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18 that November 1863
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### PLAYS

OF

#### WILLIAM SHAKSPEARE.

#### VOLUME THE FIFTEENTH.

CONTAINING

KING HENRY VIII.
TROILUS AND CRESSIDA.

#### LONDON:

Printed for J. Johnson, R. Baldwin, H. L. Gardner, W. J. and J. Richardson,
J. Nichols and Son, F. and C. Rivington, T. Payne, R. Faulder, G. and
J. Robinson, W. Lowndes, G. Wilkie, J. Scatcherd, T. Egerton,
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and Co. T. Kay, J. Deighton, J. White, W. Miller, Vernor and Hood,
D. Walker, B. Crosby and Co. Longman and Rees, Cadell and Davies,
T. Hurst, J. Harding, R. H. Evans, S. Bagster, J. Mawman, Blacks and
Parry, R. Bent, J. Badcock, J. Asperne, and T. Ostell.

Think I

# KING. HENRY VIII.\*



\* King Henry VIII.] We are unacquainted with any dramatick piece on the fubject of Henry VIII. that preceded this of Shakfpeare; and yet on the books of the Stationers' Company appears the following entry: "Nathaniel Butter] (who was one of our author's printers) Feb. 12, 1604. That he get good allowance for the enterlude of King Henry VIII. before he begin to print it; and with the wardens hand to yt, he is to have the fame for his copy." Dr. Farmer, in a note on the epilogue to this play, observes, from Stowe, that Robert Greene had written somewhat on the same story.

This historical drama comprizes a period of twelve years, commencing in the twelfth year of King Henry's reign, (1521,) and ending with the christening of Elizabeth in 1533. Shak-speare has deviated from history in placing the death of Queen Katharine before the birth of Elizabeth, for in fact Katharine did not die till 1536.

King Henry VIII. was written, I believe, in 1601. See An Attempt to afcertain the Order of Shakfpeare's Plays, Vol. II.

Dr. Farmer, in a note on the epilogue, observes, from Stowe, that "Robert Greene had written something on this story;" but this, I apprehend, was not a play, but some historical account of Henry's reign, written not by Robert Greene, the dramatick poet, but by some other person. In the list of "authors out of whom Stowe's Annals were compiled," prefixed to the last edition printed in his life time, quarto, 1605, Robert Greene is enumerated with Robert de Brun, Robert Fabian, &c. and he is often quoted as an authority for facts in the margin of the history of that reign. MALONE.

### PROLOGUE.

I come no more to make you laugh; things now, That bear a weighty and a ferious brow, Sad, high, and working, full of state and woe, Such noble fcenes as draw the eye to flow, We now present. Those that can pity, here May, if they think it well, let fall a tear; The fubject will deferve it. Such, as give Their money out of hope they may believe, May here find truth too. Those, that come to see Only a flow or two, and fo agree, The play may pass; if they be still, and willing, I'll undertake, may fee away their shilling Richly in two fhort hours. Only they, That come to hear a merry, bawdy play; A noise of targets; or to see a fellow In a long motley coat, guarded with yellow, Will be deceiv'd: for, gentle hearers, know, To rank our chosen truth with such a show

or to fee a fellow

In a long motley coat,] Alluding to the fools and luffoons, introduced in the plays a little before our author's time: and of whom he has left us a small taste in his own. Theobald.

In Marfton's 10th Satire there is an allufion to this kind of dress:

"The long foole's coat, the huge flop, the lugg'd boot, "From mimick Pifo all doe claime their roote."

Thus also Nashe, in his Epistle Dedicatory to Have with you to Sasfron Walden, or Gabriel Harvey's Hunt is up, 1596: "—fooles, ye know, alwaies for the most part (especiallie if they bee naturall fooles) are suted in long coats." Stevens.

As fool and fight is,<sup>2</sup> befide forfeiting Our own brains, and the opinion that we bring, (To make that only true we now intend,<sup>3</sup>) Will leave us never an understanding friend.

2 --- fuch a Show

As fool and fight is,] This is not the only passage in which Shakspeare has discovered his conviction of the impropriety of battles represented on the stage. He knew that five or six men with swords, gave a very unsatisfactory idea of an army, and therefore, without much care to excuse his former practice, he allows that a theatrical fight would destroy all opinion of truth, and leave him never an understanding friend. Magnis ingenits et multa nihilominus habituris simplex convenit erroris confession. Yet I know not whether the coronation shown in this play may not be liable to all that can be objected against a battle.

JOHNSON.

These opinion that we bring,

(To make that only true we now intend,)] These lines I do not understand, and suspect them of corruption. I believe we may better read thus:

--- the opinion, that we bring

Or make; that only truth we now intend. Johnson.

To intend, in our author, has fometimes the fame meaning as to pretend. So, in King Richard III:

"The mayor is here at hand: Intend fome fear ---."

Again:

"Tremble and flart at wagging of a straw, "Intending deep suspicion." STEEVENS.

If any alteration were necessary, I should be for only changing the order of the words, and reading:

That only true to make we now intend: i.e. that now we intend to exhibit only what is true.

This passage, and others of this Prologue, in which great stress is laid upon the truth of the ensuing representation, would lead one to suspect, that this play of Henry the VIIIth. is the very play mentioned by Sir H. Wotton, [in his Letter of 2 July, 1613, Reliq. Wotton, p. 425,] under the description of "a new play, [acted by the king's players at the Bank's Side] called, All is True, representing some principal pieces of the reign of Henry the VIIIth." The extraordinary circumstances of pomp and majesty, with which, Sir Henry says, that play was set forth, and the particular incident of certain cannons shot off at the King's entry to a masque at the Cardinal Wolsey's house, (by

Therefore, for goodness' sake, and as you are known. The first and happiest hearers of the town,4

which the theatre was fet on fire and burnt to the ground,) are strictly applicable to the play before us. Mr. Chamberlaine, in Winwood's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 469, mentions "the burning of the Globe, or playhouse, on the Bankside, on St. Peter's-day [1613,] which (says he) fell out by a peale of chambers, that I know not on what occasion were to be used in the play." Ben Jonson, in his Execration upon Vulcan, says, they were two poor chambers. [See the stage-direction in this play, a little before the King's entrance: "Drum and trumpet, chambers discharged."] The Continuator of Stowe's Chronicle, relating the same accident, p. 1003, says expressly, that it happened at the play of Henry the VIIIth.

In a MS. Letter of Tho. Lorkin to Sir Tho. Puckering, dated London, this last of June, 1613, the same fact is thus related: "No longer since than yesterday, while Bourbage his companie were acting at the Globe the play of Hen. VIII. and there shooting of certayne chambers in way of triumph, the fire catch'd,"

&c. MS. Harl. 7002. TYRWHITT.

I have followed a regulation recommended by an anonymous correspondent, and only included the contested line in a parenthesis, which in some editions was placed before the word beside. Opinion, I believe, means here, as in one of the parts of King Henry IV. character. ["Thou hast redeem'd thy lost opinion." King Henry IV. Part I. Vol. XI. p. 422.] To realize and sulfil the expectations formed of our play, is now our object. This sentiment (to say nothing of the general style of this prologue) could never have fallen from the modest Shakspeare. I have no doubt that the whole prologue was written by Ben Jonson, at the revival of the play, in 1013. Malone.

<sup>4</sup> The first and happiest hearers of the town,] Were it necessary to strengthen Dr. Johnson's and Dr. Farmer's supposition, (see notes on the epilogue,) that old Ben, not Shakspeare, was author of the prologue before us, we might observe, that happy appears, in the present instance, to have been used with one of its Roman significations, i. e. propitious or favourable: "Sis bonus O, felixque tuis!" Virg. Ecl. 5. a sense of the word which must have been unknown to Shakspeare, but was familiar to Jonson. Steevens.

Be fad, as we would make ye: Think, ye fee The very perfons of our noble flory,<sup>5</sup>
As they were living; think, you fee them great,
And follow'd with the general throng, and fweat,
Of thousand friends; then, in a moment, fee
How soon this mightiness meets misery!
And, if you can be merry then, I'll say,
A man may weep upon his wedding day.

5 - Think, ye fee

The very persons of our noble story,] Why the rhyme should have been interrupted here, when it was so easily to be supplied, I cannot conceive. It can only be accounted for from the negligence of the press, or the transcribers; and therefore I have made no scruple to replace it thus:

---- Think, before ye. THEOBALD.

This is specious, but the laxity of the verification in this prologue, and in the following epilogue, makes it not necessary.

Johnson.

Mr. Heath would read:

- of our history. Steevens.

The word fory was not intended to make a double, but merely a fingle rhyme, though, it must be acknowledged, a very bad one, the last syllable, ry, corresponding in sound with fee. I thought Theobald right, till I observed a couplet of the same kind in the epilogue:

" For this play at this time is only in

"The merciful conftruction of good women." In order to preserve the rhyme, the accent must be laid on the last syllable of the words women and story.

A rhyme of the same kind occurs in The Knight of the Burning

Pestle, where Master Humphrey says:

"Till both of us arrive, at her request,

"Some ten miles off in the wild Waltham forest."
M. Mason.

#### PERSONS REPRESENTED.

King Henry the Eighth.

Cardinal Wolfey. Cardinal Campeius.

Capucius, Ambassador from the Emperor, Charles V.

Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury.

Buke of Norfolk. Duke of Buckingham.

Duke of Suffolk. Earl of Surrey.

Lord Chamberlain. Lord Chancellor.

Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester.

Bishop of Lincoln. Lord Abergavenny. Lord Sands.

Sir Henry Guildford. Sir Thomas Lovell.

Sir Anthony Denny. Sir Nicholas Vaux.

Secretaries to Wolfey.

Cromwell, Servant to Wolfey.

Griffith, Gentleman-Usher to Queen Katharine.

Three other Gentlemen.

Doctor Butts, Physician to the King.

Garter, King at Arms.

Surveyor to the Duke of Buckingham.

Brandon, and a Sergeant at Arms.

Door-keeper of the Council-Chamber. Porter, and his Man.

Page to Gardiner. A Crier.

Queen Katharine, Wife to King Henry, afterwards divorced.

Anne Bullen, her Maid of Honour, afterwards
Queen.

An old Lady, Friend to Anne Bullen. Patience, Woman to Queen Katharine.

Several Lords and Ladies in the Dumb Shows; Women attending upon the Queen; Spirits, which appear to her; Scribes, Officers, Guards, and other Attendants.

SCENE, chiefly in London and Westminster; once, at Kimbolton.





SHarding Del.

### DUKE of NORFOLK HenryVIII. The Original at Windsor.

## KING HENRY VIII.

#### ACT I. SCENE I.

London. An Ante-chamber in the Palace.

Enter the Duke of Norfolk, at one Door; at the other, the Duke of Buckingham, and the Lord Abergavenny. .

Buck. Good morrow, and well met. How have you done,
Since last we saw in France?

Nor. I thank your grace: Healthful; and ever fince a fresh admirer<sup>2</sup> Of what I saw there.

Buck. An untimely ague Stay'd me a prisoner in my chamber, when Those suns of glory, those two lights of men, Met in the vale of Arde.

Lord Abergavenny.] George Nevill, who married Mary, daughter of Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham. Reed.

<sup>2</sup> — a fresh admirer—] An admirer untired; an admirer still feeling the impression as if it were hourly renewed.

Those funs of glory, That is, those glorious funs. The editor of the third folio plausibly enough reads—Those fons of glory; and indeed as in old English books the two words are used indifferiminately, the luminary being often spelt fon, it is

Nor. 'Twixt Guynes and Arde: 'I was then prefent, faw them falute on horseback; Beheld them, when they lighted, how they clung In their embracement, as they grew together; 5 Which had they, what four thron'd ones could have weigh'd

Such a compounded one?

Buck. All the whole time I was my chamber's prisoner.

Nor. Then you loft
The view of earthly glory: Men might fay,
Till this time, pomp was fingle; but now married
To one above itself.<sup>6</sup> Each following day

fometimes difficult to determine which is meant; fun, or fon. However, the subsequent part of the line, and the recurrence of the same expression afterwards, are in favour of the reading of the original copy. MALONE.

Pope has borrowed this phrase in his Imitation of Horace's Epistle to Augustus, v. 22:

"Those funs of glory please not till they set."

4 — Guynes and Arde: Guynes then belonged to the English, and Arde to the French; they are towns in Picardy, and the valley of Ardren lay between them. Arde is Ardres, but both Hall and Holinshed write it as Shakspeare does.

5 — as they grew together; ] So, in All's well that ends well: "I grow to you, and our parting is as a tortured body." Again, in A Midfummer-Night's Dream: "So we grew together." Steevens.

as they grew together; That is, as if they grew together. We have the same image in our author's Venus and Adonis:

"Incorporate then they feem; face grows to face."

MALONE.

6 Till this time, pomp was fingle; but now married
To one above itself.]. The thought is odd and whimfical; and obscure enough to need an explanation. Till this time (fays

Became the next day's mafter, till the last Made former wonders it's:7 To-day, the French, All clinquant,8 all in gold, like heathen gods, Shone down the English; and, to-morrow, they Made Britain, India: every man, that stood, Show'd like a mine. Their dwarfish pages were As cherubins, all gilt: the madams too, Not us'd to toil, did almost sweat to bear The pride upon them, that their very labour Was to them as a painting: now this mask Was cry'd incomparable; and the enfuing night Made it a fool; and beggar. The two kings, Equal in luftre, were now best, now worst,

the speaker) pomp led a fingle life, as not finding a husband able to support her according to her dignity; but she has now got one in Henry VIII. who could support her, even above her condition, in finery. WARBURTON.

