeunt Archid.
Timag. Twere impertinence Diphil. Pisander. 55
 To wish you to be carefull of your Honour,

D₂

-
23. we grant. Q₂, we should grant.
 28. Modern punctuation would require a comma after "rumor'd".
 34. fasts. Q₂, C, fast.
 39. Q₂ omits "he".
 41. C, M, omit "at length".
 42. PQ₁ and HQ₁ read: "But if retain'd into his lacke againe";
 the reading above is HQ₁, Q₂, C, M, G,. See the note.
 52. Cleora. PQ₁, Cleor.
 52. Gifford adds the stage direction: [To Marullo.
 54. Which. Q₂, C, M, As.
 59. The comma after "off" is invisible in WR, but is found in
 other copies of Q₂.

That euer keepe in pay a Guard about you
 Of faithfull vertues: Farewell friend, I leaue you
 To wipe our kisses off, I know that Louers
 Part with more circumstance and ceremony,
 Which I giue way to.

Exit Timagoras.

60

Leost. Tis a noble fauour,
 For which, I euer owe you; we are alone,
 But how I should begin, or in what language
 Speake the vnwilling word, of parting from you,
 I am yet to learne.

Cleora. And still continue ignorant,
 For I must be most cruell to my selfe,
 If I should teach you.

65

Leost. Yet it must be spoken,
 Or you will chide my slacknesse, you haue fir'd me.
 With the heate of noble action, to deserue you,
 And the least sparke of honour, that tooke life
 From your sweet breath, still fann'd by it, and cherish'd,
 Must Mount vp in a glorious flame, or I
 Am much vnworthy.

70

Cleora. May it nottburne heere,
 And as a Sea-marke, serue to guide true Louers,
 (Toss'd on the Ocean of luxurious wishes)
 Safe from the rockes of Lust into the harbour,
 Of pure affection? rising vp an example,
 Which after-times shall witnesse, to our glory,
 First tooke from vs beginning.

75

Leost. Tis a happinesse,
 My duty to my Countrey, and mine Honour
 Cannot consent too, besides, adde to these,
 It was your pleasure, fortifide by perswasion,
 And strength of reason, for the generall good,
 That I should goe.

80

Cleora. Alas, I then was wittie
 To pleade against my selfe, and mine eye fix'd,
 Vpon the hill of Honour, ne're descended
 To looke into the vale of certaine dangers,
 Through which, you were to cut your passage to it.

85

Leost. Ile stay at home then.

62. The semi-colon after "you" is faint in Q₁, resembling only a comma.

71. fann'd. Q₁, Q₂, fam'd; Au, C, M, G, fann'd.

73. not. Unnecessarily changed by C, M, G (1805), to "yet".
 G (1813) adopts "not" from Q₁ and Q₂. See the note.

82. your. Q₂, our.

86. descended. Q₁, descended; Q₂, discended.

87. vale. Q₁, vaile; Au, Q₂, vale.

Cleora. No, that must not be,
 For, so to serue my owne ends, and to gaine
 A petty wreath my selfe, I rob you of
 A certaine triumph, which must fall vpon you,
 Or Vertue's turn'd a hand-maide to blinde Fortune:
 How is my soule deuided! to confirme you,
 In the opinion of the world, most worthy
 To be belou'd, (with me you are at the heighth,
 And can aduance no further) I must send you
 To Court the Goddessse of sterne Warre, who if
 Shee see you with my eies, will ne're returne you,
 But grow enamour'd of you.

Leost. Sweet, take comfort,
 And what I offer you, you must vouchsafe me,
 Or I am wretched; all the dangers, that
 I can incounter in the War, are trifles;
 My enemies abroad to be contemn'd;
 The dreadfull foes, that haue the power to hurt me,
 I leaue at home with you.

Cleor. With mee?
Leost. Nay, in you,
 On euery part about you, they are arm'd
 To fight against me.

Cleora. Where?
Leost. Ther's no perfection
 That you are Mistris of, but musters vp
 A Legion against me, and all sworne
 To my destruction.

Cleora. This is strange!
Leost. But true, sweet,
 Excesse of loue can worke such miracles.
 Vpon this Iuory fore-head are intrench'd
 Ten thousand riuals, and these Sunnes command;
 Supplies from all the world, on paine to forfeit
 Their comfortable beames; these Rubie lips,
 A rich Exchequer to assure their pay;
 This hand, Sibillas golden bough to guard them
 Through Hell, and horror, to the Elizian Springs;

D₃

90. Au inserts a comma after "For," omitted in Q₁ and Q₂.
 But see the note.

91. Au and Q₂ replace the semi-colon after "selfe" in Q₁
 with a comma.

92. fall. Q₂, full.

96. heighth. Q₂, C, M, G, height.

107. On. Q₂, C, M, G, In.

114. Sunnes. Rubinstein reads "sums".

Modern punctuation would not require the semi-colon
 after "command"; omitted in Q₂, C, M, G,

118. Sibillas. Q₂, Sibilla's.

Which who'll not venter for? and should I name
Such as the vertues of your minde inuite,
Their numbers would be infinite. 120

Cleora. Can you thinke,
I may be tempted?

Leost. You were neuer prou'd.
For me I haue conuers'd with you no farther,
Then would become a Brother. I ne're tum'd 125
Loose Notes to your chaste eares; or brought rich Presents
For my Artillery, to batter downe,
The fortresse of your honour; nor endeuour'd
To make your blood runne high at solemne Feasts
With Viands, that prouoke; (the speeding Philtres) 130
I work'd no Baudes to tempt you; neuer practis'd
The cunning, and corrupting Arts they studie,
That wander in the wilde Maze of desire;
Honest simplicitie, and Truth were all 135
The Agents I imployd, and when I came
To see you, it was with that reuerence,
As I beheld the Altars of the gods;
And loue, that came along with me, was taught
To leaue his Arrowes, and his Torch behinde,
Quench'd in my feare to giue offence.

Cleora. And 'twas 140
That modesty that tooke me, and preserues me,
Like a fresh Rose, in mine owne naturall sweetnesse;
Which sulli'd with the touch of impure hands,
Looseth both scent and beauty.

Leost. But, Cleora, 145
When I am absent, as I must goe from you,
(such is the cruelty of my fate) and leaue you
Vnguarded, to the violent assaults
Of loose temptations; when the memory
Of my so many yeares of Loue, and seruice,
Is lost in other obiects; when you are courted 150
By such as keepe a Catalogue of their Conquests,
Vpon credulous Virgins; when nor Father
Is here to awe you; Brother to aduise you;

124. farther. G, further.

128. Au and Q₂ replace the comma after "honour" in Q₁
with a semi-colon.

130. Modern punctuation would require a stop after the
parenthetical expression; C, M, thus omit the semi-colon
preceding and place a colon after the parenthesis; G deletes
the parentheses and uses a colon after "philtres".

134. Truth. Q₂, trueth.

144. Looseth...scent. Q₁, Q₂, Loose...sent; Au, Looseth...scent;
C, Lose...Scent; M, G, Loses...scent.

146. Q₂ omits "of".

150. M omits "when".

153. awe. Q₁, Q₂, G, owe; Au, C, M, awe. See the note.

28.

Nor your poore seruant by, to keepe such off,
 By lust instructed how to vndermine,
 And blow your chastity vp; when your weake senses
 At once assaulted, shall conspire against you;
 And play the traytors to your soule, your vertue;
 How can you stand? 'faith though you fall, and I
 The iudge, before whom you then stood accus'd,
 I should acquit you. 155

Cleora. Will you then confirme,
 That loue, and iealousie, though of different natures,
 Must of necessity be twins? the younger,
 Created onely to defeate the elder,
 And spoyle him of his Birth-right: 'tis not well.
 But being to part, I will not chide, I will not,
 Nor with one sillable, or teare expresse,
 How deeply I am wounded with the arrowes
 Of your distrust: but when that you shall heare
 At your returne, how I haue borne my selfe,
 And what an austere penance I take on me,
 To satisfie your doubts: when like a Vestall
 I shew you to your shame, the fire still burning,
 Committed to my charge by true affection,
 The people iayning with you in the wonder.
 When by the glorious splendor of my suffrings,
 The prying eies of iealousie are strucke blinde,
 The Monster too that feeds on feares, eu'n staru'd
 For want of seeming matter to accuse me,
 Expect Leosthenes, a sharpe reproofe
 From my iust anger. 160

Leost. What will you doe?
Cleora. Obey mee,
 Or from this minute you are a stranger to me.
 And doe it without reply: all seeing Sunne,
 Thou witnesse of my innocence, thus I close
 Mine eies against thy comfortable light,
 Till the returne of this distrustfull man.
 Now binde 'em sure, nay doo't, if vncompeld
 I loose this knot, vntill the hands that made it
 (D₄)

154. There are in Q₁ two points after "such", one somewhat resembling an apostrophe, the other just below the line, like a period. They are evidently not meant for punctuation marks, but are due to defective type-setting. I have followed Q₂ and all subsequent editions by omitting them.

156. Q₂ has an interrogation point after "up".

158. Q₂ omits the entire line.

163. Q₂ omits "twins".

166. But. Bnt in Q₁.

167. Nor. Q₂, Not.

175. Modern punctuation would not require a full stop after "wonder", found in Q₁ and Q₂. Cf. I, iii, 93.

182. The period after "me", indistinct in HQ₁, is clearly evident in FQ₁ and MQ₁.

186. C, M, add the stage direction: [He binds her Eyes; G, [He binds her eyes with her scarf.

Be pleas'd to vntie it, may consuming plagues
 Fall heauy on me, pray you guide me to your lips, 190
 This kisse, when you come backe shall be a Virgin
 To bid you welcome: Nay, I haue not done yet.
 I will continue dumbe, and you once gone,
 No Accent shall come from me: now to my chamber,
 My Tombe, if you miscarry: there I'll spend 195
 My houres in silent mourning, and thus much
 Shall be reported of me to my glory,
 And you confesse it, whither I liue or die,
 My Chastity triumphs ouer your iealousie.

ACTVS II. SCAENA II.

Asotus, Gracculo.

Asot. You slape, you Dogge, downe Curre.
Gracc. Hold, good young Master,
 For pitties sake.
Asot. Now am I in my kingdome.
 Who saies I am not valiant? I begin
 To frowne againe, quake villaine.
Gracc. So I doe, Sir,
 Your lookes are Agues to me.
Asot. Are they so, Sir? 5
 'Slight, if I had them at this bey, that flout me,
 And say I looke like a sheepe, and an Asse, I would make 'em
 Peele, that I am a Lyon.
Gracc. Doe not rore, Sir,
 As you are a valiant beast: but doe you know
 Why you vse me thus?
Asot. I'll beat thee a little more, 10
 Then study for a reason, O I haue it,
 One brake a iest on me, and then I swore
 Because I durst not strike him, when I came home
 That I would breake thy head.
Gracc. Plague on his mirth,
 I am sure I mourne for't.
Asot. Remember too, I charge you 15

190. Modern punctuation would require full stop after "me"
 and "lips". So M,G.

198. whither. Q₂,C,M,G, whether.

199. C,M,G, add² the stage direction: [Exeunt.

Stage Setting. Gifford reads: The same. A Room in Cleon's House.

Enter Asotus, driving in Gracculo.

5. Q₁,Q₂, have a comma after "Sir". Au,C,M, amend with an in-
 terrogation point; G, with an exclamation mark.

7. Q₂,C,M,G, omit "would", and read "I'de"(Q₂) or "I'd"(C,M,G).
 See the note.

G reads "them" for "'em".

14. Plague. Q₂,C,M, Pox. Cf. I,iii,374 and II,ii,143.

15. I am sure I mourne for't. C,M, designate this remark: [Aside.

To teach my Horse good manners; for this morning,
As I rode to take the ayre, th'untutor'd Iade
Threw me, and kick'd me.

Grac. I thanke him for't.

Asot. What's that?

Grac. I say, Sir, I'll teach him to hold his heeles,
If you will rule your fingers.

Asot. I'll thinke vpon't.

20

Grac. I am bruisde to ielly; better be a dogge,
Then slaue to a Foole or Coward.

Asot. Heere's my Mother, Enter Corisca and Zanthi
Shes is chastising too: How braue we liue!
That haue our slaues to beat, to keepe vs in breath,
When we want exercise.

Corisca. Carelesse Harlotrie, Striking her. 25
Looks too't, if a Curle fall, or winde, or Sunne,
Take my Complexion off, I will not leaue
One haire vpon thine head.

Grac. Here's a second show
Of the Family of pride.

Corisca. Fie on these warres, 30
I am staru'd for want of action, not a gamester left
To keepe a woman play; if this world last
A little longer with vs, Ladyes must studie
Some new found Mistery, to coole one another,
Wee shall burne to Cinders else; I haue heard there haue beene
Such Arts in a long vacation; would they were 35
Reueal'd to mee: they haue made my Doctor too
Phisitian to the Army, he was vs'de
To serue the turne at a pinch: but I am now
Quite vnprouided.

Asot. My Mother in law is sure
At her deuotion.

Corisc. There are none but our slaues left, 40
Nor are they to be trusted; some great women
(Which I could name) in a dsarth of Visitants,
Rather then be idle, haue beene glad to play
At small game, but I am so queasie stomach't,

E

16. for. Q₁, Q₂, G, yet; Au, C, M, for. The 1719 edition also has
"for", whence probably Coxeter secured his emendation.

In Q₁ there is a point resembling an apostrophe, as well as
a comma, after "morning", but, as in II, i, 154, it is undoubtedly due to
faulty type-setting or printing. I have accordingly deleted it.

18. kick'd. Q₁, kic'kd; Q₂, kickt. I have transposed the apos-
trophe in Q₁, as have C, M, G.

I thanke him for't. C, M, G, designate this remark: [Aside.

20. rule. Q₂, C, M, hold.

I'll. PQ₁, I'e; HQ₁, MQ₁, I'll.

22. C, M, G, insert at the end of the line the stage direction: Aside.

23. Q₂ deletes the exclamation point at the end of the line.

29. G designates the remark of Graculo: [Aside.

40. C, M, designate the remark of Asotus: [Aside.

31

And from my youth haue beene so vsde to Dainties,
 I cannot taste such grosse meate; some that are hungrie
 Draw on their shoemakers, and take a fall
 From such as mend Mats in their Galleries;
 Or when a Taylor settles a Petticoate on,
 Take measure of his Bodkin: fie vpon't,
 'Tis base; for my part, I could rather lie with
 A Gallants breeches, and conceaue vpon 'em,
 Then stoope so low. 45

Asot. Faire Madam, and my Mother.
Corisca. Leauē the last out, it smells rancke of the Countrie,
 And shewes course breeding, your true Courtier knowes not
 His Neece, or Sister from another woman,
 If she be apt and coming. I could tempt now
 This foole, but he will be so long a working.
 Then hee's my Husbands Sonne; the fitter to
 Supply his wants, I haue the way already. 50
 I'll trie, if it will take; when were you with
 Your Mistris, faire Cleora? 55

Asot. Two daies sithence,
 But shae's so coy forsooth, that ere I can
 Speake a pen'd speech I haue bought, and studied for her,
 Her woman calls her away. 60

Corisc. Here's a dull thing,
 But better taught I hope, send of your man. 65

Asot. Sirra, be gone.
Grac. This is the first good turne,
 She euer did me. Exit Graculo.

Corisc. We'll haue a Scaene of mirth,
 I must not haue you sham'd for want of practise.
 I stand here for Cleora, And doe you heare Minion,
 (That you may tell her, what her woman should do)
 Repeat the lesson ouer, that I taught you,
 When my young Lord came to visit me, if you misse
 In a Syllable or posture! 70

Zant. I am perfect.
Asot. Would I were so: I feare I shall be out. 75
Corisc. If you are, I'll helpe you in. Thus I walke musing:

-
57. coming. Q₁, Q₂, C, M, G, cunning; Au, coming. See the note.
 62. The period after "Cleora" in Q₁, Q₂ is replaced by an
 interrogation mark in Au, C, M, G. 1 2
 68. C, M, G, designate Graculo's speech: Aside
 73. Modern punctuation would require a heavier stop after "me".

Zant. Be not put off, Sir,
With away, I dare not; for you are immodest,
My Brother's vp, my Father will heare, shoot home, Sir,
You cannot misse the marke.

Asot. There's for thy counsaile. 105
This is the fairest interlude, if it proue earnest,
I shall wish I were a Player.

Corisc. Now my turne comes.
I am exceeding sicke, pray you send my Page
For young Asotus, I cannot liue without him,
Pray him to visit me, yet when hee's present, 110
I must be strange to him.

Asot. Not so: you are caught.
Loe whom you wish, behold Asotus here!

Corisc. You wait well, Minion, shortly I shall not speake
My thoughts in my priuate Chamber, but they must
Lie open to discouary.

Asot. 'Slid shee's angry 115
Zant. No, no, Sir, she but seemes so. To her againe.

Asot. Lady, I would descend to kisse your hand,
But that 'tis glou'd, and Ciuit makes me sicke;
And to presume to taste your lipps not safe,
Your woman by:

Corisc. I hope shee's no obseruer, 120
Of whom I grace. Zant. Lookes on a Booke,

Asot. She's at her booke, O rare! kisses her.

Corisc. A kisse for entertainment is sufficient:
Too much of one dish cloyes me.

Asotus. I would serue in
The second course, but still I feare your woman.

Corisc. You are very cautalous. Zanthia seemes to sleepe.

Asotus. 'Slight shee's asleepe! 125

'Tis pittie, these instructions are not printed:

They would sell well to Chamber-maides, 'tis no time now,

To play with my good fortune, and your fauour,

Yet to be taken, as they say: a scout

To giue the signall when the enemy comes,

Were now worth gold: Shee's gone to watch. Exit Zanthia 130

105. C,M, add the stage direction: Gives her money.

112. PQ₁ has a period after "here". MQ₁ and HQ₁, an exclamation point.

119. lipps. G interprets "lip's". See the note.

120. For the colon after "by" see the note to II,i,5.

Q₂ omits "I hope".

121. Zant. lookes on a Booke, kisses her. See the note.

125. cautalous. C, cautious; M, cautious.

129. Modern punctuation requires a dash after "say". So C,M,G.
But the colon of Q₁ seems to denote an unfinished statement as
in II,iii,103. See the note.

A wayter so trayn'd vp were worth a million,
To a wanton Citie Madam.

Corisc. You are growne conceited.

Asotas. You teach me; Lady, now your Cabinet.

Corisc. You speake, as it were yours.

Asotas. When we are there, 135
Ile show you my best euidence.

Corisc. Holda, you forget,
I onely play Cleora's part.

Asotas. No matter,
Now we haue begun, let's end the act.

Corisc. Forbeare, Sir,
Your Fathers wife?

Asotas. Why, being his Heyre, I am bound, 140
Since he can make no satisfaction to you,
To see his debts payd. Enter Zanthia running.

Zanthia. Madame, my Lord.

Corisc. Fall off,
I must trifle with the time too; Hell confound it.

Asotas. Plague on his toothlesse chaps, he cannot do't
Himselfe, yet hinders such as haue good stomachs. Enter Cleon.

Cleon. Where are you, Wife? I faine would goe abroad, 145
But cannot finde my Slaues, that beare my Litter:
I am tyr'd, your shoulder, Sonne; nay sweet, thy hand too,
A turne or two in the Garden, and then to Supper,
And so to Bed.

Asotas. Neuer to rise, I hope, more. Exeunt.

ACTVS II. SCAENA III.

Pisander, Poliphron, bringing forth a Table.

Pisander. 'Twill take, I warrant thee.

Poliphron. You may doe your pleasure:
But, in my iudgement, better to make vse of
The present opportunitie.

Pisander. No more. Enter Cimbrion, Graculo, and Slaues.

Poliphron. I am silenc'd.

Pisander. More wine, 'pray thee drinke hard, friend,

B₃

136. G adds after Asotas' speech the stage direction: [Seizing her.

139. Q₂ omits "his".

142. Q₂ omits "Hell confound it".

143. Plague. Q₂, Pox. Cf. I,iii,374 and II,ii,14.

149. G designates Asotas' remark: [Aside.

Stage direction. Gifford reads: A Grove near the Walls of Syra-
cuse. Enter Marullo and Poliphron, A Table set out with wine, &c.

4. 'pray thee. C,M, pry'thee; G, prithee.

And when we are hot, what euer I propound,
 Second with vehemeny: men of your wordes, all welcome,
 Slaues vse no ceremonie, sit downe, heer's a health,
Poliphron. Let it runne round, fill euery man his Glasse.
Gracco. We looke for no wayters; this is Wine.

5

Pisander. The better,
 Strong, lusty wine: drinke deepe, this iuyce will make vs
 As free as our Lords.

10

Gracco. But if they finde, we taste it,
 We are all damn'd to the quarry, during life,
 Without hope of redemption.

Drinkes.

Pisander. Pish, for that
 Wee'l talke anon: another rowse, we loose time,
 When our lowe blood's wound vp a little higher,
 Ile offer my designe; nay, we are colde yet,
 These Glasses containe nothing; doe me right,
 As e're you hope for liberty. 'Tis done brauely.
 How doe you feeles your selues now?

Drinkes.

15

Cimbrio. I begin
 To haue strange Conundrums in my head.

Takes the Bottle.

Gracco. And I,
 To loath base water: I would be hang'd in peace now,
 For one moneth of such Holy-dayes.

20

Pisander. An age, Boyes,
 And yet defie the Whip, if you are men,
 Or dare belieue, you haue soules.

Cimbrio. We are no Broakers:

Gracco. Nor Whores, whose markes are out of their mouthes, they haue none,
 They hardly can get salt enough to keep'em
 From stinking aboue ground. (25

Pisander. Our Lords are no Gods?

Gracco. They are Duels to vs, I am sure.

Pisander. But subject to
 Colde, hunger, and diseases.

Gracco. In abundance.
 Your Lord, that feeles no ach in his chine at twentie,
 Forfeits his priuiledge, how should their Chyrurgions build else,
 Or ride on their Foot-cloathes?

30

6. vehemeny. G, vehemence.

8. Q₂ omits "round".

16. Ile. Q₂, I'll.

24. For the colon after "Broakers" see the note.

25. C, M, omit "they haue none". See the note.

27. G replaces the interrogation mark with a dash. For the
 punctuation see the note.

31. Chyrurgions. Q₁, Q₂, Chyrurgion; Au, Chyrurgions; C,
 Chirurgion; M, Chirurgeons; G, surgeons.

Pisander. Equall nature fashion'd vs.
 All in one molde: The Beare serues not the Beare,
 Nor the Wolfe, the Wolfe; 'twas ods of strength in tyrants,
 That pluck'd the first linke from the Golden chayne
 With which that thing of things bound in the world.
 Why then, since we are taught, by their examples,
 To loue our Libertie, if not Command,
 Should the strong serue the weake, the faire deform'd ones?
 Or such as know the cause of thinges, pay tribute
 To ignorant fooles? All's but the outward glosse
 And politicke forme, that does distinguish vs.
Cymbrio, thou art a strong man; if in place
 Of carrying burthens, thou hadst beene trayn'd vp
 In Martiall discipline, thou mightst haue prou'd
 A Generall, fit to lead and fight for Sicilie,
 As fortunate as Timoleon.

Cymbrio. A little fighting
 Will serue a Generals turne.

Pisander. Thou, Gracculo,
 Hast fluencie of Language, quicke conceits,
 And I thinke, couer'd with a Senators robe,
 Formally set on the Bench, thou wouldst appeare
 As braue a Senator.

Gracc. Would I had Lands,
 Or money, to buy a place; and if I did not
 Sleepe on the Bench, with the drowsiest of 'em, play with my Chayne,
 Looke on my Watch, when my guts chym'd twelue, and weare
 A state Beard, with my Barbers helpe, ranke with 'em,
 In their most choyce peculiar gifts; degrade me
 And put me to drinke Water againe, which (now
 I haue tasted Wine) were poyson.

Pisander. 'Tis spoke nobly,
 And like a Gown-man, none of these, I thinke too,
 But would proue good Burgers.

Gracc. Hum: the fooles are modest,
 I know their insides: Here's an ill-fac'd fellow,
 (But that will not be seene in a darke Shop,)
 If he did not in a moneth, learne to outesweare,

(E₄)

42. In Q₂ the "o" of "politicke" is barely visible in IIB, but appears clearly in RB, RH, III, VII.

48. Generals. Q₂, General's.

54. C, M, omit "play".

60. Modern punctuation would require a heavier stop after "Gown-man".

37

In the selling of his Wares, the cunningest Tradesman
 In Syracusa, I haue no skill; Here's another, 65
 Obserue but what a cousening looke he has,
 (Hold vp thy head, man) if for drawing Gallants
 Into mortgages for Commodities, cheating Heyres
 With your new counterfeit Gold thred, and gumme'd Veluets, 70
 He does not transcend all that went before him,
 Call in his patent; passe the rest, they'll all make
 Sufficient Becos, and with their brow-antlers
 Beare vp the Cap of maintenance.

Pisander. Is't not pittie then,
 Men of such eminent vertues, should be Slaues? 75

Cimbric. Our fortune.

Pisander. Tis your folly, daring men
 Commaund, and make their fates. Say, at this instant,
 I mark'd you out a way to Libertie;
 Possess you of those blessings, our proud Lords
 So long haue surfetted in; and what is sweetest, 80
 Arme you with power, by strong hand to reuenge
 Your stripes, your vnregarded toyle, the pride,
 The insolencie, of such as tread vpon
 Your patient sufferings; fill your famish'd mouthes,
 With the fat and plentie of the Land; redeme you 85
 From the darke vale of Seruitude, and seate you
 Vpon a hill of happinesse; what would you doe
 To purchase this and more?

Grace. Doe anything,
 To burne a Church or two, and dance by the light on't
 Were but a May-game.

Poliphron. I haue a Father liuing, 90
 But if the cutting of his throat could worke this,
 He should excuse me.

Cimbric. 'Slight, I would cut mine owne,
 Rather then misse it, so I might but haue
 A taste on't, ere I dye.

Pisander. Be resolute man,
 You shall runne no such hazard, nor groane vnder 95
 The burthen of such crying sinnes.

73. brow-antlers. PQ₁, brow ant-lets; HQ₁, MQ₁, Q₂, brow-antlets.
 The quartos have failed to correct the frequent Elizabethan typ-
 ographical error of setting a "t" for an "r". I have restored
 the "r", as have modern editors. Cf. I,iii,372 and IV,ii,60.

78. a way. Q₂ prints as one word.

81. reuenge. Q₂, C, M, avenge.

83. insolencie. C, M, G, insolence.

88. G inserts an exclamation mark after "Do".

92. C, M, omit "'slight".

Cimbrío. The meanes?
Gracculo. I feele a womans longing.
Poliphron. Doe not torment vs
 With expectation.
Pisander. Thus then, our proud Masters;
 And all the able Freemen of the Citie
 Are gone vnto the warres,
Poliphron. Obserue but that.
Pisander. Old men, and such as can make no resistance,
 Are onely left at home.
Gracculo. And the proud young foole
 My Master: If this take, I'll hamper him.
Pisander. Their Arsenall, their Treasure's in our power,
 If we haue hearts to sease'em, if our Lords fall
 In the present action, the whole countrie's ours;
 Say they retorne victorious, we haue meanes
 To keepe the Towne against them: at the worst
 To make our owne conditions: now if you dare
 fall on their Daughters, and their wiues, breake vp
 Their Iron Chests, banquet on their rich Beds,
 And carue your selues of all delights and pleasures
 You haue beene bard from, with one voyce cry with me,
 Libertie, Libertie.
All. Libertie, Libertie.
Pisander. Goe then, and take possession; vse all freedome,
 But shed not blood: so this is well begun,
 But not to be commended, til't be done. Exeunt omnes.

ACTVS III. SCAENA I.

Pisander. Timandra.

Pisander. Why thinke you that I plot against my selfe?
 Feare nothing, you are safe, these thick-skinn'd slaues,
 (I vse as instruments to serue my ends)
 Pierce not my deepe designes: nor shall they dare
 To lift an arme against you.

Timandra. With your will.
 But turbulent spirits rais'd beyond themsleues

F

98. Modern punctuation would not require so heavy a stop after "Masters".

100. The comma after "warres" denotes an unfinished speech as in I,i,37 and II,i,23. C,M,G, replace the comma with a dash.

103. PQ₁ has a colon after "Master"; MQ₁, HQ₁, Q₂, have a period and C,M,G, a dash. The colon here denotes a sudden turn and an emphatic break in the thought. Cf. II,ii,129, and note.

112. The comma after "delights" in HQ₁ is deleted in MQ₁, PQ₁, Q₂, and by later editors.

116. C,M, give the stage direction: Exeunt all, crying liberty.

Stage direction. Gifford reads: The same. A Gallery in Archidamus's House. Enter Marullo and Timandra.

With ease; are not so soone layd: they oft proue
Dangerous to him that call'd them vp.

Pisander.

Tis true,

In what is rashly vnderooke. Long since
I haue considered seriously their natures
Proceeded with mature aduise, and know
I hold their will, and faculties in more awe.
Then I can doe my owne. Now for their Licence,
And ryot in the Citie, I can make
A iust defence, and vse: it may appeare too
A politticke preuention of such illls
As might with greater violence, and danger
hereafter be attempted; though some smart for't,
It matters not: howeuer, I am resolu'd;
And sleeps you with security. Holds Cleora
Constant to her rash vow?

Timandra. Beyond beleefe;

To me, that see her hourelly, it seemes a Vable.
By signes I ghesse at her commands, and serue 'em
With silence, such her pleasure is, made knowne
By holding her faire hand thus; she eates little,
Sleepes lesse, as I imagine; once a day
I leade her to this Gallery, where she walkes
Some halfe a dozen turnes, and hauing offred
To her absent Saint a sacrifice of sighes,
She points backe to her prison.

Pisander.

Guida her hither,

And make her vnderstand the slaues reuolt.
And with your vtmost eloquence enlarge
Their insolence, and Rapes done in the Citie,
Forget not to, I am their chiefe, and tell her
You strongly thinke my extreame dotage on her,
As I am Marullo, caus'd this sodaine vprere,
To make way to enioy her.

Timandra.

Punctually

I will discharge my part.

Exit Timandra. Enter Poliphron.

Poliphron.

O Sir, I sought you.

You haue mis'd the best sport. Hell, I thinke is broke loose,

10: Modern punctuation would require a comma after "natures".

39. Q₂, C, M, omit "best".

There's such varietie of all disorders,
 As leaping, shooting, drinking, dancing, whoring
 Among the slaues; answer'd with crying, howling,
 By the Citizens and their wiues: such a confusion,
 (In a word, not to tyre you) as I thinke
 The like was neuer reade of.

Pisander. I share in
 The pleasure, though I am absent. This is some
 Reuenge for my disgrace.

Poliphron. But Sir; I feare,
 If your authority restraine them not,
 They'll fire the Citie, or kill one another,
 They are so apt to outrage; neither know I
 Whether you wish it, and came therefore to
 Acquaint you with so much.

Pisander. I will among'em
 But must not long be absent.

Poliphron. At your pleasure..

ACTVS III. SCAENA II.

Cleora, Timandra, a Chaire, a shout within.

Timandra. They are at our gates, my heart! affrights & horrors
 Increase each minute: No way left to saue vs;
 No flattering hope to comfort vs, or meanes
 By miracle to redeeme vs from base lust,
 And lawlesse rapine. Are there Gods, yet suffer
 Such innocent sweetnesse to be made the spoile
 Of brutish appetite? Or, since they decree
 To ruine Natures master-peece (of which
 they haue not left one patterne) must they choose,
 To set their tyrannie of, slaues to pollute
 The spring of chastitie, and poyson it
 With their most loath'd embraces? and of those
 He that should offer vp his life to guard it?
Marullo, curs'd Marullo, your owne Bond-man
 Purchas'd to serue you, and fed by your fauours.
 Nay, start not; it is he, hee the grand Captaine

Cleora starts.

F₂

41. shooting. Q₂, C, M, G, shouting. See the note.

53. C, M, G, add the stage direction: Exeunt.

Stage setting. Gifford reads: The same. A Room in the same.

Shouts within. Enter Cleora and Timandra.

5. Q₂, C, M, have an interrogation point, G and exclamation point,
 after "rapine".

there. C, these.

13. G places a comma at the end of the line and relegates the
 interrogation point to the end of line 15.

16. G omits "Cleora starts".

Of these libidinous beasts, that haue not left
 One cruell act vndone, that Barbarous conquest,
 Yet euer practis'd in a captiue Citie.
 He doting on your beauty, and to haue fellowes 20
 In his foule sinne, hath rais'd these mutinous slaues,
 Who haue begun the game by violent Rapes,
 Vpon the Wiues and Daughters of their Lords:
 And he to quench the fire of his base lust,
 By force comes to enioy you: doe not wring Cleora wrings 25
 Your innocent hands, 'tis bootlesse, vse the meanes her hands.
 That may preserue you. 'Tis no crime to breake
 A vow; when you are forc'd to it; shew your face,
 And with the maiestie of commanding beantie,
 Strike dead his loose affections; if that faile, 30
 Giue libertie to your tongue, and vse entreaties,
 There cannot be a breast of flesh, and bloud,
 Or heart so made of flint, but must receiue
 Impression from your words; or eies so sterne,
 But from the cleere reflection of your teares 35
 Must melt, and beare them company; will you not
 Doe these good offices to your selfe? poore I then,
 Can onely weepe your fortune; here he comes.
Pisander. He that aduances Enter Pisander speaking
 A foot beyond this, comes vpon my sword. at the doore. 40
 You haue had your wayes, disturbe not mine.
Timandra. Speake gently,
 Her feares may kill her else.
Pisander. Now loue inspire me!
 Still shall this Canopie of enuious night
 Obscure my Suns of Comfort? and those dainties 45
 Of purest white and red, which I take in at
 My greedy eyes, deny'd my famish'd senses?
 The Organs of your hearing yet are open;
 And you infringe no vow, though you vouchsafe,
 To giue them warrant, to conuey vnto
 Your vnderstanding parts, the story of 50
 A tortur'd and dispairing Louer, whom Cleora shakes.
 Not Fortune but affection markes your slaue.

-
19. euer. Q₂, never.
 22. Rubinstein reads "to" for "the".
 25. G omits "Cleora wrings her hands".
 28. PQ₁ deletes the semicolon after "vow", found in HQ₁, HQ₁, and Q₂.
 37. Au replaces the comma after "selfe" in Q₁ and Q₂ with an in-
 terrogation point.
 38. PQ₁ and Q₂ replace the comma after "fortune" in HQ₁ and HQ₁
 with a semicolon.
 39. A short line. See the note.
 46. yet are. Q₂, C, M, are yet.
 50. Au and Q₂ transpose the comma after "vnderstanding" in Q₁,
 placing it after "parts".
 51. C, M, G, omit "Cleora shakes".

Shake not best Lady, for balaeu't you are
 As farre from danger as I am from force.
 All violence I'll offer, tendes no farther 55
 Then to relate my sufferings, which I dare not
 Presume to doe, till by some gracious signe
 You shew you are pleas'd to heare me.

Timandra. If you are,
 Hold forth your right hand. Cleora holds forth her
Pisander. So 'tis done, and I right hand. 60

With my glad lips seale humbly on your foot,
 My soules thanks for the fauour: I forbear
 To tell you who I am, what wealth, what honours,
 I made exchange of to become your seruant;
 And though I knew worthy Leosthenes
 (For sure he must be worthy, for whose loue 65
 You haue endur'd so much) to be my riual,
 When rage, and iealousie counsail'd me to kill him,
 (Which then I could haue done with much more ease,
 Then now in feare to grieue you, I dare speake it)
 Loue seconded with duty boldly told me, 70
 The man I hated, faire Cleora fauour'd,
 And that was his protection. Cleora bowes.

Timandra. See, she bowes
 Her head in signe of thankfulnessse.

Pisander. He remou'd,
 By th'occasion of the war (my fires increasing
 By being clos'd, and stop'd vp) franticke affection 75
 prompted me to doe something in his absence,
 That might deliuer you into my power,
 Which you see is effected, and euen now,
 When my rebellious passions chide my dulnesse,
 And tell me how much I abuse my fortunes; 80
 Now 'tis in my power to beare you hence,
Cleora starts.
 Or take my wishes here, (nay, feare not Madam
 True loue's a seruant, brutish lust a Tyrant)
 I dare not touch those viands, that ne're taste well,
 But when they are freely offred: only thus much, 85
 Be pleas'd I may speake in my owne deare cause,

F₃

55. I'll. MQ₁ and PQ₁ supply the apostrophe missing in HQ.

59. Pisander. Q₁, Pisandra; Q₂, Pisan; The "ra" ending in Q₁ was mistakenly repeated from "Timandra" in l.58.

62. who. Q₂, whom.

63. exchange. Q₂, change.

PQ₁, MQ₁, and Q₂ replace the comma after "seruant" in HQ₁ with a semicolon.

64. Leosthenes. Q₁, Loosthenes; Q₂, C, M, G, Leosthenes. PQ₁, MQ₁, and Q₂ delete the colon which appears after "Loosthenes" in HQ₁.

69. Modern punctuation would require a comma after "now!".
 speake. HQ₁, speake; MQ₁, PQ₁, speake.

74. Modern punctuation would require a comma after "war!". G unnecessarily transposes "by" to the preceding line.

78. effected. Q₁, affected; Q₂, C, M, G, effected.