Dr. Warburton has here discovered more beauty than the author intended, who only meant to fay in a noify periphrafe, that pomp was encreased on this occasion to more than twice as much as it had ever been before. Pomp is no more married to the English than to the French King, for to neither is any preference given by the speaker. Pomp is only married to pomp, but the new pomp is greater than the old. Johnson.

Before this time all pompous shows were exhibited by one prince only. On this occasion the Kings of England and France vied with each other. To this circumstance Norfolk alludes.

M. MASON.

<sup>7</sup> — Each following day Became the next day's mafter, &c.] Dies diem docet. Every day learned fomething from the preceding, till the concluding day collected all the splendor of all the former shows.

JOHNSON.

8 All clinquant,] All glittering, all Shining. Clarendon uses this word in his description of the Spanish Juego de Toros.

· Lit is likewise used in A Memorable Masque, &c. performed before King James at Whitehall in 1613, at the marriage of the Palfgrave and Princess Elizabeth:

his bulkins clinquant as his other attire."

STEEVENS.

As presence did present them; him in eye, Still him in praise: 9 and, being present both, 'Twas said, they saw but one; and no discerner Durst wag his tongue in censure. When these suns (For so they phrase them,) by their heralds challeng'd

The noble spirits to arms, they did perform Beyond thought's compass; that former fabulous

ftory,

Being now feen poffible enough, got credit, That Bevis was believ'd.<sup>2</sup>

Buck. O, you go far.

Nor. As I belong to worship, and affect In honour honesty, the tract of every thing <sup>3</sup> Would by a good discourser lose some life, Which action's self was tongue to. All was royal;<sup>4</sup>

9 — him in eye, Still him in praise: ] So, Dryden:

"Two chiefs

"So match'd, as each feem'd worthieft when alone."

Durst wag his tongue in censure.] Censure for determination, of which had the noblest appearance. WARBURTON.

See Vol. IV. p. 190, n. 4. MALONE.

- <sup>2</sup> That Bevis was believ'd.] The old romantick legend of Bevis of Southampton. This Bevis, (or Beavois,) a Saxon, was for his prowefs created by William the Conqueror Earl of Southampton: of whom Camden in his Britannia. Theobald.
- <sup>3</sup>—the tract of every thing &c.] The course of these triumphs and pleasures, however well related, must lose in the description part of that spirit and energy which were expressed in the real action. Johnson.
- 4 —— All was royal; &c.] This fpeech was given in all the editions to Buckingham; but improperly: for he wanted information, having kept his chamber during the folemnity. I have therefore given it to Norfolk. Warburton.

The regulation had already been made by Mr. Theobald.

MALONE.

To the disposing of it nought rebell'd, Order gave each thing view; the office did Distinctly his full function.<sup>5</sup>

BUCK. Who did guide, I mean, who fet the body and the limbs Of this great fport together, as you guess?

Nor. One, certes, that promifes no element 7. In fuch a bufinefs.

Buck. I pray you, who, my lord?

Nor. All this was order'd by the good difcretion Of the right reverend cardinal of York.

Buck. The devil speed him! no man's pie is free'd

From his ambitious finger.<sup>8</sup> What had he To do in these fierce vanities? <sup>9</sup> I wonder,

5 — the office did

Diffinctly his full function.] The commission for regulating this festivity was well executed, and gave exactly to every particular person and action the proper place. Johnson.

6 — certes,] An obsolete adverb, fignifying—certainly, in truth. So, in *The Tempest*:

"For, certes, these are people of the island."

It occurs again in Othello, Act I. fc. i.

It is remarkable, that, in the present instance, the adverb certes must be sounded as a monosyllable. It is well understood that old Ben had no skill in the pronunciation of the French language; and the scene before us appears to have had some touches from his pen. By genuine Shakspeare certes is constantly employed as a disfyllable. Steevens.

7—element—] No initiation, no previous practices. Elements are the first principles of things, or rudiments of knowledge. The word is here applied, not without a catachrefis, to a person. Johnson.

From his ambitious finger.] To have a finger in the pie, is a proverbial phrase. See Ray, 244. Reed.

9 \_\_\_\_fierce vanities?] Fierce is here, I think, used like

That such a keech can with his very bulk. Take up the rays o' the beneficial sun, And keep it from the earth.

Nor.

Surely, fir,
There's in him ftuff that puts him to these ends:
For, being not propp'd by ancestry, (whose grace Chalks successors their way,) nor call'd upon
For high feats done to the crown; neither allied
To eminent affistants, but, spider-like,
Out of his self-drawing web, he gives us note,
The force of his own merit makes his way;
A gift that heaven gives for him, which buys
A place next to the king.

the French fier for proud, unless we suppose an allusion to the mimical ferocity of the combatants in the tilt. Johnson.

It is certainly used as the French word fier. So, in Ben Jonson's Bartholomew Fair, the puritan says, the hobby horse is a fierce and rank idol." Steevens.

Again, in The Rape of Lucrece:

"Thy violent vanities can never last."

In Timon of Athens, we have-

"O the fierce wretchedness that glory brings!"

MALONE.

That fuch a keech—] A keech is a folid lump or mass. A cake of wax or tallow formed in a mould, is called yet in some places, a keech. Johnson.

There may, perhaps, be a fingular propriety in this term of contempt. Wolfey was the fon of a butcher, and in The Second Part of King Henry IV. a butcher's wife is called—Goody Keech.

STEEVENS.

<sup>2</sup> Out of his felf-drawing web,] Thus it flands in the first edition. The latter editors, by injudicious correction, have printed:

Out of his felf-drawn web. Johnson.

<sup>3</sup>—he gives us note,] Old copy—O gives us &c. Corrected by Mr. Steevens. Malone.

4 A gift that heaven gives for him, which buys

A place next to the king.] It is evident a word or two in the sentence is misplaced, and that we should read:

ABER. I cannot tell
What heaven hath given him, let some graver eye
Pierce into that; but I can see his pride
Peep through each part of him: 5 Whence has he
that?

If not from hell, the devil is a niggard; Or has given all before, and he begins A new hell in himfelf.

Buck. Why the devil,
Upon this French going-out, took he upon him,
Without the privity o' the king, to appoint
Who should attend on him? He makes up the file<sup>6</sup>
Of all the gentry; for the most part such

A gift that heaven gives; which buys for him A place next to the king. WARBURTON.

It is full as likely that Shakspeare wrote:

which will fave any greater alteration. Johnson.

I am too dull to perceive the necessity of any change. What he is unable to give himself, heaven gives or deposits for him, and that gift, or deposit, buys a place, &c. Steevens.

I agree with Johnson that we should read:

A gift that heaven gives to him:

for Abergavenny fays in reply,

" I cannot tell

"What heaven hath given him:" which confirms the justness of this amendment. I should otherwise have thought Steevens's explanation right. M. Mason,

Peep through each part of him:] So, in Troilus and Cressida:

"At every joint and motive of her body." STEEVENS.

6 — the file —] That is, the lift. Johnson.

So, in Measure for Measure: "The greater file of the subject held the duke for wise." Again, in Macbeth:

" — I have a file
" Of all the gentry—." STERVENS.

Too, whom as great a charge as little honour He meant to lay upon: and his own letter, The honourable board of council out,<sup>7</sup> Must fetch him in he papers.<sup>8</sup>

ABER. I do know Kinfmen of mine, three at the leaft, that have By this fo ficken'd their estates, that never They shall abound as formerly.

Buck. O, many
Have broke their backs with laying manors on them
For this great journey. What did this vanity,

7 --- council out,] Council not then fitting. Johnson.

The expression rather means, "all mention of the board of council being left out of his letter." Steevens.

That is, left out, omitted, unnoticed, unconfulted with.

RITSON.

It appears from Holinshed, that this expression is rightly explained by Mr. Pope in the next note: without the concurrence of the council. "The peers of the realme receiving letters to prepare themselves to attend the king in this journey, and no apparent necessarie cause expressed, why or wherefore, seemed to grudge that such a costly journey should be taken in hand-without consent of the whole boarde of the Counsaille."

MALONE.

\* Must fetch him in he papers.] He papers, a verb; his own letter, by his own single authority, and without the concurrence of the council, must fetch him in whom he papers down.—I don't understand it, unless this be the meaning.

POPE.

Wolfey published a list of the feveral persons whom he had appointed to attend on the King at this interview. See Hall's Chronicle, Rymer's Fædera, Tom. XIII. &c. Steevens.

9 Have troke their backs with laying manors on them
For this great journey.] In the ancient Interlude of Nature,
bl. 1. no date, but apparently printed in the reign of King
Henry VIII. there feems to have been a fimilar ftroke aimed at
this expensive expedition:

" Pryde. I am unhappy, I fe it well,
" For the expence of myne apparell

But minister communication of A most poor issue?

Nor. Grievingly I think,
The peace between the French and us not values
The cost that did conclude it.

Buck. Every man, After the hideous from that follow'd, was

"Towardys this vyage-

"What in horses and other aray "Hath compelled me for to lay "All my land to mortgage."

Chapman has introduced the same idea into his version of the second Iliad:

"Proud-girle-like, that doth ever beare her dowre upon her backe." Steevens.

So, in King John:

"Rash, inconsiderate, fiery voluntaries,

"Have fold their fortunes at their native homes, "Bearing their birth-rights proudly on their backs,"

"To make a hazard of new fortunes here."

Again, in Camden's Remains, 1605: "There was a nobleman merrily conceited, and riotously given, that having lately sold a mannor of an hundred tenements, came ruffling into the court, saying, am not I a mighty man that beare an hundred houses on my backe?" Malone.

See also Dodfley's Collection of Old Plays, edit. 1780, Vol. V. Yp. 26; Vol. XII. p. 395. Reed.

So also Burton, in his *Anatomy of Melancholy:* "'Tis an ordinary thing to put a thousand oakes, or an hundred oxen, into a fute of apparell, to weare a whole *manor* on his back." Edit. 1634, p. 482. WHALLEY.

What did this vanity,

But minister &c.] What effect had this pompous show, but the production of a wretched conclusion. Johnson.

<sup>2</sup> Every man,

After the hideous form that follow'd, &c.] From Holin-fhed: "Monday the xviii. of June was fuch an hideous forme of wind and weather, that many conjectured it did prognofticate trouble and hatred shortly after to follow between princes."—Dr. Warburton has quoted a similar passage from Hall, whom

Vol. XV.

A thing inspir'd; and, not consulting, broke Into a general prophecy,—That this tempest, Dashing the garment of this peace, aboded The sudden breach on't.

Nor. Which is budded out; For France hath flaw'd the league, and hath attach'd Our merchants' goods at Bourdeaux.

ABER. Is it therefore

The ambaffador is filenc'd?3

Nor. Marry, is't.

ABER. A proper title of a peace; 4 and purchas'd At a superfluous rate!

Buck. Why, all this bufiness Our reverend cardinal carried.<sup>5</sup>

Nor. 'Like it your grace,

he calls Shakipeare's author; but Holinshed, and not Hall, was his author: as is proved here by the words which I have printed in Italicks, which are not found so combined in Hall's *Chronicle*. This fact is indeed proved by various circumstances. Malone.

<sup>3</sup> The ambassador is filenc'd?] Silenc'd for recalled. This being proper to be faid of an orator; and an ambassador or publick minister being called an orator, he applies filenc'd to an ambassador. Warburton.

I understand it rather of the French ambassador residing in England, who, by being resused an audience, may be said to be fileno'd. Johnson.

 $^4$  A proper title of a peace; A fine name of a peace. Ironically. Johnson.

So, in Macleth:

"O proper stuff!

"This is the very painting of your fear." STEEVENS.

5 — this business

Our reverend cardinal carried.] To carry a hyfiness was at this time a current phrase for to conduct or manage it. So, in this Act:

"—he'd carry it fo,
"To make the fcepter his." REED.





S. Harding . Del . et Sculp.

# CARDINAL WOLSEY.

HENRY JUL

The state takes notice of the private difference
Betwixt you and the cardinal. I advise you,
(And take it from a heart that wishes towards you
Honour and plenteous safety,) that you read
The cardinal's malice and his potency
Together: to consider further, that
What his high hatred would effect, wants not
A minister in his power: You know his nature,
That he's revengeful; and I know, his sword
Hath a sharp edge: it's long, and, it may be said,
It reaches far; and where 'twill not extend,
Thither he darts it. Bosom up my counsel,
You'll find it wholesome. Lo, where comes that
rock,6
That I advise your shunning.

Enter Cardinal Wolsey, (the Purse borne before him,) certain of the Guard, and two Secretaries with Papers. The Cardinal in his Passage fixeth his Eye on Buckingham, and Buckingham on him, both full of Disdain.

Wol. The duke of Buckingham's furveyor? ha? Where's his examination?

1 SECR. Here, fo please you.

Wol. Is he in person ready?

1 Secr. Ay, please your grace.

Woz. Well, we shall then know more; and Buckingham

Shall lessen this big look.

[Exeunt Wolsey, and Train.

<sup>6 —</sup> comes that rock,] To make the rock come, is not very just. Johnson.

Buck. This butcher's cur' is venom-mouth'd, and I

Have not the power to muzzle him; therefore, beft Not wake him in his flumber. A beggar's book Out-worths a noble's blood.8

Non. What, are you chaf'd? Ask God for temperance; that's the appliance only, Which your disease requires.

Buck. I read in his looks
Matter against me; and his eye revil'd
Me, as his abject object: at this instant
He bores me with some trick: He's gone to the
king;
I'll follow, and out-stare him.

Non.

Stay, my lord,

<sup>7</sup> — butcher's cur —] Wolfey is faid to have been the fon of a butcher. Johnson.

Dr. Grey observes, that when the death of the Duke of Buckingham was reported to the Emperor Charles V. he said, "The first buck of England was worried to death by a butcher's dog." Skelton, whose satire is of the groffest kind, in Why come you not to Court, has the same reflection on the meanness of Cardinal Wolsey's birth:

" For drede of the loucher's dog,

"Wold wirry them like an hog." STEEVENS.

\* --- A beggar's book

Out-worths a noble's blood.] That is, the literary qualifications of a bookish beggar arc more prized than the high descent of hereditary greatness. This is a contemptuous exclamation very naturally put into the mouth of one of the ancient, unlettered, martial nobility. Johnson.

It ought to be remembered that the speaker is afterward pronounced by the King himself a learned gentleman. RITSON.

<sup>9</sup> He bores me with fome trick:] He ftabs or wounds me by fome artifice or fiction. Johnson.

So, in The Life and Death of Lord Cromwell, 1602:

"One that hath gull'd you, that hath bor'd you, fir"

STEEVENS.

And let your reason with your choler question What 'tis you go about: To climb steep hills, Requires slow pace at first: Anger is like A full-hot horse; who being allow'd his way, Self-mettle tires him. Not a man in England Can advise me like you: be to yourself As you would to your friend.

Buck. I'll to the king; And from a mouth of honour<sup>2</sup> quite cry down This Ipswich fellow's insolence; or proclaim, There's difference in no persons.

Nor.

Be advis'd;
Heat not a furnace for your foe so hot
That it do singe yourself: We may outrun,
By violent swiftness, that which we run at,
And lose by over-running. Know you not,
The fire, that mounts the liquor till it run o'er,
In seeming to augment it, wastes it? Be advis'd:
I say again, there is no English soul
More stronger to direct you than yourself;
If with the sap of reason you would quench,

Anger is like
A full-hot horse; So, Massinger, in The Unnatura?
Combat:

<sup>&</sup>quot;Let passion work, and, like a hot-rein'd horse,

<sup>&</sup>quot;'Twill quickly tire itself." STEEVENS.

Again, in our author's Rape of Lucrece: "Till, like a jade, felf-will himfelf doth tire."

MALONE.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>—from a mouth of honour—] I will crush this baseborn fellow, by the due influence of my rank, or say that all distinction of persons is at an end. Johnson.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Heat not a furnace &c.] Might not Shakipeare allude to Dan. iii. 22.? "Therefore because the king's commandment was urgent, and the furnace exceeding hot, the slame of fire slew those men that took up Shadrach, Meshac, and Abednego."

Or but allay, the fire of paffion.4

Buck. Sir,
I am thankful to you; and I'll go along
By your prescription:—but this top-proud fellow,
(Whom from the flow of gall I name not, but
From fincere motions,5) by intelligence,
And proofs as clear as founts in Júly, when
We see each grain of gravel, I do know
To be corrupt and treasonous.

Nor. Say not, treasonous.

Buck. To the king I'll fay't; and make my vouch as ftrong

As thore of rock. Attend. This holy fox, Or wolf, or both, (for he is equal ravenous, 6 As he is fubtle; and as prone to mischief, As able to perform it: his mind and place Infecting one another, 7 yea, reciprocally,) Only to show his pomp as well in France As here at home, suggests the king our master 8

4 If with the sap of reason you would quench,
Or but allay, the sire of possion.] So, in Hamlet:
"Upon the heat and flame of thy distemper
"Sprinkle cool patience." STEEVENS.

5 —— fincere motions,)] Honeft indignation, warmth of integrity Perhaps name not, should be blame not.

Whom from the flow of gall I blame not. JOHNSON.

6 — for he is equal ravenous,] Equal for equally. Shakfpeare frequently uses adjectives adverbially. See King John, Vol. X. p. 523, n. 4. ΜαλοΝΕ.

7 --- his mind and place

Infecting one another,] This is very fatirical. His mind he reprefents as highly corrupt; and yet he supposes the contagion of the place or first minister as adding an infection to it.

Warburton.

8 —— fuggefts the king our master—] Suggests, for excites.

Warburton.

So, in King Richard II: "Suggest his foon-believing adversaries." Steevens.

To this last costly treaty, the interview, That swallow'd so much treasure, and like a glass Did break i' the rinsing.

Nor. 'Faith, and so it did.

Buck. Pray, give me favour, fir. This cunning cardinal

The articles o'the combination drew,
As himfelf pleas'd; and they were ratified,
As he cried, Thus let be: to as much end,
As give a crutch to the dead: But our count-cardinal?

Has done this, and 'tis well; for worthy Wolfey, Who cannot err, he did it. Now this follows, (Which, as I take it, is a kind of puppy To the old dam, treason,)—Charles the emperor, Under pretence to fee the queen his aunt, (For 'twas, indeed, his colour; but he came To whifper Wolfey,) here makes vifitation: His fears were, that the interview, betwixt England and France, might, through their amity, Breed him some prejudice; for from this league Peep'd harms that menac'd him: He privily 1 Deals with our cardinal; and, as I trow,— Which I do well; for, I am fure, the emperor Paid ere he promis'd; whereby his fuit was granted, Ere it was ask'd;—but when the way was made, And pav'd with gold, the emperor thus defir'd;— That he would please to alter the king's course, And break the forefaid peace. Let the king know, (As foon he shall by me,) that thus the cardinal

<sup>\*\*</sup> our count-cardinal—] Wolfey is afterwards called king cardinal. Mr. Pope and the fubfequent read—court-cardinal. Malone.

He privily—] He, which is not in the original copy, was added by the editor of the second folio. MALONE.

Does buy and fell his honour as he pleafes,<sup>2</sup> And for his own advantage.

NOR. I am forry
To hear this of him; and could wish, he were
Something mistaken in t.3

BUCK. No, not a fyllable; I do pronounce him in that very shape, He shall appear in proof.

Enter Brandon; a Sergeant at Arms before him, and two or three of the Guard.

Bran. Your office, fergeant; execute it.

SERG. Sir, My lord the duke of Buckingham, and earl Of Hereford, Stafford, and Northampton, I Arrest thee of high treason, in the name Of our most sovereign king.

Buck. Lo you, my lord, The net has fall'n upon me; I shall perish Under device and practice.4

2 — thus the cardinal

Does buy and fell his honour as he pleases,] This was a proverbial expression. See King Richard III. Act V. sc. iii.

MALONE.

Again, in The Comedy of Errors: "It would make a man as mad as a buck, to be so bought and fold." Steevens.

3 — he were

Something mistaken in't.] That is, that he were something different from what he is taken or supposed by you to be.

MALONE.

\* — practice.] i. e. unfair stratagem. So, in Othello,
Act V:

"Fallen in the practice of a curfed flave."

And in this play, Surrey, fpeaking of Wolfey, fays:

"How came his practices to light?" Reed.

BRAN. I am forry
To fee you ta'en from liberty, to look on
The business present: 5 'Tis his highness' pleasure,
You shall to the Tower.

BUCK. It will help me nothing,
To plead mine innocence; for that die is on me,
Which makes my whitest part black. The will of
heaven

Be done in this and all things!—I obey.—O my lord Aberga'ny, fare you well.

BRAN. Nay, he must bear you company:—The king [To ABERGAVENNY. Is pleas'd, you shall to the Tower, till you know

How he determines further.

ABER. As the duke faid The will of heaven be done, and the king's pleafure By me obey'd.

Brand. Here is a warrant from The king, to attach lord Montacute; and the bodies Of the duke's confessor, John de la Court, One Gilbert Peck, his chancellor, —

5 I am forry

To fee you ta'en from liberty, to look on

The business present: I am forry that I am obliged to be present and an eye-witness of your loss of liberty. Johnson.

- 6 ——lord Montacute;] This was Henry Pole, grandson to George Duke of Clarence, and eldest brother to Cardinal Pole. He had married the Lord Abergavenny's daughter. He was restored to favour at this juncture, but was afterwards executed for another treason in this reign. Reed.
- 7 John de la Court,] The name of this monk of the Chartreux was John de la Car, alias de la Court. See Holinshed, p. 863. Steevens.
- <sup>8</sup> One Gilbert Peck, his chancellor, The old copies have it—his counfellor; but I, from the authorities of Hall and Holinfhed, changed it to chancellor. And our poet himfelf, in the beginning of the fecond Act, vouches for this correction:

Buck. So, so; These are the limbs of the plot: No more, I hope.

BRAN. A monk o' the Chartreux.

Buck. O, Nicholas Hopkins?

 $B_{RAN}$ . He.

Buck. My furveyor is false; the o'er-great cardinal

Hath fhow'd him gold: my life is fpann'd already: I am the fhadow of poor Buckingham; Whose figure even this instant cloud puts on, By dark'ning my clear sun. My lord, farewell.

[Exeunt.

"At which, appear'd against him his surveyor, "Sir Gilbert Peck, his chancellor." THEOBALD.

I believe [in the former inftance] the author wrote—And Gilbert &c. Malone.

9 — Nicholas Hopkins?] The old copy has—Michael Hopkins. Mr. Theobald made the emendation, conformably to the Chronicle: "Nicholas Hopkins, a monk of an house of the Chartreux order, beside Bristow, called Henton." In the MS. Nich. only was probably set down, and mistaken for Mich.

MALONE.

my life is spann'd already: To span is to gripe, or inclose in the hand; to span is also to measure by the palm and fingers. The meaning, therefore, may either be, that hold is taken of my life, my life is in the gripe of my enemies; or, that my time is measured, the length of my life is now determined.

JOHNSO:

Man's life, in scripture, is faid to be but a span long. Probably, therefore, it means, when 'tis spann'd 'tis ended.

REED.

<sup>2</sup> I am the fhadow of poor Buckingham;] So, in the old play of King Leir, 1605:

"And think me but the Shadow of myself."

STEEVENS.

I am the shadow of poor Buckingham;
 Whose figure even this instant cloud puts on,

By dark'ning my clear fun.] These lines have passed all the editors. Does the reader understand them? By me they

# SCENE II.

# The Council-Chamber.

Cornets. Enter King Henry, Cardinal Wolsey, the Lords of the Council, Sir Thomas Lovell, Officers, and Attendants. The King enters leaning on the Cardinal's Shoulder.

K. HEN. My life itself, and the best heart of it,4 Thanks you for this great care: I stood i' the level

are inexplicable, and must be left, I fear, to some happier fagacity. If the usage of our author's time could allow figure to be taken, as now, for dignity or importance, we might read:

Whose figure even this instant cloud puts out.

But I cannot please myself with any conjecture.

Another explanation may be given, fomewhat harsh, but the best that occurs to me:

I am the Shadow of poor Buckingham,

Whose figure even this instant cloud puts on, whose port and dignity is assumed by the Cardinal, that over-clouds and oppresses me, and who gains my place

By dark ning my clear fun. Johnson.

Perhaps Shakspeare has expressed the same idea more clearly in The Two Gentlemen of Verona, Antony and Cleopatra, and King John:

"O, how this fpring of love resembleth "Th' uncertain glory of an April day,

"Which now shows all the beauty of the sun, "And, by and by, a cloud takes all away."

Antony, remarking on the various appearances assumed by the slying vapours, adds:

" --- now thy captain is

" Even fuch a body: here I am Antony,

"But cannot hold this visible shape, my knave."

Or yet, more appositely, in King John:

" --- being but the shadow of your son

"Becomes a fun, and makes your fon a fhadow."

Of a full-charg'd confederacy,5 and give thanks To you that chok'd it.—Let be call'd before us

Such another thought occurs in The famous History of Thomas Stukely, 1605:

"He is the fulftance of my shadowed love."

There is likewise a passage similar to the conclusion of this, in Rollo, or the Bloody Brother, of Eeaumont and Fletcher:

" -- is drawn fo high, that, like an ominous comet,

" He darkens all your light."

We might, however, read—pouts on; i.e. looks gloomily upon. So, in Coriolanus; Act V. fc. i:

" then

"We pout upon the morning, are unapt

"To give, or to forgive."

Again, in Romeo and Juliet, Act III. fc. iii:

"Thou pout'st upon thy fortune and thy love."

Wolfey could only reach Buckingham through the medium of the King's power. The Duke therefore compares the Cardinal to a cloud, which intercepts the rays of the fun, and throws a gloom over the object beneath it. "I am (fays he) but the shadow of poor Buckingham, on whose figure this impending cloud looks gloomy, having got between me and the sunshine of royal favour."

Our poet has introduced a fomewhat fimilar idea in Much Ado

about Nothing:

" --- the pleached bower,

"Where honeyfuckles, ripen'd by the fun, "Forbid the fun to enter;—like favourites

" Made proud by princes ---."

To pout is at this time a phrase descriptive only of infantine fullenness, but might anciently have had a more consequential meaning.

I should wish, however, instead of By dark'ning my clear fun,

to read—

Be-dark'ning my clear fun.

So, in The Tempest:

" -- I have le-dimm'd

"The noontide fun." STEEVENS.

The following passage in Greene's Dorastus and Faunia, 1588, (a book which Shakspeare certainly had read,) adds support to Dr. Johnson's conjecture: "Fortune, envious of such happy successe,—turned her wheele, and darkened their bright

That gentleman of Buckingham's: in person I'll hear him his confessions justify; And point by point the treasons of his master He shall again relate.

funne of prosperitie with the mistie cloudes of mishap and

mifery."

Mr. M. Mason has observed that Dr. Johnson did not do justice to his own emendation, referring the words whose figure to Buckingham, when, in fact, they relate to shadow. Sir W. Blackstone had already explained the passage in this manner.