85. MQ₁, PQ₁, and Q₂ have a colon after "offred" and a comma after "much", instead of vice versa as in HQ₁.

And thinke it worthy your consideration.
 I haue lou'd truly, (cannot say deseru'd,
 Since duty must not take the name of merit)
 That I so farre prise your content, before
 All blessings, that my hopes can fashion to mee,
 That willingly I entertaine despayre,
 And for your sake embrace it. For I know,
 This opportunity lost, by no endeaour
 The like can be recouer'd. To conclude,
 Forget not, that I lose my selfe, to saue you.
 For what can I expect, but death and torture
 The warre being ended? and, what is a taske
 Would trouble Hercules to vndertake,
 I doe deny you to my selfe, to giue you
 A pure vnspotted present to my riual.
 I haue said, if it distaste not, best of Virgins,
 Reward my temperance with some lawfull fauour,
 Though you contemne my person. Cleora kneeles, then puls off
Timandra. See, she kneeles her Gloue, and offers her
 And seemes to call vpon the gods to pay hand to Pisander.
 The debt she owes your vertue. To performe which
 As a sure pledge of friendship, she vouchsafes you
 Her faire right hand. Makes a lowe curtsie, as she
Pisander. I am payd for all my sufferings. goes off.
 Now when you please, passe to your priuate Chamber:
 My loue, and dutie, faithfull guards, shall keepe you
 From all disturbance; and when you are sated
 With thinking of Leosthenes, as a fee
 Due to my seruice, spare one sigh for me. Exeunt.

ACTVS III; SCAENA III.

Graculo leading Asotus in an Apes habit, with a chaine about his
necke. Zanthia, in Corisones Cloathes, she bearing
vp her traine.

Graculo. Come on, Sir.

Asotus.

Oh.

Doe you grumble? you were euer

Grac.

91. hopes. Q₂, C, M, G, hope.

108. Q₂, C, M, omit "faire".

The stage direction, although following Timandra's speech, evidently is a continuation of the stage direction above, and refers to Cleora. C, M, place it after line 110, G at the end of the scene, prefixing "Cleora" to it.

Stage direction. Gifford reads: The same. A Room in Cleon's House.
Enter Graculo, leading Asotus in an ape's habit, with a chain about
his neck; Zanthia in Corisca's clothes, she bearing up her train.

A brainlesse Asse, but if this hold, I'll teach you
To come aloft, and doe tricks like an Ape.

Your mornings lesson: if you misse-----

Asotus.

O no, Sir.

Asotus makes moppes.

Grac. What for the Carthaginians? a good beast.

What for our selfe your Lord? exceeding well.

There's your reward. Not kisse your paws? So,so,so.

Zanthia. Was euer Lady the first daie of her honour

So waited on by a wrinkled crone? she lookes now

Without her painting, curling, and perfumes

Like the last day of Ianuary; and stinkes worse

Then a hot brach in the dogge daies. Further of,

So stand there like an image; if you stirre,

Till with a quarter of a looke I call you,

You know what followes.

Corisca.

O what am I false to!

But 'tis a punishment for my lust and pride,

Iustly return'd vpon me.

Graculo.

How doo'st thou like

Thy Ladiship Zanthia?

Zanthia.

Very well, and beare it

With as much state as your Lordship.

Graculo.

Giue me thy hand;

Let vs like conquering Romans walke in triumph,

Our captiues following. Then mount our Tribunals;

And make the slaues our footstooles.

Zanthia.

Fine by Ioue,

Are your hands cleane minion?

Corisca.

Yes forsooth.

Zanthia.

Fall off then.

So now comeon: and hauing made your three duties,

Downe I say, (are you stiffe in the hams?) now kneele,

And tie our shoes. Now kisse it and be happy.

Graculo. This is state indeed.

Zanthia.

It is such as she taught me,

A tickling itch of greatnesse, your proud Ladyes

Expect from their poore Waiters, we haue chang'd parts;

Shes does what she foro'd me to doe in her raigne,

And I must practise it in mine.

(F₄)

3. Q₁ omits all punctuation after "Ape". Q₂, C, M, G, have a period.

4. moppes. C, M, mouthes. G places the stage direction after "Carthaginians". See the note.

6. G places "Dances" in the middle of the line.

7. G inserts: Gives him an apple.

13. Modern punctuation would require a stop after "So". C, M, G, have a dash.

Gracculo. 'Tis iustice;
 O heere come more. Enter Cymbrio, Cleon, Poliphron, Olympia.
Cymbrio. Discouer to a Drachma,
 Or I will famish thee.
Cleon. O I am pinde already.
Cymbrio. Hunger shall force thee to cut off the brawnes
 From thy armes and thighes, then broile them on the coles 35
 For Carbonadoes.
Poliphron. Spare the olde Iade, he's foundred.
Gracculo. Cutt his throat then,
 And hang him out for a scarre-Crowe.
Poliphron. You haue all your wishes
 In your reuenge, and I haue mine. You see
 I vse no tyrannie: When I was her slaue, 40
 She kept me as a sinner to lie at her backe
 In frostie nights, and fed me high with dainties,
 Which still she had in her belly againe e're morning,
 And in requitall of those courtesies
 Hauing made one another free, we are marryed, 45
 And if you wish vs ioy, ioyne with vs in
 A Dance at our Wedding.
Gracculo. Agreed, for I haue thought of
 A most triumphant one, which shall expresse
 wee are Lords, and these our slaues.
Poliphron. But we shall want
 A woman.
Gracculo. No, here's Iane of Apes shall serue; 50
 Carry your body swimming: where's the Musicke?
Poliph. I haue plac'd it in yon Window. The dance at the end.
Gracculo. Begin then sprightly. Enter Pisander.
Poliphron. Well done on all sides. I haue prepar'd a Banquet;
 Let's drinke, and coole vs.
Gracculo. A good motion,
Cymbrio. Wait heere,
 You haue beene tyr'd with feasting, learne to fast now. 55
Grac. Ile haue an Apple for Iacke, and may be some scrapps
 May fall to your share Exeunt Gracculo, Zanthia, Cymbrio,
Corisca. Whom can we accuse Poliphron, Olympia.
 But our selues for what we suffer? thou art iust

-
36. The period after "foundred" is lacking in Q₁.
 37. There is a short line in either 37 or 38. Cf. III,ii,39. See the note.
 48-49. Lines rearranged with C,M,G. See the note.
 51. G replaces the Quarto stage direction with: [Musio, and then a dance.
Enter Marullo behind.
 C,M, have: Enter Pisander unseen.
 54. For the comma after "motion" see the note to I,i,37.
 56. Ile. Q₂, I'll.
 57. For the lack of punctuation after "share" see the note.

Thou all-creating power. And miserie
 Instructs me now (that yesterday acknowledg'd,
 No Deitie beyond my lust and pride).
 Their is a heauen above vs, that lookes downe
 With the eyes of Iustice, vpon such as number
 Those blessings freely giuen, in the accompt
 Of their poore merits: Else it could not be
 Now miserable I, to please whose pallat
 The Elements were ransack'd, yet complain'd
 Of Nature, as not liberall enough
 In her prouision of rarities
 To soothe my taste, and pamper my proud flesh:
 Now wish in vaine for bread:
Cleon. Yes, I doe wishe too,
 For what I fed my dogges with.
Corisca. I that forgot
 I was made of flesh and blood, and thought the silke
 Spunne by the diligent wormes, out of their intrals,
 Too course to cloathe mee; and the softest Downe
 Too hard to sleepe on; that disdain'd to looke
 On vertue being in ragges; that stop'd my nose
 At those that did not vse adulterate arts
 To better nature; that from those, that seru'd me,
 Expected adoration, am made iustly
 The scorne of my owne Bond-woman.
Asotus. I am punish'd,
 For seeking to Cuckold mine owne naturall Father.
 Had I beene gelded then, or vs'd my selfe
 Like a man: I had not beene transform'd, and forc'd
 To play an ore-growne Ape.
Cleon. I know I cannot
 Last long, that's all my comfort: come, I forgive both,
 It is in vaine to be angry, let vs therefore
 Lament together like friends.
Pisander. What a true mirror
 Were this sad spectacle for secure greatnesse!
 Heere they that neuer see themselues, but in
 The Glasse of seruite flattery, might behold
 G

60-61. The parentheses before "that" and after "pride" are
 supplied by Au. Q₁, Q₂, C, M, G have a comma after "now"; C adds parentheses
 as in the text; Q₁, Q₂, C, have a period after "pride", G a comma.

63. Q₂, C, M, omit "the".

71. Now. M, G, Should. See the note.

74. wormes. Q₁, Q₂, C, M, G, wormes; Au, wormes.

The weake foundation,vpon which they build,
 That trust in humane frailtie. Haplie are those,
 That knowing in their births, they are subiect to
 Vncertaine change, are still prepar'd, and arm'd
 For either fortune: A rare principle, 95
 And with much labour, learn'd in wisdomes schoole:
 For as these Bond-men by their actions shew,
 That their prosperitie, like too large a Sayle
 For their small barke of iudgement; sinkes them with 100
 A fore-right gale of libertie, e're they reach
 The Port they long to touch at: So these wretches
 Swolne with the false opinion of their worth,
 And proud of blessings left them, not acquir'd,
 That did beleue they could with Gyant-arnes 105
 Fathome the earth, and were aboue their fates.
 Those borrow'd helpes that did support them, vanish'd:
 Fall of themselues, and by vnmanny suffring,
 Betray their proper weaknesse, and make knowne
 Their boasted greatnesse was lent, not their owne. 110
Cleon. O for some meate, they sit long.
Corisc. We forgot,
 When we draw out intemperate feasts till midnight:
 Their hunger was not thought on, nor their watchings;
 Nor did we hold our selues seru'd to the height,
 But when we did exact, and force their duties 115
 Beyond their strength and power.
Asotus. We pay for't now,
 I now could be content to haue my head
 Broke with a ribbe of Beefe, or for a Coffin
 Be buried in the dripping Pan.
Cymbrio. Doe not hold me, Enter Poliphron, Cymbrio, Gracculo,
 Not kisse the Bride? Zanthia, Olimpia, drunke and
Poliphron. No Sir. quarrelling.
Cimbrio. She's common good, 120
 And so wee'll vse her.
Gracculo. Wee'le haue nothing priuate.
Olympia. Hold:
Zanthia. Heere, Marullo.

92. The comma after "foundation" is supplied by Au, and is not found in any text of the play.

99. their: Q₂, in.

too. Q₁, Q₂ have "too, too!" Au, C, M, G delete the second "too".

100. The semicolon after "iudgement" in Q₁, and Q₂ is replaced with a comma in Au, C, M, G.

105. For the period after "fates" see the note to I, iii, 93.

122. G replaces "Olympia" with "Marullo", and adds the stage direction: "(coming forward)". See the note.

Heere, Marullo. G, Here's Marullo.

Olympia. Hee's your chiefe.
Cymbrio. We are equals,
 I will know no obedience.
Gracculo. Nor superior,
 Nay, if you are Lyon-drunke, I will make one,
 For lightly euer he that parts the fray,
 Goes away with the blowes. 125
Pisander. Art thou madde too?
 No more, as you respect me.
Poliphron. I obey, Sir,
Pisander. Quarrell among your selues?
Cymbrio. Yes, in our Wine, Sir,
 And for our Wenchas.
Gracculo. How could we be Lords else?
Pisan. Take heed, I haue news will coole this heat, & make you 130
 Remember, what you were.
Cymbrio. How?
Pisander. Send off these,
 And then I'll tell you. Zanthia beating Corisca.
Olympia. This is tyrannie,
 Now she offends not.
Zanthia. 'Tis for exercise,
 And to helpe digestion, what is she good for else?
 To me it was her language.
Pisander. Staue her of. 135
 And take heed Madam minx, the Wheele may turne.
 Goe to your meate, and rest, and from this houre
 Remember, he that is a Lord to day, Exeunt Cleon, Asotus, Zan-
 May be a Slaue to morrow. thia, Olympia, Corisca.
Cleon. good morallity.
Cymbrio. But what would you impart?
Pisander. What must inuite you 140
 To stand vpon your guard, and leaue your feasting,
 Or but imagine, what it is to be
 Most miserable, and rest assur'd you are so.
 Our Masters are victorious:
All. How?
Pisander. Within
 G₂

122. Q₂ omits "your".

135. Staue her of. Q₁, Q₂, Leaue her off; Au, Staue her of; C, M, G,
 Lead her off. Au also replaces the comma of Q₁, Q₂ with a period.

144. For the colon after "victorious", see 1, i, 4.

A dayes march of the Citie, flesh'd with spoyle,
 And proud of conquest, the Armado sunke,
 The Carthaginian Admirall hand to hand,
 Slaine by Leosthenes.

145

Cymbrio. I feeles the whippe
 Vpon my backe already.

Gracculo. Every man
 Seeke a conuenient Tree, and hang himselfe.

150

Poliphron. Better die once, then liue an age to suffer
 New tortures euery houre.

Cimbrio. Say, we submit,
 And yeeld vs to their mercy.

Pisander. Can you flatter
 Your selues with such false hopes? or dare you thinke
 That your imperious Lords, that neuer fail'd
 To punish with seuerity petty slipps,
 In your neglect of labour, may be wonne
 To pardon those licentious outrages,
 Which noble enemies forbear to practise
 Vpon the conquer'd? What haue you omitted,
 That may call on their iust reuenge with horror,
 And studied cruelty? We haue gone too farre
 To thinke now of retyring; in our courage,
 And daringe, lies our safetie; if you are not
 Slaues in your abiect mindes, as in your fortunes
 Since to die is the worst, better expose
 Our naked breasts to their keene Swords, and sell
 Our liues with the most aduantage, then to trust
 In a forestal'd remission, or yeeld vp
 Our bodies to the furnace of their furie,
 Thrice heated with reuenge.

155

160

165

170

Gracculo. You led vs on.

Cimb. And 'tis but iustice, you should bring vs off.

Gracculo. And we expect it.

Pisander. Heare then, and obey me,
 And I will either saue you, or fall with you;
 Man the Walls strongly, and make good the Ports
 Boldly deny their entrance, and rippe vp

175

153. G places an interrogation point after "mercy".

164. daringe. Q₁, Q₂, C, M, during; Au, daringe; G, daring.

170. The entire line is omitted in Q₂.

Your grievances, and what compell'd you to
 This desperate course: if they disdain to heare
 Of composition, we haue in our powers
 Their aged Fathers, Children, and their Wiues,
 Who to preserue themselves, must willingly
 Make intercession for vs. 'Tis not time now
 To talke; but doe. A glorious end or freedome
 Is now propos'd vs; stand resolu'd for either,
 And like good fellowes, liue, or die togeather.

180

Exeunt.

ACTVS III. SCAENA IIII.

Leosthenes, Timagoras.

Timagoras. I am so farre from enuie, I am proud
 You haue outstrip'd me in the race of honour.
 O'twas a glorious day, and brauely wonne!
 Your bold performance gaue such lustre to
 Timoleons wise directions, as the Armie
 Rests doubtfull, to whom they stand most ingag'de
 For their so great successe.

5

Leosthenes. The Gods first honour'd,
 The glory be the Generalls; 'tis farre from mee
 To be his riual.

Timagoras. You abuse your fortune,
 To entertaine her choyce, and gracious fauours,
 With a contracted browe; Plym'd victorie
 Is truly painted with a cheerefull looke,
 Equally distant from proud insolence,
 And base defection.

10

Leosthenes. O Timagoras,
 You onely are acquainted with the cause,
 That loades my sad heart with a hill of lead.
 Whose ponderous waight, neither my new got honour,
 Assisted by the generall applause
 The souldier crownes it with: not all warres glories
 Can lessen, or remoue; and would you please,
 With fit consideration to remember
 How much I wrong Cleoras innocence,

15

20

G₃

Stage direction. Timagoras. Q₁, Timagorus; Q₂, C, M, G, Timagoras.

Gifford adds: The Country near Syracuse.

The Camp of Timoleon.

5. directions. Q₂, direction.

15. onely are. Rubinstein reads "are only".

16. For the period after "lead" see the note to I, iii, 93.

22. wrong. C, M, G, wrong'd.

With my rash doubts; and what a grievous penance,
 Shee did impose vpon her tender sweetnesse,
 To plucke away the Vulture iealousie,
 That fed vpon my Liuer: you cannot blame me,
 But call it a fit iustice on my selfe,
 Though I resolute to be a stranger to
 The thought of mirth, or pleasure.

25

Timago: You haue redeem'd
 The forfeit of your fault, with such a ransome
 Of honourable action, as my Sister
 Must of necessitie confesse her sufferings
 Weigh'd downe by your faire merits; and when she views you
 Like a triumphant Conquerour, carried through
 The Streets of Syracusa, the glad people
 Pressing to meet you, and the Senators
 Contending who shall heape most honours on you;
 The Oxen crown'd with Girlands led before you
 Appointed for the Sacrifice; and the Altars
 Smoaking with thankfull Incense to the gods:
 The Souldiers chaunting loud hymnes to your praise:
 The windows fill'd with Matrons, and with Virgins,
 Throwing vpon your head, as you passe by,
 The choycest Flowers; and silently inuoking
 The Queene of Loue, with their particular vowe,
 To be thought worthy of you; can Cleora,
 (Though, in the glasse of selfe-loue, shee behold
 Her best deserts) but with all ioy acknowledge,
 What she indur'd, was but a noble tryall
 You made of her affection? and her anger
 Rising from your too amorous feares, soone drench'd
 In Lethe, and forgotten.

30

35

40

45

50

Ieasthenes. If those glories
 You so set forth were mine, they might plead for mee:
 But I can laye no claime to the least honour,
 Which you with foule iniustice rauish from her;
 Her beauty, in me wrought a myracle,
 Taught me to ayme at things beyond my power,
 Which her perfections purchas'd, and gaue me

55

29. Timago. Q₁, Q₂, Timandra; Au, Timago; C, M, G, Timago. Au also replaces the period found after "Timandra" in Q₁ and Q₂, with a colon.

35. In Q₁ a mark resembling a semicolon appears before "glady". As it is obviously another instance of defective printing, I have deleted it, as have Q₂, C, M, G.

36. The comma after "you" appears in RB, HH, WB, but is not visible in HB, RH, of Q₂.

51. feares. Q₁, Q₂, eares; Au, feares; C, Ears; M, Feares; G, cares.

58. purchas'd. HB, purchs'd; HH, RH, WB, RB, purchas'd.

52
 From her free bounties; she inspir'd me with
 That vallour, which I dare not call mine owne:
 60
 And from the faire reflexion of her minde,
 My soule receau'd the sparokling beames of courage.
 Shee from the magazine of her proper goodnesse,
 Stock'd me with vertuous purposes; sent me forth
 To trade for honour; and she being the owner
 65
 Of the barke of my aduentures, I must yeeld her
 A iust accompt of all, as fits a Factor:
 And howsoever others thinke me happy,
 And cry aloud, I haue made a prosperous voyage:
 One frowne of her dislike at my returne,
 70
 (Which, as a punishment for my fault, I looke for)
 Strikes dead all comfort.

Timagoras. Tush, these feares are needlesse,
 Shee cannot, must not, shall not be so cruell.
 A free confession of a fault winnes pardon;
 But being seconded by desert, commands it.
 75
 The Generall is your owne, and sure; my Father
 Repents his harshnesse: for my selfe, I am
 Euer your creature, one day shall be happy
 In your triumph, and your Mariage.

Leosthenes. May it proue so,
 With her consent, and pardon.
Timagoras. Euer touching
 80
 On that harsh string? she is your owne, and you
 Without disturbance seaze on what's your due.

Exeunt.

ACTVS IIII. SCAENA I.
Pisander, Timandra.

Pisander. She has her health then:
Timandra. Yes, Sir, and as often
 As I speake of you, lends attentiu eare
 To all that I deliuer; nor seemes tyr'de,
 Though I dwell long on the relation of
 Your suffrings for her, heaping praise on praise,
 5
 On your vnequal'd temperance, and command,

(G)
 4

76. Modern punctuation would not require so heavy a stop after "sure".

Stage direction. Gifford adds: Syracuse. A Room in Archidamus's House.

1. For the colon after "then", see I, i, 5.

6. vnequal'd. Q₂, vnequall.

53

You hold o're your affections.

Pisander. To my wish:
 Have you acquainted her with the defeature
 Of the Carthaginians, and with what honours
Leosthenes comes Crown'd home with?

10

Timandra. With all care

Pisander. And how does she receive it?

Timandra. As I ghesse
 With a seeming kinde of ioy, but yet appeares not
 Transported, or proud of his happy fortune.
 But when I tell her of the certaine ruine,
 You must encounter with at their arriuall
 In Syracusa, and that death with torments
 Must fall vpon you, which you yet repent not;
 Esteeming it a glorious martyrdome,
 And a reward of pure, vnspotted loue,
 Preseru'd in the white robe of Innocence:
 Though she were in your power, and byowd spurr'd on,
 By insolent lust; you rather chose to suffer
 The fruit vntasted, for whose glad possession,
 You haue call'd on the furie of your Lord,
 Then that she should be grieu'd, or tainted in
 Her Reputation.

15

20

25

Pisander. Doth it worke compunction?
 Pitties she my misfortune?

Timandra. Shee express'd
 All signes of sorrow, which (her vow obseru'd),
 Could witnesse a grieu'd heart. At the first hearing
 Shee fell vpon her face, rent her faire haire,
 Her hands held vp to heauen, and vented sighes,
 In which shee silently seem'd to complaine,
 Of heauens iniustice.

30

Pisander. 'Tis enough: waite carefully,
 And vpon all watch'd occasions, continue
 Speech, and discourse of me: 'Tis time, must worke her.

35

Timandra. I'll not be wanting, but still strue to serue you.

Pisander. Now, Poliphron, the newes: Exit Timandra.
Poliphron. The conquering Army Enter Poliphron.

-
8. defeature. C.M, defeat.
21. you. Q₁, Q₂, C.M.G, still; Au, you. Au also adds the comma after "on"; absent in all editions. See the note.
22. chose. Q₂, choose.
28. which(her vow obseru'd). Q₁, (which)her vow obseru'd,. The parentheses are removed in Q₂, C.M.G. See the note.
34. upon. G, on.
35. The comma after "time" would not be required in modern punctuation; but it was regularly used in Elizabethan printing to mark omission of the relative. (Cf. Simpson, Shakespearian Punctuation, Sect. 25).
37. For the colon after "newes" see I,i,5.

Is Within ken.

Pisander. How brooke the slauas the obiect?

Poliph. Cheerefully yet; they do refuse no labour,
And seeme to scoffe at danger; 'tis your presence
That must confirme them; with a full consent,
You are chosen to relate the tyranny
Of our proud Masters; and what you subscribe too,
They gladly will allow of, or hold out
To the last man.

40

Pisander. I'll instantly among them:
If we prooue constant to our seluas, good fortune
Will not, I hope, forsake vs.

45

Poliphron. 'Tis our best refuge. Exeunt.

ACTVS IIII. SCAENA II.

Timoleon, Archidamus, Diphilus, Leosthenes,
Timagoras, others.

Timoleon. Thus farre we are return'd victorious, crown'd
With Wreathes triumphant, (famine, blood, and dearth,
Banisht your peacefull confines,) and bring home
Securitie, and peace. 'Tis therefore fit
That such as boldly stood the shocke of warre,
And with the deere expence of sweat and blood
Haue purchas'd Honour, should with pleasure reape
The haruest of their toyle; and wee stand bound
Out of the first file of the best deseruers,
(Though all must be consider'd to their merits)
To thinke of you Leosthenes, that stand,
And worthily, most deere in our esteeme,
For your heroique valour.

5

10

Archidamus. When I looke on
(The labour of so many men, and ages)
This well-built Citie, not long since design'd
To spoyle and rapine; by the fauour of
The gods, and you their ministers preseru'd;
I cannot in my height of ioy, but offer
These teares for a glad sacrifice,

15

H

Stage direction. Gifford adds: Before the Walls of Syracuse.

2. dearth. G, death.

14. G omits the parentheses.

Diphilus. Sleeps the Citizens?
Or are they ouerwhelm'd with the excesse
Of comfort, that flowes to them? 20

Leosthenes. Wee receaue
A silent entertainment.

Timagoras. I long since
Expected, that the virgins, and the Matrons,
The old men striuing with their age, the Priests
Carrying the Images of their gods before 'em 25
Should haue met vs with Procession: Ha! the gates
Are shut against vs!

Archid. And vpon the Walls: Enter aboue, Pisander, Poli-
Arm'd men seems to defie vs!. phron, Cimbrio, Gracculo &

Diphilus. I should know the rest.
These faces; they are our slaues.

Timagoras. The misterie, Rascalls?
Open the ports, and play not with an anger, 30
That will consume you.

Timoleon. This is aboue wonder.

Archid. Our Bond-men stand against vs!

Gracculo. Some such things
We were in mans remembrance; the slaues are turn'd
Lords of the Towne, or so; nay, be not angry: 35
Perhaps on good tearmes, giuing security,
You will be quiet men, we may allow you
Some lodgings in our Garrets, or out-houses;
Your great lookes cannot carry it.

Cymbrio. The truth is,
We haue beene bold with your wiues, toy'd with your daughters.

Leosthenes. O my prophetique soule!

Gracculo. Rifled your Chests, 40
Beene busie with your Wardrobes.

Timagoras. Can we indure this?

Leosthenes. O my Cleora!

Gracculo. A Caudle, for the Gentleman,
Hee'll die a'the pip else.

Timagoras. Scorn'd too! are you turn'd stone?
Hold parley with our Bond-men? force our entrance,

27. & the rest. Q₂ has "&c." and omits "the rest".
Gifford adds "on the Walls", and for "the rest" he has
"other Slaves".

43. a'the. Q₂, a'th; C, M, o'th'; G, o'the.

Then Villaines, expect.

Timoleon. Hold: you weare mens shapes
And if like men you haue reason, shew a cause
That leads you to this desperate course, which must end
In your destruction?

45

Graculo. That, as please the Fates,
But we vouchsafe; speake Captaine.

Timagoras. Hell, and Furies!

Archid. Bay'd by our owne curreas?

Cimbrio. Take heed, you be not wurried. 50

Poliphron. We are sharpe set.

Cymbrio. And sodaine.

Pisander. Briefly thus then,

Since I must speake for all; your tyranny
Drew vs from our obedience. Happy those times,
When Lords were styl'd fathers of Families,
And not imperious Masters; when they numbred
Their seruants almost equall with their Sonnes,
Or one degree beneath them; when their labours
Were cherish'd, and rewarded, and a period
Set to their sufferings; when they did not presse
Their duties, or their wills beyond the power
And strength of their performance; all things order'd
With such decorum, as wise Law-makers,
From each well-gouern'd priuate house deriu'd
The perfect modell of a Common-wealth;
Humanity then lodg'd in the hearts of men,
And thankfull Masters carefully provided
For Creatures wanting reason. The noble horse
That in his fiery youth from his wide nostrells,
Neigh'd courage to his Rider, and brake through
Groues of opposed Pikes, bearing his Lord
Safe to triumphant victory, old or wounded,
Was set at libertie, and freed from seruice.
The Athenian Mules, that from the Quarrie drew
Marble, haw'd for the Temples of the gods,
The great worke ended, were dismis'd, and fed
At the publique cost; nay, faithfull dogs haue found

55

60

65

70

75

H₂

45. Q₂, C, M, G, have a dash after "expect." See the note.

60, the. Q₁, rhe. Cf. I, iii, 372 and II, iii, 72.

61. order'd. C, order.

69. brake. C, M, broke.

Their Sepulchres; but man to man, more cruell,
 Appoints no end to the suffrings of his slaue;
 Since pride stept in and ryot, and o'return'd
 This goodly frame of Concord, teaching Masters 80
 To glory in the abuse of such, as are
 Brought vnder their comānd; who grown vnusefull,
 Are lesse esteem'd than beasts; this you haue practis'd,
 Practis'd on vs with rigor; this hath forc'd vs,
 To shake our heauy yokes off; and if redresse 85
 Of these iust grieuances be not granted vs,
 Wee'll right our selues, and by strong hand defend,
 What we are now possess'd of.

Gracculo. And not leaue
 One house vnfir'd.

Cimbrio. Or throat vnout of those
 We haue in our power.

Poliphron. Nor will we fall alone, 90
 You shall buy vs dearely.

Timagoras. O, the gods!
 Vnheard of insolence!

Timoleon. What are your demaunds?

Pisander. A generall pardon, first, for all offences
 Committed in your absence. Libertie,
 To all such, as desire to make returne 95
 Into their countries; and to those that stay,
 A competence of land freely allotted
 To each mans proper vse; no Lord acknowledg'd.
 Lastly, with your consent, to choose them wiues
 Out of your Families.

Timagoras. Let the Citie sinke first. 100

Leosthenes. And ruine sease on all, e're we subscribe
 To such conditions.

Archidamus. Carthage, though victorious,
 Could not haue forc'd more from vs:

Leosthenes. Scale the Walls,
 Capitulate after.

Timoleon. He that winnes the toppe first,
 Shall weare a murall wreath. Exeunt.

82. comānd. Q₁, cōmand; Q₂, command.

96. The comma after "stay"² is lacking in HQ₁, but supplied
 in PQ₁, and MQ₁, and Q₂.

103. For the colon after "us" see the note to I, i, 5.
 Walls. C, M, wall.

Pisander. Each to his place. Flourish, & 105
 Or death or victory; charge them home, & feare not. (alarmes.)
Timol. We wrong our selues, and we are iustly punish'd, Enter
 To deale with Bond-men, as if we encountred Timoleon and
 An equall enemy. Senators.

Archidamus. They fight like deuills:
 And runne vpon our Swords, as if their breasts Enter Leosthenes, 110
 Were prooffe beyond their Armour. and Timagoras.

Timagoras. Make a firme stand:
 The slaues not satisfied, they haue beat vs off,
 Prepare to sally forth.

Timoleon. They are wilde beasts,
 And to be tam'd by pollicie; each man take 115
 A tough whippe in his hand; such as you vs'd
 To punish them with, as masters; in your lookes
 carry seuerity, and awe; 'twill fright them
 More then your weapons; sauage Lyons flye from
 The sight of fire; and these that haue forgot 120
 That duty, you ne're taught them with your swords,
 When vnexpected, they behold those terrors
 Aduanc'd aloft, that they were made to shake at,
 'Twill force them to remember what they are, Enter Cimbrio,
 And stoope to due obedience. Gracculo, & other slaues.

Archidamus. Heere they come. 125
Cymbrio. Leauie not a man aliue; a wound is but a fleabyting,
 To what we suffred being slaues.

Gracculo. O my heart!
Cimbrio what doe we see? the whippe! our Masters!
Timag. Dare you rebell, slaues? Senators shake their whips, and
Cimbrio. Mercy, mercy; where they throw away their weapons,
 Shall we hide vs from their furie? and runne off.

Gracculo. Fly, they follow;
 O, we shall be tormented: 130
Timoleon. Enter with them,
 But yet forbear to kill them; still remember
 They are part of your wealth, and being disarm'd,
 There is no danger.

Archidamus. Let vs first deliuer.
 H₃

-
105. alarmes. C, M, arms.
 G adds the stage direction: Exeunt Marullo and Slaves.
107. C, M, G have the satge direction: Re-enter Timoleon, Archidamus,
and Senators.
108. encountred. HQ₁, encountre'd; PQ₁, MQ₁, encountred; Q₂, C, M, G,
 encounter'd.
112. For the comma after "satisfied" see the note.
116. with. Omitted in Q₂.
118. sauage. Q₂, C, M, salvage.
120. ne're. Q₁, ne're; Q₂, ne're.
128. where. HQ₁, Q₂, when; MQ₁, PQ₁, Au, C, M, G, where. Au also adds a
 comma after "where", which is, as Doctor Greg observes, erroneous. I
 haue therefore omitted it.
- throw. HQ₁, thoow; PQ₁, MQ₁, Q₂, C, M, G, throw.
- their. Q₁, theis; Q₂, C, M, G, their.
130. For the colon after "tormented" see the note to I, i, 5.

Such as they have in Fetters, and at leasure
Determine of their punishment.

Leosthenes. Friend, to you 135
I leave the disposition of what's mine:
I cannot thinke I am safe without your Sister,
Shae's only worth my thought; and till I see
What she has suffred, I am on the racke,
And Furies my tormentors. pray you leave mee. Exeunt. 140

ACTVS IIII. SCAENA III.

Pisander, Timandra.

Pisander. I know, I am pursu'd, nor would I flye,
Although the Ports were open, and a Conuoy
Ready to bring me off: the basenesse of
These villaines, from the pride of all my hopes,
Have throwne me to the bottomlesse Abisse. 5
Of horror, and despayre; had they stood firme,
I could have bought Cleoras free consent,
With the safetie of her Fathers life, and Brothers:
And fore'd Leosthenes to quit his claime,
And kneele a Suitor for mee.

Timandra. You must not thinke, 10
What might have beene, but what must now be practic'd
And suddenly resolute.

Pisander. All my poore fortunes
Are at the stake, and I must runne the hazard.
Vnseene, conuey me to Cleora's Chamber,
For in her sight, if it were possible, 15
I would be apprehended: doe not inquire
The reason why, but helpe me.

Timandra. Make haste, one knockes, Exit Pisander.
Ioue turne all to the best: you are welcome Sir. Enter Leosthenes.

Leosthenes. Thou giu'st it in a heavy tone.

Timandra. Alas, Sir, 20
Wee haue so long fed on the bread of sorrow,
Drinking the bitter water of afflictions,
Made loathsome to, by our continued feares,

140. furies. Q₁, furies's; Q₂, C, M, G, Furies.

pray you leave me. Added by Au to complete a short line;
omitted in all editions.

Stage direction. Gifford adds: Syracuse. A Room in Archidamus's House.

4. pride. In Q₂ the following difference occurs: HB, RH, WB, pride;
HH, RB, pried.

5. Haue. G, Hath.

7. Cleoras. Q₂, Cleora's.

10. for. In Q₂ the "r" of "for" is lacking in HH and WB.

C, M substitute "to".

17. Gifford adds the stage direction: [Knocking within].

Comfort's a stranger to vs.

Leosthenes. Feares! your suffrings,
For which I am so ouergone with grieffe,
I dare not aske without compassionate teares,
The villaines name, that rob'd thee of thy honour;
For being train'd vp in chastities cold Schoole,
And taught by such a Mistresse as Cleora,
'Twere impious in me, to thinke Timandra
Fell with her owne consent.

25

Timandra. How meane you, fell, Sir?
I vnderstand you not.

30

Leosthenes. I would, thou didst not,
Or that I could not reade vpon thy face,
In blushing caracters, the story of
Libidinous Rape; confesse it, for you stand not
Accomptable for a sinne, against whose strength
Your o're-match'd innocence could make no resistance;
Vnder which odds, I know Cleora fell too,
Heau'ns helpe in vaine inuok'd; the amazed Sunne,
Hiding his face behinde a maske of cloudes,
Not daring, to looke on it, in her suffrings
All sorrowe's comprehended; what Timandra,
Or the Citie has indur'd, her losse consider'd,
Deserues not to be nam'd.

35

40

Timandra. Pray you doe not bring, Sir,
In the chymeraes of your iealous feares,
New monsters to affright vs.

Leosthenes. O Timandra.
That I had faith enough but to beleue thee,
I should receaue it with a ioy beyond
Assurance of Elizian shades hereafter,
Or all the blessings in this life, a Mother
Could wish her children crown'd with: but I must not
Credit impossibilities, yet I strue
To finde out that, whose knowledge is a curse,
And ignorance a blessing. Come, discover
What kinde of looke he had, that forc'd thy Lady,
(Thy rauisher, I will enquire at leasure,)

45

50

55

(H₄)

23. Feares. Q₁, Q₂, Feare's; C, M, G, Feares.

31. For the comma after "would" see the note to IV, ii, 112.

35. Accomptable. C, M, G, Accountable.

40. Modern punctuation would require a heavier stop after "it".

45. Modern punctuation would not require so heavy a stop after
"Timandra": but here the period marks an emphatic pause.

That when hereafter I behold a stranger
 But neere him in aspect, I may conclude,
 (Though men and Angels should proclaime him honest,) 61
 Hee is a Hell-bred villaine.

Timandra. You are vnworthy
 To know she is preseru'd, preseru'd vntainted. 60
 Sorrow (but ill bestow'd) hath only made
 A rape vpon her comforts, in your absence.
 Come forth, deare Madam.

Leost.

Ha!

Leads in Cleora.
Kneeles.

Tima. Nay, she deserues
 The bending of your heart; that to content you,
 Has kept a vow, the breach of which a vestall 65
 (Though the infringing it had call'd vpon her
 A liuing funerall,) must of force haue shrunk at;
 No danger could compell her, to dispence with
 Her cruell Penance; though hot lust came arm'd
 To seaze vpon her, when one looke, or accent 70
 Might haue redeem'd her.

Leosthenes. Might? O doe not show me
 A beame of comfort, and straight take it from me;
 The meanes, by which she was freed? Speake, O speake quickly,
 Each minute of delay's an age of Torment:
 O speake, Timandra.

Timandra. Free her from her oath,
 Her selfe can best deliuar it. 75

Takes off the Scarfe.

Leost. O blest office!
 Neuer did Gally-slave shake off his chaines,
 Or look'd on his redemption from the Oare,
 With such true feeling of delight, as now 80
 I finde my selfe possess'd of; now I behold
 True light indeed; For since these fairest starres,
 (Couer'd with cloudes of your determinate will)
 Denyde their influence to my optique sense,
 The Splendor of the Sunne appear'd to me,
 But as some little glimpse of his bright beames 85
 Conuey'd into a Dungeon; to remember
 The darke inhabitants there, how much they wanted.