MALONE.

By adopting Dr. Johnson's first conjecture, "puts out," for "puts on," a tolerable sense may be given to these obscure lines. "I am but the shadow of poor Buckingham: and even the figure or outline of this shadow begins now to fade away, being extinguished by this impending cloud, which darkens (or interposes between me and) my clear sun; that is, the savour of my sovereign." Blackstone.

4 — and the best heart of it,] Heart is not here taken for the great organ of circulation and life, but, in a common, and popular sense, for the most valuable or precious part. Our author, in Hamlet, mentions the heart of heart. Exhausted and effete ground is said by the sarmer to be out of heart. The hard and inner part of the oak is called heart of oak.

Johnson.

5 \_\_\_\_\_food i' the level

Of a full-charg'd confederacy, To stand in the level of a gun is to stand in a line with its mouth, so as to be hit by the shot. Johnson.

So, in our author's Lover's Complaint:

" --- not a heart which in his level came

"Could scape the hail of his all-hurting aim."

STEEVENS.

Again, in our author's 117th Sonnet:

"Bring me within the level of your frown,

"But shoot not at me," &c.

See also Vol. IX. p. 271, n. 4; and p. 294, n. 8. MALONE.

The King takes his State. The Lords of the Council take their feveral Places. The Cardinal places himself under the King's Feet, on his right Side.

A Noise within, crying, Room for the Queen. Enter the Queen, ushered by the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk: she kneels. The King riseth from his State, takes her up, kisses, and placeth her by him.

Q. KATH. Nay, we must longer kneel; I am a fuitor.

K. HEN. Arise, and take place by us:—Half your suit

Never name to us; you have half our power: The other moiety, ere you ask, is given; Repeat your will, and take it.

Q. KATH. Thank your majefty. That you would love yourfelf; and, in that love, Not unconfider'd leave your honour, nor The dignity of your office, is the point Of my petition.

K. HEN. Lady mine, proceed.

Q. KATH. I am folicited, not by a few, And those of true condition, that your subjects Are in great grievance: there have been commissions Sent down among them, which hath flaw'd the heart Of all their loyalties:—wherein, although, My good lord cardinal, they vent reproaches Most bitterly on you, as putter-on Of these exactions, yet the king our master,

of these exactions,] The instigator of these exactions; the



HENRYVIII.

From an Original Picture on Board. in the Possession of W. "Strode Esq."



(Whose honour heaven shield from soil!) even he escapes not

Language unmannerly, yea, fuch which breaks The fides of loyalty, and almost appears In loud rebellion.

Nor. Not almost appears,
It doth appear: for, upon these taxations,
The clothiers all, not able to maintain
The many to them 'longing,' have put off
The spiniters, carders, fullers, weavers, who,
Unsit for other life, compell'd by hunger
And lack of other means, in desperate manner
Daring the event to the teeth, are all in uproar,
And Danger serves among them.8

person who suggested to the King the taxes complained of, and incited him to exact them from his subjects. So, in Macbeth:

"The powers above "Put on their instruments."

Again, in Hamlet:

" Of deaths put on by cunning and forc'd cause."

MALONE.

See Vol. X p. 252, n. 4. STEEVENS.

<sup>7</sup> The many to them 'longing, The many is the meiny, the train, the people. Dryden is, perhaps, the last that used this word:

"The kings before their many rode." JOHNSON.

I believe the many is only the multitude, the οὶ πολλοὶ. Thus, Coriolanus, fpeaking of the rabble, calls them—

"——the mutable rank-scented many." STEEVENS.

\* And Danger ferves among them.] Could one easily believe that a writer, who had, but immediately before, sunk so low in his expression, should here rise again to a height so truly sublime? where, by the noblest stretch of fancy, Danger is personalized as serving in the rebel army, and shaking the established government. Warburton.

Chaucer, Gower, Skelton, and Spenser, have personified Danger. The first, in his Romaunt of the Rose; the second, in his fifth Book, De Confessione Amantis; the third, in his Bouge of Court—

K. Hen. Taxation!
Wherein? and what taxation?—My lord cardinal,
You that are blam'd for it alike with us,
Know you of this taxation?

Wol. Please you, fir, I know but of a fingle part, in aught Pertains to the state; and front but in that file? Where others tell steps with me.

Q. KATH. No, my lord, You know no more than others: but you frame Things, that are known alike; which are not wholesome

To those which would not know them, and yet must Perforce be their acquaintance. These exactions, Whereof my sovereign would have note, they are Most pestilent to the hearing; and, to bear them, The back is facrifice to the load. They say, They are devis'd by you; or else you suffer Too hard an exclamation.

K. HEN. Still exaction! The nature of it? In what kind, let's know, Is this exaction?

"With that, anone out flart dangere;" and the fourth, in the 10th Canto of the 4th Book of his Fairy Queen, and again in the fifth Book and the ninth Canto.

STEEVENS.

<sup>9</sup> — front but in that file—] I am but primus inter pares. I am but first in the row of counsellors. Johnson.

This was the very idea that Wolfey wished to disclaim. It was not his intention to acknowledge that he was the first in the row of counsellors, but that he was merely on a level with the rest, and stept in the same line with them. M. MASON.

You know no more than others: &c.] That is, you know no more than other counfellors, but you are the person who frame those things which are afterwards proposed, and known equally by all. M. Mason.

Q. Kath. I am much too venturous
In tempting of your patience; but am bolden'd
Under your promis'd pardon. The subject's grief
Comesthrough commissions, which compel from each
The sixth part of his substance, to be levied
Without delay; and the pretence for this
Is nam'd, your wars in France: This makes bold
mouths:

Tongues spit their duties out, and cold hearts freeze Allegiance in them; their curses now, Live where their prayers did; and it's come to pass, That tractable obedience is a flave To each incensed will.<sup>2</sup> I would, your highness Would give it quick consideration, for There is no primer business.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>2</sup> — tractable oledience &c.] i. e. those who are tractable and obedient, must give way to others who are angry.

Musgrave.

The meaning of this is, that the people were fo much irritated by oppression, that their resentment got the better of their obedience. M. Mason.

The meaning, I think, is—Things are now in such a situation, that resentment and indignation predominate in every man's breast over duty and allegiance. Malone.

3 There is no primer business.] In the old edition—

There is no primer baseness.

The queen is here complaining of the fuffering of the commons, which, she suspects, arose from the abuse of power in some great men. But she is very reserved in speaking her thoughts concerning the quality of it. We may be affured then, that she did not, in conclusion, call it the highest baseness; but rather made use of a word that could not offend the Cardinal, and yet would incline the King to give it a speedy hearing. I read therefore:

There is no primer business.

i.e. no matter of state that more earnestly presses a despatch.

WARBURTO

Dr. Warburton (for reasons which he has given in his note) would read:

--- no primer business:

Vol. XV.

K. HEN. By my life, This is against our pleasure.

Wor. And for me, I have no further gone in this, than by A fingle voice; and that not pass'd me, but By learned approbation of the judges. If I am traduc'd by tongues, which neither know My faculties, nor person,4 yet will be The chronicles of my doing,-let me fay, "Tis but the fate of place, and the rough brake That virtue must go through. We must not stint 5 Our necessary actions, in the fear To cope<sup>6</sup> malicious censurers; which ever, As ravenous fishes, do a vessel follow That is new trimm'd; but benefit no further Than vainly longing. What we oft do best, By fick interpreters, once weak ones,7 is

but I think the meaning of the original word is sufficiently clear. No primer baseness is no mischief more ripe or ready for redress. So, in Othello:

"Were they as prime as goats, as hot as monkies."

STEEVENS,

\* If I am traduc'd by tongues, which neither know,
My faculties, nor perfon, The old copy—by ignorant
tongues. But furely this epithet must have been an interpolation,
the ignorance of the supposed speakers being sufficiently indicated by their knowing neither the faculties nor person of the
Cardinal. I have, therefore, with Sir T. Hanmer, restored the
measure, by the present omission. Steevens.

- <sup>5</sup> We must not stint—] To stint is to stop, to retard. Many instances of this sense of the word are given in a note on Romeo and Juliet, Act I. sc. iii. Steevens.
- <sup>6</sup> To cope —] To engage with, to encounter. The word is still used in some counties. Johnson.

So, in As you like it:
"I love to cope him in these fullen fits." STEEVENS.

once weak ones,] The modern editors read—or weak

Not ours, or not allow'd; 8 what worst, as oft, Hitting a grosser quality, 9 is cried up For our best act. If we shall stand still, In sear our motion will be mock'd or carp'd at, We should take root here where we sit, or sit State statues only.

K. Hen. Things done well,<sup>2</sup>
And with a care, exempt themselves from fear;
Things done without example, in their issue
Are to be fear'd. Have you a precedent
Of this commission? I believe, not any.
We must not rend our subjects from our laws,
And stick them in our will. Sixth part of each?
A trembling contribution! Why, we take,
From every tree, lop, bark, and part o' the timber;<sup>3</sup>

ones; but once is not unfrequently used for fometime, or at one time or other, among our ancient writers.

So, in the 13th Idea of Drayton:

"This diamond shall once confume to dust."

Again, in The Merry Wives of Windfor: "I pray thee, once

to-night give my fweet Nan this ring.'

Again, in Leicester's Commonwealth: " --- if God should take from us her most excellent majesty (as once he will) and so leave us destitute—." Steevens.

- 8 or not allow'd;] Not approved. See Vol. V. p. 95,
  n.5. Malone.
  - 9 --- what worst, as oft,

Hitting a groffer quality,] The worst actions of great men are commended by the vulgar, as more accommodated to the groffness of their notions. Johnson.

- For our best act.] I suppose, for the sake of measure, we should read—action. Perhaps the three last letters of this word were accidentally omitted by the compositor. Steevens.
- <sup>2</sup> Things done well,] Sir T. Hanmer, very judiciously in my opinion, completes the measure by reading:

Things that are done well. Steevens.

<sup>3</sup> From every tree, lop, bark, and part o' the timber;] Lop is a fubftantive, and fignifies the branches. WARBURTON.

And, though we leave it with a root, thus hack'd, The air will drink the fap. To every county, Where this is question'd, send our letters, with Free pardon to each man that has denied The force of this commission: Pray, look to't; I put it to your care.

Wol. A word with you.

To the Secretary.

Let there be letters writ to every fhire,
Of the king's grace and pardon. The griev'd
commons

Hardly conceive of me; let it be nois'd,
That, through our interceffion, this revokement
And pardon comes: 4 I shall anon advise you
Further in the proceeding.

[Exit Secretary.

# Enter Surveyor.5

Q. KATH. I am forry, that the duke of Buckingham
Is run in your difpleafure.

K. Hen. It grieves many:
The gentleman is learn'd,6 and a most rare speaker,

<sup>\*</sup> That, through our intercession, &c.] So, in Holinshed, p. 892: "The cardinall, to deliver himself from the evil will of the commons, purchased by procuring and advancing of this demand, affirmed, and caused it to be bruted abrode that through his intercession the king had pardoned and released all things." Steevens.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Enter Surveyor.] It appears from Holinshed that his name was Charles Knyvet. RITSON.

The gentleman is learn'd, &c.] We understand from The Prologue of the translatour," that the Knyghte of the Swanne, a French romance, was translated at the request of this unfortunate nobleman. Copland, the printer, adds, this present history compyled, named Helyas the Knight

To nature none more bound; his training fuch, That he may furnish and instruct great teachers, And never teek for aid out of himself.<sup>7</sup> Yet see

When these so noble benefits shall prove
Not well dispos'd, the mind growing once corrupt,
They turn to vicious forms, ten times more ugly
Than ever they were fair. This man so complete,
Who was enroll'd 'mongst wonders, and when we,
Almost with ravish'd list'ning, could not find
His hour of speech a minute; he, my lady,
Hath into monstrous habits put the graces
That once were his, and is become as black
As if besinear'd in hell. Sit by us; you shall hear
(This was his gentleman in trust,) of him
Things to strike honour sad.—Bid him recount
The fore-recited practices; whereof
We cannot feel too little, hear too much.

Woz. Stand forth; and with bold fpirit related what you,

Most like a careful subject, have collected

Out of the duke of Buckingham.

of the Swanne, of whom linially is descended my said lord." The duke was executed on Friday the 17th of May, 1521. The book has no date. Steevens.

<sup>7</sup> And never feek for aid out of himself.] Beyond the treafures of his own mind. Johnson.

Read:

And ne'er feek aid out of himself. Yet see, -. Rirson.

a \_\_\_ noble benefits \_\_\_

Not well dispos'd,] Great gifts of nature and education, not joined with good dispositions. Johnson.

9 --- is become as black

As if besmear'd in hell.] So, in Othello:

"---Her name, that was as fresh

"As Dian's vifage, is now begrim'd and black

" As mine own face." STEEVENS.

K. HEN.

Speak freely.

Surv. First, it was usual with him, every day It would insect his speech, That if the king Should without iffue die, he'd carry it so To make the scepter his: These very words I have heard him utter to his son-in-law, Lord Aberga'ny; to whom by oath he menac'd Revenge upon the cardinal.

Wor. Please your highness, note This dangerous conception in this point.<sup>2</sup> Not friended by his wish, to your high person His will is most malignant; and it stretches Beyond you, to your friends.

Q. KATH. My learn'd lord cardinal, Deliver all with charity.

K. Hen. Speak on:
How grounded he his title to the crown,
Upon our fail? to this point hast thou heard him
At any time speak aught?

Surv. He was brought to this By a vain prophecy of Nicholas Hopkins.<sup>3</sup>

Large it —] Old copy—he'l. Corrected by Mr. Rowe. Malone.

<sup>2</sup> This dangerous conception in this point.] Note this particular part of this dangerous defign. Johnson.

<sup>3</sup> By a vain prophecy of Nicholas Hopkins.] In former editions:

By a vain prophecy of Nicholas Henton. We heard before from Brandon, of one Nicholas Hopkins; and now his name is changed into Henton; fo that Brandon and the furveyor feem to be in two flories. There is, however, but one and the fame perfon meant, Hopkins, as I have reflored it in the text, for perfpicuity's fake; yet it will not be any difficulty to account for the other name, when we come to confider that he was a monk of the convent, called Henton, near Briffol. So both Hall and Holinthed acquaint us. And he might, according

K. HEN. What was that Hopkins?

SURV. Sir, a Chartreux friar, His confessor; who sed him every minute With words of sovereignty.

K. HEN. How know'st thou this?

Surv. Not long before your highness sped to France,

The duke being at the Rose, within the parish Saint Lawrence Poultney,4 did of me demand What was the speech amongst the Londoners Concerning the French journey: I replied, Men fear'd, the French would prove perfidious, To the king's danger. Presently the duke Said, 'Twas the fear, indeed; and that he doubted, 'Twould prove the verity of certain words Spoke by a holy monk; that oft, says he, Hath sent to me, wishing me to permit John de la Court, my chaplain, a choice hour To hear from him a matter of some moment: Whom after under the confession's seal 5

to the custom of these times, be called Nicholas of Henton, from the place; as Hopkins from his family. THEOBALD.

This miftake, as it was undoubtedly made by Shakspeare, is worth a note. It would be doing too great an honour to the players to suppose them capable of being the authors of it.

STEEVENS.

Shakspeare was perhaps led into the mistake by inadvertently referring the words, "called Henton," in the passage already quoted from Holinshed, (p. 26, n. 9,) not to the monastery, but to the monk. Malone.

- <sup>4</sup> The duke being at the Rose, &c.] This house was purchased about the year 1561, by Richard Hill, sometime master of the Merchant Tailors company, and is now the Merchant Tailors school, in Suffolk-lane. Whalley.
- from the beginning, bave—commission's. But what commission's

He folemnly had fworn, that, what he spoke,
My chaplain to no creature living, but
To me, should utter, with demure considence
This pausingly ensived,—Neither the king, nor his
heirs,

(Tell you the duke) shall prosper: bid him strive To gain the love of the commonalty; the duke

Shall govern England.

Q. KATH. If I know you well, You were the duke's furveyor, and lost your office On the complaint o' the tenants: Take good heed, You charge not in your spleen a noble person, And spoil your nobler soul! I say, take heed; Yes, heartily beseech you.

K. Hen. Let him on:—

Surv. On my foul, I'll fpeak but truth. I told my lord the duke, By the devil's illufions

feal? That is a question, I dare say, none of our diligent editors asked themselves. The text must be restored, as I have corrected it; and honest Holinshed, [p. 863,] from whom our author took the substance of this passage, may be called in as a testimony.—"The duke in talk told the monk, that he had done very well to bind his chaplain, John de la Court, under the seal of consession, to keep secret such matter." Theobald.

To gain the love.—] The old copy reads—To the love.

STEEVENS.

For the infertion of the word gain I am answerable. From the corresponding passage in Holinshed, it appears evidently to have been omitted through the carelessness of the compositor: "The said monke told to De la Court, neither the king nor his heirs should prosper, and that I should endeavour to purchase the good wills of the commonalty of England."

Since I wrote the above, I find this correction had been made

by the editor of the fourth folio. MALONE.

It had been adopted by Mr. Rowe, and all fubfequent editors.

The monk might be deceiv'd; and that 'twas dang'rous for him,7

To ruminate on this fo far, until
It forg'd him fome defign, which, being believ'd,
It was much like to do: He answer'd, Tush!
It can do me no damage: adding further,
That, had the king in his last sickness fail'd,
The cardinal's and fir Thomas Lovell's heads
Should have gone off.

K. HEN. Ha! what, fo rank? 8 Ah, ha! There's mischief in this man:——Canst thou say further?

Surv. I can, my liege.

K. HEN.

Proceed.

Surv. Being at Greenwich, After your highness had reprov'd the duke About fir William Blomer,—

K. Hen. I remember,
Of fuch a time:—Being my fervant fworn,
The duke retain'd him his.—But on; What hence?

Surv. If, quoth he, I for this had been committed,

As, to the Tower, I thought,—I would have play'd The part my father meant to act upon

<sup>7 —</sup> for him,] Old copy—for this. Corrected by Mr. Rowe. MALONE.

<sup>8 ——</sup> fo rank?] Rank weeds, are weeds grown up to great height and strength. What, says the King, was he advanced to this pitch? Johnson.

<sup>9 ——</sup>Being my fervant fworn, &c.] Sir William Blomer, (Holinshed calls him Bulmer,) was reprimanded by the King in the star-chamber, for that, being his sworn servant, he had lest the King's service for the duke of Buckingham's.

Edwards's MSS. Steevens.

The usurper Richard: who, being at Salisbury, Made suit to come in his presence; which if granted, As he made semblance of his duty, would Have put his knife into him.

K. HEN.

A giant traitor!

Wol. Now, madam, may his highness live in freedom,

And this man out of prison?

Q. KATH.

God mend all!

K. HEN. There's fomething more would out of thee; What fay'ft?

Surr. After—the duke his father,—with the knife,—

Have put his knife into him.] The accuracy of Holinshed, if from him Shakspeare took his account of the accusations and punishment, together with the qualities of the Duke of Buckingham, is proved in the most authentick manner by a very curious report of his case in East. Term, 13 Hen. VIII. in the year books published by authority, fol. 11 and 12, edit. 1597. After, in the most exact manner, fetting forth the arrangement of the Lord High Steward, the Peers, the arraignment, and other forms and ceremonies, it fays: "Et issint fuit arreine Edward Duc de Buckingham, le derrain jour de Terme le xij jour de May, le Duc de Norfolk donques estant Grand seneschal: la cause suit, pur ceo que il avoit entend l' mort de nostre Sir. le Roy. Car premierment un Moine del' Albey de Henton in le countie de Somerfet dit a lui que il fera Roy & command' luy de obtenir le benevolence del' communalte, & fur ceo il dona certaines robbes a cest entent. A que il dit que le moine ne onques dit ainsi a lui, & que il ne dona ceux dones a cest intent. Donques auterfoits il dit, fi le Roy morust sans issue male, il voul' estre Roy: & auxi que il disoit, si le Roy avoit lui commis al' prison, donques il voul' lui occire ove son dagger. Mes touts ceux matters il denia in effect, mes fuit trove coulp: Et pur ceo il avoit jugement comme traitre, et fuit decolle le Vendredy devant le Feste del Pentecost que suit le xiij jour de May avant dit. Dien à fa ame grant mercy—car il fuit tres noble prince & prudent, et mirror de tout courtesse " VAILLANT.

He ftretch'd him, and, with one hand on his dagger, Another spread on his breast, mounting his eyes, He did discharge a horrible oath; whose tenour Was,—Were he evil us'd, he would out-go His father, by as much as a performance Does an irresolute purpose.

K. Hen. There's his period,
To sheath his knife in us. He is attach'd;
Call him to present trial: if he may
Find mercy in the law, 'tis his; if none,
Let him not seek't of us: By day and night,<sup>2</sup>
He's traitor to the height.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> — By day and night,] This, I believe, was a phrase anciently fignifying—at all times, every way, completely. In The Merry Wives of Windsor, Falstaff, at the end of his letter to Mrs. Ford, styles himself:

<sup>&</sup>quot;Thine own true knight, "By day or night," &c.

Again, (I must repeat a quotation I have elsewhere employed,) in the third Book of Gower, De Confessione Amantis:

<sup>&</sup>quot;The fonne cleped was Machayre, "The daughter eke Canace hight, "By daie bothe and eke by night."

The King's words, however, by fome criticks, have been confidered as an adjuration. I do not pretend to have determined the exact force of them. Steevens.

#### SCENE III.

# A Room in the Palace.

Enter the Lord Chamberlain,3 and Lord SANDS.4

CHAM. Is it possible, the spells of France should juggle

Men into such strange mysteries? 5

3—Lord Chamberlain—] Shakipeare has placed this feene in 1521. Charles Earl of Worcefter was then Lord Chamberlain; but when the King in fact went in maiquerade to Cardinal Wolfey's house, Lord Sands, who is here introduced as going thither with the Chamberlain, himself possessed that office.

MALONE.

Lord Chamberlain—] Charles Somerfet, created Earl of Woreefter 5 Henry VIII. He was Lord Chamberlain both to Henry VII. and Henry VIII. and continued in the office until his death, 1526. Reed.

\* Lord Sands.] Sir William Sands, of the Vine, near Basing-stoke, in Hants, was created a peer 1524. He became Lord Chamberlain upon the death of the Earl of Worcester in 1526.

s is it possible, the spells of France Should juggle

Men into such strange mysteries? Mysteries were allegorical shows, which the mummers of those times exhibited in odd fantastick habits. Mysteries are used, by an easy figure, for those that exhibited mysteries; and the sense is only, that the travelled Englishmen were metamorphosed, by foreign sashions, into such an uncouth appearance, that they looked like mummers in a mystery. Johnson.

That musteries is the genuine reading, [Dr. Warburton would read—mockeries] and that it is used in a different sense from the one here given, will appear in the following instance from Drayton's Shepherd's Garland:

" --- even fo it fareth now with thee,

"And with these wisards of thy mysterie." The context of which shows, that by wisards are meant poets, and by mysteric their poetick skill, which was before called

New customs, SANDS. Though they be never fo ridiculous, Nay, let them be unmanly, yet are follow'd.

CHAM. As far as I fee, all the good our English Have got by the late voyage, is but merely A fit or two o'the face; but they are shrewd ones; For when they hold them, you would fwear directly, Their very noses had been counsellors. To Pepin, or Clotharius, they keep state so.

SANDS. They have all new legs, and lame ones; one would take it, That never faw them? pace before, the spavin, A fpringhalt reign'd among them.8

· CHAM.

Death! my lord,

"mister artes." Hence the mysteries in Shakspeare signify those fantastick manners and fashions of the French, which had operated as spells or enchantments. HENLEY.

6 A fit or two o'the face; A fit of the face feems to be what we now term a grimace, an artificial cast of the countenance. Johnson.

Fletcher has more plainly expressed the same thought in The Elder Brother:

" --- learnt new tongues ----

"To vary his face as feamen do their compafs."

STEEVENS.

- 7 That never faw them ] Old copy—fee 'em. Corrected by Mr. Pope. MALONE.
- 8 A springhalt reign'd among them.] The stringhalt, or springhalt, (as the old copy reads,) is a difease incident to horses, which gives them a convulsive motion in their paces.

So, in Muleoffes the Turk, 1610: "—by reason of a general fpring-halt and debility in their hams."

Again, in Ben Jonson's Bartholomew Fair:

" Poor foul, the has had a firinghalt." STEEVENS.

Mr. Pope and the subsequent editors, without any necessity, I think, for A springhalt, read—And springhalt. MALONE.

Their clothes are after fuch a pagan cut too,9
That, fure, they have worn out christendom. How now?

What news, fir Thomas Lovell?

# Enter Sir THOMAS LOVELL.

Lov. . 'Faith, my lord, I hear of none, but the new proclamation That's clapp'd upon the court-gate.

CHAM. What is't for?

Lov. The reformation of our travell'd gallants, That fill the court with quarrels, talk, and tailors.

CHAM. I am glad, 'tis there; now I would pray our monfieurs

To think an English courtier may be wise, And never see the Louvre.

Lov. They must either (For so run the conditions,) leave these remnants Of sool, and feather, that they got in France,

<sup>9</sup> — cut too,] Old copy—cut to't. Corrected in the fourth folio. Malone.

Both the first and second folio read—cut too't, so that for part of this correction we are not indebted to the fourth folio.

STEEVENS

Of fool, and feather,] This does not allude to the feathers anciently worn in the hats and caps of our countrymen, (a circumftance to which no ridicule could justly belong,) but to an effeminate fashion recorded in Greene's Farewell to Folly, 1617: from whence it appears that even young gentlemen carried fans of feathers in their hands: "—we strive to be counted womanish, by keeping of beauty, by curling the hair, by wearing plumes of feathers in our hands, which in wars, our ancestors wore on their heads." Again, in his Quip for an upstart Courtier, 1620:

"Then our young courtiers frove to exceed one another in

With all their honourable points of ignorance, Pertaining thereunto, (as fights, and fireworks; Abusing better men than they can be, Out of a foreign wisdom,) renouncing clean The faith they have in tennis, and tall stockings, Short blister'd breeches, and those types of travel, And understand again like honest men;

vertue, not in bravery; they rode not with fannes to ward their faces from the wind," &c. Again, in Lingua, &c. 1607, Phantastes, who is a male character, is equipped with a fan.

The text may receive illustration from a passage in Nashe's Life of Iacke Wilton, 1594: "At that time [viz. in the court of King Henry VIII.] I was no common squire, no undertroden torch-bearer, I had my feather in my cap as big as a slag in the foretop, my French doublet gelte in the belly, as though (lyke a pig readie to be spitted) all my guts had been pluckt out, a paire of side paned hose that hung down like two scales filled with Holland cheeses, my long fiock that sate close to my dock,—my rapier pendant like a round sticke, &c. my blacke cloake of black cloth, ouerspreading my backe lyke a thornbacke or an elephantes eare;—and in consummation of my curiositie, my handes without gloves, sll a more French," &c. RITSON.