61. (but ill bestow'd) hath only made. Q₂, (but onely ill bestow'd) hath made.

63. C, M, have the stage direction: [Exit, and returns with Cleora.
 deserues. Q₁, deserues; Q₂, C, M, G, deserues.

73. C omits "she!".

74. Modern punctuation would probably omit the comma after "delay's," but it may denote hesitancy to fix attention on the words that follow.
 Cf. II, i, 24, II, iii, 100. (See Simpson, Shakespearian Punctuation, Sect. 6)

76. G substitutes the stage direction: [Unbinds her eyes.

86. Conuey'd. Q₁, Coney'd; Q₂, C, M, G, Conuey'd.

Open these long-shut lips, and strike mine eares
 With Musicke more harmonious, then the Sphaeres
 Yeeld in their heauenly motions; And if euer
 A true submission, for a crime acknowledg'd,
 May finde a gracious hearing, teach your tongue
 In the first sweet, articulate sounds, it vtters
 To signe my wish'd-for pardon.

90

Cleo.

I forgiue you.

Leost. How greedily I receiue this? Stay, best Lady,
 And let me by degrees ascend the height
 Of humane happinesse; All at once deliuer'd,
 The torrent of my ioyes will ouerwhelme me;
 So, now a little more; And pray excuse me,
 If like a wanton Epicure I desire,
 The pleasant taste these cates of comfort yeild me,
 should not too soone be swallow'd. Haue you not
 (By your vnspotted truth, I doe coniure you
 To answer truly) suffer'd in your honour;
 (By force, I meane, for in your will I free you)
 Since I left Syracusa?

95

100

105

Cleo.

I restore

This kisse, (so help me goodnesse,) which I borrow'd,
 When I last saw you.

Leost.

Miracle of vertue!

One pawse more, I beseech you, I am like
 A man, whose vitall spirits consum'd, and wasted
 With a long and tedious Feuer, vnto whom
 Too much of a strong Cordiall at once taken
 Brings death, and not restores him. Yet I cannot
 Fixe here: but must enquire the man, to whom
 I stand indebted for a benefit,
 Which to requite at full, though in this hand
 I grasp'd all Scepters the worlds Empire bow to,
 Would leaue me a poore Bank'rout; name him, Lady;
 If of a meane estate, I'll gladly part with
 My vtmost fortunes to him; but if noble,
 In thankfull duty studie how to serue him;
 Or if of higher rancke, erect him Altars,

110

115

120

I

95. C,M,G substitute an exclamation mark for the interrogation point. Cf. V,i,98; and note to II,iii,27.

108. Q₂ omits "last".

112. strong. Q₂, strange.

117. grasp'd. G, grasp.

119. Q₂ omits "of".

And (as a god) adore him.

Cleo. If that goodnesse,
And noble temperance (the Queene of vertues)
Bridling rebellious passions (to whose sway,
Such as haue conquer'd Nations haue liu'd slaues) 125
Did euer wing great mindes to flye to heauen;
He that preseru'd mine honour, may hope boldly
To fill a seat among the gods, and shake of
Our fraile corruption.

Leosthenes. Forward.

Cleo. Or if euer, 130
The powers aboue did masque in humane shapes,
To teach mortality, not by cold precepts
Forgot as soone as told, but by examples,
To imitate their purenesse, and draw neere
To their Coelestiall Natures; I belieue 135
Hee's more then man.

Leost. You doe describe a wonder.

Cleo. Which will increase, when you shall vnderstand,
He was a louer.

Leost. Not yours, Lady?

Cleo. Yes,
Lould me, Leosthenes; Nay more, so doted,
(If cleere affections scorning grosse desires 140
May without wrong be stil'd so) that he durst not
With an immodest syllable, or looks,
In feare it might take from me, whom he made
The object of his better part, discouer,
I was the Saint, he su'de too.

Leost. A rare temper! 145

Cleo. I cannot speake it to the worth: All praise
I can bestow vpon it, will appeare
Enuious detraction. Not to racke you farther,
Yet make the miracle full; though of all men
He hated you Leosthenes, as his riual: 150
So high yet he priz'd my content, that knowing
You were a man I fauour'd, he disdain'd not
Against himselfe to serue you.

140. cleere. C, M, G, e'ar. See the note.

145. temper. HQ₁, MQ₁, Q₂, C, tempter; PQ₁, Au, M, G, temper.

150. riual. Q₂, arivall.

151. he priz'd. C, M, prized he.

152. Q₂ omits "not".

153. The "ga" in "Against" cannot be seen in HQ₁.

Leost. You conceale, still,
The owner of these excellencies.

Cleo. 'Tis Marullo,
My Fathers Bond-man.

Leost. Ha, ha, ha!

Cleo. Why doe you laugh?

Leost. To heare the labouring mountaine of your praise
Deliver'd of a Mouse. 155

Cleo. The man deserues not
This scorne, I can assure you.

Leost. Doe you call,
What was his dutie, merit?

Cleo. Yes, and place it,
As high in my esteeme, as all the honours
Descended from your Auncestors, or the glory,
Which you may call your owne, got in this action;
In which I must confesse you haue done nobly,
And I could adde; As I desir'd; but that
I feare, 'twould make you proud. 160

Leost. Why Lady, can you
Be wonne to giue allowance, that your slaue
Should dare to laue you? 165

Cleo. The Immortall gods
Accept the meanest Altars, that are rais'd
By pure deuotions; and sometimes preferre
An ounce of Frankinsence, hony, or milke,
Before whole Hecatombes, or Sabaean Gums
Offer'd in ostentation. Are you sicke
Of your old disease? I'll fit you. 170

Aside.

Leost. You seeme mou'd.

Cleo. Zealous, I grant, in the defence of vertue.
Why, good Leosthenes, though I endur'd,
A penance for your sake, about example,
I haue not so farre sold my selfe, I take it,
To be at your deuotion, but I may
Cherish desert in others, where I finde it.
How would you tyrannize, if you stood possess'd of
That, which is only yours in expectation? 175

180

I₂

158. can. M, do.

173. your. Q₂, you.

176. your. Q₁, Q₂, you; C, M, G, your.

That now prescribe such hard conditions to me?

Leost. One kisse, and I am silenc'd.

Cleo.

I vouchsafe it;

Yet, I must tell you, 'tis a fouour, that

Marullo, when I was his, not mine owne,

185

Durst not presume to aske; No, when the Citie

Bow'd humbly to licentious Rapes, and lust.

And when I was of men and gods forsaken,

Deliver'd to his power, he did not presse me

To grace him with one looke or sillable,

190

Or vrg'd the dispensation of an oath

Made for your satisfaction; The poore wretch

Hauing related only his owne sufferings,

And kiss'd my hand, which I could not denie him,

Defending me from others; neuer since

195

Solicited my fauours.

Leost.

Pray you, and,

The story does not please me.

Cleo.

Well, take heed

Of doubts, and feares; For know, Leosthenes,

A greater iniury cannot be offer'd

To innocent chastity, then vniust suspicion.

200

I loue Marulloes faire minde, not his person,

Let that secure you. And I here command you,

If I haue any power in you, to stand

Betweene him and all punishment, and oppose

His temperance to his folly; If you faile ———

205

No more, I will not threaten.

Exit.

Leost.

What a bridge

Of glasse I walke vpon, ouer a Riuer

Of certaine ruine: mine owne waightie feares

Cracking what should support me: And those helpes,

Which confidence lends to others, are from me

210

Rauish'd by doubts, and wilfull Iealousie.

187. For the period after "lust" see the note to I,iii,93.

206. Exit. Q₂ omits.

210. lends. Q₂, yeelds; C,M, yields.

211. C,M,G add: [Exit.]

ACTVS IIII. SCAENA Ultima.
Timagoras, Cleon, Asotus, Corisca, Olimpia.

Cleon. But are you sure we are safe?

Tima. You need not feare,
 They are all vnder guard, their fangs par'd off:
 The wounds their insolence gaue you, to be our'd,
 With the balme of your reuenge.

Asotus. And shall I be
 That thing I was borne, my Lord?

Timagoras. The same wise thing;
 'Slight, what a beast they haue made thee! Affricke neuer
 Produc'd the like. 5

Aso. I thinke so: Nor the land
 Where Apes, and Monkeys, grow, like Crabs, and Wall-nuts
 On the same tree. Not all the Catalogue
 Of Coniurers, or wise women, bound together 10
 Could haue so soone transform'd me, as my Raskall
 Did with his whip; Not in outside only,
 But in my owne beliefe, I thought my selfe.
 As perfect a Baboone.

Tima. As Asse, thou wert euer.

Aso. And would haue giuen one legge with all my heart 15
 For good securitie to haue bene a man
 After three liues, or one and twenty yeares,
 Though I had dy'de on Crouches.

Cleon. Neuer varlets
 So triumph'd o're an old fat man: I was famish'd.

Tima. In deed you are false away.

Aso. Three yeeres of feeding 20
 On Cullises and ielly, though his Cookes
 Lard all he eates with marrow, or his Doctors
 Powre in his mouth Restoratiues, as he sleepes,
 Will not recouer him.

Tima. But your Ladiship looks
 Sad on the matter, as if you had mis'd 25
 Your ten-crowne Amber Possets, good to smoothe

I₃

Stage direction. Gifford adds: Another Room in the Same.

12. G inserts "for" before "Not".

14. C,M,G substitute a dash for the period after "Baboone".

25. you. Q₂, C, she.

The Cutis, as you call it, and prepare you
Active, and high for an afternoones intounter,
With a rough gamester, on your couch; fie on't,
You are growne thriftie, smell like other women;
The Colledge of Phisitions haue not sate,
As they were vs'd, in counsell how to fill
The cranies in your chaeke, or raise a rampire,
With Mummy, Ceruses, or Infants fat,
To keepe off age, and time.

30

Cori. Pray you, forbear; 35
I am an alter'd woman.

Tima. So it seemes;
A part of your honours ruffe stands out of rancke too.

Cori. No matter, I haue other thoughts.

Tima. O strange!
Not ten dayes since it would haue vex'd you more,
Then th'losse of your good name; Pitty, this cure
For your proud itch came no sooner! Marry, Olympia
seemes to beare vp still.

40

Olimp. I complaine not, Sir,
I haue borne my fortune patiently.

Tima. Thou wer't euer
An excellent bearer; so is all your tribe,
If you may choose your carriage: How now, friend,
Lookes our Cleora louely?

45

Leost. In my thoughts, Sir

Enter Leosthenes,
and Diphilus with
a Guard.

Tima. But why this guard?

Diphi. It is Timoleons pleasure;
The slaues haue beene examin'd, and confesse,
Their ryot tooke beginning from your house:
And the first mouer of them to rebellion,
Your slaue Marullo.

50

Leost. Ha! I more, then feare.

Tima. They may search boldly.

Timand. You are vmanner'd Groomes, Enter Timandra
To prie into my Ladyes priuate lodgings;
There's no Marullos, there.

Timag. Now I suspect too;

Enter Diphilus
With Pisander.

51. C, M, substitute a dash for the period after "feare".

52. Q₂ omits "may".

Q₂ has the stage direction: Enter Timandra, speaking to the
Guard within.

54. Marullos. Q₁, Marullo's; Q₂, C, Marullo's; M, G, Marullos. See
the note.

Q has the stage direction: Re-enter Diphilus and Guard with
Marullo.

Where found you him?

Diphi.

Close hid in your Sisters Chamber.

55

Timag. Is that the villaines sanctuary?

Leost.

This confirms

All she deliuer'd, false.

Timag.

But that I scorne,

To rust my good Sword in thy slauish blood,

Thou now wert dead.

Pisander.

Hee's more a slaue, then Fortune,

Or Miserie can make me, that insults

60

Vpon vnweapon'd Innocence.

Tima.

Prate, you dogge?

Pisander. Curras snap at Lyons in the toyle, whose lookes
Frighted them being free.

Tima.

As a wilde beast,

Drive him before you.

Pisander.

O Diuine Cleora!

Leost. Dar'st thou presume to name her?

Pisander.

Yes, and loue her:

65

And may say, haue deseru'd her.

Timag.

Stoppe his mouth:

Exit Guard with
Pisander.

Load him with Irons too.

Cleon.

I am deadly sicke,

To looke on him.

Asotus.

If he get loose, I know it,

I caper, like an Ape, againe: I feele

The Whip already.

Timan.

This goes to my Lady.

70

Timag. Come, cheere you, Sir, wee'll vrge his punishment
To the full satisfaction of your anger.

Leost. Hee is not worth my thoughts; No corner left,

In all the spacious roomes of my vex'd heart,

But is fill'd with Cleora: And the Rape

75

Shes done vpon her honour, with my wrong,
The heavy burthen of my sorrowes song.

(I₄)

Exeunt.

58. Q₂, C, M omit "good".

59. Timag. Q₁, Timandra; Q₂, C, M, G, Timag.

70. At the end of the line C, M insert the stage direction:

[Aside; G inserts: [Exit.]

71. Q₂ omits "you".

ACTVS V. SCAENA I.
Archidamus, Cleora.

Archida. Thou art thine owne disposer. Were his honours
 And glories centupled, (as I must confesse,
Leosthenes is most worthy) yet I will not,
 How euer I may counsaile, force affection.

Cleora. It needs not, Sir, I prize him to his worth, 5
 Nay, loue him truly, yet would not liue slau'd
 To his iealous humours. Since by the hopes of heauen,
 As I am free from violence, in a thought
 I am not guilty.

Archida. 'Tis beleeu'd Cleora,
 And much the rather, (our great gods be prais'd for't) 10
 In that I finde beyond my hopes, no signe
 Of ryot in my house, but all things order'd,
 As if I had beene present.

Cleora. May that moue you
 To pittie poore Marullo.

Archida. 'Tis my purpose 15
 To doe him all the good I can, Cleora;
 But his offence being against the State,
 Must haue a publique triall. In the meane time
 Be carefull of your selfe, and stand ingag'd
 No farther to Leosthenes, than you may
 Come off with honour: For, being once his wife, 20
 You are no more your owne, nor mine, but must
 Resolue to serue, and suffer his commands,
 And not dispute'em; e're it be to late,
 Consider it duly. I must to the Senate.

Exit Archida.

Cleora. I am much distracted; in Leosthenes 25
 I can finde nothing iustly to accuse,
 But his excesse of loue, which I haue studied
 To cure with more then common-meanes, yet still
 It growes vpon him. And if I may call
 My suffrings merit, I stand bound to thinke on 30
Marullos dangers; though I saue his life,

Stage direction. Cleora. Q₁, Cleor.; Au, Q₂, C, M, G, Cleora.
 Gifford adds: The Same. A Room in Archid-
amus's House.

7. C, M, G adopt the colon after "humours"; found in Q₂.

16. his. Q₂, C, M, G, this.

19. farther. C, M, G, further.

27. his. Q₂, C, M, this.

His lous is vnrewarded: I confesse,
Both haue deseru'd me, yet of force must be
Vniust to one; such is my destiny.
How now? whence flowe these teares?

Enter Timandra.

35

Timandra. I haue met, Madam,
An obiect of such crueltie, as would force
A Sauage to compassion.

Cleora. Speake, what is it?

Timan. Men pittie beasts of rapine, if o're-match'd,
Though bayted for their pleasure: but these monsters
vpon a man, that can make no resistance,
Are senslesse in their tyranny. Let it be granted,
Marullo is a slaue, hee's still a man;
A capitall offender, yet in iustice
Not to be tortur'd, till the Iudge pronounce
His punishment.

40

Cleora. Where is he?

Timand. Drag'd to prison
With more then barbarous violence, spurn'd and spit on
By the insulting officers, his hands
Pynion'd behinde his backe: loaden with fetters;
Yet, with a Saint-like patience, he still offers
His face to their rude buffets.

45

Cleora. O my grieu'd soule!
By whose command?

50

Timandra. It seemes, my Lord you brothers;
For hee's a looker on: and it takes from
Honour'd Leosthenes to suffer it,
For his respect to you, whose name in vaine
The grieu'd wretch loudly calls on

Cleo. By Diana,
'Tis base in both, and to their teeth I'll tell'em
That I am wrong'd in't.

55

As going forth.

Timan. What will you doe?

Cleo. In person
Visit, and comfort him.

Timan. That will bring fewell
To the iealous fires, which burne too hot already

K

-
33. deseru'd. Q₁, desoru'd; Q₂, desreu'd; C,M, deserv'd; G,deserved.
C,M insert "I" before "must".
34. Q₂ has an interrogation mark after "one".
37. sūunge. Q₂, salvage.
41. sensllesse. Q₂, senslesse.
51. brothers. Q₂,C,M, brother.
54. respect. M, respects.
57. you. Q₂,ye.
G omits "as" in the stage direction.

In Lord Leosthenes.

Cleora. Let them consume him;
I am Mistrisse of my selfe, Where crueltie raignes,
There dwels nor loue, nor honour.

60

Exit Cleora.

Timandra. So, it workes.
Though hetherto I haue ranne a desperate course
To serue my brothers purposes, now 'tis fit,
I study mine owne ends. They come. Assist me
In these my vndertakings, loues great Patron,
As my intents are honest.

Enter Leosthenes.
& Timagoras. 65

Leosthenes. 'Tis my fault.
Distrust from others springs, Timagoras,
From diffidence in our selues. But I will striue,
With the assurance of my worth, and merits,
To kill this monster, iealousie.

70

Timagoras. 'Tis a ghest
In wisdoms neuer to be entertain'd
On triuiall probabilities; but when
Hee does appeare in pregnant proofes, not fashion'd
By idle doubts and feares, to be receiu'd,
They make their owne hornes, that are too secure,
As well as such as giue them growth, and being
From meere imagination. Though I prize
Cleora's honour equall with mine owne;
And know what large additions of power
This match brings to our family; I preferre
Our friendship, and your peace of minde so farre
aboue my owne respects, or hers, that if
Shée hold not her true value in the test,
'Tis farre from my ambition for her cure,
That you should wound your selfe.

75

80

85

Timandra. This argues for me.
Timago. Why she should be so passionate for a Bond-man,
Falls not in compasse of my vnderstanding,
But for some nearer interest: or hee raise
This mutiny, if he lou'd her (as you say
Shée does confesse, he did) but to enioy
By faire or foule play, what he venter'd for,

90

63. ranne. Q₂, C, M, G, run. See the note.

68. from others. G, of other. See the note.

86. for. Q₂, from.

C, M, G, designate Timandra's remark: Aside.

To mee's a Riddle.

Leosthenes. 'Pray you, no more; already
I haue answer'd that obiection in my strong
Assurance of her vertue.

Timagoras. 'Tis vnfit then,
That I should presse it further.

95

Timand. Now I must Timandra steps out distracted
Make in, or all is lost.

Timagoras. What would Timandra?

Leosthenes. How wilde she lookes? How is it with thy Lady?

Timagoras. Collect thy selfe, and speake.

Timand. As you are noble,
Haue pittie, or loue pietie. Oh!

Leosthenes. Take breath.

100

Timago. Out with it boldly.

Timand. O, the best of Ladies,
I feare, is gone for euer.

Leosthenes. Who, Cleora?

Timag. Deliuar, how. 'Sdeath, be a man, Sir, speake.

Timand. Take it then in as many sighes, as words:
My Lady.

Timag. What of her?

Timand. No sooner heard,
Marullo was imprison'd, but she fell
Into a deadly swoone.

105

Timago. But shes recouer'd?
Say so, or he will sinke too, hold, Sir, fie,
This is vnmanly.

Timand. Brought againe to life,
But with much labour; she awhile stood silent,

110

Yet in that interim vented sighes, as if
They labour'd from the prison of her flesh,
To giue her grieu'd soule freedome. On the sodaine

Transported on the wings of rage, and sorrow,
Shes flew out of the house, and vnattended
Enter'd the common prison.

115

Leosthenes. This confirms
What but before I fear'd.

K₂

96. further. C,M, farther.

98. C,M,G use an exclamation point after "lookes!". Cf. IV,iii,95;
and note to II,iii,27.

100. pietie. C,M, pity.

The period after "Oh" in HQ₁ is replaced with an exclamation
point in PQ₁,MQ₁,Q₂,C,M,G.

101. Timand. Q₁,Q₂, Timag.; C,M,G, Timand.

103. C,M,G have an exclamation point after "Sir".

104. There is no punctuation after "words" in Q₁ or Q₂. I have
supplied a colon from C,M.

107. For the period after "recouer'd" in Q₁,Q₂ an interrogation
point is substituted in Au,C,M.

Timand. There you may finde her,
And if you loue her, as a Sister-----

Timago. Damme her.

Timand. Or you respect her safetie, as a louer,
Procure Marullos libertie.

Timar. Impudence 120
Beyond expression.

Leost. Shall I be a Bawd
To her lust, and my dishonour?

Timand. Shee'll runne mad else,
Or doe some violent act vpon her selfe.
My Lord her Father, sensible of her sufferings,
Labours to gaine his freedome,

Leost. O, the Diuell! 125
Has she bewitch'd him too?

Timago. I'll heare no more. 130
Come, Sir, wee'll follow her, and if no perswasion
Can make her take againe her naturall forme,
Which by lusts powerfull spell she has cast off,
This Sword shall dis-inchant her.

Leost. O my heart-strings! Exeunt Leost. & Timagoras
Timandra. I knew, 'twould take. Pardon me, faire Cleora,
Though I appeare a traytresse, which thou wilt doe
In pittie of my woes, when I make knowne
My lawfull claime, and onely seeke mine owne. Exit.

ACTVS. IV. SCAENA II.
Cleora, Iaylor, Pisander.

Cleo. There's for your priuacy. Stay, vnbinde his hands.

Iaylor. I dare not, Madam.

Cleora. I will buy thy danger.
Take more gold, doe not trouble me with thanks;
I doe suppose it done. Exit Iaylor.

Pisander. My better Angell 5
Assumes this shape to comfort me, and wisely;
Since from the choyce of all coelestiall figures,
Hee could not take a visible forme so full

125. For the comma after "freedome" see the note to I, i, 37.

130. My. Q., May.

Stage direction. Gifford adds: A Prison. Marullo discovered in chains.

Of glorious sweetnesse.

Kneeles.

Cleora. Rise. I am flesh and blood,
And doe partake thy tortures.

Pisander. Can it bee?
That charity should perswade you to discend
So farre from your owne height, as to vouchsafe
To looke vpon my sufferings? How I blasse
My fatters now, and stand ingag'd to Fortune
For my captiuitie, no, my freedome rather!
For who dares thinke that place a Prison, which
You sanctifie with your presence? or helieus,
Sorrow has power to vse her sting on him,
That is in your compassion arm'd, and made
Impregnable? though tyranny raise at once
All engines to assault him.

Cleora. Indeed vertue,
With which you haue made euident proofes, that you
Are strongly fortified, cannot fall, though shaken
With the shooke of fierce temptations, but still triumphs
In spite of opposition. For my selfe
I may endeauour to confirme your goodnesse,
(A sure retreat which neuer will deceaue you)
And with vnfeyned teares expresse my sorrow,
For what I cannot helpe.

Pisander. Doe you weepe for mee?
O saue that pretious balme for nobler vses,
I am vnworthy of the smallest drop,
Which in your prodigalitie of pittie
You throw away on me. Tenne of these pearles
Were a large rancome to redeeme a kingdome
From a consuming plague, or stop heauens vengeance
Call'd downe by crying sinnes, though at that instant
In dreadfull flashes falling on the roofes
Of bold blasphemers. I am iustly punish'd
For my intent of violence to such purenesse;
And all the torments flesh is sensible of
A soft and gentle penance.

Cleora. Which is ended

K₃

15. dares. M, G, dare.

22. cannot. C, M, can't.

24. The period after "opposition" is not plainly evident in
HQ₁ and PQ₁, but is clear in MQ₁ and Q₂.

28. C, M add after Cleora's speech the stage direction: Kneels.

29. nobler. Q₂, C, noble.

In this your free confession. Enter Leosthenes and Timagoras.
Leost. What an object
 Have I encounter'd?
Timago. I am blasted too:
 Yet heare a little further.
Pisander. Could I expire now,
 These white and innocent hands dlosing my eyes thus,
 'Twere not to die, but in a heavenly dreame 45
 To be transported, without the helpe of Charon
 To the Elizian shades. You make mee bold:
 And but to wish such happinesse, I feare,
 May giue offence.
Cleora. No, for, beleeu't, Marullo,
 You haue wonne so much vpon me, that I know not 50
 That happinesse in my gift, but you may challenge.
Leosthenes. Are you yet satisfied?
Cleor. Nor can you wish,
 But what my vowes will second, though it were
 Your freedome first, and then in me full power
 To make a second tender of my selfe, 55
 And you receiue the present. By this kisse
 (From me a virgin bounty) I will practise
 All arts for your deliuerance; and that purchas'd
 In what concerne your farther aymes, I speake it,
 Doe not despaire, but hope.
Timag. To haue the Hangman, 60
 When he is married to the crosse, in scorne,
 To say, gods giue you ioy.
Leost. But looke on me,
 And be not too indulgent to your folly,
 And then (but that grieffe stops my speech) imagine,
 What language I should vse.
Cleora. Against thy selfe. 65
 Thy malice cannot reach me.
Timag. How?
Cleora. So, brother;
 Though you ioyne in the Dialogue to accuse me,
 What I haue done, I'll iustifie; and these fauours,

41. C,M add "unseen" to the stage direction; G adds "behind".

58. for. 2₂, of.

60. Gifford adds the stage direction: [Timagoras and Leosthenes come forward]; he also substitutes a dash for the period after "hope!". But the period may stand as an example of the use of the full stop in an interrupted speech. (Cf. Simpson, Shakespearian Punctuation, Sect. 36).

62. C,M designate Leosthenes' speech: [To Cleora].

66. So. C,M,G, No. See the note.

Which you presume will taint me in my honour,
 Though isalousie vse all her eyes to spie out
 One stayne in my behauiour; or Enuy
 As many tongues to wound it, shall appeare
 My best perfections. For to the world
 I can in my defence alleage such reasons,
 As my accusers shall stand dumbe to heare'em,
 When in his Fetters this mans worth and vertues
 But trully told shall shame your boasted glories,
 Which fortune claines a share in.

70

75

Timag. The base villaine
 Shall neuer liue to heare it. Enter Archid; Diphilus, and Officers.

Cleora. Murther, helpe,
 Through me you shall passe to him.

Archid. What's the matter?
 On whom is your Sword drawne? are you a iudge?
 Or else ambitious of the hangmans office
 Before it be design'd you? you are bold too,
 Vnhand my daughter.

80

Leost. Shes my valours prize.
Archid. With her consent, not otherwise. You may vrge
 Your title in the Court; if it proue good,
 Possesse her freely: Guard him safely off too.

85

Timago. You'll heare me, Sir?
Archid. If you haue ought to say,
 Deliuer it in publike; all shall finde
 A iust Iudge of Timoleon.

Diphilus. You must
 Of force now vse your patience. Exeunt omnes praeter Leost-
Timag. Vengeance rather and Timag.

90

Whirle-windes of rage possesse mee; you are wrong'd
 Beyond a Stoique sufferance, yet you stand,
 As you were rooted.

Leost. I feele something here,
 That boldly tells mee, all the loue and seruice,
 I pay Cleora, is anothers due,
 And therefore cannot prosper.

95

Timag. Melancholy,
 (K₁)

79. heare. Q₂, beare; C, bear.

After Timagoras' speech C,M have the stage direction:

[Offers to stab Pisander, Cleora interposes; G has: Draws his sword.

91. Modern punctuation would require a stop after "rather!". But
 in passages of unrestrained violence commas were often omitted (Cf.
 Simpson, Shakespearian Punctuation, Introduction).

93. Beyond. Q₁, Beyond; Au, Q₂, Beyond.

Which now you must not yeeld to.

Leosthenes. 'Tis apparent,
In fact your Sisters innocent, howeuer
Chang'd by her violent will.

Timagoras. If you belieue so, 100
Follow the chase still: And in open court
Plead your owne interest; we shall finde the Iudge
Our friend I feare not.

Leosthenes. Something I shall say,
But what—

Timag. Collect your selfe, as we walke thither. Exeunt.

ACTVS V. . SCAENA Vltima.

Timoleon, Archidamus, Cleora, Officers.

Timoleon. Tis wondrous strange! nor can it fall within
The reach of my beliefe, a slaue should be
The owner of a temperance, which this age
Can hardly paralell in free-borne Lords,
Or Kings proud of their purple.

Archid. 'Tis most true. 5
And though at first it did appeare a fable,
All circumstances meet to giue it credit;
Which work so on me, that I am compel'd
To be a Sutor, not to be deni'de,
Hee may haue asquall hearing

Cleora. Sir, you grac'd mee 10
With the title of your Mistrisse, but my fortune
Is so farre distant from command, that I
Lay by the power you gaue me, and plead humbly
For the preseruer of my fame and honour.
And pray you, Sir, in charity beleue, 15
That since I had ability of speach,
My tongue has so much beene enur'd to truth,
I know not, how to lye,

Timoleon. I'll rather doubt
The Oracles of the gods, then question, what
Your innocence deliuers: and as farre 20

Stage direction. C,M,G designate the scene: The Court of Justice.

Cleora. Q₁, Q₂, Cleon; C,M,G, Cleora. See the note.

8. work. C,M,G, works.

9. not to be. Q₁, Q₂, C, not be; Au,M,G, not to be.

17. has so much beene. M, hath been so much; G, has been so much.

18. Q₂, C,M,G have a period after "lye". Such punctuation, however,
fails to show Timoleon's hasty interruption after "lye". Cf. the
note to I, i, 37; II, i, 24; II, iii, 100.

As iustice with mine honour can giue way,
 He shall haue fauour. Bring him in, vnbound: Exeunt Officers.
 And though Leosthenes may challenge from me,
 For his late worthy seruice, credit to
 All things he can alleage in his owne cause, 25
Marullo (so I thinke you call his name)
 Shall finde, I doe reserue one care for him,
 To let in mercy. Sit and take your places; Enter Cleon, Asotus
 The right of this faire virgin first determind, Diphilus, Olimpia
 Your Bond-men shall be censur'd. Corisca.
Cleon. With all rigour, 30
 We doe expect.
Corisca. Temper'd, I say, with mercie. Enter at one dore
Timol. Your hand Leosthenes: I cannot doubt Leosthenes Tim-
 You that haue bin victorious in the war, magoras at the
 should in a combat fought with words come off, other Officers
 But with assured triumph. with Pisander
Leosthenes. My deserts, Sir, and Timandra. 35
 (If without arrogance I may stile them such)
 Arme me from doubt, and feare.
Timoleon. 'Tis nobly spoken,
 Nor be thou daunted (howsoe're thy fortune
 Has mark'd thee out a slaue) to speake thy merits;
 For vertue though in raggs may challenge more, 40
 Then vice set off with all the trimme of greatnesse.
Pisander. I had rather fall vnder so iust a iudge,
 Then be acquitted by a man corrupt
 And partiall in his censure.
Archida. Note his language,
 It relishes of better breeding then 45
 His present state dares promise.
Timoleon. I obserue it.
 Place the faire Lady in the midst, that both
 Looking with couetous eies vpon the prize
 They are to plead for, may from the faire object,
 Teach Hermes eloquence.
Leosthenes. Am I fall'n so lowe 50
 My birth, my honour, and what's dearest to me
 L

23. though. Q₂, although.

38. howsoe're. HQ₁, Q₂, howsoere; PQ₁, MQ₁, howsoe're.
 thy. Q₁, the; Au, Q₂, C, M, G, thy.

50. Modern punctuation would require a comma or an interrogation
 point after "lowe".

My loue, and witnesse of my loue, my seruice,
 So vnder-valewd, that I must contend
 With one, where my excesse of glory must
 Make his o'rethrow a conquest? shall my fulnesse 55
 supply defects in such a thing, that neuer
 Knew any thing but want and emptinesse?
 Giue him a name, and keepe it such from this
 Vnequall competition? if my pride
 Or any bold assurance of my worth, 60
 Has plucl'd this mountaine of disgrace vpon me,
 I am iustly punish'd, and submit; but if
 I haue beene modest, and esteem'd my selfe
 More iniur'd in the tribute of the praise,
 Which no desert of mine priz'd by selfe-loue 65
 Euer exacted; may this cause, and minute
 For euer be forgotten. I dwell long
 Vpon mine anger, and now turne to you
 Ingratefull faire one; and since you are such,
 'Tis lawfull for me to proclaime my selfe, 70
 And what I haue deseru'd.

Cleora. Neglect, and scorne
 From me for this proud vaunt.

Leosthenes. You nourish, Lady
 Your owne dishonour in this harsh replie,
 And almost proue what some hold of your sex.
 You are all made vp of passion. For if reason 75
 Or iudgement could finde entertainment with you,
 Or that you would distinguish of the objects
 You looke on in a true glasse, not seduc'd
 By the false light of your too violent will,
 I should not need to plead for that, which you 80
 With ioy should offer. Is my high birth a blemish?
 Or does my wealth, which all the vaine expence
 Of women cannot waste, breed loathing in you?
 The honours I can call mine owne thought scandals?
 Am I deform'd, or for my Fathers sinnes 85
 Muloted by nature? if you interpret these
 As crimes, 'tis fit I should yeeld vp my selfe

69. Ingratefull. C.M.G, Ungrateful.

74. Modern punctuation would not require so heavy a stop after "sex".

Most miserably guiltie. But perhaps
 (Which yet I would not credit) you haue scene
 This gallant, pitch the barre, or beare a burthen
 Would cracke the shoulders of a weaker bond-man;
 Or any other boistrous exercise,
 Assuring a strong backe to satisfie
 Your loose desires, insatiate as the graue.

90

Cleora. You are foule mouth'd.

Archid.

Ill manner'd too.

Leost.

I speake

95

In the way of supposition, and intreate you
 With all the feruor of a constant louer,
 That you would free your selfe from these aspersions,
 Or any imputation blacke tongu'd Slaunder
 Could throwe on your vnspotted virgin-whitenesse;
 To which there is no easier way, then by
 Vouchsafing him your fauour; him, to whom
 Next to the Generall, and the gods His fautors,
 The countrie owes her safetie.

100

Timagoras.

Are you stupid?

'Slight leape into his armes, and there aske pardon.
 O, you expect your slaues reply, no doubt
 We shall haue a fine oration; I will teach
 My Spaniell to howle in sweeter language,
 And keepe a better method.

105

Archid.

You forget

The dignitie of the place.

Diphi.

Silence.

Timo.

Speake boldly.

110

Pisander. 'Tis your authority giues me a tongue,
 I should be dumbe else; and I am secure,
 I cannot cloathe my thoughts, and iust defence
 In such an abiect phrase, but 'twill appeare
 Equall, if not aboue my lowe condition.
 I need no bombast language, stolne from such,
 As make Nobilitie from prodigious termes
 The hearers vnderstand not; I bring with me
 No wealth to boast of, neither can I number

115

L₂

94. Your. Q₁, Yout. Cf. I,iii,372 and IV,1,60.

102. your fauour. Q₂, in your fauour.

103. the gods His fautors. Q₁, Q₂, gods, and fautors; Au, gods
 and fautors; C,M read "to the Gods" and omit "and fautors!"

110. G inserts the stage direction after Timo: [To Marullo]

Vncertaine fortunes fauours, with my merits;
 I dare not force affection, or presume
 To censure her discretion, that lookes on mee
 As a weake man, and not her fancies Idoll.
 How I haue lou'd, and how much I haue suffer'd,
 And with what pleasure vndergone the burthen
 Of my ambitious hopes (in ayming at
 The glad possession of a happinesse,
 The abstract of all goodnesse in mankinge
 Can at no part deserue) with my confession
 Of mine owne wants, is all that can plead for me.
 But if that pure desires, not blended with
 Foule thoughts, that like a Riuer keepes his course,
 Retaining still the cleerenesse of the spring,
 From whence it tooke beginning, may be thought
 Worthy acceptance; then I dare rise vp
 And tell this gay man to his teeth, I neuer
 Durst doubt her constancie, that like a rocke
 Beats off temptations, as that mocks the fury
 Of the proud wayes; nor from my iealous feares
 Question that goodnesse, to which as an Altar
 Of all perfection, he that truly lou'd,
 Should rather bring a sacrifice of seruiue,
 Then raze it with the engines of suspition;
 Of which when he can wash an Aethiope white,
Leosthenes may hope to free himselfe;
 But till then neuer.

Timago. Bold presumptuous villaine.

Pisan. I will go farther, and make good vpon him
 In the pride of all his honours, birth, and fortunes,
 Hee's more vnworthy, then my selfe.

Leosthenes. Thou lyest.

Timago. Confute him with a whippe, and the doubt decided,
 Punish him with a halter.
 150

Pisander. O the gods!

My ribs, though made of Brasse can not containe
 My heart swolne big with rage. The lye! Whippe?
 Let fury then disperse these clouds, in which

Plucks off his
disguise.

127. The comma after "happinesse", omitted in HQ₁ and Q₂, is supplied by MQ₁ and PQ₁.

131. desires. M, desire.

141. that. Q₂, hath.

lou'd. C, M, loves.

153. Whippe. C, M, A Whip.

I long haue mask'd disguis'd; that when they know,
Whom they haue iniur'd, they may faint with horror
Of my reuenge, which wretched men expect,
As sure as fate to suffer. 155

Leosthenes. Ha! Pisander!

Timagoras. 'Tis the bold Theban!

Asotus. There's no hope for me then:

I thought I should haue put in for a share,
And borne Cleora from them both; but now:
This stranger lookes so terrible, that I dare not
So much as looke on her. 160

Pisander. Now as my selfe,

Thy equall, at thy best, Leosthenes.