In Rowley's Match at Midnight, Act I. sc. i. Sim says: "Yes, yes, she that dwells in Blacksryers, next to the sign of

The Fool laughing at a Feather."

But Sir Thomas Lovell's is rather an allusion to the feathers which were formerly worn by fools in their caps. See a print on this subject from a painting of Jordaens, engraved by Voert; and again, in the ballad of *News and no News*:

"And feathers wagging in a fool's cap." Douce.

- <sup>2</sup>——fireworks;] We learn from a French writer quoted in Montfaucon's Monuments de la Monarchie Françoife, Vol. IV. that fome very extraordinary fireworks were played off on the evening of the last day of the royal interview between Guynes and Ardres. Hence, our "travelled gallants," who were prefent at this exhibition, might have imbibed their fondues for the pyrotechnic art. Steevens.
- blister'd breeches, Thus the old copy; i.e. breeches puff'd, swell'd out like blisters. The modern editors read-bolster'd breeches, which has the same meaning.

Or pack to their old playfellows: there, I take it, They may, cum privilegio, wear away.<sup>4</sup> The lag end of their lewdness, and be laugh'd at.

SANDS. 'Tis time to give them physick, their diseases

Are grown fo catching.

CHAM. What a loss our ladies Will have of these trim vanities!

Lov. Ay, marry,
There will be woe indeed, lords; the fly whorefons
Have got a fpeeding trick to lay down ladies;
A French fong, and a fiddle, has no fellow.

SANDS. The devil fiddle them! I am glad, they're going;

(For, fure, there's no converting of them;) now An honest country lord, as I am, beaten A long time out of play, may bring his plain-song, And have an hour of hearing; and, by'r-lady, Held current musick too.

CHAM. Well faid, lord Sands; Your colt's tooth is not cast yet.

SANDS. No, my lord; Nor shall not, while I have a stump.

CHAM. Sir Thomas,

Whither were you a going?

Lov. To the cardinal's; Your lordship is a guest too.

CHAM. O, 'tis true: This night he makes a fupper, and a great one, To many lords and ladies; there will be The beauty of this kingdom, I'll affure you.

<sup>4 —</sup> wear away —] Old copy—wee away. Corrected in the fecond folio. MALONE.

Lov. That churchman bears a bounteous mind indeed.

A hand as fruitful as the land that feeds us: His dews fall every where.

No doubt, he's noble: CHAM. He had a black mouth, that faid other of him.

SANDS. He may, my lord, he has wherewithal: in him,

Sparing would show a worse fin than ill doctrine: Men of his way should be most liberal, They are fet here for examples.

CHAM. True, they are fo: But few now give fo great ones. My barge flays;5 Your lordship shall along: - Come, good fir Thomas, We shall be late else: which I would not be. For I was spoke to, with fir Henry Guildford, This night to be comptrollers.

SANDS

I am your lordship's. Exeunt.

5 --- My large stays; The speaker is now in the King's palace at Bridewell, from which he is proceeding by water to York-place, (Cardinal Wolsey's house,) now Whitehall.

MALONE.

# SCENE IV.

The Presence-Chamber in York-Place.

Hautboys. A finall Table under a State for the Cardinal, a longer Table for the Guesis. Enter at one Door Anne Bullen, and divers Lords, Ladies, and Gentlewomen, as Guesis; at another Door, enter Sir Henry Guildford.

Guildo. Ladies, a general welcome from his grace Salutes ye all: This night he dedicates
To fair content, and you: none here, he hopes,
In all this noble bevy, has brought with her
One care abroad; he would have all as merry
As first-good company, good wine, good welcome
Can make good people. O, my lord, you are
tardy;

6 — noble bevy,] Milton has copied this word: "A bevy of fair dames." Johnson.

Spenfer had, before Shakfpeare, employed this word in the fame manner:

"And whither runs this bevy of ladies bright?"
Shepheard's Calender. April.

Again, in his Fairy Queen:

"And in the midst thereof, upon the flowre,

"A lovely bevy of faire ladies fate."

The word *bevy* was originally applied to larks. See the Gloffary to the *Shepheard's Calender*. MALONE.

<sup>7</sup> As first-good company, &c.] As this passage has been all along pointed, [As first, good company,] Sir Harry Guildford is made to include all these under the first article; and then gives us the drop as to what should follow. The poet, I am perfuaded, wrote:

As first-good company, good wine, good welcome, &c. i.e. he would have you as merry as these three things can make



S; HENRY GUILDFORD.

From an Original Picture, by Holbien. in the Possession of S. Will." Burrell.

Put Stuly 7.2791. by Etharding Flut Street.



Enter Lord Chamberlain, Lord SANDS, and Sir THOMAS LOVELL.

The very thought of this fair company Clapp'd wings to me.

Снам. You are young, fir Harry Guildford.

SANDS. Sir Thomas Lovell, had the cardinal But half my lay-thoughts in him, some of these Should find a running banquet 8 ere they rested, I think, would better please them: By my life, They are a sweet society of fair ones.

you, the best company in the land, of the best rank, good wine, &c, Theobald.

Sir T. Hanmer has mended it more elegantly, but with greater violence:

As first, good company, then good wine, &c. Johnson.

s—a running banquet—] A running banquet, literally fpeaking, is a hafty refreshment, as fet in opposition to a regular and protracted meal. The former is the object of this rakish peer; the latter, perhaps, he would have relinquished to those of more permanent defires. Steevens.

A running banquet feems to have meant a hafty banquet. "Queen Margaret and Prince Edward, (fays Habingdon, in his History of King Edward IV.) though by the Earle recalled, found their fate and the winds so adverse, that they could not land in England, to taste this running banquet to which fortune had invited them." The hasty banquet, that was in Lord Sands's thoughts, is too obvious to require explanation.

It should seem from the following lines in the prologue to a comedy called *The Walks of Islington*, 1657, that some double meaning was couched under the phrase, a running banquet:

The gate unto his walks, through which you may "Behold a pretty prospect of the play;

"A play of walks, or you may please to rank it "With that which ladies love, a running banquet."

MALONE,

Lov. O, that your lordship were but now confessor To one or two of these!

SANDS. I would, I were; They should find easy penance.

Lov. 'Faith, how eafy?

SANDS. As easy as a down-bed would afford it.

CHAM. Sweet ladies, will it please you fit? Sir Harry,

Place you that fide, I'll take the charge of this: His grace is ent'ring.—Nay, you must not freeze; Two women plac'd together makes cold weather:—My lord Sands, you are one will keep them waking; Pray, fit between these ladies.

Sands.

And thank your lordship.—By your leave, sweet ladies:

[Seals himself between Anne Bullen and another Lady.

If I chance to talk a little wild, forgive me; I had it from my father.

Anne. Was he mad, fir?

SANDS. O, very mad, exceeding mad, in love too: But he would bite none; just as I do now, He would kis you twenty with a breath.

[Kisses her.

CHAM. Well faid, my lord.—So, now you are fairly feated:—Gentlemen, The penance lies on you, if these fair ladies Pais away frowning.

SANDS. For my little cure, Let me alone.

Hautboys. Enter Cardinal Wolsey, attended; and takes his state.

Wol. You are welcome, my fair guests; that noble lady,

Or gentleman, that is not freely merry,
Is not my friend: This, to confirm my welcome;
And to you all good health.

[Drinks.]

SANDS. Your grace is noble:— Let me have fuch a bowl may hold my thanks, And fave me fo much talking.

Wol. My lord Sands, I am beholden to you: cheer your neighbours.—Ladies, you are not merry;—Gentlemen, Whose fault is this?

SANDS. The red wine first must rise In their fair cheeks, my lord; then we shall have them

Talk us to filence.

Anne. You are a merry gamester, My lord Sands.

SANDS. Yes, if I make my play.9
Here's to your ladyship: and pledge it, madam,
For 'tis to such a thing,—

ANNE.

You cannot show me.

• —— if I make my play.] i. o. if I make my party.

Stervens.

Rather—if I may choose my game. Ritson.

As the measure, in this place, requires an additional fyllable, we may, commodiously enough, read, with Sir T. Hanmer:

Yes, if I may make my play. STEEVENS.

SANDS. I told your grace, they would talk anon' [Drum and Trumpets within: Chambers discharged.<sup>1</sup>

Wol. What's that?

CHAM. Look out there, some of you.

[Exit a Servant.

Wor. What warlike voice? And to what end is this?—Nay, ladies, fear not; By all the laws of war you are privileg'd.

# Re-enter Servant.

CHAM. How now? what is't?

SERV. A noble troop of strangers; For so they seem: they have left their barge, and landed;

And hither make, as great ambaffadors From foreign princes.

Wol.

Good lord chamberlain,

"When my lord-mayor takes his barge." STEEVENS.

they have left their targe,] See p. 49, n. 5.

MALONE.

chambers discharged.] A chamber is a gun which stands erect on its breech. Such are used only on occasions of rejoicing, and are so contrived as to carry great charges, and thereby to make a noise more than proportioned to their bulk. They are called chambers because they are mere chambers to lodge powder; a chamber being the technical term for that cavity in a piece of ordnance which contains the combustibles. Some of them are still fired in the Park, and at the places opposite to the parliament-house when the king goes thither. Camden enumerates them among other guns, as follows: "—cannons, demi-cannons, chambers, arquebuse, musquet."

Go, give them welcome, you can fpeak the French tongue;

And, pray, receive them nobly, and conduct them, Into our prefence, where this heaven of beauty Shall thine at full upon them:—Some attend him.—

[Exit Chamberlain, attended. All arife, and Tables removed.

You have now a broken banquet; but we'll mend it, A good digestion to you all: and, once more, I shower a welcome on you;—Welcome all.

Hautboys. Enter the King, and twelve Others, as Maskers,3 habited like Shepherds, with sixteen Torch-bearers; ushered by the Lord Chamberlain. They pass directly before the Cardinal, and gracefully salute him.

A noble company! what are their pleasures?

Cham. Because they speak no English, thus they pray'd

<sup>3</sup> Enter the King, and twelve others, as Maskers,] For an account of this masquerade, see Holinshed, Vol. II. p. 921.

The account of this masquerade was first given by Cavendish, in his Life of Wolsey, which was written in the time of Queen Mary; from which Stowe and Holinshed copied it. Cavendish was himself present. Before the King, &c. began to dance, they requested leave (says Cavendish) to accompany the ladies at munchance. Leave being granted, "then went the masquers, and first saluted all the dames, and then returned to the most worthiest, and then opened the great cup of gold filled with crownes, and other pieces to cast at.—Thus perusing all the gentlewomen, of some they wonne, and to some they lost. And having viewed all the ladies they returned to the Cardinal with great reverence, pouring downe all their gold, which was above two hundred crownes. At all, quoth the Cardinal, and casting the die, he wonne it; whereat was made great joy."

To tell your grace; -That, having heard by fame Of this so noble and so fair affembly This night to meet here, they could do no less, Out of the great respect they bear to beauty, But leave their flocks; and, under your fair conduct, Crave leave to view these ladies, and entreat An hour of revels with them.

Say, lord chamberlain, Wor. They have done my poor house grace; for which I pay them

A thousand thanks, and pray them take their plea-

fures.

Ladies chosen for the Dance. The King chooses Anne Bullen.

K. HEN. The fairest hand I ever touch'd! O, beauty,

Till now I never knew thee. [Musick. Dance.

Wol. My lord,-

 $C_{HAM}$ .

Your grace?

Pray, tell them thus much from me: There should be one amongst them, by his person, More worthy this place than myfelf; to whom, If I but knew him, with my love and duty I would furrender it.

I will, my lord. CHAM. [Cham. goes to the Company, and returns.

Wol. What fay they?

Such a one, they all confess, There is, indeed; which they would have your grace Find out, and he will take it.4

WoL. Let me see then.— Comes from his State.

<sup>\* —</sup> take it.] That is, take the chief place. Johnson.

By all your good leaves, gentlemen;—Here I'll make My royal choice.

K. HEN. You have found him, cardinal:5

You hold a fair affembly; you do well, lord: You are a churchman, or, I'll tell you, cardinal, I should judge now unhappily.<sup>6</sup>

WoL. I am glad,

Your grace is grown so pleasant.

K. HEN. My lord chamberlain, Pr'ythee, come hither: What fair lady's that?

Снам. An't please your grace, fir Thomas Bullen's daughter,

The viscount Rochford, one of her highness' women.

K. HEN. By heaven, fhe is a dainty one.—Sweetheart,

I were unmannerly, to take you out, And not to kifs you.7—A health, gentlemen, Let it go round.

<sup>5</sup> You have found him, cardinal:] Holinshed says the Cardinal mistook, and pitched upon Sir Edward Neville; upon which the King laughed, and pulled off both his own mask and Sir Edward's. Edwards's MSS. Steevens.

unhappily.] That is, unluckily, mischievously.

Johnson.

So, in A merye Jeste of a Man called Howleglas, bl. l. no date: "—in such manner colde he cloke and hyde his unhappinesse and falsnesse." Steevens.

See Vol. VI. p. 55, n. 2. MALONE.

7 I were unmannerly, to take you out,

And not to kifs you.] A kifs was anciently the established fee of a lady's partner. So, in A Dialogue between Custom and Veritie, concerning the Use and Abuse of Dauncing and Minstrelse, bl. l. no date, "Imprinted at London, at the long shop adjoining unto saint Mildred's church in the Pultrie, by John Allde:"

Wor. Sir Thomas Lovell, is the banquet ready I' the privy chamber?

Lov.

Yes, my lord.

Wor. Your grace, I fear, with dancing is a little heated.8

K. HEN. I fear, too much.

Wor. There's fresher air, my lord, In the next chamber.

K. HEN. Lead in your ladies, every one.—Sweet partner,

I must not yet forsake you :- Let's be merry ;-Good my lord cardinal, I have half a dozen healths To drink to these fair ladies, and a measure To lead them once again; and then let's dream Who's best in favour.—Let the musick knock it.9 Exeunt, with Trumpets.

See Vol. IV. p. 43, n. 5. MALONE.

This cuftom is still prevalent, among the country people, in many, perhaps all, parts of the kingdom. When the fiddler thinks his young couple have had mufick enough, he makes his instrument squeak out two notes which all understand to saykiss her! RITSON.

<sup>8</sup> — a little heated.] The King, on being discovered and defired by Wolfey to take his place, faid that he would "first go and shift him: and thereupon, went into the Cardinal's bedchamber, where was a great fire prepared for him, and there he new appareled himselfe with rich and princely garments. And in the king's absence the dishes of the banquet were cleane taken away, and the tables covered with new and perfumed clothes.— Then the king took his feat under the cloath of estate, commanding every person to fit still as before; and then came in a new banquet before his majestie of two hundred dishes, and so they passed the night in banqueting and dancing untill morning." Cavendish's Life of Wolfey. MALONE.

<sup>&</sup>quot;But fome reply, what foole would daunce,

<sup>&</sup>quot; If that when daunce is doon, " He may not have at ladyes lips

<sup>&</sup>quot;That which in daunce he woon?" STEEVENS.

## ACT II. SCENE I.

#### A Street.

# Enter Two Gentlemen, meeting.

1 GENT. Whither away fo fast?

2 GENT. O,—God fave you!<sup>1</sup> Even to the hall, to hear what shall become Of the great duke of Buckingham.

- 1 GENT. I'll fave you That labour, fir. All's now done, but the ceremony Of bringing back the prifoner.
  - 2 GENT. Were you there?
  - 1 GENT. Yes, indeed, was I.
  - 2 GENT. Pray, fpeak, what has happen'd?
  - 1 GENT. You may guess quickly what.
  - 2 GENT. Is he found guilty?
  - 1 GENT. Yes, truly is he, and condemn'd upon it.
  - 2 GENT. I am forry for't.
  - 1 GENT. So are a number more.
  - 2 GENT. But, pray, how pass'd it?
- 9 Let the musick knock it.] So, in Antonio and Mellida, Part I. 1602:
  - " Fla. Faith, the fong will feem to come off hardly.
  - "Catz. Troth, not a whit, if you feem to come off quickly.
  - "Fla. Pert Catzo, knock it then." STEEVENS.
- \* O,—God fave you!] Surely, (with Sir Thomas Hanmer,) we should complete the measure by reading:
  - O, fir, God fave you! STEEVENS.

J GENT. I'll tell you in a little. The great duke Came to the bar; where, to his accusations, He pleaded still, not guilty, and alleg'd Many sharp reasons to defeat the law. The king's attorney, on the contrary, Urg'd on the examinations, proofs, confessions Of divers witnesses; which the duke desir'd To him brought, vivâ voce, to his face: At which appear'd against him, his surveyor; Sir Gilbert Peck his chancellor; and John Court, Confessor to him; with that devil-monk, Hopkins, that made this mischief.

2 Gent. That was he, That fed him with his prophecies?

All these accus'd him strongly; which he sain Would have slung from him, but, indeed, he could not:

And so his peers, upon this evidence, Have found him guilty of high treason. Much He spoke, and learnedly, for life; but all Was either pitied in him, or forgotten.<sup>3</sup>

2 GENT. After all this, how did he bear himself?

1 GENT. When he was brought again to the bar,—
to hear

His knell rung out, his judgment,—he was flirr'd With fuch an agony, he fweat extremely,4

<sup>2</sup> To him brought, viva voce, to his face: This is a clear error of the prefs. We must read—have instead of—him.

M. Mason.

<sup>3</sup> Was either pitied in him, or forgotten.] Either produced no effect, or produced only ineffectual pity. MALONE.

<sup>4——</sup>he fiveat extremely,] This circumstance is taken from Holinshed: "After he was found guilty, the duke was brought to the bar, fore-chasing, and fweat marveloufly." Steevens.

And fomething fpoke in choler, ill, and hafty: But he fell to himfelf again, and, fweetly, In all the rest show'd a most noble patience.

2 GENT. I do not think, he fears death.

1 GENT. Sure, he does not, He never was fo womanish; the cause He may a little grieve at.

 $2 G_{ENT}$ . Certainly, The cardinal is the end of this.

1 GENT. 'Tis likely, By all conjectures: First, Kildare's attainder, Then deputy of Ireland; who remov'd, Earl Surrey was sent thither, and in haste too, Lest he should help his father.

2 GENT. That trick of flate Was a deep envious one.

1 GENT. At his return,
No doubt, he will requite it. This is noted,
And generally; whoever the king favours,
The cardinal inftantly will find employment,
And far enough from court too.

2 GENT. All the commons
Hate him perniciously, and, o' my conscience,
Wish him ten fathom deep: this duke as much
They love and dote on; call him, bounteous Buckingham,

The mirror of all courtefy;5-

1 Gent. Stay there, fir, And see the noble ruin'd man you speak of.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> The mirror of all courtefy;] See the concluding words of n. 1, p. 42. Steevens.

Enter Buckingham from his Arraignment; Tipflaves before him; the Axe with the Edge towards him; Halberds on each Side: with him, Sir Thomas Lovell, Sir Nicholas Vaux, Sir William Sands, and common People.

2 GENT. Let's stand close, and behold him.

Buck.

You that thus far have come to pity me,
Hear what I fay, and then go home and lose me.
I have this day receiv'd a traitor's judgment,
And by that name must die; Yet, heaven bear witness,

And, if I have a conscience, let it sink me, Even as the axe falls, if I be not faithful!

The law I bear no malice for my death,
It has done, upon the premises, but justice:
But those, that sought it, I could wish more christians:

Be what they will, I heartily forgive them: Yet let them look they glory not in mischief,

Sir William Sands, The old copy reads—Sir Walter.
Steevens.

The correction is justified by Holinshed's Chronicle, in which it is faid, that Sir Nicholas Vaux, and Sir William Sands, received Buckingham at the Temple, and accompanied him to the Tower. Sir William Sands was, at this time, (May, 1521,) only a baronet, [rather, a knight; as baronetage was unknown till 1611,] not being created Lord Sands till April 27, 1527. Shakspeare probably did not know that he was the same person whom he has already introduced with that title. He fell into the error by placing the King's visit to Wolfey, (at which time Sir William was Lord Sands,) and Buckingham's condemnation, in the same year; whereas that visit was made some years afterwards. MALONE.

Nor build their evils on the graves of great men; 7 For then my guiltless blood must cry against them. For further life in this world I ne'er hope, Nor will I sue, although the king have mercies More than I dare make faults. You sew that lov'd me,8

And dare be bold to weep for Buckingham,
His noble friends, and fellows, whom to leave
Is only bitter to him, only dying,
Go with me, like good angels, to my end;
And, as the long divorce 9 of freel falls on me,
Make of your prayers one fweet facrifice,
And lift my foul to heaven. —Lead on, o'God's
name.

Lor. I do befeech your grace, for charity, If ever any malice in your heart Were hid against me, now to forgive me frankly.

Buck. Sir Thomas Lovell, I as free forgive you, As I would be forgiven: I forgive all; There cannot be those numberless offences

- Nor build their evils on the graves of great men;] Evils, in this place, are foricæ. So, in Measure for Measure:
  - Having waste ground enough,
    Shall we defire to raze the fanctuary,

"And pitch our evils there?"
See Vol. VI. p. 260, n. S. Steevens.

- 8 You few that lov'd me, &c.] These lines are remarkably tender and pathetick. Jонnson.
- 9 the long divorce—] So, in Lord Sterline's Darius, 1603:
  - " Scarce was the lasting last divorcement made
  - "Betwixt the bodie and the foule" &c. STEEVENS.
- I And list my foul to heaven.] So, Milton, Paradise Lost, Book IV:

" ----- their fongs

"Divide the night, and lift our thoughts to heaven."

MALONE.

'Gainst me, I can't take peace with: no black envy Shall make my grave.2—Commend me to his grace; And, if he speak of Buckingham, pray, tell him, You met him half in heaven: my vows and prayers

2 --- no black envy

Shall make my grave.] Shakspeare, by this expression, meant no more than to make the Duke say, No action expressive of malice shall conclude my life. Envy, by our author, is used for malice and hatred, in other places, and, perhaps, in this.

Again, in the ancient metrical romance of Syr Bevys of

Hampton, bl. 1. no date:

"Traytoure, he fayd with great envy, "Turne thee now, I thee defye."

Again:

"They drewe theyr fwordes haftely, "And fmot together with great envy."

And Barrett, in his Alvearie, or Quadruple Dictionary, 1580, thus interprets it.

To make a grave, however, may mean to close it. So, in

The Comedy of Errors:

"Why at this time the doors are made against you." i.e. closed, shut. The sense will then be, (whether quaintly or poetically expressed, let the reader determine) no malicious action shall close my grave, i.e. attend the conclusion of my existence, or terminate my life; the last action of it shall not be uncharitable. Steevens.

Envy is frequently used in this sense by our author and his contemporaries. See Vol. VII. p. 341, n. 9; and p. 403, l. 30. I have therefore no doubt that Mr. Steevens's exposition is right. Dr. Warburton reads—mark my grave; and in support of the emendation it may be observed that the same error has happened in King Henry V.; or at least that all the editors have supposed so, having there adopted a similar correction. See Vol. XII. p. 339, n. 1.

Dr. Warburton's emendation also derives some support from

the following passage in The Comedy of Errors:

"A vulgar comment will be made of it; "And that supposed by the common rout "Against your yet ungalled estimation, "That may with foul intrusion enter in,

"And dwell upon your grave, when you are dead."

MALONE.

Yet are the king's; and, till my foul forfake me,<sup>3</sup> Shall cry for bleffings on him: May he live Longer than I have time to tell his years! Ever belov'd, and loving, may his rule be! And, when old time shall lead him to his end, Goodness and he fill up one monument!

Lov. To the water fide I must conduct your grace; Then give my charge up to fir Nicholas Vaux, Who undertakes you to your end.

V<sub>AUX</sub>. Prepare there, The duke is coming: fee, the barge be ready; And fit it with fuch furniture, as fuits The greatness of his person.

Buck. Nay, fir Nicholas, Let it alone; my ftate now will but mock me.<sup>4</sup> When I came hither, I was lord high conftable, And duke of Buckingham; now, poor Edward Bohun:<sup>5</sup>

<sup>3</sup> — for fake me,] The latter word was added by Mr. Rowe. Malone.

4 Nay, fir Nicholas,

Let it alone; my flate now will but mock me.] The last verse would run more smoothly, by making the monosyllables change places:

Let it alone, my state will now but mock me.

WHALLEY

5 — poor Edward Bohun:] The Duke of Buckingham's name was Stafford. Shakipeare was led into the miftake by Holinished. Steevens.

This is not an expression thrown out at random, or by mistake, but one strongly marked with historical propriety. The name of the Duke of Buckingham, most generally known, was Stafford; but the History of Remarkable Trials, 8vo. 1715, p. 170, says: "it seems he affected that surname [of Bohun] before that of Stafford, he being descended from the Bohuns, earls of Hereford." His reason for this might be, because he was lord high

Yet I am richer than my base accusers, That never knew what truth meant: I now seal it; 6' And with that blood will make them one day groan for't.

My noble father, Henry of Buckingham, Who first rais'd head against usurping Richard, Flying for fuccour to his fervant Banister, Being diffres d, was by that wretch betray'd, And without trial fell; God's peace be with him! Henry the feventh fucceeding, truly pitying My father's lofs, like a most royal prince, Reflor'd ine to my honours, and, out of ruins, Made my name once more noble. Now his fon, Henry the eighth, life, honour, name, and all That made me happy, at one firoke has taken For ever from the world. I had my trial, And, must needs say, a noble one; which makes me A little happier than my wretched father: Yet thus far we are one in fortunes,-Both Fell by our fervants, by those men we lov'd most; A most unnatural and faithless service! Heaven has an end in all: Yet, you that hear me, This from a dying man receive as certain: Where you are liberal of your loves, and counfels,

constable of England by inheritance of tenure from the Bohuns; and as the poet has taken particular notice of his great office, does it not seem probable that he had fully considered of the Duke's foundation for assuming the name of Bohun? In truth, the Duke's name was Bagot; for a gentleman of that very ancient family married the heires of the barony of Stafford, and their son relinquishing his paternal surname, assumed that of his mother, which continued in his posterity. Toller.

Of all this probably Shakspeare knew nothing. MALONE.

<sup>6 —</sup> I now feal it; &c.] I now feal my truth, my loyalty, with blood, which blood shall one day make them groan.
JOHNSON.





EDWARD STAFF ORD DUKE BUCKINGHAM
Hereditary High Conflable of Excl. 200,
beheaded by Henry VII. 1221

From an Original Partrail by Hattier, in the Collection of Sirt diameter rell Baronet.

To order & April 26,1742, by K. Harding Fleet Street.

Be fure, you be not loose; 7 for those you make friends,

And give your hearts to, when they once perceive The least rub in your fortunes, fall away Like water from ye, never found again But where they mean to fink ye. All good people, Pray for me! I must now forsake ye; the last hour Of my long weary life is come upon me. Farewell:

And when you would fay fomething that is fad,8 Speak how I fell.—I have done; and God forgive me!