For you, Timagoras; praise heau'n, you were borne
Cleora's brother, 'tis your safest armour. 165

But I loose time. The base lie cast vpon me,

I thus returne: thou art a periur'd man,

False and perfidious: And hast made a tender

Of loue, and seruice to this Lady; when 170

Thy soule (if thou hast any) can beare witnesse,

That thou wert not thine owne. For prooffe of this,

Looke better on this virgin, and consider

This Persian shape laid by, and she appearing

In a Greekish dresse, such as when first you saw her, 175

If she resemble not Pisanders sister,

One, call'd Statilia?

Leosthenes. 'Tis the same! my guilt

So chokes my spirits, I cannot denie

My falshood, nor excuse it.

Pisander. This is shee

To whom thou wert contracted: this the Lady, 180

That when thou wert my prisoner fairely taken

In the Spartan warre, that beg'd thy libertie,

And with it gaue her selfe to thee vngratefull.

Timand. No more, Sir, I intreate you; I perceiue

True sorrow in his lookes, and a consent 185

To make me reparation in mine honour,

And then I am most happy.

L₃

155. mask'd. G, march'd. See the note.

156. The comma after "iniur'd". omitted in HQ₁, is found in MQ₁, PQ₁, and Q₂.

157. Modern punctuation would require commas before and after "wretched men!". But omission of vocative punctuation was frequent in Massinger's time. (Cf. Simpson, Shakespearian Punctuation, Sect.3).

163. Henceforth Gifford uses "Pisander" instead of "Marullo" in the speech-tags.

177. 'Tis, N, This.

178. The colon after "spirits" in HQ₁ and Q₂ is replaced with a comma in MQ₁ and PQ₁.

183. Modern punctuation would require a comma after "thee". But cf. 1.157.

184. Henceforth Gifford uses "Statilia" instead of "Timandra" in the speech-tags

Pisander. The wrong done her,
 Draw mee from Thebes with a full intent to kill thee:
 But this faire object, met me in my furie
 And quite disarm'd me, being deni'd to haue her 190
 By you my Lord Archidamus, and not able
 To liue farre from her, loue (the Mistrisse of
 All quaint deuices) prompted me to treat
 With a friend of mine, who as a Pirate sold me
 For a slaue to you my Lord, and gaue my Sister 195
 As a present to Cleora.

Timoleon. Strange Meanders!
Pisan. There how I bare my selfe needs no relation.
 But if so farre descending from the height
 Of my then flourishing fortunes, to the lowest 200
 Condition of a man, to haue meanes only
 To feed my eye, with the sight of what I honour'd,
 The dangers to I vnderwent; the sufferings;
 The cleerenesse of my interest may deserue
 A noble recompence in your lawfull fauour.
 Now 'tis apparent that Leosthenes 205
 Can claime no interest in you, you may please
 To thinke vpon my seruice.

Cleora. Sir, my want
 Of power to satisfie so great a debt,
 Makes me accuse my fortune; but if that
 Out of the bountie of your minde, you thinke, 210
 A free surrender of my selfe full payment,
 I gladly tender it.

Archidamus. With my consent to
 All iniuries forgotten.

Timagoras. I will studie
 In my future seruice to deserue your fauour
 And good opinion.

Leosthenes. Thus I gladly fee Kissing Statilia. 215
 This Aduocate to plead for me.

Pisander. You will finde me
 An easie iudge, when I haue yealded reasons
 Of your Bond-mens falling off from their obedience,

190. Modern punctuation would require a full stop after "me".
 193. The comma after "deuices" in Q₁, Q₂ is replaced in Au by
 the second parenthetical mark.
 196. Meanders. Italicized in the quartos. See the note.
 202. Modern punctuation would not require so heavy a stop after
 "vnderwent" and "sufferings".
 204. Modern punctuation would not permit a full stop after
 "faueur". Cf. III,iii,105; and I,iii,93 and note.
 212. to. Q₂, C, M, G have the spelling "too".

And after, as you please, determine of me.
 I found their natures apt to mutinie 220
 From your too cruell vsage; and made triall
 How farre they might be wrought on; to instruct you
 To looke with more preuention, and care
 To what they may hereafter vndertake
 Vpon the like occasions. The hurt's little 225
 They haue committed, nor was euer cuer
 But with some paine effected. I confesse
 In hope to force a grant of faire Cleora
 I vrg'd them to defend the Towne against you;
 Nor had the terror of your whips, but that 230
 I was preparing of defence else-where
 So soone got entrance; in this I am guiltie,
 Now as you please, your censure.

Timoleon. Bring them in,
 And though you haue giu'n me power, I doe intreate
 Such as haue vndergone their insolence, 235
 It may not be offensiu though I studie
 Pitty more then reuenge.

Corisca. 'Twill best become you.
Cleon. I must consent.
Asotus. For me I'le finde a time
 To be reueng'd hereafter.

Gracculo, Cimbric, Poliphron, Zanthia, and the rest
with Halters.

Gracculo. Give me leaue,
 I'le speake for all.
Timoleon. What canst thou say to hinder 240
 The course of iustice?
Gracculo. Nothing. You may see
 Wee are prepar'd for hanging, and confesse
 We haue deseru'd it. Our most humble suite is
 We may not twice be executed.
Timoleon. 'Twice? how meanest thou?
Gra. At the Gallows first, and after in a Ballad 245
 (L₄)

-
219. And. C,M,G, Then.
 226. cuer. Q₂, C,M,G, cure.
 231. of. G, for.
 239. C,M,G add "about their necks" to the stage direction, and
 for "the rest" read "the other slaves".
 244. executed. Q₁, exocuted.
 24E45. Gra. Q₁ omits; Supplied by Au; in Q₂, Gracc.; occurs in HB,
 RH,WB, but is omitted in HH and RB; C,M, Grac; G, Gracc.

Sung to some villanous tune. There are ten-grot-Rimers
 About the Towne growne fat on these occasions.
 Let but a Chappell fall, or a street be fir'd,
 A foolish louer hang himselfe for pure loue,
 Or any such like accident, and before
 They are cold in their graues, some damn'd Dittie's made
 Which makes their ghosts walke. Let the State take order
 For the redresse of this abuse, recording
 ITwas done by my aduice, and for my part
 I'll cut as cleane a caper from the Ladder,
 As euer merry Greeke did.

250

255

Timoleon. Yet I thinke
 You would shew more actiuity to delight
 Your Master for a pardon.

Gracculo. O, I would dance
 As I were all ayre, and fire.

Capers.

Timoleon. And euer be
 Obedient and humble?

Gracculo. As his Spaniell,
 Though he kickt me for exercise, and the like
 I promise for all the rest.

260

Timoleon. Rise then, you haue it.

All slaues. Timoleon, Timoleon!

Timoleon. Cease these clamors.

And now the warre being ended to our wishes,
 And such as went the pilgrimage of loue,
 Happy in full fruition of their hopes,
 'Tis lawfull thanks paid to the powers diuine,
 To drowne our cares in honest mirth, and Wine.

265

Exeunt.

F I N I S.

251. Dittie's. HQ₁, Q₂ Ditties; MQ₁, PQ₁, Dittie's.

257. actiuity. HQ₁, actiuitly; PQ₁, MQ₁, actiuity.

265. went. M, want.

NOTES

TITLE PAGE

The title page of the second quarto is the same as that of the first with the following exceptions: Lines 6,7, and 8 have a different arrangement; Phillip is spelled Philip in the second edition; there is a change in the printer's device; the advertisement of the publishers becomes either that of Harrison or of Blackmore. See Introduction, II, EDITIONS.

The company of Lady Elizabeth was formed in 1611 by John Townsend and Joseph Moore under the patronage of the Princess, who was then fifteen years old. After March 1613 the company, amalgamated with the Queen's Revels, was known as Princess Elizabeth's Company, and after the Princess' marriage in November 1619, her players were often distinguished by the title of the Queen of Bohemia's Company. Following a series of amalgamations and rather unfortunate dealings with Manslowe they are spoken of as acting at the Cockpit or Phoenix in Drury Lane in 1622. Here they continued to act, with short intervals at the court and in the provinces, until perhaps May of 1625, the time of the increase of the plague. Then Queen Henrietta's Men occupied the Cockpit, and the theatre of Queen Elizabeth's Company is not known. The company seems to have disbanded in 1632. Cf. J.T.Murray, English Dramatic Companies.

The Cockpit or Phoenix was erected possibly in 1616, as Stow's Annales and Camden's Annals of James I both speak of it under the year 1617 as newly erected. It was a small private theatre, but it was little superior to the average public theatre, and largely owing to its disreputable surroundings did not attract the best audiences. It was dismantled in 1649 and last used in 1664. See W.J.Lawrence, The Elizabethan Playhouse and other Studies.

DEDICATION

Philip Herbert, Earl of Montgomery and fourth Earl of Pembroke, was the younger brother of William Herbert, third Earl of Pembroke. Born October 10, 1584, he was about a year younger than Massinger.

Soon after James I ascended the throne Philip became a favourite, and was created Earl of Montgomery June 4, 1605. Although he was superseded by Robert Carr, Earl of Somerset, and by George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, as the King's minion, "yet was he ever in the King's good opinion, and one that he put more trust in at the time of his death than in all his other servants." (Sir Anthony Weldon, "The Court and Character of King James", in Sir Walter Scott's Secret History of the Court of James the First, I, 373.)

Numerous memoirs attest the general unfavourable reputation that Montgomery bore among his acquaintances. His man, Francis Osborne, speaks of him as illiterate and cowardly, idle in youth, "intolerable cholerick and offensive." After becoming Lord Chamberlain he did not hesitate "to break many wiser heads than his owne." (Francis Osborne, "Memoirs," in Sir Walter Scott's Secret History of the Court of James the First, I, 218-226.)

After the death of his elder brother, William Herbert, Philip became the fourth Earl of Pembroke April 10, 1630. Later he turned rebel, joined Parliament, and thereby became the object of many better lampoons from Royalist writers in the last years of his life.

The exact nature of the relationship between Massinger and his patron is difficult to establish. Inasmuch as Arthur Massinger, the dramatist's father, seems to have been employed in the Herbert household at Wilton at the time of the boys' birth, it is natural to suppose at least a slight acquaintance between the children until Philip Herbert's departure for Oxford in 1592 in his eighth year. But the flying visits of the young nobleman to Wilton would allow little chance for this relationship to mature. Yet Massinger's statement that he "could never arrive at the happinesse to be made knowne to your Lordship," in the first lines of the Dedication, may signify that Massinger did not spend his childhood at the home of the Pembroke's and therefore had had no introduction whatsoever to Philip Herbert. Such is the opinion of James Russell Lowell ("The Old English Dramatists," in Works of Lowell, VIII, 293).

Any acquaintance there may have been in childhood seems to have been forgotten in the interval of over thirty years before the Dedication was written. During that time the difference in station and circumstances may have been so marked that the struggling dramatist "could never" (or would never) appeal to Montgomery through the former connection of the Massinger family with the Herberts. Cf. J. Phelan, "On Philip Massinger," Anglia, II(1879), 12, 34, 35. The dramatist's reticence in approaching Montgomery may have been due also to the estrangement between Massinger and the Herberts which some, from Wood's account of the dramatist (Athenae Oxonienses, II, 654 ff.), have inferred followed William Herbert's withdrawal of his patronage from Massinger while he was a student at St. Alban Hall, Oxford, on account of his giving greater application to poetry and romances than to logic and philosophy, or, as Gifford thinks, on account of Massinger's conversion to Catholicism, the religion bitterly opposed by the Protestant Herbert family. But this relationship is so highly conjectural that it offers little help toward the explanation of Massinger's inability to be

made known to the Earl of Montgomery until 1624.

In an earlier play, The Duke of Milan, and in The Maid of Honour, which also possibly antedated The Bondman (cf. Eva A. W. Bryne, Introduction to The Maid of Honour, xxxiii-xxxv) Massinger had presented the favourite as a parasitic and deceptive type. While Francisco, the minion in the former play, and Fulgentio, the favourite in the latter drama, may have been drawn with George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, in mind, there is little doubt that this is the character referred to in the description of effeminate Gisco in The Bondman (I, i, 49-55). Such abuse of Buckingham was evidently pleasing to the Earl of Montgomery who had long been hostile toward this minion of James I (cf. John Nichols, The Progresses of James I, III, 230), as had been his elder brother, the third Earl of Pembroke (cf. The Court and Times of James I, II, 287). Then there is implication in The Bondman that it was England's duty to prepare herself to resist Spanish domination, a policy which the Herberts had long most diligently espoused. These two contemporary elements especially, and the nature of the play in general, were perhaps the influences which led Philip, Earl of Montgomery, to give it his "liberal suffrage" and to teach "others to allow it for currant" when it was first acted; and this suffrage in turn encouraged Philip Massinger to make this dedicatory plea to him.

The Bondman marks the beginning, then, of Philip Herbert's patronage. To Robert Dormer, Earl of Carnarvon, the ward of Montgomery and the husband of his daughter, Anna Sophia, Massinger dedicated A New Way to Pay Old Debts. And in 1634, the death of Montgomery's son, Charles, Lord Herbert, called forth Massinger's verses "Sero sed serio." In turn, according to John Aubrey, in his Natural History of Wiltshire, the dramatist received a pension of 30 l. or 40 l. from Montgomery and continued a pension to Massinger's widow (cf. Boyle's article on Massinger in D.N.B.). Character
H. C.

11.6,7. "my dead Father, Arthur Massinger."

The reading "Philip" for "Arthur" in the Dedication of the second quarto has caused some confusion with regard to the Christian name of the dramatist's father. The first biographical and editors of Massinger, Langbaine, Wood, Giles Jacob, Davies, Coxeter, and Mason, accept the reading of the second quarto. Oldys, in a manuscript note to Langbaine, seems to have been the first to have made the correction from the first edition.

The most substantial argument for the accuracy of the first quarto is found in the record of Massinger's baptism contained in the parish register of Saint Thomas in Salisbury:

"November, 1583. Philip Massinger, the son of Arthur, baptised the 24th."

Notes and Queries (5th Series), X (December 14, 1878), 465.

Phelan, in his discussion of Massinger's parentage (On Philip Massinger, pp.1-6, and Anglia, III(1880), 361-368), attempts to show that an Arthur Massinger from Salisbury is identical with an Arthur Massinger of London and with an Arthur Massinger of Gloucester all of whom lived at the same time and concerning whom a few facts are known. Although Phelan's argument is plausible, Furnivall's strictures to the effect that he has rolled three Arthur Massingers into one and that the three are probably distinct men are well taken. (Anglia, II, 504-06). Thus the Arthur Massinger of London, whom Phelan identifies as Philip's father, was buried there out of Shere Lane in June 1603; but it is likely that the dramatist's father is the same Arthur Massinger who graduated B.A. from St. Alban Hall, Oxford, in 1571, and M.A. in 1577; who was M.P. for Weymouth and Melcombe Regis in 1588-89 and 1593, and for Shaftesbury in 1601; and who seems to have died in 1606 (Cf. J.Foster, Alumni Oxonienses 1500-1716, p. 1004).

11. 7-9. "Many yeares . . . a servant to it."

Several letters are extant to vouch for Massinger's statement that his father was for many years a "servant," or confidential steward, of the Pembroke family. On March 28, 1587, Henry, Earl of Pembroke, signs an application of Arthur Massinger for the magistracy in South Wales:

"My seruant Massinger hath besoughte me to ayde him in obteyning a reversion from her Majestie of the Examiner's office in this courte; whereunto, as I willingly have yielded, soe I resolved to leave the crauing of your Lordship's futheraunce to his own humblé sute; ... I am boulded to desire your Lordship's honorable fauour to my seruauht, which I shall most kindlie accepte, and he for the same euer rest bounde to praye for your Lordship."

Notes and Queries (First Series), III(Jan.25, 1851), 52. (See also Cal. of State Papers, Domestic Series (1581-90), p. 398.) This recommendation led Wurzbach to conclude that Arthur Massinger was a jurist ("Philip Massinger;" in Shakespeare Jahrbuch, XXXV(1899), 215). That the petition was successful is implied by the following letter of April 20 (?), 1587:

"Arthur Massinger to Walsyngham(?). Particulars of the case of William Mathew, who declined appearing before the court of the Marches of Wales, to answer a charge of murder, on the plea of sickness, and had procured a person to make a statement on oath to that effect. Refers to the letter of the Council of Wales to the late Lord Chancellor."

Cal. of State Papers, Domestic Series (1581-90), p. 405.

But records show Arthur Massinger soon again (May 7, 1591) attending to confidential affairs for the Earls of Pembroke (Lansdowne Collection of MSS., fol. 67, 8). He was informed of details of a suspected conspiracy, and was told secrets that the Earl did not wish to commit to paper (Lansdowne MSS. fol. 63, 74, and 77). On August 16, 1597 the Earl wrote to Lord Burghley that Massinger had returned with letters reporting "my son's liking of your (grand) daughter." Massinger was further entrusted with negotiating the marriage between the two families (Cf. Cal. of State Papers, Domestic Series (1595-97) pp. 489, 497, 498). In the same year he carried letters from Pembroke to the Queen (Sydney Papers, ed. Arthur Collins, II, 93). Such is the record of the esteem in which Arthur Massinger was held by the Pembrokes.

THE AUTHOR'S FRIEND TO THE READER

1.1. "drive".

To protract or prolong.

1.4. "Here are no Gipsie Iigges, no Drumming stuffe."

The jig developed in Elizabethan days from a simple dance staged with the help of foreign costumes into a lyrical farce with musical and terpsichorean accompaniment, and came not merely to occupy a place at the end of a play or between acts, but also to constitute an integral part of the drama. Thus it became something of a literary type. Although the majority of references in the seventeenth century are probably to dances alone, Massinger's friend seems here to have had in mind rather the jig as a new feature of dramatic technique, as did Jonson in referring to the "concupiscence of jigs and dances" in the Preface to The Alchemist, and in introducing a puppet show in Bartholomew Fair for the purpose of ridiculing the satyr's dance in The Winter's Tale, and other such interpolations which were known as jigs. (Cf. W.J. Lawrence, "The Elizabethan Jig," Chap. IV of Pre-Restoration Stage Studies.)

*delete
'rather'*

Furthermore, in asserting the purity of Massinger's drama and its freedom from such spectacular devices as "Gipsie Iigges" and "Drumming stuffe," W.B., the friend of the author, most likely referred, as Professor Baskervill suggests, to the gipsy material in Thomas Middleton's The Spanish Gipsy, produced the year before The Bondman (C.R. Baskervill, The Elizabethan Jig, pp. 140-41). In III, i, of Middleton's play there is a gipsy song, apparently for a group dance. The next scene contains a marching song of the gipsy group with a chorus, and it is this that W.B. possibly characterizes "Drumming stuffe." The first scene of the fourth act of the same play has a song with dialogue effect and choral passages accompanied by a dance, as well as a spiritued solo song of gipsy life.

Professor Baskervill mentions also IV, 1, of Middleton's More Dissemblers besides Women (1623), and Jonson's Metamorphosed Gipsies (1621), as the possible objects of W.B.'s unfavourable references.

1. 9. "Best way."

R.W.Bond thinks this may be an allusion to the title of Massinger's preceding play, A New Way to Pay Old Debts, written before 1622 (The Poetical Works of William Basse, p. 121).

1. 12. "but to endure."

Massinger's own admission of his desire for fame is evident in the defense of the drama by Paris in The Roman Actor (I, iii), and again in "Sero sed serio":

"Though I have been ambitious of fame,
As poets are, and would preserve a name."

1. 13. "a shilling."

W.B. is here addressing the better class of theatre patrons of his day. Perhaps at the Cockpit, where The Bondman was performed, sixpence was the lowest fee (cf. Prologue to Shirley's Example). Sir Humphrey Mildmay in 1633 saw a pretty and a merry comedy there for one shilling. The next year a "base play" cost him eighteen pence. In Fletcher's Wit without Money, I, 1, played at the Cockpit before 1620, half-crown boxes are mentioned. Generally the higher-priced seats ranged from a shilling to a half-crown in the private theatres, and at first performances prices were often doubled. The average playgoer seems to have paid decidedly less than a shilling for admittance. (See Alwin Thaler, Shakespeare to Sheridan, app. II.)

1. 21. "Six-pence."

Such was the market price of plays at the time. Cf. Thomas Middleton's "To the Comic Play readers, Venery and Laughter," prefaced to The Roaring Girl: ". . . you shall find this published comedy; good to keep you in an afternoon from dice at home in your chambers: and for venery, you shall find enough for sixpence . . ." (Middleton's Works, ed. A.H.Bullen, IV, 7).

1. 26. "Free of the freest, and the noblest Trade."

W.B., in this line, is seemingly completing the figure of 1. 16, in which he urged those who would be both merchants and poets to buy a copy of The Bondman. Thus far the audience may have been poets through their application of the merits of the play as such. But an additional investment of sixpence, for a copy of the play, (1. 21) above the shilling which was paid for admission to the theatre, will show them to be good merchants, because through a reading of the play they will get an understanding of its philosophic content (1. 25) and there-

by receive a "large encrease" (l. 15). The phrase, "Free-
of," is used in its technical sense, of being invested
with the rights and immunities of, and being admitted to
the privileges of, a corporation or trade. Thus the man
who buys and understands The Bondman becomes a good mer-
chant because of the large profit that his investment
brings him, and a freeman in the privileges that he se-
cures in that noblest of trades, poetry.

1. 29. "W.B."

The identity of W.B., the author of these verses and
similar ones prefaced to The Duke of Milan, is uncertain.
Malone, in a manuscript note to his edition of The Bond-
man, has written below "W.B.," "Probably W^m Basse." Chief-
ly on grounds of style it would seem that Malone is cor-
rect in this identification. Sir Sidney Lee, in his ar-
ticle on Basse in D.N.B., merely notes that these verses
have been attributed to him; but R.W. Bond includes them
in his edition of Basse (p. 119), and thinks they are
very probably by that poet, "though in this case he has
little to gain from the allowance of his claim."

Davies, however, following the opinion of Reed, thought that
W.B. is the poet William Browne. W.C. Hazlitt, the editor
of Browne, has perhaps advanced this poet's chief claim
for authorship by noting that the Earl of Montgomery, to
whom this play is dedicated, was Browne's friend, and that
the poet for a while was in the service of the Herberts at
Wilton (The Works of William Browne, ed. W.C. Hazlitt, II,
361). But Browne, one of the most eminent Sponserians of
the day, seems incapable of having written the final coup-
plet in which drama is glorified as the highest poetic
form, and of penning these lines in such a contrasted
style to his other dedicatory verses. It should be added,
however, that Basse was also a pastoral writer, but of
less note and more irregular style, and a very close friend
of Browne.

Gifford suggests also that W.B. may be William Bark-
sted, an actor and poet who flourished shortly before The
Bondman was written. Barksted was a member of Princess
Elizabeth's Company in its early days, and this connection
with the theatre, as well as the rough style of his verse,
strengthens his case. Yet so few facts concerning him
and so little of his verse have come down to us that his
authorship can be urged with little certitude.

"That Basse, although of less note,
and in style more irregular, was like
William Browne a pastoral writer and
a friend of the Duke of Montgomery."

ACT I.

Scene I.

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1. 3. "Court-ship."
Courtesy, or courtliness of manners.

1. 5. The colon is used after "action," and elsewhere in the play and in Elizabethan drama, to denote an interrupted or an unfinished speech. It marked a well-defined pause. (Cf. Percy Simpson, Shakespearean Punctuation, Sect. 32.)

The omission of the comma after "Timagoras" is also consistent with the Elizabethan system in which the comma after the vocative is frequently omitted (ibid., Sect. 30).

1. 6. "my friend."
Cf. Introduction, V, CLASSICAL IDEAS.

1. 13. "Horrid-trime."
This may be a use of the metrical hyphen to indicate the accent on the first part of the compound word (cf. Simpson, Shakespearean Punctuation, Sect. 38).

"trime."

Array, outfit, adornment; here perhaps there is also a suggestion of the derived meaning of guise, or aspect.

1. 18. The Elizabethans frequently used a semicolon after a word to make it emphatic, such as Archidamus, where we should use no stop at all (Cf. Simpson, op.cit., Sect. 29). I have therefore let the punctuation stand. But this sheet of the first quarto has several inaccuracies in the text, such as the commas in 1. 3 and "this" for "these" in 1. 21, and it may be that the semicolon is an erroneous reading.

1. 22. "determinate."
Fixed in purpose or mind; resolute.

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1. 26. "thy Timagoras."
Cf. I, 1, 6 and Introduction, V, CLASSICAL IDEAS. The phrase is common in the speech of Friendship. The second quarto reading of "my Timagoras" renders the passage meaningless, and Coxeter's and Mason's emendation to "my Leosthenes" weakens the force of Timagoras' assurance.

1. 30. "wrought."
Influenced or prevailed upon.
1. 31. "caraera."
The word is used in the general sense of a rapid and uninterrupted course of procedure.
1. 32. "In this line Mr. M. Mason omits the second that, which, he says, destroys both sense and metre. The reduplication is entirely in Massinger's manner, and assuredly destroys neither. With respect to the sense, that is enforced by it; and no very exquisite ear is required to perceive that the metre is improved.— How often will it be necessary to observe that our old dramatists never counted their syllables on their fingers?"— Gifford's note. Cf. V, Ult., 132, and note, for a similar trick of style.
1. 37. The comma after "line" denotes an unfinished or interrupted speech. Cf. II, 1, 23, and Simpson, Shakespearean Punctuation, Sect. 9.
1. 40. "remous."
In the obsolete sense of departure to another place. This meaning was very common from 1590 to the middle of the 18th century.
1. 44. "Coaches are too common."
Although coaches were not in general use in England until the last quarter of the sixteenth century, by 1601 they had become so numerous that there was an attempt to restrain by legislation their excessive use. Their number steadily increased, however, and in 1631 there is record of another petition, by the inhabitants of Blackfriars, against the number of coaches bringing auditors to the theatre there. Meanwhile they had ceased to be merely the distinctive conveyances of the great, but were, as Massinger here implies, the common property of the middle class. The Duke of Buckingham, according to Wilson's Memoirs, in order to get away from the common custom, set up a coach with six horses instead of the usual four (See Kennett, History of England, II, 720). Satiric accounts of the use and prevalence of coaches about the time The Bondman was written are contained in Henry Peacham's Coach and Sedan (London, 1636; reprint, London, 1925), in John Taylor's The World runs on Wheels, and in the ballad, "The Coaches' Overthrow" (Roxburghe Ballads, Part VII, Vol. III, 233).
1. 45. "surfet."
To indulge in to excess, or to take one's fill. The reference is, of course, to "woman," in l. 45.

11. 46-48. "And Laydes thinke they keepe not state enough,
If for their pompe, and ease, they are not borne
In triumph on mens shoulders."

These lines have been thought to refer to the introduction of sedan-chairs into England. Moreover, Gifford, following Gilchrist, thinks that they constitute a jibe at Buckingham, inasmuch as the Duke is sometimes said to have been the first to use a sedan in James's reign. But, in addition to the fact that the passage seems to refer only to ladies' use of litters, the probable date of the introduction of the chairs into England would scarcely permit such interpretation. Although there is a record of their having been shown in England in 1581, their permanent appearance and continuous use there seems to have begun not until October 5, 1623, when Charles and the Duke of Buckingham returned from their journey to Spain, the Prince bringing with him three chairs of curious workmanship (Edward Knight, London, I, 28). Inasmuch as The Bondman was first presented on December 3, of that same year it is difficult to believe the lines can refer to the use of the sedans in England. Certainly Massinger's audience would not have understood these lines, deploring ladies' luxurious tastes and easy habits in the use of litters, as satiric jibes at the three chairs which the Prince and the Duke had brought back from Spain.

Gifford also cites the prevalent displeasure provoked by Buckingham's riding on men's shoulders as additional evidence that Massinger here has the favourite in mind. Arthur Wilson, a contemporary, is responsible for the account:

"So after, when Buckingham came to be carried in a Chair upon Men's shoulders; the Clamour and the noise of it was so extravagant, that the People would rail on him in the streets, loathing that Men should be brought to as servile a condition as Horses" (apud Kennett, History of England, II, 720).

But this is evidently the same bitterness recorded on the part of the Commons and the people in the Calendar of State Papers, May 20, 1621— an event almost three years subsequent to the writing of the play (See Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, 1625-26, p. 337). It is therefore unsafe to regard the passage as having particular reference to the Duke of Buckingham.

Indeed, although the mention of coaches (l. 45) undoubtedly contains contemporary satire, the latter part of the passage may not be directed toward English uses of the litter or sedan. The horse-litter was sometimes used for women and invalids, and Elizabeth is said to have passed through London now and then in a chair of state, carried by men (cf. Shakespeare's England, I, 204); for instance on June 23, 1600

she was met "by a lectica, made like a litter, whereon she was carried by six knights." (Sydney Papers, II, 203. See also the illustration prefixed to Stubbe's Anatomy of Abuses, Shak.Soc.Pub., 1877-82.) But the infrequency and the ceremonial nature of these occurrences give no warrant for any such slighting reference to contemporary custom as Massinger here makes.

The lines relating to ladies' use of litters (II.46-48) are best regarded, therefore, as merely a part of the classical background of the play with an additional satiric note on woman's eternal weakness for "pompe and ease." The Romans were very careful to have their litters carried by the handsomest and strongest slaves, many of whom were employed, as was Pisander, for this specific purpose (cf. Cicero, Ad.Fam., IV, 12). Seneca (Benefits, I, ix; Lodge's Translation, 1620), in a vein similar to the present one, also condemned the pride of woman in their public display:

"There are women likewise, that in these dayes account those married men rustique, inhumane, and of froward condition, that wil not suffer their wives to get up in their Caroches, and prance through the streets to be gazed at by the passers by."

1. 49. "Giscos their Admirall."

For the traits with which he has endowed Gisco, Massinger is generally said to have gone to the Duke of Buckingham, who had succeeded the aged Lord Admiral Nottingham in 1618 as head of the English Navy. The effeminate characteristics of Massinger's Gisco are quite unlike the courage of the Carthaginian leader as he is characterized by Diodorus. Buckingham, however, seems to have possessed to a marked degree the peculiarly soft, effeminate manner and appearance that are here attributed to the Carthaginian Admiral. Sir Simon D'Ewes, a contemporary, after witnessing Buckingham in the tilt yard with the Earl of Montgomery, writes of the English Admiral:

"I saw everything in him full of delicacy and handsome features; yea, his hands and his face seemed to me, especially, effeminate and curious."
(The Autobiography and Correspondence of Sir Simon D'Ewes, ed, J.O.Halliwell, I, 167).

Osborne also says:

"I have seene Sommersett and Buckingham labour to resemble ladies in the effeminatenesse of their dressings."
(Sir Walter Scott, The Secret History of the Reign of James the First, I, 275)

See Introduction, IV, SOURCES, (2) "Contemporary Events" for Buckingham's place in political criticism of the play. Cf.

also the representation of Buckingham in the character of Fulgentio in The Maid of Honour.

1. 50. "rawe."
Although this adjective was used to indicate lack of skill and experience in general it often had especial reference to soldiers without training in fighting.
 - 11.53-54. "Rauish a Feather from a Mistresse Fanne
And weare it as a Fauour."
Cf. Shirley's The Lady of Pleasure, III, ii, 40.
 1. 55. "horrid."
Stronger than at present; horrible or terrible to look upon; frightful. Cf. "Horrid-trime" in l. 13.
 1. 57. The colon after "ayde" may be regarded as denoting an interrupted or unfinished speech, followed by a well-defined pause (cf. Simpson, Shakespearean Punctuation, Sect. 32; also The Bondman, II, ii, 129; II, iii, 103; III, iii, 144). Such an interpretation obviates the necessity of changing "motiue's" to "motiues."
 1. 59. "ambitious Carthage."
See Introduction, IV, SOURCES, (2) "Contemporary Events."
 1. 62. "end."
The word seems to be used in the somewhat colloquial sense of "endup" or cease.
 1. 65. "Of strange and reserude parts."
Gifford interprets the phrase, "strangely. (i.e. singularly) reserved," and ridicules Mason's conjecture that "strange" means "distant." But the latter meaning is justified in The Edinburgh Review, 1805, in a critical review of Gifford's edition of Massinger. Its being used here with "reserude" leads one to believe it is used in its now obsolete sense of unfamiliar, not affable, or as Mason says, distant. Gifford's interpretation, however, finds defense in the N.E.D. (under "strange"-9,5).
- For the biographical significance of the passage see Introduction, IV, SOURCES, (2), "Contemporary Events."
1. 66. "forbeare."
To refrain from uttering or mentioning.
 1. 67. "at large."
At length, in full.

Scene II

1. 1. "Chucka."
This familiar term of endearment was applied to husbands,

wives, children, and close companions.

1. 2. "gadding."

Roving or wandering about idly or aimlessly; "gadding-about."

11. 3,4. "Beauty inuites temptation, and short heeles
Are soone tripd vp."

The expression, "short heeles," was used synonymously for wanton or lascivious women. In these lines, moreover, Massinger is evidently repeating a form of a proverb familiar to his audience. It occurs in a contemporary ballad, "An excellent new Medly:"

"Within oure Towne faire Susan dwells.
Sure Meg is poyson'd, for she swells.
My friend, pull of your bozzard's bells
and let the haggard fly.
Take heed you play not at Tray-trip,
Short heeles forsooth will quickly slip,
The beadle makes folke with his whip
dance naked." (Roxburghe Ballads, I, 57).

Canon Cruickshank includes these lines among a number of passages from Massinger's plays, referring to the low stature of the actor of a female part, and believes it may have also this specific application to a member of Princess Elizabeth's Company (Cf. A.H.Cruickshank, Philip Massinger, Appendix I, p.145).

1. 6. "else."

Here used idiomatically in the now rare or dialectal sense, "If it is not believed."

1. 11. "as."
As if.

1. 15. "tickles."

Either to be excited by a thrilling sensation, stirred by pleasure; or to itch or be eager—to have impatient desire.

1. 17. The omission of the comma before and after the vocative is common in Elizabethan texts (cf. Simpson, Shakespearean Punctuation, Sect. 3), and is found to be the general practice throughout The Bondman.

1. 18. C,M,G unnecessarily insert "a" before "young," and thereby misplace the stress in the first foot. Massinger elsewhere occasionally inserts a trochaic line, as IV, 11,91.

1. 19. "Vulcans."

To make into a vulcan or cuckold. The N.E.D. gives the quotation in The Bondman as the single instance of the verb.

11. 22, 23.

"... it cures

My lippes without Pomatum . . ."

Corisca's remark concerning her lips is a significant bit of characterization (Cf. Introduction, VI, FINAL ESTIMATE). The famous physician of Massinger's day, Nicholas Culpeper, wrote concerning "clefts, dryness, and chaps of the lips:"

"They infest wanton lustfull Women, from the dryness of their Wombs, by reason of the common Tunicle; and they produce Clefts without any heat at al, or itching, or much hardness, neither are they very deep, or frequent." (The Idea of Practical Physick in 12 Books, Book VIII, title viii.)

The same physician gives elsewhere a recipe for pomatum:

"Take of the suet of a Stag or else of a Kid, two ounces, the fat of a Sow a pound and a half, Apples being cut and pared by number eight, let the fats being cleansed from their skins be washed in white Wine, — then put them into an earthern vessel glazed, which is half full of Rose water, let it boyl gently till almost all the water be consumed, strain it into another earthern vessell sprinkled with Rose water, and ad to it oyl of sweet Almonds six ounces, white Wax four ounces, melt it again by the fire, and having strained it and washed it with Rose water keep it for your use.

"A. I have seen many other receipts to make Pomatum. . . Its general use is to soften and supple the roughness of the skin, and take away the chaps of the lips, face or other parts." (Nicholas Culpeper, A Physical Directory, p. 249).

1. 25. "tunable."

Harmonious, pleasant-sounding.

1. 27. "night Fiddlers."

Massinger again in The City Madam (II,1) has Goldwire speak of the sensual purpose which these musicians often served:

"... and after ten-pound suppers
The curtains drawn, my fiddlers playing all night
The shaking of the sheets . . ."

But the reference may be rather to the poor, strolling fiddlers who played outside the houses. (Cf. "The Devils Answer to Pierce Pennylesse," Huth Library edition of Dekker, II, 121).

1. 28. *finde.*"

Comment note 7 Mason and Gifford change to "finds," but "finde" may be retained as a subjunctive with "that he" understood (cf. Abbot, Shakespearian Grammar, Sect. 368), or possibly as an infinitive with "to" omitted (ibid. Sects. 349, 355).

*Should not
this read
something
like "[Pray
that he] not
finde"?*

1. 32. *"cunning."*

Skillful deceit, craftiness, artfulness.

"queane."

Probably in the vocative, as Gracculo's address is to Corisca. The term "quean(e)" was used from Middle English times as a term of disparagement or abuse directed toward ill-behaved women; in the 16th and 17th centuries it often especially denoted a harlot.

1. 32. ". . . that like a Stagge he has cast his hornes."

There is evidently here the implication of the cuckoldom of old Cleon, whom Gracculo thinks will soon believe himself so young and vigorous that he will refuse to believe that he wears horns.

11. 33-35. The quartos have the following division of the lines:

"And is growne young againe.

Corisc. You have forgot what you did what you did in your sleepe,

And when you wakd cald for a Cawdle.

Gracc. 'Twas in his sleepe,

I have rearranged the lines as have C, M, and G, although I have not followed them in substituting "It was" for "'Twas." Thus l. 35 lacks a syllable, but this arrangement seems preferable to that of the quartos in which l. 33 is incomplete and l. 35 has too many stresses. Moreover occasional nine-syllable lines are found in Massinger, as in IV, ii, 91.

1. 36. *"waking."*

When he is awake.

1. 39. *"showe."*

Massinger may be using "showe" in the specific sense of a demonstration of military power. Perhaps merely the spectacle—in a general sense referring to Timoleon's entrance.

1. 40. *"on't."*

For the frequent use of "on" when modern usage requires "of" or "about" see Abbot, Shakespearian Grammar, 181.

t/A

Scene III

11. 5-8. "our neighbor Corinth

Her man of men Timoleon."

For the political allegory see Introduction, IV, SOURCES,
(2) "Contemporary Events."

1. 6. "gripe."
Hold, grip, or control.

1. 13. "Ingag'd to liberall nature, for all blessings."
This is a Stoic sentiment. Cf. Seneca's De Beneficiis, Book IV, Chaps. v,vi,vii, for an enumeration of the blessings or benefits of liberal Nature for which we should be grateful. Cf. also The Bondman, III,iii,68-70, and Introduction, V, CLASSICAL IDEAS.

11. 15,16. "Treasure,
The sinnewes of the Warre."
Massinger here may have been thinking of the words of James I in his proclamation to Parliament in 1621 as he plead for financial help, "moneys being the great sinews of war" (Cf. Lucy Aiken, Memoirs of the Court of King James First, II, 196).

1. 19. "else."
Otherwise. So in l. 47.

1. 26. "vertue."
"Vertue" had a variety of meanings, and a wide usage in most of them, in Massinger's day. Generally Massinger uses the word with its moral implications, as observance or adherence to the highest ethical principles; the summum bonum of the Stoics. It will be found to have this general denotation in II,1,13; II,1,158; III,ii,106; III,iii,77; IV,iii,108; IV,iii,124; V,1,95; V,ii,20; V,iii,40. At times it denotes power or efficacy inherent in something or someone, as in the present passage, in I,iii,112, and in II,iii,275. Elsewhere it has the meaning not so much of inherent excellence and strength as of general superiority, acquired ability, merit or distinction; I,iii,311; II,1,121; IV,iii,174; V,ii,76. Finally, Massinger seems to use the word at least once (I,iii,181) in its more restricted sense of manliness, courage, or valour. Some passages will allow two or more interpretations, as obviously there is close affinity between several of the diverse significations.

1. 28. "braueries."
Gallants, grandees, or beaux.

1. 31. "hopefull."
Giving promise of future success; Here there is the irony that the word often implies.

1. 35. "seconded."
Followed or accompanied.
1. 38. "merit."
To be entitled to.
1. 44. "duty."
Homage, respect, and reverence due a superior.
1. 49. "she."
Cf. Abbott, A Shakespearian Grammar, Sect. 211.
1. 50. "sweet meats."
Sweet food, such as preserved or candied fruits; sometimes sugared cakes or pastry.
- "Closet."
A small side room for provisions etc.; a cupboard.
1. 51. "curious."
Difficult to satisfy, particular, fastidious.
1. 52. "a Couch, and a banquetting house in my Orchard."
Gifford, in annotating this line called attention to Stubbe's description of the suburban garden houses of London:

"In the Feeldes and Suburbes of the Cities thei [gentlewomen] have Gardens, either palled, or walled round very high, with their Harbers and Bowers fit for the purpose. And khaast thei might bee espied in these open places, they have their Banquetting houses with Galleries, Turrets, and what not els therin sumptuously erected: wherein thei maie (and doubtlesse doe) many of them plaie the filthie persons."
Stubbe's Anatomy Vof Abuses (Ed. F.J.Furnivall) New Shak. Soc. (1877-79), I, 88.

1. 53. "honour."
The word "honour", like "vertue" (1.26), is found in The Bondman in a number of allied yet somewhat distinct meanings. Here it seems to refer to nobility or distinction of rank, as it does in III,iii,8; IV,iii,160; IV,Ult.,37; V,i,79; V,iii,51. In I,iii,307 it has reference rather to allegiance to the moral principles of one's position; so in V,i,20 and V,iii,21. In I,iii,322; II,i,80; V,ii,69 either of the above interpretations seems possible. In I,iii,330-354, 361; III,iv,65; IV,ii,7; V,iii,84; glory, renown, fame and personal distinction are synonyms for the idea expressed. In III,iv,54; IV,Ult.,36, personal nobility of character is referred to; in V,i,62; nobility in a more general sense seems to be signified. The word is employed in IV,iii,26, 104, 128; V,iii,14; V,iii,186 to mean chastity and the conventions of feminine conduct.

1. 55. "know."
The word was formerly often used in the sense of "to know how", or "to be able."
1. 61. "stomacks."
Inclinations or desires.
1. 62. "roundly."
Bluntly and briskly.
1. 63. "perfum'd Sir."
Although one A.L., in "A relation of some abuses which are committed against the Commonwealth. . . Dec. xxvjth, 1629," (Camden Soc. Misc., III, 25) asserts that "yo^u shall scarce find twenty men in this whole kingdome, w^{ch} use painting, perfuming, pouldering, night masks (to holde up their mustachioes &c) or the like effeminate fooleries" Massinger and his fellow-dramatists frequently satirize the effeminate court fop who perfumed his jerkin or his gloves. (Cf. Marston's Malcontent, V, iii, 141; Middleton's A Trick to Catch the Old One, V, ii, 220; and Jonson's The Alchemist, II, ii, 93). Overbury alludes to the custom in his satirical character of "The Courtier," as does Edward Guilpin (Skialetheia, p. 14):

"He's a fine fellow who is neate and fine.

Who smels of musk, civet, and pomander—."

1. 64. "cringing."
Shrinking or bending servilely, behaving with servile deference.

"hammes."

Either the hollow or bend of the knee, or the back of the thigh.

1. 65. "Like a Spaniell o're a Fermenty pot."
The fawning nature of the spaniel furnished one of the stock figures of Elizabethan authors (Cf. Dekker, "A Papist Couchant," P. 172, and "The Devil's Answer to Pierce Pennylesse," p. 106, in Huth Library Edition of Dekker; Chapman's May Day, I, i, 256). Massinger again speaks of "puppies o're a fermenty pot" in The Maid of Honour, V, i, 13.

"Fermenty."

Nares gives the following recipe from A True Gentlewoman's Delight (1675), p. 17:

"To make furmenty. Take a quart of sweet cream, 2 or 3 sprigs of mace, and a nut meg cut in half, put it into your cream, so let it boil, then take your French barley or rice, being first washed clean in fair water three times and picked clean, then boil it in sweet mild till it be tender, then put

it into your cream, and boil it well, and when it hath boiled a good while, take the yolks of 6 or 7 eggs, beat them very well, to thicken on a soft fire, boil it, and stir it, for it will quickly burn; when you think it is boiled enough, sweeten it to your tast, and so serve it with rose-water and musk-sugar, in the same manner you make it with wheat."

(Quoted by E.A.Bryne in her edition of The Maid of Honour, p.132.)

11. 68-70. "A Gentlemans modesty, manners, and fine language,
His singing, dancing, riding of great horsed,
The wearing of his cloathes, his fair complexion,"
Olimpia here enumerates many of the accomplishments of the ideal gentleman as specified by the conduct books of Massinger's own day, such as Peacham's Compleat Gentleman (1622), and by the more famous and earlier Il Cortegiano of Castiglione. Peacham especially insists that horsemanship should (by) more thoroughly practised by the English nobility (Compleat Gentleman, p.213). Paralleling very closely Olimpia's list of commendable traits in a gentleman are those taken from "the chiefe conditions and qualities of a courtier" found at the conclusion of Castiglione's The Courtier (tr. Thomas Hoby, "Tudor Translations," pp.368ff.):

"Not to praise himself unshamefully and out of reason.

"Not to crake and boast of his actes and good qualities.

"To be well spoken and faire languaged.

"To singe well upon the booke.

"To play upon the lute, and singe to it with the ditty.

"To play upon the Vyole, and all other instruments with freates.

"To be handesome and clenly in his apparaile.

"To ride and manege wel his horse.

"To be portly and amiable in countenance unto whose beehouldeth him."

1. 72. "obserue."
In the obsolete sense of to show courteous attention to, to court or gratify.

"state."

Estate, riches, or possessions.

1. 73. "stanch."
Standing true and firm to one's purpose and principles.

1. 76. "entertaine."
Massinger generally uses the word in both its substantive and verbal forms in its simpler sense; to give reception to. Cf. I,iii,36, 88; III,ii,91; III,iv,10; IV,ii,22; V,i,72; V, Ult.,76. Here, however, there may be the added notion of "to receive and offer especial hospitality."

1. 79. "made your Market."
To make one's market is to do one's bargaining or dealing.
1. 80. "giuen it you."
The phrase meant to make an attack with blows or words.
Here it seems to signify a bit more— "to get the better of."
1. 81. "Iewell."
The usage was often extended to include a person of great worth.
1. 83. "As to the supream Magistrate."
I have accepted the singular, "magistrate," of MQ₁, although "Magistrates" is left uncorrected in Au., which often leaves obvious errors standing. The magistrate referred to is seemingly the praetor, Archidamus, who transfers the supreme authority in martial affairs, usually vested in supreme magistrates (cf. Cicero, de Leg., III, 3), to Timoleon.
1. 85. "ambitious of."
"Of" regularly followed "ambitious" when the word meant desirous of.
1. 89. "take."
To delight, charm, captivate, allure.
11. 90-93. "all such
As would vsurpe on others liberties,
Rebels to nature, to whose bounteous blessings
All men lay clayme as true legitimate sonnes."
Cf. Paradise Lost, XII, 64-71:

"O execrable son, so to aspire
Above his brethren, to himself assuming
Authority usurped, from God not given!
He gave us only over beast, fish, fowl,
Dominion absolute; that right we hold
By his donation: but man over men
He made not lord — such title to himself
Reserving, human left from human free."

The conception of the natural brotherhood of man in this passage was often expounded by Roman Stoics, especially by Seneca and Epictetus. The former philosopher in Epistle XLIV asserts with Timoleon that all men are equal before the gods, that all should have an equal chance for nature's gifts, and that virtue is the essential qualification for nobility:

"It ought be good in Philosophie, this is it, that it regardeth not Nobilitie or descent. If all men be revoked to their first originall they are of the gods . . . A good conscience is at everie mans command, that in this we are all noble, neither doth Philosophie reject or elect any man, but shineth unto all."

"Who is therefore a Gentleman? He that is well composed by Nature unto vertue. This onely is to be looked into . . . The mind maketh the Noble-man, which from how base condition soever, ennobleth us to rise above fortune." (Lodge's translation, 1620).

For variation of the same idea see also Pisander's speeches, II,iii,32-47 and IV, ii,52-85; and Introduction, V, CLASSICAL IDEAS, for the philosophy of slavery and natural rights in the play.

1. 93. The period after "sonnes" is probably an example of the Elizabethan use of a full stop in an incomplete sentence. In long sentences, such as this one, which constitutes ll. 89-104, where colons and semicolons had been used extensively for heavier stopping in a run of commas, a full stop was often used to mark a more emphatic pause, even in an unfinished sentence. (Cf. Simpson Shakespearean Punctuation, Sect. 35, and Massinger's repetition of this system in II,i,175 and III,iii,105). Accordingly "But" in l. 94 is a preposition, not a conjunction.

- ll.98,99. "Honours and great imployments are great burthens,
And must require an Atlas to support them."
W.D.Briggs ("Influence of Jonson's Tragedy," Anglia, XXXV, 311-12) believes that these lines show Massinger's possible use of Catiline, III,i:

"Great honours are great burdena, but on whom
They cast with envy, he doth bear two loads."

But the idea is a commonplace from classic philosophy.
Cf. The Golden Booke, p.404:

"He that wyll take the charge to governe other, he seketh thought and trouble for himselfe, anyve for his neyghbours, spurres for his ennemyes, povertie for his rychesse, awakynge of theves, perell for his body, and ende of his dayes, and tourment for his good renome. Fynally he seketh a waye to relecte his frendes, and a repeale to recover his ennemyes. O an unhappy mā is he, that taketh on hym the charge of chyldreene of many mothers . . ."

Cf. also Tatham's Distracted State, I,i:

"Crowns are but glorious burthens and the weight
Requires more heads than one to bear it up."

11. 100;101. "He that would governe others, first should be
The Master of himselfe."

This is another classic commonplace, often repeated by Elizabethan authors: Cf. Seneca, The Natural Questions, preface to Book III; and especially Cicero's Paradox V:

Here let a general be celebrated, or let him be honored with that title, or let him be thought worthy of it. But how or over what free man will he exercise control who cannot command his own passions? Let him in the first place bridle his lusts, let him despise pleasures . . . and when he himself is no longer in subjection to disgrace and degradation, the most savage tyrants, let him then, I say, begin to command others. But while he is subservient to these, not only is he not to be regarded as a general but he is by no means to be considered as even a free man."
(tr. C.D.Yonge in Cicero's Tusculan Disputations, Harper Classical Library).

- 11.102,103. "With depth of vnderstanding, height of courage,
And those remarkable graces."
Cf. The Roman Actor, I,iii,6-9:

"Vouchsafe us one to govern it, like themselves
In height of courage, depth of understanding,
All all those virtues, and remarkable graces,
Which make a prince most eminent . . ."

1. 104. "empty."
Lacking knowledge and sense; frivolous, foolish.
1. 108. "fame."
Public report.
1. 112. "active vertues."
The Stoics recognized virtue as double in its aspect: contemplative and active. Here Timoleon is said to have opportunity to exercise the practical or outward, moral side.
1. 113. "strengths."
Baldwin (The Duke of Milan, p.155) has called attention to Massinger's fondness for this frequent Elizabethan plural.
1. 122. "even."
Equal toward all, just, impartial.
- "desir'd of ."
"Of" regularly follows when the phrase is equivalent to "the wish of."

11. 123, 124. "Timophanes my brother, for whose death
I am tainted in the world."

See Introduction, IV, SOURCES for a discussion of the historical significance, and for Massinger's adherence to Plutarch throughout his treatment of the relationship between Timoleon and Timophanes.

11. 133-135. "To proue a pious and obedient sonne
To My Country my best mother, then to lend
Assistance to Timophanes, though my brother."

Timoleon's action was in accord with Stoic ethics, in which loyalty to country was placed above family ties. Cf. especially Cicero's view that our country comprehends alone the endearments of us all. De Officiis, Bk.I,xvii.

1. 159. "State."

The state was a capacious chair seating two or three people, situated on a dais and overhung by a canopy. It received its name from the canopy, which was the "cloth of estate, canopie or Heaven" (Cotgrave's Dictionary of English and French Tongues, 1611) which stood over royal thrones. See W.J.Lawrence, Pre-Restoration Stage Studies, pp.312,313.

1. 160. "clowne."

An ignorant, rude or ill-bred man.

"warrant."

The expression "I warrant," has long been used colloquially to give a person strong assurance of a fact, with the meaning, "I'll be bound."

1. 162. "salute."

To greet, or accost respectfully. Perhaps a kiss of greeting is meant here, inasmuch as the custom was so common in Massinger's day, but usage of the word in that sense seems not to have prevailed at that early time (cf. N.E.D.).

1. 163. "rest on it."

Gifford accepted the passage as it stands in the quarto, "Irrest on it," and offered an ingenious explanation of the clause, considering it to mean "I am determined." By way of substantiation he cited the term "rest" in the sense of the highest stake one would venture in a game.

1. 169. "In which the greatest, noblest, and most rich,
Stand in the first file guilty."

Cf. A.L. in "A Relation of Abuses Against the Commonwealth, 1629," pp.17-18, Camden Soc. Pub., III, (1855):

"I might here show, how great men forgetting that they are, (or should be) fathers of the common-wealth, and neglecting their honor, dignities, descent, and vertues, live in all lycentiousness, and oppresse their tenants worse than in age here to fore."

1. 172. "your particuler ends."

Cf. the scurrilous pamphlet against James's policies, written probably in 1622, "Tom Tell-Troath," Harleian Miscellany, III, 433:

"The old compasse of honour is quite forgott, and our pilotts (or ministers of state), now adaies, knowe no other route, than that of their own fortunes; according to which they tacke and untacke all publicke affaires."

11. 180, 181. "whose youth was not
Made glorious by action."

"All Vertue consisteth in Action, and no man is borne for himselfe, we adde, beneficiall and usefull to his Country: for hardly they are to be admitted for Noble, who (though; of never so excellent pasts) consume their light, as in a darke lasthorne, in contemplations and a Stoicall retirednesse" (Peacham's Complete Gentleman, Chap. I, p. 22). Peacham perhaps derived this view, that virtue consists in an active rather than a contemplative life, principally from Aristotle and Cicero (cf. De Officiis, Bk. I, vi).

1. 184. "With greene heads that determine of the State
Ouer their Cups."

The tendency of James I to listen to young favorites and attractive courtiers received almost national disapproval. Cf. John Chamberlain's letter to Sir Dudley Carlton, Feb. 21, 1617-18:

"There be a number of fine young gallants about the court, more than I formerly mentioned; specially young Bell and Rookwood. This mustering of minors, and pressing so fast forward, makes the world suspect that it is toward a turning water." (The Court and Times of James I, I, 67.)

E. Peyton, in his "Divine Catastrophe of the House of Stuarts" writes similarly:

"The fault proceeded in both kings, but especially from the first governing by young counsellors, who had not vertue, but vanity; this encouraged Gundamore (that cunning Machiavel) to scoff at the counsellors of state, telling King James he was the wisest and happiest prince of Christendeome, to make privy counsellors sage at the age of twenty-one, which his master (the King of Spaine) could

not until sixty . . ." These nobles looked "more at their own interest than the common good or piety of life, . . . and the vainest counted the wisest; . . . vitious being counted the gallantest men." Secret History of James I, I, 304.

1. 187,188. "Who rising from base arts, and sordid thrift

Are eminent for their wealth, not for their wisdom."

This passage has been taken to be a jibe at Pembroke's enemy, the Earl of Middlesex. (Cf. Gardiner, "Political Element in Massinger," Court Rev. XXVIII (1876), and New Shakespeare Soc. Trans. (1875-76), pp.315-19). As "Tom Tell Troath" informs us, Middlesex came in for satire from those opposed to Buckingham and his group, especially because of his suggestions for filling the treasury of the King without the aid of Parliament. Formerly the Earl had been Lionel Cranfield, a merchant of London, who became, by reason of his methods of "sordid thrift," a prefector and eventually Lord Treasurer. (See Harleian Misc., III,431). Weldon, in his usual virulent style, describes him as "a fellow of so meane a condition, as none but a poore-spirited nobility would have endured his perching on that high tree of honour, to the dishonour of the nobility, disgrace of the gentry, and not long after to his owne dishonour. . ." (Sir Walter Scott's Secret History of the Court of James I, I,452-53).

Again in The Duke of Milan, III,i,28,29, Massinger deplores the actions of those sponges who

" . . . their whole lives have heap'd together,
By cous'nage, periurie, or sordid thrift."

1. 193. "A mercenary purchase."

Timoleon's charge was literally true during James's reign. Sir Henry Montagne, for instance, who became Lord Treasurer on Dec. 14, 1620, and Lord President in Council, 1621, paid 20,000 l. for the former office (See Analytical Index to Remembrancia (1559-1664) p. 23n.).

Then there were the "Payments for new invented Knight-hoods, never before heard of in England in Times of Peace, called Baronets : the Price was 1000 l. and the King, to quicken the Market, promised to make but 200; tho' when this market was done, he kept it up all his Life-time after." And there was the purchasing of "English Honours at certain set Prices, a Baron at 10,000 l., a Viscount at 15,000 l., an Earl at 20,000 l. " (Sir Roger Coke, Detection of the Court and State of England, I, 66-67).

Francis Osborn also expressed disgust in his "Memoirs" of the practice:

"At this time the honour of Knighthood, which antiquity

reserved sacred, as the cheapest and readiest jewell to present vertue with, was promiscuouſly laid on any head belonging to the yeomandry . . . That had but a court-friend, or money to purchase the favour of the meanest able to bring him into an outward roome, when the King, the fountaine of honour, came downe, and was uninterrupted by other businesse. . . . [By] this rendering the temple of honour [became] a common theatre, into which the basest were suffered to enter for their money. . . . [And] how short lived honour must needs be that was built upon no stronger basis then the mercenary consideration of such a summe; riches, for the most part, being the lot of covetous and dejected spirits." (Sir Walter Scott, The Secret History of the Reign of James I, I, 255, 256, 258.) Cf. also the ballad on the consequent stain of knighthood, reprinted in Ebbsworth's Choice Drollery, p. 295.

11. 195, 196. "the treasure of the City is ingros'd
By a few priuate man."

The latter part of the reign of James I was especially notorious for the long line of nobles who fed on government revenue for their own private fortunes. By 1615 the king had become much in debt by reason of his prodigality to favourites:

"Somerset had amassed in Money, Plate, and Jewell, two hundred thousand pounds, besides nineteen thousand pounds per annum. . . . The Earl of Salisbury . . . left an estate . . . equal, nay superior to most of the other Nobility; Northampton built that noble structure in the Strand, now called Northumberland House; the Earl of Suffolk built Audley-Inn Place. . . which by reasonable estimates cost above one hundred and ninety thousand pounds. . . ." (Roger Coke, Detection of the Court and State of England, I, 85).

Among the foremost of those who made use of state funds for private luxuries Francis Osborn, in his "Memoirs," mentions "Lords Roxborrow, Fenton, Carlile, and Dunbar, that during the reigne of this king lay sucking at the breasts of state, nor were some of them weaned long after his death, the last of which, swallowed at one gulp, together with the chancellorship of the Exchequer all the standing wardrobe...." (Sir Walter Scott's The Secret History of the Court of James I, I, 240.)

For the general depletion of the treasury and its significance in the play see Introduction, IV, SOURCES, (2) "Contemporary Events."

"priuate."

In the obsolete sense of one who does not hold any public or state office or position.

1. 198. "Talent."

The Greek talent contained 6,000 silver drachmae. The value of the later Attic talent of silver has been estimated at about 200 l.

1. 199.

"to feed

The pride and brauery of their Wives."

Cf. Weldon's description of the "Countess of Suffolke, who shared in her lords interest, being then a potent man, in being mistris to that little great secretary; . . . the sole manager of state affaires; so it may be said she was a double sharer. . . ." (Sir Walter Scott, Secret History of the Court of James I, I, 338)

"brauery."

In the singular this term often meant, in Massinger's day, ostentatious pretence, and hence, more specifically, as here; fine clothes or richness of costume.

"consume."

To spend wastefully, or squander.

1. 201. "Have at vs."

To "have at one" is to get an attack or stroke at one in a hostile way. The expression is chiefly used in the imperative, as it is here.

1. 203. "treated of."

The phrase is regular in Elizabethan usage when "treat" has the meaning, "to discourse."

11. 203, 204.

"Yet in this plenty,

And fat of peace,"

The bitter dissatisfaction of the English people at large with James's peaceful policy and its consequent evils at the time The Bondman was written is given expression in Tom Tell Troath:

"Of all the benefits that descend from heaven to earth, there is none to be received with more prayse, and thankfulness; then that of peace. But a man may have too much of his fathers blessing. And I feare we have too much cause to complaine of your Majesties unlimited peace. The excesse whereof hath long since turned vertue into vice, and health into sicknes. As long as other princes kept themselves within their bounds, and followed your great example, it was a thinge rather to be gloryed in, than anyway reproached, that your Majestie was knowne throughout Christendome, by the name of the Kinge of Peace. But now, that both our sworne enymies, and forsworne friends, have taken up ames with one consent, that defyed your Majesties goodnes by enterprisinge upon your neerest and dearest interest in all forraign parts; Now, that there

is question of God's glory, (In the reformed religion; like to be suppressed in Germany) as well as your owne. And that the cause of both your children lyes equally a bleeding: Now, I say, to continue still the faute, as still unmoved, as if you were no king of this world, but stood already possessed of the kingdom of heaven by vertue of (Beati pacifici) this certainly is such a strange peace of supererrogation, as will serve to astonish the present age, and that to come; but deserve well of neither. It will rather revoke in doubt your former merit, and make us suspect, that your peaceable disposition all this while hath not proceeded so much out of Christian piety, and love of justice, as out of meere impotency, and desire of ease." (Harleian Misc. III,434) For the general war policy suggested in The Bondman see Introduction, IV, SOURCES; (2)"Contemporary Events."

11.204,205. "your young men ne're were train'd
In Martiall discipline."

The "decade of martiall affaires" forms the topic of one of the four sections in "A Relation of Abuse committed against the Commonwealth, 1629." (Camden Soc. Publ., III, (1855), pp.17, 19). After decrying the fact that millions of men in England and Scotland have never been educated in the use of arms, and expressing the fear that other nations will soon perceive England's inability to defend herself, the author of the treatise urges that English men not allow their "bodies to be corrupted, deformed, or disabled, by drinking, drabbing, gully-ing, phantasticall apparail, or idlenes. . . our armes and weapons to consume with rust, and the exercise of martiall discipline to perish. . . (formerly) we had training and mustering; but now, we scarce heare of such a thing as a trayning or mustering daie."

11.205,206. "and your ships vnrig'd,
Rot in the harbour."

In 1619 Nottingham, then 82 years old, was superseded as Lord High Admiral by the Duke of Buckingham, whose administration in that office is attacked in these lines. Buckingham, however, was not totally incompetent, and, in fact, actually improved the navy in some respects, bringing the number of serviceable ships from twenty-three up to thirty-five by 1624. Yet the enormous appropriation and the corruption among the naval officials afforded the opportunity for such unfavourable criticism as Timoleon makes here. No proper accounts had been kept, repair money was advanced for ships that had disappeared, and the navy was carelessly and selfishly directed. In some cases the best timber sent for renovating ships had been used by the officers in building their houses. In 1618 Cranfield reported that one fourth of the navy was fit only for firewood. (See W.Laird Clowes et al, The Royal Navy, II,18; and Bishop Goodman's The Court and Times of James I, II,168.)

In The Maid of Honour, I, i, 229-31 Massinger inserts a similar criticism:

"let not our ammour
Hung up, or our unrig'd Armada make us
Ridiculous. . ."

1. 211. "sleepes."

This obsolete plural had the meaning of general sluggishness or inactivity.

11.216-217.

"Old festred sores

Must be lanc'd to the quicke and cauteriz'd."

This proverb in one form or another came from classical antiquity (cf. Cicero, De Officiis, I, xxiv) and is found frequently in Elizabethan drama (cf. Ford, The Broken Heart, III, iii, 200; and Chapman, All Fools, V, 157). Massinger's fondness for medical figures is seen again in Thierry and Theoderet, I, ii, 66; The Parliament of Love, I, i; The Emperour of the East, III, ii; The Guardian, III, i, 24; The Bashful Lover, IV, ii, 10.

11.220-223.

"all moneys in the hand,

Of priuate men, shall instantly be brought
To the publike Treasurie."

For the possible historical significance of this statement see Introduction, IV, SOURCES, (2) "Contemporary Events."

1. 223. "He neuer yeeld to it."

The refusal of aged Cleon to deliver any of his fortune for the good of the country may have been suggested to Massinger by a similar action on the part of a London merchant in 1622. On February 2 of that year the Reverend Joseph Mead wrote to Sir Martin Stuteville:

"The benevolence goes on. A merchant of London, who had been a cheesemonger, but now rich, was sent for by the council, and required to give the king 200 l, or else to go into the Palatinate, and serve the army with cheese, being a man of eighty years of age. He yielded rather than pay, though he might rather better have given a subsidy according as he stands valued. This was told to me by one that had it from his own mouth" (The Court and Times of James I, II, 289).

1. 228. "allowd of."

In the archaic and intransitive sense of "to approve of," allow was followed by "of" or "upon."

1. 236. "capitulate."

To bargain or parley, especially in the case of a siege.

1. 242. "carefull Stewards."
Cf. Luke, Chap. 16.

1. 243. "whips of Iron."

This phrase is particularly significant in the light of the probable anti-Spanish propaganda in the play. After the defeat of the Armada in 1588 the rumour spread throughout England that the Spanish, anticipating victory, had not been content with fire and sword as probable means of torture, but in addition strange whips had been especially prepared. Thomas Delony immediately made a ballad: "A new Ballet of the strange and most cruel Whippes which the Spanyards had prepared to whippe and torment English men and women . . ." (found on certain Spanish ships, 1588). The whips are described by Deloney:

"The strings whereof with wyerie knots like rowels
they did frame;

That every stroke might teare the flesh they layd
on with the same:

.
So strengthened eke with brasen tagges, and filde
so rough and thin."

(Roxburghe Ballads, VI, 387).

Cf. also Tom Tell Troath, in regard to Gondomar and Spanish fuses: "who will make no new scruple to whip you as your children with rods of iron" (Harleian Misc., III, 436).

1. 246. "Persian Hangings wrought of Gold and Pearle."

For the extensive trade with the near East in Persian silks, tapestries, gold and silver cloths, carpets, velvets and satins see Calendar of State Papers (Colonial Series) 1617-21, passim; also Calendar of State Papers, (Domestic Series) 1623-25. They were symbols of wealth and luxury. In Love's Cure, I, ii, Eugenia orders Bobadilla to hang up "the rich Persian arras." The splendour of the Elizabethan arras is described by German visitors to England in the early seventeenth century, who wondered at tapestries "in gold, silver, and variegated silks" and the rooms and apartments with their rich hangings "of pure gold and fine silk, so exceeding beautiful and royally ornamented that it would be hardly possible to find more magnificent things of the kind in any other places." (See W.B. Rye, England as seen by Foreigners, pp. 17, 18, 167)

Massinger may well have had English extravagance in mind in the passage, but tapestries were employed to some extent in Rome for curtains and portieres. Chelli (The Collaboration of Beaumont, Fletcher, and Massinger, pp. 188ff.) calls atten-

tion to Horace's hatred of Persian elegance in his odes, Book I, xxxviii: "Persicos odi, puer, apparatus."

11. 247, 48. "Cover the floors on which they are to tread
With costly Median silkes."

The floors of Elizabethan houses were generally covered with mats and rushes. The elegance of Median silk is suggested in Tamberlaine, I, ii, 95.

1. 249. "Cassia, and Amber."
Cassia, a fragrant shrub or plant; sometimes a bark.

Amber, Probably ambergris or grey amber, to which the single term amber was applied before it was extended to include the resin, amber jaune or succin. It is waxlike substance of abby colour, found in tropical seas, and as a secretion in the intestines of the sperm-whale. It is odoriferous and is used in perfumery; formerly it was used in cookery (cf. IV, Ult., 26). But the resin, found chiefly along the shores of the Baltic, also sends forth an agreeable odor when it burns.

1. 251. "trenchers."
A plate or platter of wood, metal or earthenware, on which food was served and cut up.

1. 252. "With your massie Plate untill your Cupboards cracke."
"Cupboards containing 1000 l. or 2000 l. worth of plate in nobleman's houses and 500 l. to 1000 l. worth of finery" in the gentry's houses were common in the early part of Elizabeth's reign. But Massinger is probably expressing the feeling of thoughtful men generally in his own time in disparaging the excessive collections typical of the extravagance of the reign of James. A stanza from a contemporary ballad, "Time's Alteration," suggests the object of the dramatist's attack:

"We took not such delight
In cups of silver fine;
None under the degree of Knight
In plate drunke beere or wine:
Now each mechanicall man
Hath a cup-board of plate, for a shew,
Which was a rare thing then.
When this old cup was new."

(Roxburghe Ballads, II, 585).

Cf. also The Court and Times of James I, I, 69.

"Cupboards."

Moveable sideboards or buffets for containing and displaying the plate.

1. 264. "The blood turnes."

Briggs believes Massinger may have used the phrase here in imitation of Arruntius' similar words in Sejanus, viii, after he has been watching the other senators: "This touches; the blood turns."

The word "turns" was usually applied to liquor or milk on becoming tainted, soured, or, in early use, coagulated. Here it means, therefore, the blood curdles or coagulates.

1. 280. "lowe."

Meekly or humbly.

1. 282. "warrant."

Here used in the somewhat extended meaning of one who protects and authorizes.

1. 286. "bolde."

In the praiseworthy sense of brave, stouthearted, courageous.

1. 288. "Target."

A light round shield, or buckle.

- 11.295-96.HQ₁ reads:

"When Libertie, and Honour, fill one scale?
Triumphant, Justice sitting on the beame."

Au also substitutes the comma for the interrogation point after "scale," and replaces the period after "beame" with an interrogation point, but fails to delete the comma after "Triumphant."

1. 296. "beame."

The transverse bar from the ends of which scales of balance are suspended.

1. 300. "ignorant."

In the better sense of merely uninformed.

1. 302. "Flamens."

The flamines were priests whose services were appropriated to one deity. In Rome there were fifteen in all, three Maiores, chosen from the patricians, and twelve Minores.

1. 304. "I doe lay downe these jewels."

This may be a reminiscence of Princess Elizabeth's action. In speaking for the Palatine cause during the latter part of James's reign, Archbishop Abbot recalled the "noble princess [who] hath professed to her husband not to leave herself one jewel, rather than not maintain so religious and righteous a cause." (See Lucy Aiken, Memoirs of the Court of James the First, II, 146-47.)

1. 306. "meanest."
Petty, unimportant or inconsiderable.
1. 319. "Varlets."
Menials or servants; perhaps, though, with the later implication of a mean or knavish disposition.
1. 323. "deliuer."
To state, affirm, or assert.
1. 327. "qualifie."
In the obsolete sense of make less wrong or blameable.
- 11.326,328. The interrogation points may best be regarded as the frequent Elizabethan use in sentences purely exclamatory.
(Cf. Simpson, Shakespearean Punctuation, Sect.37)
1. 336. "To be propos'd, to Labourers, and Slaves."
In Rome slaves were not admitted to the army (cf. Livy, XVI, XXII, XXIV, LVII; Pliny Ep.X, XXXIX). For the relation of Cleora's theory to classical views of slavery, see Introduction, V, CLASSICAL IDEAS.
1. 339. "cry ayme."
Gifford first explained that the reading of the quartos, "ayme," is correct, and that Coxeter's and Mason's emendation, "ay me," was a failure to understand the figurative language of the passage. The expression, "ayme," (aim) was the hortatory exclamation of the bystanders to the archer, intended for his encouragement. See Gifford's note for extensive illustration.
1. 348. "Artificers."
Craftsmen, or those who follow industrial handicraft.
1. 351. "Gates."
Here a figurative use from the meaning choice viands or dainties.
1. 356. "generous."
Appropriate or natural to one of noble birth; high-spirited, noble-minded.
1. 364. "rap'd."
From "rap," meaning "to transport with rapture." Cf. The Roman Actor, IV,i,56; The Maid of Honour, II,ii,67; A New Way To Pay Old Debts, I,iii,251.
1. 365. "imagination."
Imagining.

1. 369. "youthfull heater."
 Gifford thinks Massinger, in this passage, had in mind Othello's similar words in Othello, I,iii,262-64.
1. 376. "raw."
 See note to I,i,50.
1. 378. "I am for the journey."
 "For" was sometimes used in the sense of "ready for" or "fit for." Here it has the former meaning (Cf. Abbott, Shakespearean Grammar, Sect. 155).
1. 388. "grissell."
 A tender or delicate person. Obs.

 "Spider fingers."
 In its adjective use "spider" means especially slender or thin, with perhaps the additional suggestion of sensitiveness. The phrase occurs also in The Maid of Honour, I,ii,48.
1. 390. "yerke."
 To beat, flog, or drive, especially with a rod or whip.
1. 391,392. "proue Good Iustice."
 Asotus seems to be referring to his inability to establish or make secure good Justice through his fighting.
11. 396-97. Massinger's use of rime is rare, and is generally indicative of a proverb or sententious statement, as it is here and elsewhere in the play.
1. 397. "allowance."
 In the archaic sense of approval or sanction.

ACT II.

Scene I.

Stage Direction. "Gorgits."

Now obsolete in the sense in which it is here used: a piece of armour for the throat.

1. 1. "sprightfully."
 Used in the adjective sense, meaning "marked by animation or spirit." Cf. Shakespeare, Richard II, I,iii,3.
1. 4. "Feather-beds."
 Feather-beds had been in rather general use in England from the fifteenth century. They are mentioned, however, in the literature of Chaucer's time (Cf. Dreme of Faire Women, v.250).

1. 11. "fellowes."
Associates and comrades whose interests are common.
1. 13. "stincke."
To be offensive, or abhorrent, in general.
1. 14. "For now my Gowne's off, farewell Grauitie."
Gifford notes that Sir Thomas More and Lord Burleigh used similar expressions when they were away from official cares and duties.
1. 21. "Physicke."
Either a wholesome or curative regimen or habit, or perhaps merely medicine.
1. 23. "to lye at racke, and manger."
The phrase originally meant "with plenty of food in the midst of abundance." Then it came to denote rather heedless extravagance or lack of moderation, as here.
1. 25. "inferre vpon."
"Upon" is the preposition regularly found in Elizabethan usage when inferre means "to conclude or deduce."
11. 30,31. "there's a sport too
Nam'd lying Perdieu."
Davies, in a note to the passage in Mason's edition (IV, 373), explains that "Archidamus means Enfans Perdus, the forlorn Hope of a camp; which generally consists of Gentlemen of Companies, and are so called because they are given up for lost men, in respect of the dangerous service they go upon." Yet Archidamus seems to have more specifically in mind the task of difficult spying, outpost or sentinel duty. Thus the phrase is used in "Tom Tell Troath:"
- "The vigilant parliament hath laien sentinell perdu, and discovered the enemy approaches, but cannot be heard. The watched men of the ballances that stand in high places, though they cannot but see the danger, yet dare they not give the alarme . . ." (Harleian Misc., III, 440). Also cf. The Fatal Dowry, II, ii, 122.
- In this passage, as in reference to "trenches" (1.28), Massinger writes of modern rather than of ancient methods of warfare.
1. 35. "hunt-smocke."
One who "runs after" women.
1. 37. "pottle Pot."
A two-quart pot or tankard.

1. 38. "placket."
Either an apron or petticoat, or the opening at the top.
1. 40. "superfluously."
Needlessly, extravagantly.
1. 41. "well breath'd."
The phrase usually meant "sound or strong of mind; exercised so as not to be out of breath."
1. 42. On sheet D in the first quarto HQ₁ differs distinctly from MQ₁ and PQ₁ only in one other place. In both instances, as was the case in sheet A, HQ₁ seems to be the corrected copy, and the version therein I have accordingly adopted. The readings, "retain'd" for "retriu'd," and "lacke" for "backe," found in PQ₁ and MQ₁ are plausible misreadings of Massinger's handwriting on the part of the compositor. Cf. I,iii,181, and Textual Introduction.
- Gifford unnecessarily reverses the words "But if," and remarks that the line in the first quarto is incorrect. Thus it is clear that he had not seen a first edition with the sheet corrected, as is HQ₁. The printer of Q₂ fortunately had before him the corrected version of Q₁.
1. 43. "Scarlet wast-coate."
Scarlet formerly signified a kind of cloth of any of several colours. Massinger uses it in A New Way to Pay Old Debts, III,ii,199 for woollen, in speaking of mixing silks and "scarlets." Here there is probably the denotation of rank, since there were official costumes of scarlet denoting military commissions etc. Cf. Jonson's The Alchemist, I,iii,37.
1. 45. "perfit."
Massinger always uses this form for "perfect."
1. 46. "lecture."
An admonitory speech, especially one delivered by way of reproof or correction.
1. 60. "circumstance."
Formality or ado.
11. 68,69. "you haue fir'd me
With the heate of noble action."
Cf. Bembo's words in the Fourth Book of Il Costegiano:
"because the influence of that beautie, when it is present, giveth a wonderous delite to the lover, and settinge his hart on fire; quickeneth and melteth certain vertues in a traunce and congealed in the soule..."

(Tudor Translations, p. 356);
 and L. Cesar's statement in the Third Book:
 "And certesse it is not possible, that in the heart of
 man, where once is entered the flame of love, there
 should at any time reigne cowardlynesse." ("Tudor Trans.,"
 p. 264.)

1. 73. "May it not burne heere."
 After renouncing Coxeter's reading, "yet" for "not" and
 returning to the first quarto text, Gifford, in his 1813 ed-
 ition, adds that "heere" refers to Syracuse and not, as he
 first supposed, to Leosthenes' breast, the object of Cleora's
 wish being to detain her lover from the war. Leosthenes'
 subsequent speech supports this interpretation.

1. 75. "luxurious."
 Sensual or lustful.

1. 78. "Which after-times shall witnesse, to our glory."
 There is a similar line in A New Way to Pay Old Debts,
 IV,1,5: "Let aftertimes report, and to your honour."

1. 84. "wittie."
 Ingenious, clever. The use of the word in this sense
 was often found with ironic intention.

1. 90. "For, so."
 Massinger's autograph correction places the comma before
 "so," but, as Dr. Greg observes in his comments on Massinger's
 corrections, a stronger and clearer reading would be gained
 by placing it after "so" (see Library, V, 59-95).

1. 93. "blinde Fortune."
 Maesia's words in Greene's "Farewell to Follie" aid in ex-
 plaining Fortune's traditional blindness:

"Ah despightfull and injurious Fortune, quoth shee,
 well did Zeuxes paint thee blinde, and yet without a vale,
 having thine eyes not covered with a lawne, but darkened
 with despight. . ."

Greene's Works (ed. Grosart), "Huth Library ed.,"
 IX, 264.

Massinger refers to "blind Fortune" again in A New Way to Pay
 Old Debts, I,1,176.

1. 118. "Sibillas golden bough."
 The phrase has a double significance here. This fateful
 branch was that which, according to the ancients' public opin-
 ion, at the Sibyl's bidding Aeneas plucked before his journey
 to the under world. (Cf. Ovid, Metamorphoses, XIV, 113-15)
 But it was also thought to have the power of compelling love.

- 1.125. "tun'd."
Sounded or sang; attuned.

1. 130. "The speeding Philtres."

"Speeding" may be used here in the obsolete sense of "effective;" perhaps in the common sense of "favouring or furthering." Love powders and potions were in constant use in the Renaissance. So M. Bernarde, in Book II of The Courtier, speaking of "unhonest" lovers, reviews certain dishonourable practices of those who compass their desire by "Meane Franckes:"

"The like I saye of certain other that in love practises enchantmentes, sorceries, and otherwhile plaine force, sometime meanes cast them in sleepe and such like matters. And knowe for a sooth, gyftes also diminishe much the pleasures of love, bicause a man maie stand in doubt whether he be beloued or not . ." ("Tudor Translations," p. 202).

The practices are further explained:

"Other seeke by inchauntmentes, and witchcraftes to take from them the liberty that God hath graunted to soules, wherein are seene wonderfull conclusions. But in a thousand yeere I coulde not repeate all the craftes that men use to frame women to their willes, which be infinit. And be beside them which every man of himselfe findeth out, there hath not also wanted that hath wittily made bookes, and bestowed great study to teache how in this beehalfe women are to be deceived." (*ibid.*, p. 263)

1. 131. "I work'd no Baudes to tempt you."

Massinger's audiences probably recalled, on hearing these lines, the notorious Mrs. Turner, the panderer who had preyed on the weakness of Frances Howard, Countess of Essex, for the Earl of Somerset. Her shop was the rendezvous for many guilty intrigues in the days of King James. See Kennett, History of England, II, 687; Legatt and Wightmann, The Narrative History of King James for the first fourteen Years, 1651; Weldon's description in The Secret History of the Court of James the First, I, 415ff; and R. Coke's Detection of the State of England, I, 67-68.

1. 142. "Like a fresh Rose."

Henry Peacham explains that "Among Flowers, we most admire and esteeme the Rose. . ." The Compleat Gentleman, ch. I, pl.

1. 149. "seruice."

"Service" and "servant" are generally used by Massinger in The Bondman as they were understood in the Platonic love terminology of the day. The "servant" was the devoted lover who adored his lady as a step toward the divine; and his devotion and all

it entailed were known as "service." Cf. II,i,149,154; III, ii,188; III,ii,113; V,ii,95; V,Ult.,52,142,170,207,214.

1. 153. "awe."
Gifford rejected Coxeter's and Mason's emendation, "awe," and attempted to explain the quartos' reading, "owe," in the sense of possess. The autograph correction justifies Coxeter's change, but he was not the first to make the correction. He may have had before him the 1719 version of the play, Love and Liberty, in which "awe" had previously appeared for "owe."
1. 165. "spoyle."
Deprive or despoil.
1. 178. "The Monster too that feeds on feares."
Mason(The Dramatic Works of Philip Massinger, IV, 372) finds in this passage an imitation of Othello, III,iii,166.
1. 179. "seeming."
In the obsolete sense of probable, likely, or fitting.

Scene II.

1. 4. "villaine."
From the original sense of a low-born base minded rustic, the term became extended to mean a scoundrel, and then to a form of opprobrious address in general.
1. 5. "Agues."
Gracculo means that Asotus' looks affect him as does the fever which causes one to quake and shiver.
1. 6. "bey."
Close quarters or straits.
1. 7. There is no necessity, according to Massinger's versification, of reducing "I would" to "I'd," as Coxeter, Mason, and Gifford have done. The dramatist makes constant use of anapests in his blank verse and such are the third, the fourth, and the fifth feet of this line. This is especially true with regard to verb phrases involving auxiliaries, which generally receive the second beat in the foot. Cf. l. 34 for three such anapestic phrases in the line.
1. 9. "As."
"As" frequently introduces clauses where the purpose is to adjure any one by faith, hope, or fear.
1. 14. "breakethy head."
The phrase means "to crack or rupture the skin; to bruise or wound."
1. 17. "Iade."
A vicious, worthless, or ill-tempered horse.

1. 19. "hold his heeles."
 "Heels" in the plural is often applied to the two hind feet, as here.
1. 23. "braue."
 Quasi-adverbially: fine, grand, or showy.
1. 24. "in breath."
 Our slaves allow us to keep up freely and easily the power of breathing.
1. 25. "Harlottie."
 Either buffoonery, jesting; or terms of opprobrium for woman.
1. 26. "if a Curle fall."
 The gentlewoman's rage at finding a curl disordered is frequent in the literature of the time. Cf. Jonson's Volpone, III,iv,18-26, and Shirley, The Lady of Pleasure, I, 1,196-97.

But Massinger is entirely true to his classical setting, and perhaps had in mind Martial, II,lxvi: "When one curl of the mistress hair goes astray, badly fixed by an insecure pin, Lalage avenges it with the mirrors in which she observed it and Plecusa, smitten fell on account of those cruel locks." (tr. Walter C.A. Ker in "Loeb Classical Library").

- 11.28,29. "show of the Family of pride."
 Either an exhibition of pride by the family, or an exhibition of the proud family.
1. 31. "To keepe . . .play."
 The phrase meant "to keep exercised, occupied or engaged."
 "Play" here, of course, had its frequent sensual implications.
1. 35. "long vacation."
 Corisca evidently does not refer to the "long vacation" of the higher courts during August, September, and October, but uses the term in a general sense of an extended absence of men from the city.

11. 37,38. "he was vs'de
 To serue the turne at a pinch."
 Massinger's disparaging characterization of the physicians of the time in this passage and in I,ii,9-11, is no exaggerated picture of a certain type of doctor, especially of foreign ones, if Thomas Powell speaks truly in "The Plain Pathway to Preferment," (1631):

"Secrecie is the chiefe skill, and virilitie the best learning that is required in a Woman's Physitian. But I never read of many of those to be long lived, or honestly wived hitherto, in all my reading." (New Shakespeare Soc. Publ., Series VI, 1880,p. 160).

1. 39. "Mother in law."
The old authors frequently use this form for step-mother.
Cf. Middleton, Anything for a Quiet Life, I,i,131.
1. 44. "queasie stomack't."
This phrase was often used in the 16th and 17th centuries figuratively to express not its original meaning of "easily upset," but "fastidiously nice."
1. 54. "rancke."
Strongly.
1. 57. "coming."
A synonym for forward or apt. The compositor quite naturally read "cunning" from Massinger's "coming," especially since the words are similar in meaning. In fact, in Troilus and Cressida, III,ii,129, Pope emended "coming" to "cunning" and gave the passage more perfect sense. (See W.W.Greg, Principles of Emendation in Shakespeare, pp. 12,35) Massinger uses "apt and coming," however, again in A New Way to Pay Old Debts, in Lovell's description of Margaret, III,ii,229.
1. 58. "a working."
The use of "a" as an adverbial prefix was common in Elizabethan language. See Abbott, A Shakespearian Grammar, Sect. 24.
1. 64. "a pen'd speech."
Cf. Loves Labours Lost, V,ii,402.
1. 79. "speed."
To succeed.

"Have at it."
See I,iii,201. Here the meaning is rather "to make an attempt at."
- "warrant."
See I,iii,160.
1. 89. "absolute."
Perfect or finished, without defect.

"shew."
In the obsolete sense of to inform or apprise of.
11. 93-100. Cruickshank (Philip Massinger, p. 78) remarks that "Zanthis overhears Corisca's confession of love in her sleep, as Iago does Cassio's (Othello, III,iii)."
1. 106. "interlude."
Here in the obsolete sense of any action or performance compared to a play of a light and humorous sort. The term does not have its present more limited meaning.

1. 111. "strange."
Cf. I,i,66.
1. 113. "wait."
To attend, as a servant.
1. 115. "discouery."
In the obsolete or rare sense of "disclosure or revelation of a secret."
1. 118. "Ciuit."
A yellowish or brownish unctuous substance, having a strong musky smell, obtained from sacs or glands of several animals of the civet genus, especially of African Civet-cat. Used in perfumery.
1. 119. "And to presume to taste your lipps not safe."
Gifford's reading "lip's" goes contrary to idiom inasmuch as it makes the noun singular. Moreover, although Massinger may have intended a possessive singular and an apostrophe may have dropped out, the clearer reading seems to be that of the present quarto text, a plural. Thus the construction is a natural ellipsis, with the words "but that" and "is" understood from the preceding line. Massinger evidently construes the line: "And (but that) to presume to taste your lipps (is) not safe." Such an elliptical construction is frequent in his style. Cf. V,ii,37-4C
1. 121. In PQ₁ "Zanthia lookes on a Booke, Kisses her" is printed on a single line, and accordingly refers entirely to Zanthia. In HQ₁ the arrangement is corrected, "Kisses her" being relegated to the next line and therefore applying, correctly, to Asotus' action, not to Zanthia's, as the first reading would imply.
1. 125. "cautelous."
Cautious, wary, circumspect. Massinger always uses this form.
1. 128,29. "To play with my good fortune, and your fauour,
Yet to be taken, as theysay."
The passage may be interpreted in two ways. "Yet to be taken" may refer to Corisca's "fauour" which Asotus is eager to secure before some one intervenes. But the more probable meaning becomes evident if favour is made the object of "with," and the phrase "Yet to be taken" is considered a part of the current Elizabethan phrase, "to be taken with the maner," i.e., to be caught with a stolen thing (Cf. Fletcher, Rule a Wife, V,iv,8, and Shakespeare's Winter's Tale, IV,iii,755). The words, "as they say," imply that Asotus has such a well-known proverbial expression in mind. The colon, marking an interval of silence, after "say" indicates that this train of thought is suddenly supplanted in Asotus' mind by the conception of employing a scout. (Cf. Simpson, Shakespearean Punctuation, Sect. 31)

1. 132. "wayter."
Generally this term applied only to men acting as household servants in attendance upon a superior. Massinger uses it here, and again in The Unnatural Combat, I,i, in its rare sense of "waiting-woman."
1. 134. "Cabinet."
Perhaps the summer house or bower (cf. I,iii,52); but it may be a private chamber or small room.
1. 135. "as."
As if.
1. 142. "trifle."
To play or dally with.
1. 145. "abroad."
Out of one's house, into the open air.

Scene III.

1. 1. "warrant."
See I,iii,160.
1. 4. "More wine."
The 1719 edition of The Bondman, or Love and Liberty, adds the following song on the final page (I₂), with the direction, "Sung by the Slaves in Second Act." It is sung after an interpolated line after "more wine:" "Go
"Come, let's have a song to cheer our hearts."

I

Now let the chearful Glass go round,
And brisk Falernian Wine abound
The Lovers Pains,
The Tyrants Chains
Are quite forgot, and in our Care are drown'd.

II

The Slave, with sprightly Wine elate,
Laughs at his Master's haughty State.
Then drink about,
We'll see it out,
And smile at the Cares of the Day:
We'll wish for success,
And hope Happiness,
There's nothing, no, nothing to Pay.

"hard."
Intensely.

1. 5. "hot."
Fervent, ardent, enthusiastic.

1. 11. The comma after "finde," before the noun clause used as an object, is common in the Elizabethan system (See Simpson, Shakespearean Punctuation, Sect. 14).
1. 12. "We are all damn'd to the quarry."
Roman slaves were often condemned to work in the mines for punishment. (J.D.Fuss, Roman Antiquities, p. 58.) But Massinger may have been thinking of the numerous stone quarries in England in his own day. (Cf. Harrison's Description of England, Bk.III, chap.IX.)
1. 14. "anon."
Here in its later sense of "in a little while", or "soon."

"rowse."
A full draught of liquor; a bumper.
1. 15. "lowe."
Referring to mean birth and vulgar breeding.
1. 17. "doe me right."
Pisander evidently means "Treat me 'right' by not confining me to such small quantities of liquor."
1. 20. "Conundrums."
In the obsolete sense of whim, crotchet, or conceit.
1. 22. The hyphen in "Holy-dayes" may denote an emphasis on the first part of the word and a play upon its original meaning (Cf. Simpson, Shakespearean Punctuation, Sect. 38).
1. 23. "And yet defie the Whip."
I do not believe this reading should stand, though all editors have accepted it and Massinger makes no change in his autograph corrections. There has been an evident misreading on the part of the compositor, perhaps of "and yet;," but I have so far been unable to suggest an entirely satisfactory and explicable emendation.
1. 24-25. "We are no Broakers:
Nor Whores, whose markes are out of their mouthes, they haue none."
The passage was so confusing to Coxeter and Mason that they omitted "they haue none" in order to improve the sense; but by doing so, as Gifford says, they confuse the meaning to a greater degree. Both the remark about "Broakers" and that about "Whores" are an answer to Pisander's challenge to the slaves if they "haue soules."
- Cimbrío's immediate reply is that they do not belong to that class of men who lack souls, the brokers. Mason's note (Massinger's Works, IV, 373) explains that brokers in the time of James I and Charles I raised money for young heirs at an exorbitant interest and were the common go-betweens in every business where advantage and profit were to be had. But the status

of brokers, as Cimbrío thought of them, is more clearly given in Philip Stubbe's Anatomy of Abuses: In a dialogue concerning the times Theodorus asks Amphilogus what sort of persons these brokers are. He is told that there are jolly fellows who can live by nothing else and finally

"fall into acquaintance with loose, dissolute, and licentious persons, either men or women, to whom all is fish that comes to net, and who have limed fingers, living upon pilfering and stealing; and of these they buy for little or nothing; whatsoever they have filched from any. And thus by this meanes in processe of time, they feather their nests well inough, and growe (many of them) to great substance and wealth."

Amphilogus continues to explain that they are a great provocation toward stealing because they deal in "all goodly merchandise" by buying it at half its worth, and that many thieves going to death cry out against them (Stubbe's Anatomy of Abuses, ed. Furnivall, Part II, pp. 38-39, "New Shakespeare Society Publications, 1882"):

But before Cimbrío has a chance to explain his meaning, he is interrupted, as the colon after "Broakers" shows (cf. Simpson, Shakespearean Punctuation, Sect. 32), by Gracculo's words, "Nor Whores." The concluding words, "they haue none," have reference to the lack of "soules," characteristic of certain members of this class. But Gracculo characterizes only old toothless prostitutes as soulless. For a "marke of mouthe" is a "tale told by the teeth," and it is only those whose mouths lack teeth or "age-marks" that have no souls.

The allusion to the despicable, old toothless harlot is found elsewhere. John Taylor, in his character of "A Bayd," states that her accounts were seldom or never to number her days since she cared neither for the past or future,

"her minde (like a Dyall) always fixed upon the present, given much to over- and under-reckonings, for at forty years old she would be but twenty-one, and at three-score she will be no lesse then fourescore: so that the marke being out of her mouth, wee must take an Apocryphall account of her age from her owne Arithmeticke without any further warrant." (John Taylor's Works (1630), Spenser Society reprint, p. 96.)

1. 26, 27. "They hardly can get salt enough to keep'em From stinking aboue ground."
Massinger may have taken this figure from Jonson:

"So much blasted flesh, as scarce hath soul,
Instead of salt, to keep it sweet."
(The Devil is An Ass, I, iii).

He uses the expression again in The Duke of Milan, II,i,72:

"She stinks above the ground."

But the bad odour of the harlots as a class was frequently the object of jibes by writers of the time. Particularly close in expression are the lines from "The baseness of whores," Choice Drollery (reprint of 1656, ed.J.W.Ebsworth), p. 90:

"All their sence is impudence,
Which some call good conditions.
Stink they do, above ground too,
Of Chirurgions and Physitians."

- l. 27. The interrogation point after "Gods" is the common use of this mark where the sentence is purely exclamatory (See Simpson, Shakespearean Punctuation, Sect. 37).

- l. 30. "chine."
Obsolete for "back."

- ll. 31,32. "how should their Chyrurgions build else,
Or ride on their Foot-cloathes?"
The Elizabethan gallant seems to have paid large sums to the doctors and surgeons. Thomas Powell, in "The plaine Pathway to Preferment" (London, 1631), directs young physicians to future advancement by advising them to make acquaintance with young gallants given to drinking and surfeiting; for they are patients at all times of the year. The chirurgion should also know "your lascivious Ladies, and your man in the Perriwigge, who will helpe to furnish him with a foot-cloth. A citizens wife of a weake stomacke will supply the fringe to it." (See "New Shakespeare Soc. Pub.," Series VI, p. 161).

- l. 32. This passage is shot through with ancient thought and figures. For its connection with other similar passages in the play see Introduction, V, CLASSICAL IDEAS.

- ll. 33,34. "The Beare serues not the Beare,
Nor the Wolfe, the Wolfe."
Seneca called attention to the disparity between the peace among beasts and the contention among men. Speaking of the envy and disorders of men's minds, he concludes:

"This is an assembly of brute beasts; yet we may say this, that beasts are peaceable amongst themselves, and bite not one another: where contrariwise men have no content, but when they teare and spoile one another. In this one thing differ they from dumbe creatures, that the one are tame to those that nourish them, but these are enraged against them most by whom they have bin relieved best." "Of Anger", Bk.II, chap.viii, Lodge's Seneca (1620), p. 534.

The contrast is again found in Of Clemencie, Bk.I, chap.xxvi:

"They being voide of reason, and being condemned by us for the crime of immanitie, abstaine from those of their owne kind; yea, and similitude is a protectioⁿ amongst the savage beast; but amongst men only rage forbeareth not his dearest friends, but maketh one account of strangers as of home-bred, whereby he may more busily creepe into private mens slaughters, and afterwards into the ruine of Nations." Lodge's Seneca, (1620), p. 603.

11. 35-36. "That pluck'd the first linke from the Golden chayne
With which that thing of things bound in the world."

This figure is derived from Stoic conceptions of the golden age. Gifford notes that the golden chain is found in Homer. It also occurs in Plato, but Massinger perhaps became acquainted with it in the writings of the Roman Stoics. Cicero, in The Nature of the Gods, XLV, expounds the Stoic view of perfect world harmony in early creation:

"What is most wonderful is that the world is so durable, and so perfectly made for lasting that it is not to be impaired by time; for all its parts tend equally to the centre, and are bound together by a sort of chain, which surrounds the elements. This chain is nature, which being diffused through the universe, and performing all things with judgment and reason, attracts the extremities to the centre." (tr. C.D.Yonge, "Harper's Classical Library,")

As a part of the revival of Stoicism in the early eighteenth century the same metaphor is found in Pope's "Essay on Man" (Epistle I, viii):

"From Nature's chain whatever link you strike,
Tenth, or ten thousandth, breaks the chain alike."

Gifford notes that the "thing of things" is a translation of Eⁿs Entium. The "thing of things" corresponds to that "immutable ordinance, which holdeth all causes tied and chained together: he it is that is first of all, and he on whom all the rest that follow doe depend" (Seneca's De Beneficiis, Bk.IV, chap.vii); or to him of whom are "all the causes of causes . . . for all things have had their beginning by him . . ." (Seneca's The Natural Question, chap.xlv.)

Chapman's similar figure of the disruption of the golden age at the hands of selfishness and greed should be noted:

"No envie, no disjunction had dissolv'd,
Or pluck'd one stick out of the golden faggot
In which the world of Saturne bound our Lives..."
(Bussy D'Ambois, III,ii,103-105).

1. 39. "Should the strong serve the weak, the faire deform'd ones?"

Pisander is here expounding the ancient philosophic principle of the opposition of natural right to conventional right (law). It was first maintained definitely by Hippias of Elis. After him the view became a commonplace among the Sophists. Gorgias' teaching can be traced back to it; and the principle of natural right finds adequate expression in Plato's dialogue Gorgias, whence Massinger possibly derived the present exposition of it.

Callices, speaking to Socrates (Gorgias, Sect.483), concludes as does Pisander in these lines, that it is Nature's intention that the better have more than the worse, the more powerful control over the weaker; and that in Natural law, as contrasted with conventional right, Justice consists in the stronger's ruling. Callices further states that if there were a man who had sufficient force he would shake off and escape from all such artificial restrictions; he would trample under foot all our formulas and spells and charms, and all our laws which are against Nature: the slave would rise in rebellion and be lord over us, and thereby the light of natural justice would shine forth. Callices believes, as Pisander further states, that Nature and convention are at variance with each other. By the rule of nature, to suffer injustice is the greater disgrace because the greater evil; but conventionally, to do evil is the more disgraceful. For the suffering of injustice is not the part of a man but of a slave, who indeed had better die than live, since when he is wronged and trampled upon, he is unable to help himself, or any about whom he cares.

11.41,42.

"All's but the outward glosse

And politicke forme, that does distinguish vs."

Especially in Seneca and in Epictetus among the Stoics is present the doctrine of the essential brotherhood and identical worth of all men, regardless of rank. Typical of Seneca's attitude is a passage in his Epistle XXXI:

"This mind may fall as well into a Romane Knight, as into a Libertine, or into a Servant. For these names are forged out of ambition or injury. It is lawfull from the least corner of the World to leape up into Heaven . . . but this cannot bee made either with Gold or Silver. Of such matter as this a man cannot make an Image that resembleth God." (Lodge's translation, 1620).

1. 42. "politicke."
Pertaining to the state or body politic.
1. 47. "fortunate."
Favoured by Fortune.
11. 47,48. "A little fighting
Will serue a Generals turne."
The phrase, "to serve a turn" had several meanings; prob-
ably here, "to answer one's purpose or requirement."
1. 49. "conceite."
In the obsolete sense of apprehension or understanding.
1. 52. "braue."
In the general sense of worthy, excellent or good.
11. 52,53. "Would I had Lands,
Or money, to buy a place."
See the note to I,iii,193.
1. 63. "But that will not be seene in a darke Shop."
There are many references in Elizabethan drama to the
darkness of the shops and the consequent deception practised
by shopkeepers. Cf. "Why are your wares gummed, your shops
dark?" (Brome's City Wit, I,i); Middleton's Anything for a Quiet
Life, II,ii; and Dekker's Westward Hoe, I,i, where shops are
spoken of as being "as dark as a roome in Bedlam."

A contemporary ballad-maker protests, in "Wat Williams' Will",
that short dealings of the shop-keepers:

"I wish that all shop-keepers
Would use true waight and measure;
And not, with slight and rotten wares;
Get such a deale of treasure;
With "Yea, and nay, and truly,
And verily, deere brother,
I cannot sell under that price
if 'twere unto my mother."
(Roxburghe Ballads, III,partI, 76).

11. 68,69. "if for drawing Gallants
Into mortgages for Commodities."
In the 16th and 17th centuries the word "commodities" es-
pecially signified parcels of goods sold on credit by a userer
to a needy person, who in turn immediately raised some cash by
re-selling them at a lower price, generally to the userer him-
self. Dekker in his "English Villainies" alludes to the prac-
tice of "undoing Gentlemen by taking up of Commodities." And
it is such high-handed methods of the brokers(cf. 1. 24 and
note), who by dealing in commodities sought to evade the usury
laws, that Massinger here flays. Gallants and country yokels

were usually the victims, who, coming to the userer, were forced into mortgages for the loan which consisted partly of money and partly of commodities. As a result the gallants often found themselves in a debtor's prison. Cf. The City Madam, IV, i, 111; and Measure for Measure, IV, iii, 4ff.

11. 69-72.

"cheating Heyres

With your new counterfeit Gold thred, and gumm'd Veluets,
He does not transcend all that went before him,
Call in his patent."

In this passage Massinger again censures Buckingham. The reference to gold thread and to patents suggests the names especially of Edward Villiers, half-brother to the Duke, Giles Mompesson, and Francis Michell, all of whom were concerned in the notorious patent situation of the later years of James's reign. In order to raise money for his depleted treasury, James issued to certain individuals, often members of the Villiers family, exclusive rights to certain industries. As a result of the licenses for ale-houses which were given to them, Mompesson and Michell, as agents for the Duke and his family, exacted great sums of money from innkeepers and forced many of them into discontinuance or imprisonment. Other opponents and violators of the patent laws suffered likewise. But the greater notoriety resulted from their patent for, and subsequent manufacturing of, gold-thread, which they freely adulterated with copper and sold at exorbitant prices.

In the years of 1620-1621 these monopolies became so oppressive that James was finally forced to "call in" many of the patents. John Chamberlin wrote to Sir Dudley Carleton, July 8, 1620:

"In truth, the world doth even groan under the burthen of these perpetual patents, which are become so frequent, that whereas, as the king's coming in, there were complaints of some eight or nine monopolies therein being, they are now said to be multiplied to so many scores." (The Court and Times of James I, II, 205).

The resentment was so strong in 1621 (see Remembrancia, pp. 223-24) that Buckingham suspected the disfavour in which he was being held in both houses and hastened to Dean Williams of Westminster for advice. Following the Dean's counsel the Duke turned against Mompesson and Michell in Parliament, declared himself for redress of those grievances which the Commons had named, and, to save himself, included his brothers, Christopher and Edward, in his indictment. On March 30, of this year, however, James had by proclamation cancelled the patent for gold and silver thread.

The "gumm'd Veluets" do not seem to have been the consequence of a patent. The practice of stiffening velvets with gums to make them sit well and have a glossy appearance was a common one, existing before the extension of monopolies by James (Cf. I Henry IV, ii,2; Middleton's Anything for a Quiet Life, II,ii,89; Peter Erondel's "The French Garden"(1603) in Claude de Sain liens' The Elizabethan Home, p. 67).

1. 73. "Becos."
Cuckolds.

"brow-antlers."
The lowest tine of the horn of the stag. The antler in its original sense.

1. 74. "Cap of maintenance."

The "Cap of maintenance" was a symbol of official dignity or high rank. It was borne as one of the insignia of office before the sovereign of England at the coronation, and before mayors in some cities (Cf. The City Madam, IV,i,71). In Roman times the conical caps were given to slaves on emancipation, and were often used as a republican symbol. It is probably to this latter custom that Massinger here alludes, inasmuch as Graculo is, in the present passage, imagining what conditions would be if the slaves were free.

11. 89,90. "To burne a Church or two, and dance by the light on't
Were but a May-game."

Here, as elsewhere in the play (see note to V,iii,239), Massinger seems to have used in part the disorders of the apprentices of his own day as circumstantial matter for presenting the rebellion of the slaves. The apprentices of the time were, in fact, near the status of bondmen, acting as servants at home and in the street, as well as in the shop. In 1628 the question of whether an apprentice is not a true bondman was seriously argued. Many Englishmen refused to apprentice their sons in a trade because of the close resemblance of apprenticeship to the servitude of bondmen in Jacobean times. (See A Survey of London and Westminster, by John Stow and enlarged by John Strype, II,431-37.)

Subsequent to the terrible May day riot of 1517, the apprentices had been a constant menace as insurrectionists. In 1595 Elizabeth had five of them executed as a means of preventing further disturbances. Often rogues joined with them in their mutinies, "some Thousands of them together... pulling down Houses, breaking open the Gates of Newgate, and other Prisons, and setting the Prisoners free." (Stow and Strype, A Survey of London and Westminster, II,436). Especially during the few years preceding the appearance of The Bondman had there been violent protestations by the apprentices against

the Spanish. Accordingly, on "Tuesday, first day of May(1621), the Count of Gondomar fearing some mischief from the apprentices of London; there were divers companies of soldiers appointed to guard; and watch in several quarters of the city..." (Autobiography and Correspondence of Sir Simon D'Ewes, I, 187). In March of the same year orders were issued to every man in London that he should not suffer his apprentices to go abroad at all on Shrove Tuesday; and a year later there were 800 special watches (Cf. Remembrancia, pp. 454, 456).

1. 90. "May-game."
In the transferred sense of sport or entertainment.
1. 103. "hamper."
In the obsolete sense of "to beat;" or perhaps "to fetter or bind."
1. 111. "rich Beds."
On their dining couches the ancients lavished particular splendour; covering them with costly fabrics, richly dyed and embroidered.
1. 112. "carue your selues of all delights."
- "Carve" was frequently used intransitively in the 16th century; with the meaning "to help ones self, to indulge oneself or take one's pleasure." In such cases "of" was the regular preposition before the object of the pleasure or indulgence.
11. 116-17. "so this is well begun,
But not to be commended, til't be done."
Cf. The Maid of Honour, V, ii, 302-04:

"there being nothing
Vpon this Stage of Life to be commended,
Though well begun, till it be fully ended."

ACT III

Scene I.

1. 7. "layd."
Allayed or humbled.
1. 29. "Saint."
The word is used here and throughout the play in its Renaissance Platonic sense, relating to the beloved's supposed power of elevating the lover's soul through her purity.
1. 41. "shooting."
All later editions have "shouting" The change, however, does not seem necessary. The slaves here and elsewhere,

while at liberty, ape the manners and sports of their masters. For this reason "shooting," as one of the attainments of the courtier, may be retained, since it may be accounted a "disorder" similar to "leaping" and "drinking" and "dancing."

1. 52. "I will among'em."

For the ellipsis of the verb after "will" and before a preposition of motion see Abbott, Shakespearian Grammar, Sect. 405.

Scene II.

1. 1. "affrights."

This archaic word signified either the source of terror; or the terrors and frights themselves.

1. 16. "grand."

Chief over all others, highest in rank.

1. 39. Massinger rarely ever fails to complete his lines. There are two short lines in the play, here and III,iii,38. The third case, IV,ii,140, incomplete in the quartos, was completed by Massinger in his autograph corrections to the play.

1. 83. "brutish lust a Tyrant."

Seneca, with other Stoics, carried over this originally Platonic notion:

"To be subject to a man's passions is continuall servitude; from which it is impossible to escape; a slavery that presseth him with an equal weight both day and night without relief. To be a slave unto a man's self is the servitude of servitudes." (The Naturall Questions, III, preface, Lodge's translations, 1620)

Scene III.

1. 3. "To come aloft, and doe tricks like an Ape."

Ape was the generic term for both monkeys and baboons, though Massinger seems to have made some distinction (Cf. IV,Ult., 8).

The apes' tricks formed one of the chief diversions of Massinger's day. They ranged all the way from tumbling, dancing, jumping over a chain or cord, and walking on ropes to tricks demanding such intelligent responses as that of selecting the name of Jesus as the truest of prophets (Cf. "A True Relation ... of Strange and Admirable Accidents which lately happened in the Kingdom of the Great Magor, or Mogul ... written and certified by Persons of good Import, who were eye witnesses of what is here reported." London...MDCXXII. Harleian Miscellany, III, 423-25). Nares quotes a work of the year 1593 in which

the writer says he found nobody at home but an "ape, that sat in the porch and made mops and mowes at me." (Cf. Shuttleworth Accounts, part II, p.405; Chetham Society Pub., XII, 1858).

The term "come aloft" was one used by ape-ward, generally as an order for the ape to climb a pole and display his feats of agility. Cf. Marston's Malcontent, I,1,99:

"Sir Tristram Trimtram, come aloft, Jack-an-apes, with a whim-wham" (Marston's Works, ed. A.H.Bullen, I,214 and n.).

Cf. also Marston's "Here's a Toy," (Satire IX):

"Come down, ye apes, or I will strip you quite . . .
Ye mimic slaves, what are you perch'd so high?"
(ibid., III,363.)

And Gayton's "Festive Notes," p. 113:

"which he could do with as much ease as an ape-carrier, with his eye, makes the vaulting creature come aloft" (Shuttleworth Accounts, II,405).

In The Knight of the Burning Pestle, III,v, however, "come aloft" seems to be applied to apes that were taught to vault; and the lines in Jonson's "To Mims" refer to the ape's "coming aloft" on a table or stool:

"Out dance the Babion, or outboast the Brave;
Or mounted on a stool, thy face doth hit
On some new gesture . . ."
Jonson's Epigrams (1616), cxxix.

1. 4. "Asotus makes moppes."

The term "moppes" was used especially for the grimace made by a monkey. See Nare's Glossary. C and M were probably following the 1719 edition in substituting "mouths" for "moppes". The last-named edition also adds the stage direction, "Jumps over a stick." For the proper place of this stage direction see the following note.

11. 5-6. "What for the Carthaginians? a good beast.

What for our selfe your Lord? exceeding well."

This scene resembles Lording Barey's Ram-Alley (pr.1611), IV,ii, in which Captain Face (or Puffe), a braggart soldier, who has bullied two old men earlier in the play, is in turn humiliated by two young men, Boutcher and William Smalshanke(s). The scene is a room in a tavern where Face is asking to have his supper served. Boutcher produces tables and asks Face to get upon them to do some of his admirable ape's tricks. Then Smalshankes continues:

"Remember noble Captaine,
 You skip when I shall shake my whip. Now sir,
 What can you doe for the great Turke?
 What can you doe for the Pope of Rome?
 Harke, he striveth not, he mooveth not, he waggeth not,
 What can you doe for the towne of Geneva, sirra?"

Thus Gracculo is merely using the formula of the Elizabethan ape-ward. When the ape was asked to perform for an enemy of England — the Pope, the King of Spain, or the Turk — he usually played dead, sat still on his haunches, or feigned disobedience, as the passage from Ram Alley indicated. Cf. also Prologue to Jonson's Bartholomew Fair). Gifford, therefore, may be wrong in removing the stage direction, "Asotus makes moppes," from the marginal position quite plausibly following Gracculo's threat, "if you misse," to the middle of l. 5, where the general practice of the ape following a reference to an enemy seems to have been silence or disobedience rather than a grimace. When something favourable was mentioned, however, the ape was supposed to respond by jumping over a chain, dancing, and other similar antics. (See W. Strunk, Jr., "The Elizabethan Showman's Ape," Modern Language Notes, XXXII, pp. 215-21, 1917).

l. 7. "There's your reward."

Gifford, on the basis of l. 56, inserts here a stage direction indicating that Gracculo gives Asotus an apple. This fruit was the usual reward for a performing ape and the lure to catch an escaped one. In Sir Gyles Goosecappe (anon), two English pages, Jack and Will, are treating Bullaker, a French page, as an ape who has broken loose:

Jack. Hast ever an apple about thee (Will)? Weele take him up; sure, we shall get a monstrous deale of money with him.

Will. That we shall, yfath, boy! and looke thou here, here's a red cheeckt apple to take him up with. . . .

Ia. Give me the apple to take up Iack . . ."
 (Cf. W. Strunk, Jr., op. cit.)

"Not kisse your pawe."

Cf. Marston's Satire IX, "Here's a Toy to mock an Ape indeed,"

The Scourge of Villainy:

"Then Jack, troop 'mong our gallants kiss thy fist,
 And call them brothers." (Works, III, 363).

1. 12. "brach."
Originally a kind of hound that hunts by scent — later used only of the female.

1. 19. "state."
Used here and in 1. 26 in the sense of magnificance and splendour in living. Cf. I,i,46.

1. 20. "triumph."
See IV,ii,25.

1. 23. "minion."
A contemptuous form of address meaning hussy, jade, servile creature.

"Fall off."
Step aside or back, withdraw.

1. 24. "three duties."
Zanthia is commanding in these words a triple curtesy of Corisca. There is a similar passage in The Great Duke of Florence (II,i) which explains Zanthia's command in this instance. Caladrino, a servant, conning certain notes of instruction, according to which he is to act before the Duchess Fioranda, reads:

"Then, after you have made
Your three obeisances to her, kneel and kiss
The skirt of her gown."

He then reads again: "Three low Obeisances." Following this utterance the stage direction calls for "antic curtesies" and kissing "the skirt of her gown."

An excellent portrayal of the Elizabethan and Jacobean gentlewoman, of whom Zanthia is virtually typical, and her duties is found in Joly's attendance upon her mistress in Peter Erondell's "The French Garden" (1603), in Claude de Sainliens' The Elizabethan Home.

1. 25. "hams."
Here, the bend in the knees.

1. 28. "itch."
A restless hankering after something. Usually spoken contemptuously. The comma after "greatnesse" marks the omission of the relative, "which." (Cf. Simpson, Shakespearean Punctuation, Sect. 25)

1. 32. "Discouer to a Drachma."
To reveal or disclose. It has the same meaning in IV, iii, 53, 144. The Drachma was the principal silver coin of the Greeks with a value of about $9\frac{3}{4}$ d. in English.
1. 33. "pinde."
Wasted or feeble from loss of food, etc.
1. 34. "brawnes."
The fleshy part, or the rounded muscle of the arm or leg.
1. 36. "Carbonadoes."
A piece of fish, flesh, or fowl, scored across and grilled or broiled upon the coals.
1. 37. This speech of Gracculo's may constitute only a single line, divided so as to call attention to a pause at the end of the line. The printers of the Shakespeare Folio followed at times this practise, as in Henry IV, Part I, III, ii, 1-2 (Cf. Simpson, Shakespearean Punctuation, Sect. 31). But it is also possible to let "Cutte his throat then" stand as the short line, necessary between ll. 36 and 38, and to relegate the rest of his speech to make l. 38 complete. Such a view would explain the division of Gracculo's speech on metrical grounds rather than on a basis of pause and emphasis.
1. 41. "sinner."
The word seems to have the meaning here of "lover," perhaps of "paramour;" although the N.E.D. does not indicate this denotation. An analogous use of the word occurs in Suckling's "Song":

"Why so dull and mute, young sinner?

Will, when speaking well, can't win her,
Say nothing do't?"
1. 43. "still."
Perhaps in the obsolete sense of always, continually.
1. 47. "A Dance at our Wedding."
Massinger is again intermingling English and Roman customs. The dance after the wedding had been long established in England. So Miles Coverdale wrote in The Christian State of Matrimonye, (1541):

"After a banquet and feast/ there begynneth a vayne / madd
and unmannerly fashion. For the bryde must be brought into
an open dauncing place. Then is there such a renninge/ leap-
inge/ and flyinge amonge them/ . . . Then must the poor bryd
kepe foote with all dauncers/ & refuse none/ how scabbed/
foule/ droncken/ rude and shameles soever he be. Then must

she oft tymes heare and se much wickednesse/ & many an uncomely word. And the noyse and rombling endureth even tyll supper."

(See Stubbe's Anatomy of Abuses, ed. Furnivall, "New Shak. Soc. Pub.," p. 309).

ll. 48-49. The quarto arrangement is obviously incorrect:

"A most triumphant one, which shall expresse, wee are Lords, and
(these our slaues.

Poliphron. But we shall want."

l. 50. "Iane of Apes."

This, like "Vulcans" (I, ii, 19), is a coining of Massinger's (see Nares and N.E.D.). It is the feminine parallel, as Gifford explains, to Jack of Apes or jacksnapes (see l. 56), and signifies, therefore, "an impertinent sort of girl."

l. 51. "swimming."

The word was frequently applied to the carriage of the body to mean "characterized by smooth wary, motion."

l. 53. "Banquet."

A course of sweetmeats, fruit, or wine served as a separate entertainment; perhaps here somewhat in the sense of "wine-drinking carousal."

l. 56. "Iack8."

The frequent references among dramatists to "Iacke" as an ape's name about and after 1600 perhaps originally are derived from the name of the famous performing ape, "Jack," who was shown at Paris Garden, that is, the Swan Theatre, or Beau Garden in Southwark. In Marston's Satire IX, "Here's a Toy to mock an Ape indeed" (1598), Jack is apostrophized (Cf. Marston's Works, ed. A.H. Bullen, III, 362-367). The same famous ape is undoubtedly the one that Captain Puffe compelled to impersonate in Ram-Alley (see the note to l. 7). Cf. W. Strunk, Jr., "The Elizabethan Showmen's Ape," Mod. Lang. Notes, XXXII (1917), 215-21.

l. 57. The first quarto has no punctuation mark after "share." I have not supplied a period, considering the passage as a possible instance of the Elizabethan practice of omitting punctuation to denote an interruption. Thus it may be that Corisca hastily breaks into Gracculo's speech as he and his fellow-slaves leave the room. (See Simpson, Shakespearean Punctuation, Sect. 41)

ll. 66-70. "Now miserable I, to please whose pallat
The Elements were ransack's, yet complain'd
Of Nature, as not liberall enough
In her prouision of rarities
To soothe my taste, and pamper my proud flesh."

The uselessness and deleterious effects of pampering the flesh with dainties procured from all parts of the earth is a Senecan contention. Corisca's repentance closely approximates the moral involved in these lines from Of Consolation to Helvia, (Lodge's Seneca(1620), p.749):

"They bring from all places that which they know is proper to enkindle these gluttonous appetites; that which these decayed stomachs will hardly digest, being glutted with too many dainties, is brought from the farthest Ocean... they take not time to digest those dainty morsels which they search through the whole World ... O miserable men whose pallats are not pleased but with precious Dainties, which are made precious, not by reason of their excellent favour or any sweetnesse they yeeld the taste, but by reason of their rarity and cunning in dressing Nature hath furnished in all places sufficient meat for our bodies." Intro

See Introduction, V, CLASSICAL IDEAS, for Corisca's repentance in relation to Stoic morality.

1. 71. "Now wish in vaine for bread."

The fact that this clause does not have a clear syntactic relation to the rest of the sentence led Gifford to recast it by substituting "Should" for "Now." The repetition of "Now" from l. 66 indicates just such looseness; but the passage is perhaps as Massinger intended it, as the structurally awkward lines above, 24-26. The colon at the end of the preceding line indicates a long pause, and may well be taken here as signifying, as it often did in Massinger's day, strong, overpowering emotion. (At the same time, according to the Elizabethan system, it gives grammatical lee-way for an entirely new turn of expression. The colon at the end of the sentence denotes an interrupted speech, as in I,i,5. (Cf. Simpson, Shakespearean Punctuation, Sect. 32).

1. 77. "stop'd my nose."

The phrase, obsolete since c. 1700, is found in 16th and 17th century authors with several meanings, which are still unestablished (Cf. N.E.D.). Here, and in The Duke of Milan, III,i,35,36, Massinger clearly uses it as a figure of scorn. Cf. Othello, IV,ii,77.

1. 78. "adulterate arts."

Stubbes, in his Anatomy of Abuses, had condemned Elizabethan women's fondness for "adulterate arts!" But the practice continued to such a degree that "A.L." in 1629 wrote in "Some Abuses... against the Commonwealth," p. 25(Camden Soc. Pub.; III, 1855):

" . . . but many (yea, very many) women use all these, painting of faces, lippes, neckes, breasts, & false haire, false teeth, false hearts, and false everything. And when one of our ladyes or gentlewomen (of the vainer sort) walke abroad, or to the church, oh! in what pompe and state, and how demurely they passe along! . . . Verylie, it is worth the sight of a hundred puppett plaies to view but some of our spruce & fantastique gentlewomen of the lowest ranke . . . how excellentlie they are painted, pfumed, hung ^{with} railles, ribbons, laces, feathers, bracelettes, and a whole "pedlars shop of other toyes, ttrinketts and gewgawes."

1. 82. "naturall."

In the obsolete sense of "kinship by descent;" opposed to "adopted."

1. 89. "secure."

Free from apprehension.

1. 91. "servile flattery."

The Stoic philosophers constantly repeated warnings against flattery and the dangerous pride that results from listening to flatterers. Cf. Seneca Of Anger, Book II, chap. XXI. See the Introduction, V, CLASSICAL IDEAS for Pisander's speech in relation to the general philosophy of the play.

11. 89-110. This entire monologue by Pisander seems to be merely an adaptation of a section of Seneca's Epistle VIII. The passages contain identical expression about the uncertainty of Fortune, the tardiness with which even the wise recognize humanity's frailty, the necessity of avoiding all Fortune's offerings, and about the danger of pride and prosperity carrying us, like a tempest-tossed ship, on the rocks. Lodge's translation, (Seneca's Works, 1620), p. 176, follows:

"I shew others the right way, which I have learned too late: and after I have beene too long wearied with wandering and tracing here and there, I cease not to crie out. Flie all those things which eyther please the common sort, or casuallie attributeth! runne not after casuall benefits, but rather suspiciously and fearefully apprehend, and entertaine all uncertaine pleasures Think you that these are the gifts of Fortune? Trust me they are her traps; What one soever of us would live a sweet life, let him flie as he may these lymed benefits, wherein wee most miserably be deceived. We thinke to enjoy them, and they enjoy us: this course carrieth us to a downfall . . . it is impossible for us to stand when as felicity hath begunne to transport us; and carrie us hither and thither: at leastwise either content thyselfe with

such things as are good and certaine, bee thou possessor and lord of thyselfe. Such as doe this, fortune doth not only overturne them, but casteth headlong and crusheth them."

(Lodge's translation, however, is a free one, and the more obvious analogy between a literal translation of Epistle VIII and the present passage may indicate that Massinger was not using Lodge, but the original Latin, for his Senecan material.)

But a similar warning against danger of the arrogance and pride of prosperity, is found in Cicero's Offices. Weakness is discovered through not bearing prosperity as well as weakening in adversity. Therefore we should be prepared "for either fortune." Thus Panaetius is said to advise men who have grown riotous and prosperous through prosperity to heed the dictates of philosophy that they may know the inconstancy of human affairs and the uncertainty of fortune. At such a time we should be careful not to lend our ears to flattery, or suffer ourselves to be easily imposed on by adulation. When men are blown up with pride they are led into the greatest mistakes. (Bk.I, chap.xxvi)

Guevara, too, delivers in Stoic terms a somewhat similar admonition against the gifts of Fortune:

"The worlde is so malycious, that if we take not hede to prepare agaynst his wrinche, it will overthrowe us to our greater lasse and hurt . . . And all worldly folke that truste on fortune, shall suffre eclyps every moment. And then syth naturall thynges can not be always in one case, of necessitie the goodes of fortune muste peryshe, sythe they be superfluitie . . . for the more there is in fortunes shoppe, the more suspecte is the marchandyse. O howe unhappy we be, for in that market is nothing solde but lyes." (The Golden Boke of Marcus Aurelius, pp.321-322, tr. Lord Berners, 1535; in Palaestra, cix, 1916).

l. 96. "either fortune."

Pisander is speaking here of prosperity (which the bondmen now enjoy) and adversity (the present lot of the former masters). Seneca expressed the same idea in Of Consolation to Helvia, chap. V (Lodge's translation, 1620):

"But he that is not puffed up with prosperitie, neither restrained by adversitie, hath an invincible heart at all times, and an approved constancie in either Fortune..."

l. 99. "prosperitie."

That prosperity is generally a severer test of Virtue than is adversity, was constantly taught by the Stoic school. Seneca, in Of Providence, chap. IV (Lodge's translation, 1620), issues

a warning that "Since all excesse is hurtfull, an unmeasurable prosperitie is most dangerous. . ." In the same chapter he also says: "Justly may a man terme them miserable, that are surfetted with too much felicitie, who are detayned in an idle tranquillity, as a Ship in a calme Sea. . ."

1. 101. "fore-right."

Of a wind: favourable, straight on the lines of one's course. Hence "prosperous."

1. 102. "wretches."

The word formerly applied to one who is unfortunate, sunk in deep distress, misery, or affliction; without any imputation of bad qualities.

1. 106. "Fathome the earth."

Encircle with extended arms (and control it.) Hence the wretches believed they could extend their arms so as to control the affairs of the world, and thus be above their Fate.

1. 107. "Those borrow'd helped."

This phrase, again, is to be understood in terms of Stoic philosophy. In his Of Consolation to Marcia, chap. IX, Seneca enumerates all the accessories that shine about us as children, honours, riches, large palaces, the people that we expect to salute us and attend us, a noble and fair wife, and other such goods that depend on the inconstancy of mutable Fortune. But these are "but foreigne and hired Ornaments," which we have but to deck the Theatre wherein the scene of our life is played. "We are not therefore to esteeme them as if they were our owne, they are but lent us."

1. 109. "proper."

Belonging to one peculiarly or particularly; distinctive or characteristic. Cf. III, iv, 63; IV, ii, 98.

1. 111. "meate."

Food in general, of a solid nature.

11. 111-116.

"We forgot,

When we drew out intemperate feasts till midnight;
Their hunger was not thought on, nor their watchings;
Nor did we hold our selues seru'd to the height,
But when we did exact, and force their duties
Beyond their strength and power."

This passage may have been suggested to Massinger by some lines on the treatment of slaves in Seneca's Epistle XLVII:

"... meanwhile his poore servants dare not stir their lips to speake. Each murmur is stilled by the rod. A cough; a sneeze, a hicket, (which are casual accidents) are punished with great stroakes . . . All night long they stand fasting, and attend silent, . . . I take not our other cruelties and inhumanities, how in stead of serving us like men as they are, we abuse them as if they were beast..." (Lodge's translation, 1620).

The reign of James I, however, was a time of exceptional gluttony, and it is probable that the lines of Corisca have contemporary significance. Francis Osborne, in his "Memoirs of King James I," tells of the Earl of Carlisle's introduction of anteprepers, "not heard of in our forefathers' time, and, for aught I have read, or at least remember, unpractised by the most luxurious tyrants." Then follows an extended description of a table covered as high as a man can reach, filled with the choicest viands on sea and land. "And all this once seen, and having feasted the eyes of the invited, was in a manner throwne away, and fresh set on to the same height, having only this advantage of this other, that it was hot." (Scott's The Secret History of the Reign of James I, I, 271, 272)

1.119. "dripping Pan."

The pan used for catching the drippings from roasting meat.

1. 120. "good."

Property or possession.

1. 122. Gifford's change of "Olympia" to "Marullo" seems unnecessary. Olympia's "Hold" evidently is an attempt of Olympia to stave off Graculo and Cimbrio who were trying to force themselves upon her. Gifford's emendation was perhaps a result of his taking "Hee's your chiefe" as a reference to Marullo. But it was probably spoken to Graculo and Cimbrio of Poliphron, who has been Pisander's aide and therefore is superior in rank to the two slaves. Olympia had probably meant to remind them in their attempt to maltreat her on the ground that she was "common good," of her husband's superior position: "Hold, hee's (Poliphron's) your chiefe." But the punctuation, a colon after "Hold" shows that she was interrupted by Zanthia's calling to Pisander (Marullo) to quiet the disturbance. There would be no necessity of Zanthia's saying as in Gifford, "Here's Marullo," for he had been there throughout the scene.

1. 124. "Lyon-drunke."

Cf. Nashe's Pierce Penilesse, 1592:

"Nor have we one or two kinde of drunkards onely, but eight Kindes. The first is Ape drunke, and he leapes, and sings, and hollowes, and daunceth for the heauens: the

second is Lion drunke, and he flings the pots about the house, calls his Hostesse whore, breakes the glasse windowes with his dagger, and is apt to quarrell with any man that speaks to him . . ." (Works, ed. McKerrow, I, 207-08).

But Skeat and Mayhew, in a Tudor and Stuart Glossary, define only four degrees of drunkenness: as a sheep (good-humoured); as a Lion (noisy); as an ape (foolish); as a swine (bestial).

1. 125. "lightly."
Commonly or usually (Nares).

"euer."
Evidently here, as often, pleonastic:
1. 135. "Staue . . . of."
Keep at a distance, or repel.
1. 136. "Madam minx."
Either a lewd or wanton woman, or merely a pert girl or hussy.
Cf. Edward Guilpin, Skialethia, p. 50:

"There in that window mistress minkes doth stand,
And to some copes mate bekeneth with her hand."
1. 145. "flesh'd."
Rewarded with the flesh of the game (here figuratively killed);
1. 175. "Ports."
Gates. So IV, ii, 30 and IV, iii, 2.
1. 176. "rippe vp."
To bring up to notice or for discussion, especially said of something that is unpleasant.
1. 179. "composition."
A compromise, or an agreement on particular terms.

Scene IV.

11. 4-5. "such. . . as."
These words were used by the Elizabethans regularly where we should use "such. . . that." See Abbott, A Shakespearian Grammar, Sect. 107.
1. 9. "fortune."
Here, "good fortune."
1. 10. "entertaine her choyce."
Receive Fortune's care in choosing, discrimination, estimation.

1. 11. "Plum'd victorie."

Massinger often uses the expression: The Parliament of Love, III,iii; The Picture, II,ii; The Maid of Honour, I,ii, 104; The Unnatural Combat, II,i. Miss Bryne, in her edition of The Maid of Honour, p. lxxv, points out the occurrence of the phrase among the Latin-writers.

11. 30,31. "such . . . as."

Cf. note to 11. 4,5.

11. 34-46. In these lines Massinger describes the chief features of the Roman "Triumph," or victorious procession. The celebration was instituted by Romulus (cf. Livy, 1,10), and was later decreed by the Senate. The victorious general was met outside the city. He then declared to the Senate his services in the temple of Bellona. If his victory were of sufficient magnitude, a day was set for official celebration which consisted of a triumphal procession through the principal streets, and through the forum. The prisoners, spoils, and animals for sacrifice preceded the conqueror. At the temple of Jupiter a share of spoils was dedicated to the gods and the sacrifice of bulls was offered. A triumphal procession for lesser victories, in which the general entered on foot, was known as the "Ovatio."

1. 45. "particular."

Personal or secret.

1. 46. "To be thought worthy of you."

The meaning is evidently: in order that they(the maidens) may be thought worthy of you.

1. 56. "Her beauty, in me wrought a myracle."

Cf. I,ii,68-69.

1. 63. "magazine."

Store or store house.

1. 67. "fits."

Becomes, befits.

"Factor."

An agent, or deputy; particularly in mercantile usage, but rare now.

1. 78. "creature."

Instrument, or puppet.

1. 81. The interrogation mark after "string" is the Elizabethan use in purely exclamatory remarks. (Cf. Simpson, Shakespearean Punctuation, Sect. 37)

1. 82. "disturbance."
Here, mental agitation, excitement or discomposure.

ACT IV

Scene I.

1. 8. "defeature."
Defeat in battle or contest.
1. 11. "ghesse."
To think, judge, or suppose.
1. 21. "yow."
Doctor Greg, in his comments on the Massinger corrections (Library, V, 59 ff.), submits that the autograph correction here, "yow" for "still," affects the sense of the passage scarcely at all and is hardly satisfactory. The passage, he believes, is not free from difficulty and suggests that perhaps "though" or some similar correction would give the required sense. He also notes the seemingly erroneous addition of the comma after "on," but since it may mark a metrical pause, I have left it. Likewise I have felt that Massinger's "yow," though not entirely satisfactory, should stand in any critical text of this play.
1. 28. "which (her vow obseru'd)."
There seems to be no way of justifying the parentheses about "which" in Q₁. The compositor, probably attempting to set up the last four words in the line at once from memory, made an error in setting the parentheses about "which" instead of about "her vow obseru'd," which is quite logically parenthetical according to the Elizabethan system. For the extensive use of brackets in the printing of the time, see Simpson's Shakespearean Punctuation, Sect. 39.
1. 38. "ken."
Range of sight or vision. Rare.
1. 44. "allow of."
Cf. I,iii,228.
1. 45. "I'll . . . among them."
For the omission of the verb of motion after "will" see Abbott, A Shakespearean Grammar, Sect. 405.

Scene II.

1. 3. "Banisht."
For the omission of the preposition after verbs of ablation, see Abbott, A Shakespearean Grammar, Sect. 198.

1. 29. "misterie."
Obscure or mysterious reason.
- "Rascalls."
The word was applied to people of the rabble or lowest rank, with sometimes but rarely the additional notion of knavery implied. So IV, Ult., 11.
1. 40. "O my prophetique soule."
So Hamlet, I,v,40.
1. 43. "pip."
A disease of poultry and birds; often vaguely and usually humourously, applied to various diseases in human beings.
1. 45. "expect."
I have kept the period after "expect" inasmuch as the old printers often used it to close an unfinished speech. Cf. Simpson, Shakespearean Punctuation, Sect. 36.
1. 49. "vouchsafe."
Perhaps in its obsolete, intransitive sense of merely condescend; perhaps with "to reply, or state our case" understood.
1. 50. "wurried."
Cymbrio is carrying on the figure in the first half of the line — i.e., using "worry" in the sense of being torn or killed by the biting and shaking of dogs or wolves when they seize their quarry.
1. 51. "sharpe set."
Used figuratively from hawking terminology, meaning "hungry or eager for prey."
- "sodaine."
Swift in action, quick to perform, prompt.
11. 52-83. In these lines which form Pisander's appeal for humane relationships Massinger again has closely followed Stoic conceptions, perhaps those of Seneca and certainly those of Plutarch. The first half of the passage, for the most part, presents the salient characteristics of the Golden Age as Seneca represents it in Epistles XCII and XC. The latter letter in a manner similar to Pisander's, praises the rule of the benevolent, wise Master:

"But the first men, and their Of-spring followed Nature,
and had the same, both for a Captaine and Law, for they suffered themselves to bee guided by the better. For it is a part of Nature to submit worser things to the better. . . ."

amongst men is hee accounted chiefest who is the best. They chuse him therefore for Chiefetaine who had the most excellent minde; by whose meanes the Nations were infinitely happie, amongst whom no man could have superioritie; except he were more honest then others In that Age then which was surnamed Golden, Possidonius judgeth that the wiser sort governed. These containd their Lands, and defended the weaker from those that were more strong: they perswaded and dissuaded, and shewed both profitable and unprofitable things. The wisdome of these men provided that nothing might be wanting unto their subjects; their fortitude kept dangers (dangers?) backe, their bountie increased, and adorned those that were subject unto them. It was not a Kingdome to rule over other men, but an office. No man approved his forces against them, through whom he had begun to be able to be powerfull. Neither was there either mind or cause to injurie any one, when there was good obedience to him who governed well.— But when as vices began to gather head, Kingdomes were turned into Tyrannie: the lawes began to be necessarie, and from the beginning the wiser sort were the authors thereof."

Again, in Epistle XLVII, Seneca commends Lucilius for living familiarly with his servants instead of treating them, according to the custom of the time, like beasts. He presents, as does Pisander in ll. 54ff., the picture of the pater familias:

"See you not, that likewise how by this meanes our ancestors withdrew all envie from the Masters, all contumely from the servants? They called the Master the father of the household, the servants (which as yet continueth amongst the Mimicks) his familiars. They instituted a holy-day; wherein not onely the masters feasted with their servants; but wherein, beside that, they permitted them to beare honor in the house, and to give sentence and judgement; in brief, they esteemed their house to be a little Commonweale." (Lodge's Seneca, 1620)

Statements similar to the last part of Pisander's recital, in which pride and riot are given as the causes for the overthrow of the concord of the Golden Age, are to be found in another portion of Seneca's Epistle XC:

". . . before that avarice and dissolution had disassembled men; and that both the one and the other were united to make inroades and pillages. . . ."

"Covetousnesse hath made a forcible breach into things that were settled exceeding well"

"As yet the stronger had not layed hand upon the weaker, as yet a covetous man did not by hiding that which he hoarded up for him, exclude another from necessarie things, Each one cared as much for his companion as himselfe.... I denie not, but that they were men of an high spirit, and freshly sprung from the gods: for the world being not as yet wasted in strength, sent forth better things.... yea as yet they spared dumbe creatures."

(Lodge's Seneca, 1620)

Although the passages just quoted may not be regarded so much as specific sources as a relevant summary of the Stoic conceptions represented in Pisander's review of the humanity of the Golden Age, there is no doubt that the latter part of the passage, beginning at l. 66, which treats of man's former kindness to animals, is an adaptation of a similar description in Plutarch's life of the elder Cato, who sold his slaves when they grew old and useless:

"Nevertheless, to sell slaves in that sorte, or to turne them out of doores when you have hadde the service of all their youth, and that they are grown olde, as you use brute beastes that have served whilst they may for age: me thinkes that must needes proceede of to seweare and greedie nature, that hath no lenger regarde or consideration of humanitie, than whilst one is able to doe an other good. For we see, gentlenesse goeth further then justice. For nature teacheth us to use justice onely unto menne, but gentlenesse sometimes is shewed unto brute beasts: and that cometh from the very fountaine and springe of all curtesie and humanitie, which shoulde never drye up in any manne livinge As the Athenians made a lawe, when they builded their temple called Heccatompodon: that they should suffer the moyles and mulettes that did service in their cariages about the buildinge of the same, to graze everie where, without lette or trouble of any manne. And they say, there was one of those moyles thus turned at libertie, that came of her selfe to the place to labour, goinge before all the other draught beastes, that drew uppe cartes laden towards the castell, and kept them companie, as though she seemed to encorage the rest to drawe: which the people liked so well in the poore beast, that they appointed she should be kept whilst she lived, at the charge of the towne. And yet at this present are the graves of Cimon's mares to be seene, that wanne him thrise together the game of the horse race at the games Olympian, and they are hard by the grave of Cimon himselfe. We heare of diverse also that hadde buried their dogges they brought uppe in their house, or that wayted on them:

as amonge other olde Xanthippus buried his dogge on the toppe of a cliffe, which is called the dogges pit till this day And there is no reason, to use livinge and sencible thinges, as we would use an olde shoe or a ragge: to cast it out upon the donge hill when we have worne it, and can serve us no longer. For if it were for no respect els, but to use us alwayes to humanitie: we must ever shewe our selves kinde and gentle, even in such small poyntes of pitie. And as for me, I could never finde in my hart to sell my draught ox that hadde plowed my lande a longe time, bicause he coulde plowe no longer for age: and much lesse my slave to sell him for a litle money, out of the contrie where he had dwelt a long time, to plucke him from his olde trade of life wherewith he was best acquainted, and then specially, when he shalbe as unprofitable for the buyer, as also for the seller." (Plutarch's Lives, trans. Sir Thomas North; "Tudor Translations," III,8,9)

1. 62. "such . . . as."
The modern usage is "such . . . that." Cf. note to III, iv, 4,5.
1. 70. "Pikes."
The principal soldiers of the English army from the reign of Henry VIII to that of William III were pikemen. The pike-staff was about six feet, or more, in length, and played an important part in the warfare of the time, as Pisander suggests, by its effectiveness in repelling cavalry assaults.
1. 97. "competence."
Sufficient amount for living comfortably.
1. 104. "Capitulate."
Cf. I,iii,236.
1. 105. "a murall wreath."
There were a number of crowns awarded Roman soldiers for specific acts of bravery. The Corona Muralis, a crown adorned with battlements, was given to the soldier who first mounted the breach when a town was being stormed.
1. 106. "charge them home."
This military expression has the meaning of "to bear violently upon."
1. 112. The comma before "they" is in accord with the regular Elizabethan practice of inserting a comma before a noun clause. Sometimes the "that" is present, sometimes omitted, as here. (Cf. Simpson, Shakespearean Punctuation, Sect. 14.)

1. 125. "fleabyting."

This term was used to express a contemptibly small hurt or damage. Thus Dekker, in "The Raven's Almanacke" speaks of a "dissention that hapned once at Oxford betweene a Scholler and a Vintner, about a quart of paltrie Wine, was but a drie beating, nay, rather a flea-biting to this." [Dekker, Works, "Huth Library Edition," IV, 209.)

1. 135. "Determine of."

In the intransitive sense of coming to a judicial decision, the construction was regularly with of.

"Friend."

See Introduction, IV, CLASSICAL IDEAS.

1. 139. "I am on the racke."

This figure was particularly significant to Massinger's hearers. The rack, used as an instrument of torture to some extent under Elizabeth, was introduced frequently into judicial proceedings under James I. as a method of forcing a witness to testify against himself. Selden testifies that the rack was used elsewhere when a man had made a half-confession to "see if they can make it full," but "in England they take a man and racke him, I do not know why, but when somebody bids." (See Lucy Aiken, Memoirs of the Court of King James the First, II, 158ff.)

Scene III.

1. 3-5. "basenesse of . . . These villaines . . . Haue."

The use of a plural verb with a singular subject modified by a prepositional phrase with a plural object is common in Elizabethan dramatists. Abbott calls the irregularity, "confusion of proximity." (See Abbott, A Shakespearian Grammar, Sect. 412).

11. 20, 21. "bread of sorrow," "water of afflictions."

The phrases are Biblical. Cf. Psalms, 127:2 and Isaiah, 30:20.

1. 24. "ouergone."

Overcome or overpowered. Now dial.

11. 34-36. "you stand not

Accomptable for a sinne, against whose strength

Your o're-match'd innocence could make no resistance."

This is a Stoic morality. The insistence on motive rather than the act itself as the criterion of good and evil is encountered frequently in Seneca and Cicero: Cf. Seneca, Of

Constancie of the Wise Man, chap.vii; Benefits, Bk.II, chap.xix;
Cicero, Offices, Bk. I, chap.x.

1. 52. "whose."
Of which.
1. 58. "honest."
Of good moral character; perhaps chaste.
1. 64. "bending."
Stooping from jealousy or pride.
1. 67. "liuing funerall."
Massinger here alludes to the Roman law that decreed that the priestess of Vesta who should be convicted of losing her honour should be interred alive in the campus sceleratus. Her seducer was to be beaten to death with rods by the Pontifex Maximus.
1. 70. "accent."
Here in the poetic sense of "word" or "bit of speech."
1. 76. "office."
Service or duty.
1. 82. "determinate will."
Cf. I, i, 22.
1. 86. "remember."
Often used with an object clause, as here, meaning "to cause to remember."
1. 101. "cates."
Cf. I, iii, 351.
1. 105. "in your will I free you."
Cf. the note to l. 35.
11. 106-108. "I restore
This kisse, (so help me goodnesse,) which I borrow'd,
When I alast saw you."
Gifford believes that Massinger has here imitated Shakespeare's Coriolanus, V, iii, 46.

"Now by the jealous queen of heaven; that kiss
I carried from thee, dear; and my true lip
Hath virgin'd it e'er since."
1. 110. "vitall spirits."
The doctrine of animal spirits came from the Greeks into medieval medicine, and held sway until the 18th century.

Through them the heartbeat, digestion, and innate heat of the body were physiologically explained. Life was controlled by the vital spirits, the nervous system by the animal spirits. Nicholas Culpeper, in the "Directions," in A Physical Directory, or a Translation of the London Dispensatory, Made by the Colledge of Physicians in London, writes:

"The vital spirit proceeds from the heart, and causeth in man, Mirth, Joy, Hope, Trust, Humanity, Mildness, Courage, as also their opposites, Care, Fear, Sadness, Sorrow, Despair, Envy, Hatred, Stuborness, Revenge, &c."

1. 114. "Fixe."

The intransitive use "to take up one's position." Here "to take up one's position mentally;" So in The Duke of Milan, II,i,274:

1. 118. "Bank'rout."

Bankrupt; with the simpler meaning merely of "one hopelessly in debt."

1. 124. "noble temperance (the Queene of vertues)."

The Renaissance conception of temperance and its allied but nicely differentiated virtue, continence, are explained by Castiglione in Book IV of The Courtier:

"But temperance free from all disquietinge, is like the Capitaine that without resistance overcommeth and reigneth. And havinge in the mynde where she is, not onlie assuaged, but cleane quenched the fire of gredie desire, even as a good Prince in civill warr dispatcheth the sedicious inward ennemies, and giveth the scepter and wholl rule to reason, so in like case this vertue not enforcing the mind, but powringe therinto through most quiet waies a vehement persuasion that may incline him to honestie, maketh him quiet and full of rest, in everie part equall and of good proportion: . . . and [he] becommeth full and wholly most obedient to reason, and readie to tourn unto her all his motions, and folow her where she lust to leade him, without anie resistance, like a tender lambe that renneth, standeth and goith alwaies by the swes side, and moveth only as he seeth her do. This vertue therefore is most perfect, and is cheeflie requisit in Princis, because of it arrise manie other." (The Courtier, "Tudor Translations," Bk.IV, pp.308-09).

This estimation of the supreme place of temperance among the virtues is somewhat modified, however, in Castiglione's subsequent remarks on Justice.

1. 129. "To fill a seat among the gods."

According to classical philosophy, especially that of the Stoics, it is man's duty to become like the gods. Nature has given us those things necessary for us to be a companion with them, not a mere suppliant to them. See Seneca, Epistle XXXI.

1. 131. "The powers above did masque in humane shapes."

The assumption of human form by divine spirits is spoken of by Seneca, Epistle XLVII.

11. 132-133. "To teach mortality, not by cold precepts
Forgot as soone as told, but by examples."

The same belief in the didactic superiority of example is expressed in The Roman Actor, I,iii:

"...the sects of the philosophers:
They with cold precepts(perhaps seldom read)
Deliver, what an honourable thing
The active virtue is: but does that fire
The blood, or swell the veins with emulation,
To be both good and great, equal to that
Which is presented on our theatres?"

1. 140. "cleere affections."

Coxeter, Mason, and Gifford object to the adjective, and amend by substituting "e'er." But such a textual error on the part of the printers would be somewhat difficult to account for; and the adjective "clear" may be reasonably applied to describe a pure love, unpolluted by a debased passion. The fact, Massinger again so uses the term "cleerensse" in describing figuratively ideal affection in V,iii,131-135:

"But if that pure desires, not blended with
Foull thoughts, that like a Riuer keeps his course,
Retaining still the cleerensse of the spring,
From whence it tooke beginning."

1. 144. "his better part."

Cleora is speaking in terms of the Stoic conception (adopted substantially from Plato) of the soul: Reason is the diviner part, the god within, battling the appetites and the passions (Cf. Seneca, Epistles, LXXI and XCII).

11. 158-159. "Doe you call,

What was his dutie, merit?"

An appreciable portion of Seneca's Benefits is occupied with the discussion of this question. Leosthenes' distinction of duty and merit is made by Seneca, who declares that all acts of slaves are benefits, duties, or services. Yet the Stoic philosopher concludes with Cleora that many beneficial deeds of

bondmen are not mere duties, "for it concerneth us to consider, of what minde hee is that giveth the benefit, not of what state or calling. Vertue hideth her selfe from no man, she entertaineth and accepteth all men, she invitath all, Gentlemen, Francklins, Bondmen, Kings, and banished Men. . ." A bondman may be just, valiant, and courageous; therefore he may also give a benefit. (Benefits, Bk.III, chap. XVIII, Lodge's translation, 1620)

Again, in Bk.III, chap. XXII, Seneca, declares that a slave who performs an extraordinary and brave enterprise, who surmounts the hope and expectation of his master, who performs that which he might lawfully refuse, performs, as a man to a man, a benefit for his master.

11. 169-171.

"The Immortall gods.

Accept the meanest Altars, that are rais'd
By pure deuotions; and sometimes preferre
An ounce of Frankinsence, hony, or milke,
Before whole Hecatombes, or Sabaeen Gums."

The idea found frequent expression in Massinger's time.

Cf. Greene's Farewelle to Follie:

"the thoughts that smoke from a cottage, are oft as
sweete a sacrifice to the gods, as the perfumes of princes..."

(Works, ed. Grosart, IX, 314).

Cf. also Wm. Cartwright, in Appendix I.

But Gifford has called attention to Horace as the probable source for the idea of the passage:

"Immunis aram si tetigit manus,
Non sumtuoso blandior hostia
Mollirit aversos penates
Farre pio, soliente mica."

1. 171. "Hecatombes."

A hecatomb was a sacrifice of a hundred oxen or cattle at one time; hence, a huge slaughter.

"Sabaeen Gums."

Sabaeen was often used poetically in allusions to the famous spices brought from Yemon in Arabia.

1. 173. "fit."

In the obsolete sense of "to visit a person with a fit penalty or punishment."

1. 178. "deuotion."

Command, disposal.

1. 192. "wretch."

Cf. III,iii,102.

1. 195. "since."
Subsequently.

1. 202. "secure you."
To free you from apprehension, or from doubt or jealousy.

11. 206-09. "What a bridge
Of glasse I walke vpon, ouer a Riuer
Of certaine ruine: mine owne waightie feares
Cracking what should support me: . . ."
Dr. John Ferriar, in his "Essay on the Dramatic Writings
of Massinger," states that Massinger in these lines has improved on his
on his original, a passage in Shakespeare's Henry IV, Part I,
I,iii:

"I'll read you matter deep and dangerous;
As full of peril and advent'rous spirit,
As to o'er walk a current, roaring loud,
On the unsteadfast footing of a spear."

Cf. The Maid of Honour, III,iii,168-69:

"What a sea
Of melting ice I walke on."

1. 211. "wilfull Iealousie."
Governed by the will or desire without regard to reason.

Scene Ultima:

11. 6,7. "'Slight, what a beast they haue made thee! Affricke neuer
Produc'd the like."

The notion was current in Massinger's time that Africa was
the home of the most terrible monsters. Thus Nashe writes in
the "Preface to the Reader" of Martius Monthes Minde:

"These men, would I call (as I well might) Monsters; save
that in these mischeeuous daies, wherein our Europa, is
become an Africa, in bringing dailie foorth newe monsters,
I can account them but ordinarie Vermin." (Nashe's Works,
"Huth Library Edition," I,160)

Chelli (La Collaboration de Massinger avec Fletcher, pp.
222-23) has catalogued instances of the recurrence of the idea
in Massinger's plays: The Bashful Lover, IV,ii; The Parlia-
ment of Love, IV,ii; The Emporor of the East, IV,v; Believe
as you List, II,ii; The Guardian, II,ii).

11. 7-9.

"Nor the land

Where Apes; and Monkies, grow, like Crabs, and Wall-nuts
On the same tree."

This passage shows a distinction between "apes" and "monkies," not always to be found in Elizabethan and Jacobean writers. "Ape" was often employed as a generic term for both.

One would expect that Asotus' statement could be confirmed in some of the tales of wonders related by travelers of Massinger's age, but I have not been able to locate a source for his statement.

1. 8. "Crabs."

Wild apples.

1. 10. "wise women."

Women skilled in magic or hidden arts; female magicians or soothsayers.

1. 11. "Raskall."

Cf. IV, ii, 29.

1. 17. "After three liues, or one and twenty yeares."

Is Massinger here thinking of a scheme similar to the first three ages of man as they were given in The Treasury of Ancient and Modern Times, 1613, following Proclus, a Greek author: "The first age is called Infancy containing the space of four years. The second age continueth ten yeares until he attain to the age of fourteene: this age is called Childhood. The third age consisteth of eight yeares, being named by our auncients Adolescence or Youthhood; and it lasteth from fourteene till two and twenty yeares be fully compleate"?

1. 18. "varlets."

Cf. I, iii, 319.

1. 20. "falne away."

In the obsolete sense of "to lose flesh."

1. 21. "Cullises and ielly."

The extensive use of preserves in the "physick" of the day is described by Nicholas Culpeper in A Physical Directory, pp. 143ff. A "cullis" is a strong broth of meat or fowl, boiled and strained. It was used especially as a nourishing food for sick persons.

1. 22. "Iard all he eates with marrow."

This is another method of restoring people to health used by Massinger's contemporary physicians. The powers of marrow are explained by Thomas Coghon in The Haven of Health, p. 148:

"Marrow of all beasts is hot and moist, and where it is well digested, it nourisheth much, yet it doth mollifie the stomacke; and taketh away appetite. . . and the marrow of Biefe is best to be eaten. . . . This also is one of the twelve things that maketh fat."

1. 23. "Restoratiues."

Foods, cordials, or medicines with power of restoring health or strength.

1. 26. "ten-crowne Amber Possets."

Amber-greece (grey amber which was put in wines) sold for 10 s. the dramme, according to the price list of medicaments published in Philbert Guibert's The Charitable Physician, which appeared in translation in London in 1639.

The posset was usually taken at night, and consisted of hot milk poured on ale, wine, etc., with other ingredients boiled in it.

11. 26-27.

"good to smoothe

The Cutis."

Cutis, the true skin or derma of the body, underlying the epidermis.

As this passage suggests, amber was often used as a provocative (Cf. Fletcher's The Wild Goose Chase, I,ii,40). Nicholas Culpeper says; "Amber-greece heats and drys; strengthens the brain and nerves exceedingly, if the infirmity of them come of cold, resists pestilence. . ." (A Physical Directory, p. 73).

Nicholas Monardes, a phusician of Seville, in his Joyful Newes out of the Newe Founde Worlde, (Englished by John Frampton, Merchant, 1577 et seq.), describes the soothing effect of amber:

"it healeth, comforteth, dissolveth, and mittigateth the payne . . . it doth dissolve and mollifie any maner of hardnes; . . . and it doeth make soft anye maner of harde thing, it is hot welnere in the third degree." (Book I, pp. 20-22, "Tudor Translation").

Monardes later estimates that "amber gryse" is worth twice as much as the finest gold. The smelling of it is said to make the spirits better, and it should therefore be used by the melancholy as a medicine. It strengthenz when used as a perfume; in wine it causes drunkenness(pp. 169-176).

1. 28. "high."
Emotionally exalted, hilarious, elated.
1. 30. "thrifftie."
Either in the obsolete sense of estimable and respectable,
or sparing and saving in expenditure, that is, on perfumes, etc.

"smell like other women."
Timagoras is speaking of "women" in the sense of courtesans.
For the same slighting reference to this class, see II, iii, 27,
and the note.
1. 31. "The Colledge of Phisitions."
According to the Annales, or A General Chronicle of England;
Begun by John Stow, continued and Augmented with Matters Foreign
and Domestic . . . unto this yeare, 1631, by Edmund Howes,
Gent., the College was founded by "Doctor Butts, and other ver-
tuous and famous physicians in the time of Henry 8." After its
founding it had many privileges and grants from the king. None
but members of the College, and those allowed by it, could prac-
tice medicine within a seven-mile limit. A President was elected
annually to oversee the administration of its rules, and to see
that physicians incapable of administering efficiently were ac-
cordingly punished (pp. 1078-79). (Cf. also Cal. of State Papers,
Domestic Series, 1619-23, pp. 418, 610).

Thomas Linacre, the learned physician of Henry VIII, however,
seems first to have presented the plan of the College to Car-
dinal Wolsey. As a result, on September 23, 1518, letters pat-
ent incorporated Linacre and others in "a perpetual Commonality,"
or Fellowship, of the Faculty of Physic." The first meeting was
held in Linacre's house, No. 5, Knight Rider Street, and here the
council had its sessions until about the time of the accession
of Charles I. Then the College was removed to Amen Corner,
where Harvey promulgated his theory and delivered his pronoun-
cements concerning the circulation of the blood (Cf. Knight's Lon-
don, II, 17-32).

The attention that physicians gave to the caring for the
beauty and youthfulness of female patients, of which Timagoras
speaks in the following lines, was a feature of medical prac-
tice long after Massinger's day. In an apology for the profes-
sion in Stow's Annals (continued by Strype), II, 320, Dr. Pitts
maintains that care for feminine beauty is one of the proper
and genuine ends of the art of physic: "It putteth Life and
Beauty into the Faces of the Fair Sex." Doctors with foreign
training seem especially to have been interested in making the
"lovely corps sophisticate." (Cf. Beaumont and Fletcher, The

Woman Hater, IV,ii; Webster, The Duchess of Malfy, II,i,54). Such preoccupations led Thomas Powell to write of the medical profession:

"For it has growne to be a very huswives trade, where fortune prevailes more than skill And the cure of them is the skill of every good old Ladies cast Gentlewoman; when she gives over painting, shee falls to plastering, and shall have as the best of them for those kind of diseases." ("The Plaine Path-way to Preferment," 1631, in New Shak. Soc. Pub. VI, 1820, p. 160).

1. 33. "rampire."

Usually a synonym for rampart, but perhaps here more in its obsolete sense of a barrier.

1. 34. "Mummy."

Mummy was used in the East, by medieval physicians who believed the highest virtue would exist in that which had already been used to preserve the human body. Subsequently the bituminous and fatty matter formed about mummies and their wrappings was employed as a sovereign remedy through the eighteenth century, particularly for wounds and contusions. This led further to the medical use of mummies themselves, and finally the starting point was lost sight of, and the dried or prepared flesh of criminals, and others who had died by violence (a source of mummy which Paracelsus had advised, because mummies; or the vital spirit of the flesh was here best preserved) rather than by disease, became one of the standard forms of mummy in the pharmacopeia. Thus one of the characters in Bird in a Cage (Old Plays, VIII,214) says: "Make mummy of my flesh, and sell me to the apothecaries." It is probably in this derived sense that Massinger uses the word here.

Its use and character, however, were none too well understood in Massinger's day as the following diverse explanations show: John Hall, Lanfrancus' Chirurgia parva, 1565, defines mummia as a drug used "as well in outwarde plasters, as inward drinks, to compounde broken bones, and veynes, and to dissolve congealed bloud." Nashe, in a prefatory note to "Christ's Teares over Jerusalem," explaining his word "mummianized," declares that "his true derivative which is mummy is somewhat obscure also: To phisitions and their confectioners, it is as familiar as familiar as Mumchaunce amongst Pages, being nothing else but mans flesh long buried and broyled in the burning sands of Arabia." Cockeram's English Dictionarie, 1626, shows the obscurity that attached to the word: "Some say it is made of mans flesh boild in pitch; Others, that it is taken out of old Tombes, being a corrupted humour that drop-

peth from embalmed bodies."

"Ceruses."

White lead was often formerly used in medicines and ointments; especially as a paint or cosmetic for the skin.

"Infants fat."

Apparently similar to the use of mummy in the "physick" of the time was the employment of infants' fat. Human fat in general was applied as a restorative. The revered Paracelsus had established such a practice, as the following excerpt from his works shows:

"The second separation is that of fat from flesh. The fatness being separated from human flesh, a most excellent balsam is produced, allaying the pains of gout, of contraction, and other like nature, if the members be anointed with it while warm....It further cures the itch and all kinds of leprosy. This, therefore, is the chief surgical specific, and of the very first efficacy in all accidents and wounds"(From "Concerning the Nature of Things," The Hermetical and Alchemical Writings...of Paracelsus the Great, tr. Waite, I, 169).

English physicians, such as Culpeper, attest the long-lived influence of this medical theory:

"The fat of man is exceeding good to anoint such limbs as fall away in flesh"(N. Culpeper, A Physical Directory, p. 71).

Cf. also Leonard Fioravanti, The Excellencie of Physick and Chirurgerie, p.68.

Likewise the use of infants' fat, on account of its mummia, was evidently considered especially potent in redeeming worn-out bodies and decayed strength. Accordingly Ferdinand, in The Duchess of Malfy, II,v,71-74, would

"...boile their bastard to a cullisse,
And give't his lecherous father, to renew
The sinne of his backe."

For such "physicke" infants' fat was recommended by both Paracelsus and Porta, but its use was not confined to medicinal purposes. So Jonson, in annotating his The Masques of the Queens, explains that "The killing of infants is common, both for confection of their ointment(whereto one ingredient is the fat boiled, as I have showed before out of Paracelsus and Porta) as also out of lust to do murder." (Jonson's Works, ed. Gifford, VII, 119, 130) Thus it came about that infants' fat soon

came to be regarded as having such magic qualities that witches were thought to murder young children in order that they might anoint themselves and change their shapes and fly through the air (Cf. Middleton's The Witch, I,ii,14ff., and Reginald Scot's Discoverie of Witchcraft, p. 184). In the trial of Lancashire witches in 1612, Janet and Ellen Bierly were charged with having killed a child and exhumed its body and seethed its bones to anoint themselves with its fat "that thereby they might sometimes change themselves into other shapes." (Cf. Potts's Wonderfull Discovery of Witches in the County of Lancashire, 1613, sig. I,2)

This same close resemblance between certain applications used for the rejuvenation of Jacobean ladies, of whom Corisca is here a type, and the materials employed by witches in their magic ointments, is clarified by Bosola's words to the Old Lady in The Duchess of Malfy, II,i,47ff:

"One would suspect it [your closet] for a shop of witchcraft, to finde in it the fat of serpents, spawn of snakes ... and all these for the face. I would sooner eate a dead pidgeon, taken from the soles of the feete of one sicke of the plague, then kisse one of you fasting!"

1. 37. "rancke."
Line or position.
1. 41. "itch."
Cf. III,iii,28.
1. 44. "tribe."
A set or class of persons. Used often, as here, contemptuously.
1. 45. "carriage."
That which is carried.
1. 54. I have departed from Q₁, Q₂, and C, in omitting the apostrophe in Marullo's, (i.e., Marullo is). If these early readings are correct Massinger had evidently intended to say, "There is no Marullo that is there." Such an ellipsis does not seem to be^{so} acceptable, however, as the interpretation of M and G, Marullos. A singular verb with the expletive, "there," often precedes a plural subject in the dramatic literature of the time (Cf. Abbott, A Shakespearian Grammar, Sect. 335).
1. 56. "sanctuary."
There is evidently implied here in a figurative sense the law of the medieval church by which a fugitive from justice was entitled to immunity from arrest.

11. 60,61. "insults Vpon."

"Upon" is the regular preposition when insult means "to exult proudly or contemptuously, to boast or brag in an insolent or scornful way."

1. 62. "Curres snap at Lyons in the toyle."

Bear-baiting was not the only sport of its kind. For a description of the fight between lions and dogs before Prince Henry in 1610, see Stow's Annales (Completed by E. Howes) pp. 895, 96.

1. 77. "burthen."

Burden. Here either "the refrain or chorus;" or "the theme or leading idea."

ACT V

Scene I.

1. 2. "as."

Here "as" is probably used in a transitional manner for "for indeed." (Cf. Abbott, A Shakespearian Grammar, Sect. III)

1. 5. "It needs(not)."

Obsolete for "it is necessary or needful."

1. 7. "humours."

Moods or fancies; perhaps inclinations.

11. 16,17. "But his offence being against the State,

Must haue a publique triall."

Evidently Massinger here is emphasizing the idea of "publique trial" as opposed to private punishment which was regularly administered by the Roman masters themselves in almost every case of a slave's criminal acts unless they were of the most serious nature. Pisander's rebellion, however, has not been a household, but a civil, affair; and his trial consequently becomes, according to Roman law, not injudicia privata, but judicia publica, a state trial dealing with a crime highly injurious to the safety of the state. Rebellion and treason were among the principal grounds for public trials. In such instances the slave was kept in chains until a defender gave security, and then the proceedings followed as in the case of a free man. If no one would defend him, he was allowed to plead, ex necessitate, his own cause. (Cf. William W. Backland, The Roman Law of Slavery, p. 91)

1. 22. "suffer."

Submit to, to be subjected to.

1. 24. "I must to the Senate."
The verb of motion was often omitted after "must." Cf. Abbott, A Shakespearian Grammar, Sect. 405.
1. 27. "studied."
Endeavoured or aimed deliberately.
1. 36. "such . . . as."
Cf. the note to III,iv,4,5.
1. 39. "Though bayted for their pleasure."
Cf. the note to IV, Ult., 62.
1. 48. "loaden."
This past participle of "load" is now obsolete in the sense of "heavy laden or weighted."
1. 52. "it takes from."
It detracts from. Cf. A New Way to Pay Old Debts, IV,1.
1. 56. "to their teeth."
To their faces; defiantly, openly.
1. 63. "haue ranne."
The past participle "ranne" (ran) has been used frequently as late as the 19th century.
1. 68,69. "Distrust from others springs, . . .
From diffidence in our selues."
Gifford's change of "from others" to "of other" seems to give the required sense better than the quarto reading, since Leosthenes is probably explaining his distrust of other people on the basis of his lack of confidence in his own virtue. I have not been able to justify the phrase, "from others," if such be Leosthenes' meaning. But there is another interpretation consistent with the context, and therefore I have allowed the quarto reading to stand. For "diffidence" often meant "suspicion" in Massinger's day, and as a result of Cleora's words above (60-62), Leosthenes may mean to say that our own suspicious nature may cause distrust to spring "from others" toward us.
1. 71. "this monster, iealousie."
Cf. Othello, III,iii,166.
1. 74. "pregnant."
Obvious, convincing, clear.
1. 76. "They make their owne horned."
There is a similar allusion in II,iii,73.

"secure."

As in III,iii,89.

1. 82. "Our friendship."
See Introduction, VI, CLASSICAL IDEAS.
1. 83. "respects."
In the obsolete sense, probably of "rank or condition in life," or "the courteous actions attendant thereto."
1. 100. "pietie."
Faithfulness to duty. Here Timandra is speaking of her report of Cleora's flight.
1. 112. "prison of her flesh."
This Platonic figure, taken over by the Stoics (cf. Seneca, Epistles LXV and CII), is used constantly by Elizabethan writers and thereafter in English literature.
1. 116. "common."
General or public.
1. 121. "Bawd."
He who panders to any evil design or practice.
1. 130. "heart-strings."
In the old Anatomy the nerves or tendons that braced or sustained the heart. Figuratively used for the deepest affections.

Scene II.

1. 1. "priuacy."
The meaning seems to be, "keeping of a secret," though the N.E.D. gives no example of that usage for a hundred years later.

11. 20-24. "Indeed vertue,

 . . . cannot fall, though shaken
 With the shocke of fierce temptations, but still triumphs
 In spite of opposition."
 That virtue is the highest good and that nothing can overcome her is the heart of the Stoic philosophy. So Seneca writes in Epistles LXXIV and LXXIX respectively:

"Yet is shee not lessened, although that from a great and high estate she is fallen into a private and particular, and from a royal throne, to a private and base place."

"But neither fire nor ruine can bring Vertue under."

In Of Constancie of a Wise Man, chap.V, Seneca reiterates the position: ". . . vertue is free, inviolable, immutable, assured, and so hardened against casualties, that she neither may be shaken or overcome."

Cicero's Paradox VI states his belief thus:

" . . . how much more valuable is virtue, which never can be wrested, never can be filched from us, which cannot be lost by fire or shipwreck, and which is not alienated by convulsions of tempest or time, with which those who are endowed along are rich, for they alone possess resources which are profitable and eternal." (tr. C.H.Edmonds in "Harper's Classical Library").

1. 50. "wonne . . . vpon."
"To win upon" is to gain influence upon or favour with; to engage the affections, especially gradually or increasingly.
1. 51. "challenge."
To lay claim to or demand as a right.
1. 60. "Hangman."
In the general sense of "executioner."
1. 61. "When he is married to the crosse."
Among the various methods of punishing and torturing slaves in Rome crucifixion was important (cf. Tacitus, Hist. II,72; Juvenal, VI, 219; Cicero, Verr. V,64). In fact, such was the chief means of capital punishment for Roman slaves; but at the end of the play Massinger inconsistently returns to the English method, having the slaves brought forth with halters about their necks. See the note to V,iii,239, stage direction.
1. 66. There seems to be no reason for changing "So" to "No." The quarto reading is the natural, terse reply to Timagoras' "How," and logically follows Cleora's preceding speech. The word was often used in the sense of "yes."
1. 70. "iealousie vse all her eyes."
Cf. V,1,71; and Othello, III,iii,166.
11. 71,72. "or Enuy
As many tongues to wound it."
Cf. Guevara's Golden Booke, 1535, p. 303(Palaestra,cix):
"Envy is so venomous a serpent, that there was never mortall man among mortalles, that coude scape fro the bytinge of her tothe, and scratchynge of her nayles,... and poysonynge of her poyson."

l. 82. "hangmans."
See the note to l. 60.

l. 94. "As."
As if. Cf. Abbott, Sect. 107.

ll. 103-04. "Something I shall say,
But what ——— "
Boyle (Englishe Studien, VIII, 47) has called attention to
the recurrence of this manneristic bit of phrasing in other of
Massinger's plays; e.g.,

"And something I must do, but what?" (The Guardian, V, iii, 146)

"I will do
Something! — but what, I am not yet determined."
(The Renegado, III, 3).

". . . something I will doe." (The Maid of Honour, V, i, 131)

Scene Ultima.

Stage direction. Cleon, found in the quartos, in the list of characters at the beginning of this scene, must be supplanted by Cleora. For Cleora begins speaking in l. 10, although she has had no entrance into the scene, and a marginal stage reference opposite l. 28 marks Cleon's arrival before his first words in l. 30:

l. 1. "Tis wondrous strange."
Cf. Hamlet, I, ii, 220.

l. 14. "fame."
Good reputation.

l. 23. "challenge."
Cf. V, ii, 51.

l. 30. "censur'd."
In the general obsolete sense of "passed a judicial sentence on."

l. 38. ". . . fortune
Has mark'd thee out a slaue."
The Stoics were careful to distinguish the man who was a slave by reason of external fortune from him who was a slave in his mind and to his passions. (Cf. III, iii, 165)

1. 40. "vertue . . . in raggs."
Cf. III,iii,77.
1. 50. "Am I fall'n so lowe."
Gifford, following Gilchrist, notes that Massinger took this from Ovid, Metamorphoses, Bk. XIII:
- "Demit honorem
Aemulus Ajaci, non est tenuisse superbum
Si licet hoc ingens, quidquid speravit Ulysses,
Iste tulit, pretium jam nunc certaminis huius
Quo cum victus erit mecum certasse feretur."
11. 74,75. "what some hold of your sex.
You are all made vp of passion."
Such disparagement of woman is conspicuously expressed by Marcus Aurelius. Cf. his lecture to his wife, Faustine, when she demanded the key to his study (Golden Booke, chaps. XIX-XXI, pp. 172ff.), and his letter XIIII to "the amorous ladies of Rome" (ibid., 407ff.), wherein the dangerous weakness of woman's irrational nature is explained.
1. 77. "distinguish of."
"Of" was used in the intransitive sense meaning "to make distinctions with regard to something." To discriminate between.
1. 86. "Mulcted."
Massinger here uses the word correctly, in the sense of punishment for some former transgression. In The Maid of Honour, I,ii,118, and The Duke of Milan, IV,iii,190, he uses it as a noun, meaning, incorrectly, "a blemish." Cf. also The Unnatural Combat, IV,i; The Emperor of the East, IV,v; and The Roman Actor, I,iii.
1. 90. "pitch the barre."
This sport was one of the well-known feats of athletic skill in Massinger's time (Cf. Roxburghe Ballads, III, part I, 245, the ballad, "Hold Your Hands, Honest Men!").
1. 94. "insatiate as the graue."
The phrase is repeated in A New Way to Pay Old Debts, I,ii,46.
1. 109. "keepe a ...method."
That is, orderliness and sequence in thought and expression.
1. 112. "secure."
Confident or certain.
1. 116. "I need no bambast language."
Plainness in style was advised for the Jacobean gentleman by Peacham in his Compleat Gentleman, p. 43:

"Let your stile therefore bee furnished with solid matter; and compact of the best, choice, and most familiar words; taking heed of speaking, or writing such words, as men shall rather admire than understand."

1. 132. "keepes."

The verb cannot be construed as the predicate of "that" (which is plural, agreeing with "desires"), but of "Riuer," with the relative omitted before "keepes." (Cf. Abbott, A Shakespearian Grammar; Sect. 244) The "that" is consequently left dangling, and seems to be analogous to the superfluous "that" in I,i,32.

1. 136. "to his teeth."

Cf. V,i,56.

1. 143. "engines."

Here used figuratively for machines used in warfare, formerly applied to all offensive weapons, then to larger ones such as catapults.

1. 144. "wash an Aethiope white."

The saying occurs also in The Parliament of Love, II, ii; The Roman Actor, III,ii; The False One, I, ii; Beaumont's and Fletcher's The Woman's Prize, III,ii; and Beaumont's Lovers Cure, II,ii.

1. 146. "villaine."

Chiefly here used as casting aspersions on Pisander's low birth, but also with some opprobrium as to his mean or base disposition.

1. 147. "make good vpon him."

To prove true or valid, substantiate.

1. 155. "mask'd disguis'd."

Gifford considered this repetition so unworthy of Massinger, that he changed "mask'd" to "march'd," in the belief that the dramatist was imitating the First Aeneid. But is Massinger's essential statement so deplorable:

"Disguised, I have long used these clouds as a mask"?

1. 174. "shape."

A disguise, or assumed appearance. See Gifford's note.

1. 178. "spirits."

Cf. the note to IV, iii,110.

1. 182. "Spartan warre."

Thebes and Sparta had been at war in the years prior to

Timoleon's Sicilian expedition. Thebes was successful in breaking down the power of Sparta. It was in 362 B.C. that Epaminondas was killed in leading the Thebans against their Spartan foes.

1. 193. "quaint."

The term was often used in the 16th and 17th centuries with "devices" to signify "ingenuity, cleverness, or cunning."

1. 196. "Meanders."

Doctor Grog, in his comments on the autograph corrections (Library, V, 59 ff.), notes that italics are often used by Massinger's printers without reason. An example in this play is their italicizing of "Action" (I, iii, 181). The compositor read it "Achon," and knowing that there was no such common noun, italicized it as a proper name. Here, too, he has evidently thought "Meanders" a person.

1. 219. "determine of."

Cf. IV, ii, 135, and the note.

1. 233. "censure."

In the obsolete sense of a judicial sentence.

1. 236. "studie."

To aim at, or to seek to achieve.

1. 239. Stage direction.

The entrance of the slaves with halters about their necks is particularly like the conclusion of the terrible May Day riot of the apprentices in 1517, and Massinger, I believe, had the incident in mind. After the disturbance was quelled, the 'prentices were brought before Henry VIII with halters about their necks, as here the bondmen are brought before Timoleon, for judgment. After a while the King issued a pardon, and the apprentices, like these bondmen, broke into shouts of joy. (Cf. Sir Walter Besant; London in the Time of the Tudors, chap. V, for an authenticated account of the incident)

1. 245. "in a Ballad."

Massinger elsewhere refers to the dread of the satiric publicity of the ballads. The most petty faults were thus sometimes noised abroad with scandalous suggestion. The fear of these "villanous tunes" is mentioned in The Parliament of Love, IV, v, and in The Lover's Cure, V, iii.

11. 248-49. "Let but a Chappell fall, or a street be fir'd,
A foolish louer hang himselfe for pure loue."

Two of these incidents can be verified, as Mr. Gilchrist first showed (See Gifford's note). The falling of the chapel is the well-known collapse of an upper room at Blackfriars on Sunday, October 26 (old style; November 5, new style). While Drury, a Jesuit, preached in this edifice of stone and brick over the entrance to the French ambassador's house, a rafter seems to have broken. Accounts vary as to the number killed. A letter to the Reverend Joseph Mead on October 29 states that 63 corpses were taken from the building, and many "were buried in a common pit." (The Court and Times of James I, II, 428 ff.) Cf. also Stow's Annales, cont. by Howes, p. 1035, for an account of the incidents. On account of the widespread anti-Catholic sentiment in England at the time, the catastrophe received ample treatment from the ballad mongers. The Stationers' Register records two of the publications:

30 October, 1623.

Richard Whitaker

Entred for his Copie under the handes of Master Cottington and Master Cole warden, A Booke called The fatall Vesper: or a Relacon of that which hapned upon Sundaie last being the 26. of October in Blackfryers. London. v j. d.

14 November 1623

Master Barret

Richard Whitaker

Entered for their Copie under the handes of Master Doctor Goad, and Master Cole warden a Booke Called, A Dolefull Evensong, or a true narracon of that which hapned in Blackfryers the 26. of October past. vi. j.

On the following November 12, the spacious house of Sir William Cockaine burned. In addition three other houses were destroyed and sixteen others were ruined. (Cf. the letter of the Reverend Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville for a fuller account. The Court and Times of James I, II, 443 ff.)

I have not been able to discover any ballad contemporary with the play, in which a lover dying for pure love is concerned. Perhaps the most famous ballad on the theme is the story set in Clifton in Nottingham, concerning young Bateman, who was deserted by his mistress for a rich suitor, Jermain. The lover hanged himself before her door, and a balladist of the event, in "A Warning for Maidens," relates that the mistress was carried away from child-bed simultaneously and never heard of more. The ballad was first entered in The Stationer's Register in 1603, but its popularity continued and there were many versions of this story, one of which is

mentioned in Fletcher's Monsieur Thomas, III,iii. The following stanza tells how this "foolish louer hang[ed] himselfe for pure loue:"

"But mark how Bateman died for loue!
 he finisht up his life
 The verie day she married was
 and made old Jerman's wife.
 For with a strangling cord, God wote,
 (great moan was made therefore)
 He hang'd himself, in desperat sort,
 before the bride's own door."

(The Roxburghe Ballads, III, part I, 195-96)

1. 259. "ayre, and fire."

These, of course, are the lightest of the ancients' four elements.

1. 268. The 1719 edition of The Bondman, or Love and Liberty, adds these lines:

Cleor. From a stern Master's Bonds you now are free,
 How will you bear agen new chains with me?

Pisand. In fair Cleora's chains is Liberty.

APPENDIX I

INFLUENCES.

A. Wm. Cartwright's The Royal Slave (1634).

Several parallel passages, as well as a similarity in general idea and plot, point to Cartwright's dependence on Massinger's The Bondman when writing his own play about a decade later. The hero Gratander is a royal slave held captive, as is Pisander, by his own will; there are rebellious slaves who are antagonistic to the more peaceable designs of the heroes; both the royal slaves, Gratander and Pisander, serve a noble lady in the Platonic fashion; finally, the conduct of the bondmen in the plays is remarkably similar. The most notable of the parallel passages are the following:

The Bondman, II, iii, 89-92:

"To burne a Church or two, and dance by the light on't
Were but a May-game.

Poliphron. I haue a Father liuing,
But if the cutting of his throat could worke this,
He should excuse me."

The Royal Slave, III, iii:

Gratander, the leader of the slaves, comes to them
while they are drunk, chiding them for their crimes.
The Bondmen answer:

"We don't fire temples sir: we kill no father
Nor mother . . ."

The Bondman, IV, ii, 22-26:

"I long since
Expected, that the virgins; and the Matrons,
The old men striuing with their age, the Priests
Carrying the Images of their gods before 'em
Should haue met vs with Procession:"

The Royal Slave, II, v:

" . . . the matron and the Virgin
All mingled in a blest confusion,
Will in a solemn full procession come,
And with that great Religion bring you in."

The Bondman, IV, iii, 167-72:

"The Immortall gods
 Accept the meanest Altars, that are rais'd
 By pure deuotions; and sometimes preferre
 An ounce of Frankinsence, hony, or milke,
 Before whole Hecatombes, or Sabaeen Gums
 Offer'd in ostention."

The Royal Slave, I, ii:

"A grain of incense, or a peece of Gum,
 If offer'd with Devotion, may redeem
 A destin'd Hecatomb."

The Bondman, V, Ult., 132, 143:

"nor from my iealous feares
 Question that goodnesse, to which as an Altar
 Of all perfection, he that truly lou'd,
 Should rather bring a sacrifice of seruice,
 Than raze it with the engines of suspition."

The Royal Slave, III, iv:

Cratander likewise speaks of his royal mistress:

" . . . where a bright effusion
 Of immateriall Beames do meet to
 Make up one Body of perfection . . .
 . . . If that I should
 Draw nigh without an awfull adoration;
 Which my religion payes to you: but being
 You like not the Devotion, be content
 To slight the Sacrifice, but spare the Altar."

B. Timoleon; or, The Revolution, London, 1697. (Anon.)

An anonymous treatment of the Timoleon story appeared in a tragi-comedy, Timoleon: or, The Revolution. Although this play and The Bondman have many similarities to be explained by their common source, Plutarch, there are indications that the author of this later play was acquainted with Massinger's drama. Timoleon, like The Bondman, was written in order to reflect and suggest certain political courses. The author of the later play in a preface draws parallels between Timoleon and William of Orange, and advocates in the play that the same homage that was given Timoleon be accorded William; for he, too, is a hero sent

from heaven.

In addition to the similar conception of purpose that evidently inspired the composition of both The Bondman and Timoleon, there are some interesting analogies in figures of speech:

The Bondman, II, iii, 32-35:

"Equall nature fashion'd vs
All in one molde: The Beare serues not the Beare,
Nor the Wolfe, the Wolfe; 'twas ods of strength in tyrants,
That pluck'd the first linke from the Golden chayne"

Timoleon, IV, p. 54:

"But what a wretched thing is this call'd Man,
That thus torments himself, and wracks his Brains,
To undermine and circumvent his Fellow!
Beasts feed on Beasts, but yet they spare
Their own Kind.
Wolves not on Wolves, not Fox on Foxes prey:
But Man on Man, a greater Brute than they."

The character of Alphonso delivers a speech on Fortune's abject slaves (Timoleon, p. 56) similar to Pisander's soliloquy, III, iii, 90 ff.

The remark of Phenax (Timoleon, p. 61), "When the disease is grown desperate, we must discharge a little Blood, to save the Patient," is similar to Timoleon's proverb in The Bondman, I, iii, 216-17:

"Old festred sores
Must be lanc'd to the quicke and cauteriz'd . . ."

APPENDIX II

PRINTERS AND BOOKSELLERS OF THE QUARTOS.

Edward All-de (who generally spelled his name All-de, unlike his father's, Alldē) was the printer of the first quarto. He printed and published from 1584 to 1628. The record of his obtaining his freedom on 18 February, 1584 reads:

"Edward Aldēe son of the said John Aldee Receaved of him for his admission freman of this cumpanie per patronagium iij^s iiij^d tout paye." (S.R., II, 691)

His first publication was registered 1 August, 1586. (S.R., II, 450). In 1590 he succeeded his father as Master Printer (S.R., III, 702). His death evidently occurred soon after his printing of The Bondman, as a manuscript of 1635, listing those who keep printing houses, states that Edw. Alldē had died "about 10 yeeres since" (S.R., III, 701).

Alldē's early work was largely ballads, but later the works of Churchyard, Daniel, Dekker, Marlowe, John Taylor, and other noted writers came from his press. In 1597 the Stationers' Company seized his press and letters, which had been used in printing a Popish confession, and forbade him to print; but the Archbishop of Canterbury afterwards authorized the Company to allow him to resume his trade. In 1599, however, he was again in trouble for printing certain books that had been ordered burnt, and as a result of printing a disorderly ballad, the wife of Bathe (which was burnt), June 25, 1600, he was fined. Further fines were levied on him in 1602 for printing a book without entrance. In May, 1630, he was the object of attention for having printed "disorderly" the basilicon Doron (S.R., II, 835). Little else is recorded of him, with the exception of certain grants and assignments (S.R., IV, 120 and V, lvii). (All-de's life has been extensively investigated recently by Mr. R.B. McKerrow. See Library, Vol. X, No. 2, 1929).

The first quarto (1624) was owned jointly by John Harison and Edward Blackmore. The second edition (1638), while still in the possession of both publishers, was printed for them separately, according to the title-page.

There were at least four John Harrisons (or Harisons) publishing or printing during Massinger's lifetime, and they were inter-related. "The correct form of the name of a Printer or Publisher of this Age is that which appears upon his printed books: and even in that there is often variation in spelling...

A father and son often spelled their names differently The first three John Harisons have only one "r" in their names; John Harrison,(4), has two" (S.R.,V,xxvii). It was John Harrison (4) who published The Bondman. He was the son of John Harison(2), known as "the younger;" a nephew of John Harison(1), known as "the eldest;" a cousin of John Harison(3), who was the son of(1) and was known as "the youngest," until his death in 1604, at which time his title passed to the publisher of The Bondman. None of the other three Harisons seem to have published after 1617.

John Harison(4) was "Sworne and admitted A freeman of this Company" on 25 June, 1600(S.R.,II,726). He seems thereafter to have been an important member. On 30 October, 1609, and 29 October, 1611, he was to go, with "master Aldee" and others, "to my Lord Maiours Dynner" (S.R.,III,695). In 1638-39 he was Master of the Stationers' Company (S.R.,V, lxiv); having served as senior warden in 1636-37 (S.R.,V, xciii).

Harrison published between 1603 and 1639. He is spoken of as being at his shop in Paternoster Row, at the sign of the Golden Unicorn.

Edward Blackmore took up his freedom 3 April, 1615. His first registered publication is dated 5 May, 1618 (S.R.,III,29); and he published until 1640. He was assigned The Duke of Milan by George Norton 5 May, 1623.

As a bookseller he dealt chiefly in popular literature in London at the sign of the Blazing-Starre, St. Paul's Churchyard, 1620; at the South Door of Paul's Church; and at the sign of the Angel, St. Paul's Churchyard, 1618-58. He died 8 September, 1658.

John Raworth, the printer of the 1638 quarto, printed and published from 1635 to 1640. He took up his freedom 6 February, 1632. In Sir John Lambe's list of printers to be included in the Star Chamber Decree, July, 1637, the Dean of the Arches noted among those worthy to be authorized printers: "John Raworth is said to be an honest man and may come in instead of his father Richard Raworth yat is an Arrant Knave" (S.R.,IV, 528). In the Second Star Chamber Decree regulating printing, John Raworth is therefore one of the twenty Master Printers allowed. He died in 1645. *

* The information concerning the printers and publishers comes chiefly from Arber's transcript of the Stationers' Register and from H.R.Plomer's A Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers, 1641-67.

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