[Exeunt Buckingham and Train.

1 GENT. O, this is full of pity!—Sir, it calls, I fear, too many curses on their heads, That were the authors.

2 GENT. If the duke be guiltless, Tis full of woe: yet I can give you inkling Of an enfuing evil, if it fall, Greater than this.

1 GENT. Good angels keep it from us! Where may it be? You do not doubt my faith, fir?

2 GENT. This fecret is fo weighty, 'twill require A strong faith, to conceal it.

1 GENT. Let me have it: I do not talk much.

"There are a kind of men so loose of soul, "That in their fleeps will mutter their affairs."

<sup>8</sup> And when you would fay fomething that is fad, &c.] So,

in King Richard II:

"Tell thou the lamentable tale of me,

"And fend the hearers weeping to their beds." STEEVENS.

9 —\_ftrong faith —] Is great fidelity. Johnson.

<sup>7 -</sup> be not loose;] This expression occurs again in Othello:

2 GENT. I am confident; You shall, fir: Did you not of late days hear A buzzing, of a separation Between the king and Katharine?

I GENT. Yes, but it held not: For when the king once heard it, out of anger He fent command to the lord mayor, ftraight To ftop the rumour, and allay those tongues That durst disperse it.

2 GENT. But that flander, fir, Is found a truth now: for it grows again
Fresher than e'er it was; and held for certain, The king will venture at it. Either the cardinal, Or some about him near, have, out of malice To the good queen, posses'd him with a scruple That will undo her: To confirm this too, Cardinal Campeius is arriv'd, and lately; As all think, for this business.

1 GENT. 'Tis the cardinal; And merely to revenge him on the emperor, For not bestowing on him, at his asking, The archbishoprick of Toledo, this is purpos'd.

2 GENT. I think, you have hit the mark: But is't not cruel,

That the should feel the smart of this? The cardinal Will have his will, and she must fall.

1 GENT.

We are too open here to argue this;
Let's think in private more.

Tis woful.

[Exeunt.

Steevens.

in Lord Surrey's translation of the fourth Æneid:
"I hold thee not, nor yet gainfay thy words."

## SCENE II.

An Ante-chamber in the Palace.

Enter the Lord Chamberlain, reading a Letter.

Cham. My lord,—The horses your lordship sent for, with all the care I had, I saw well chosen, ridden, and furnished. They were young, and handsome; and of the best breed in the north. When they were ready to set out for London, a man of my lord cardinal's, by commission, and main power, took'em from me; with this reason,—His master would be served before a subject, if not before the king: which stopped our mouths, fir.

I fear, he will, indeed: Well, let him have them: He will have all, I think.

Enter the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk.

Nor. Well met, my good <sup>2</sup> Lord chamberlain.

CHAM. Good day to both your graces.

Sur. How is the king employ'd?

CHAM. I left him private, Full of fad thoughts and troubles.

Nor. What's the cause?

CHAM. It feems, the marriage with his brother's wife

Has crept too near his confcience.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Well met, my good—] The epithet—good, was inferted by Sir Thomas Hanmer, for the fake of measure. Steevens.

Suf. No, his confcience Has crept too near another lady.

Non.

'Tis so;
This is the cardinal's doing, the king-cardinal:
That blind priest, like the eldest son of fortune,
Turns what he lists. The king will know him one
day.

Sur. Pray God, he do! he'll never know himfelf else.

Nor. How holily he works in all his bufiness!

And with what zeal! For, now he has crack'd the league

Between us and the emperor, the queen's great

nephew,

He dives into the king's foul; and there fcatters Dangers, doubts, wringing of the confcience, Fears, and despairs, and all these for his marriage: And, out of all these to restore the king, He counsels a divorce: a loss of her, That, like a jewel, has hung twenty years About his neck, yet never lost her lustre; 3 Of her, that loves him with that excellence That angels love good men with; even of her That, when the greatest stroke of fortune falls, Will bless the king: And is not this course pious?

CHAM. Heaven keep me from fuch counsel! 'Tis most true,

These news are every where; every tongue speaks them,

And every true heart weeps for't: All, that dare Look into these affairs, see this main end,4—

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> That, like a jewel, has hung twenty years &c.] See Vol. IX. p. 242, n. 2. MALONE.

<sup>4 ——</sup> see this main end,] Thus the old copy. All, &c.

The French king's fifter. Heaven will one day open The king's eyes, that so long have slept upon This bold bad man.

SUF. And free us from his flavery.

Nor. We had need pray, And heartily, for our deliverance; Or this imperious man will work us all From princes into pages: 6 all men's honours Lie in one lump before him, to be fashion'd Into what pitch he please.7

SUF. For me, my lords, I love him not, nor fear him; there's my creed: As I am made without him, fo I'll fland, If the king please; his curses and his blessings Touch me alike, they are breath I not believe in.

perceive this main end of these counsels, namely, the French king's sister. The editor of the sourth solio and all the subsequent editors read—his; but yt or this were not likely to be consounded with his. Besides, the King, not Wolsey, is the person last mentioned; and it was the main end or object of Wolsey to bring about a marriage between Henry and the French king's sister. End has already been used for cause, and may be so here. See p. 61:

"The cardinal is the end of this." MALONE.

5 The French king's fifter.] i. e. the Duchess of Alençon.
STEEVENS.

- <sup>6</sup> From princes into pages:] This may allude to the retinue of the Cardinal, who had feveral of the nobility among his menial fervants. Johnson.
- <sup>7</sup> Into what pitch he please.] The mass must be fashioned into pitch or height, as well as into particular form. The meaning is, that the Cardinal can, as he pleases, make high or low.

  JOHNSON.

The allusion seems to be to the 21st verse of the 9th chapter of the Epistle of St. Paul to the Romans: "Hath not the potter power over the clay of the same lump, to make one vessel unto honour, and another unto dishonour?" Collins.

I knew him, and I know him; fo I leave him To him, that made him proud, the pope.

Nor. Let's in;

And, with fome other business, put the king From these sad thoughts, that work too much upon him:—

My lord, you'll bear us company?

CHAM. Excuse me; The king hath sent me other-where: besides, You'll find a most unfit time to disturb him: Health to your lordships.

Nor. Thanks, my good lord chamberlain. [Exit Lord Chamberlain.

Norfolk opens a folding-door. The King is difcovered fitting, and reading pensively.8

Sur. How fad he looks! fure, he is much afflicted.

<sup>8</sup> The flage direction, in the old copy, is a fingular one. Exit Lord Chamberlain, and the King draws the curtain, and fits reading penfively. Steenens.

This flage direction was calculated for, and afcertains precifely the state of, the theatre in Shakspeare's time. When a person was to be discovered in a different apartment from that in which the original speakers in the scene are exhibited, the artless mode of our author's time was to place fuch person in the back part of the stage, behind the curtains, which were occasionally suf-pended across it. These the person who was to be discovered, (as Henry, in the present case,) drew back just at the proper time. Mr. Rowe, who feems to have looked no further than the modern stage, changed the direction thus: "The feene opens, and diffeovers the King," &c. but, besides the impropriety of introducing fcenes when there were none, fuch an exhibition would not be proper here, for Norfolk has just faid-"Let's in,"—and therefore should himself do some act, in order to vifit the King. This, indeed, in the fimple state of the old stage, was not attended to; the King very civilly discovering himself. See An Account of our old Theatres, Vol. III. MALONE.





# LAWRENCE CAMPEJUS,

# CARDINAL & BISHOP OF S'ALISBURY.

Henry WILL Act II. Scene II.

From a curious Print, taken from a Medal.

London , Reh & Nov 100 by E&S Harding , Tall Mail .

K. HEN. Who is there? ha?

Nor. 'Pray God, he be not angry.

K. Hen. Who's there, I fay? How dare you thrust yourselves

Into my private meditations?

Who am I? ha?

Nor. A gracious king, that pardons all offences Malice ne'er meant: our breach of duty, this way, Is bufiness of estate; in which, we come To know your royal pleasure.

K. HEN. You are too bold; Go to; I'll make ye know your times of business: Is this an hour for temporal affairs? ha?—

## Enter Wolsey and Campeius.

Who's there? my good lord cardinal?—O my Wolfey,

The quiet of my wounded conscience,

Thou art a cure fit for a king.—You're welcome,

Most learned reverend fir, into our kingdom;
Use us, and it:—My good lord, have great care
I be not found a talker.9.

[To Wolsey.

Wol. Sir, you cannot. I would, your grace would give us but an hour Of private conference.

I be not found a talker.] I take the meaning to be, Let care be taken that my promife be performed, that my professions of welcome be not found empty talk. Johnson.

So, in King Richard III:

<sup>&</sup>quot;-we will not stand to prate,

<sup>&</sup>quot; Talkers are no good doers." STEEVENS.

K. Hen. We are bufy; go.

[To Norfolk and Suffolk.

Afide.

Nor. This prieft has no pride in him?

Suf.

Not to fpeak of;

I would not be fo fick though, for his place:

But this cannot continue.

Non.

If it do,

I'll venture one heave at him.2

Suf. I another.

[Exeunt Norfolk and Suffolk.

Wol. Your grace has given a precedent of wisdom Above all princes, in committing freely Your scruple to the voice of Christendom: Who can be angry now? what envy reach you? The Spaniard, tied by blood and favour to her, Must now confess, if they have any goodness, The trial just and noble. All the clerks, I mean, the learned ones, in christian kingdoms, Have their free voices; Rome, the nurse of judgment,

Invited by your noble felf, hath fent One general tongue unto us, this good man, This just and learned priest, cardinal Campeius; Whom, once more, I present unto your highness.

The first folio gives the passage thus:

\*\*Ile venture one; have at him.

The reading in the text is that of the fecond folio. Steevens.

That is, fo fick as he is proud.

JOHNSON.

one heave at him.] So, in King Henry VI. Part II:
"To heave the traitor Somerfet from hence."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Have their free voices; The conftruction is, have fent their free voices; the word fent, which occurs in the next line, being understood here. MALONE.

K. HEN. And, once more, in mine arms I bid him welcome,

And thank the holy conclave for their loves;
They have fent me fuch a man I would have wish'd for.

Cam. Your grace must needs deserve all strangers' loves,

You are so noble: To your highness' hand I tender my commission; by whose virtue, (The court of Rome commanding,)—you, my lord Cardinal of York, are join'd with me their servant, In the unpartial judging of this business.

K. Hen. Two equal men. The queen shall be acquainted

Forthwith, for what you come: - Where's Gardiner?

Wol. I know, your majesty has always lov'd her So dear in heart, not to deny her that A woman of less place might ask by law, Scholars, allow'd freely to argue for her.

K. HEN. Ay, and the best, she shall have; and my favour

To him that does best; God forbid else. Cardinal,

Prythee, call Gardiner to me, my new secretary.

Pr'ythee, call Gardiner to me, my new fecretary;
I find him a fit fellow.

[Exit Wolsey.

## Re-enter Wolsey, with GARDINER.

Wol. Give me your hand: much joy and favour to you;

You are the king's now.

GARD. But to be commanded For ever by your grace, whose hand has rais'd me.

[Aside.]

K. Hen. Come hither, Gardiner.

[They converse apart.

CAM. My lord of York, was not one doctor Pace In this man's place before him?

Wol. Yes, he was.

CAM. Was he not held a learned man?

Wol. Yes, furely.

CAM. Believe me, there's an ill opinion spread then

Even of yourfelf, lord cardinal.

Wol. How! of me?

CAM. They will not fick to fay, you envied him; And, fearing he would rife, he was fo virtuous, Kept him a foreign man fill; which fo griev'd him, That he ran mad, and died.

Wor. Heaven's peace be with him! That's christian care enough: for living murmurers, There's places of rebuke. He was a fool; For he would needs be virtuous: That good fellow, If I command him, follows my appointment; I will have none so near else. Learn, this brother, We live not to be grip'd by meaner persons.

K. HEN. Deliver this with modesty to the queen.

[Exit Gardiner.

The most convenient place that I can think of, For such receipt of learning, is Black-Friars; There ye shall meet about this weighty business:—My Wolfey, see it furnish'd.—O my lord Would it not grieve an able man, to leave So sweet a bedfellow? But, conscience, conscience,—O, 'tis a tender place, and I must leave her.

[Exeunt..

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Kept him a foreign man ftill: ] Kept him out of the king's presence, employed in foreign embassies. Johnson.





# ANNE BULLEN

From a Miniature in the Collection of the Flow, Horace Walpole at STRAWBERRY HILL.

taken from an theient Original.

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#### SCENE III.

An Ante-chamber in the Queen's Apartments.

Enter Anne Bullen, and an old Lady.

Anne. Not for that neither;—Here's the pang that pinches:

His highness having liv'd so long with her: and she So good a lady, that no tongue could ever Pronounce dishonour of her,—by my life, She never knew harm-doing;—O now, after So many courses of the sun enthron'd, Still growing in a majesty and pomp,—the which To leave is 5 a thousand-fold more bitter, than 'Tis sweet at first to acquire,—after this process, To give her the avaunt! 6 it is a pity Would move a monster.

OLD L. Hearts of most hard temper Melt and lament for her.

ANNE. O, God's will! much better, She ne'er had known pomp: though it be temporal, Yet, if that quarrel, fortune, 7 do divorce

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> To leave is —] The latter word was added by Mr. Theobald. Malone.

To give her the avaunt! To fend her away contemptuously; to pronounce against her a sentence of ejection.

Yet, if that quarrel, fortune,] She calls Fortune a quarrel or arrow, from her firiking fo deep and fuddenly. Quarrel was a large arrow fo called. Thus Fairfax:

<sup>&</sup>quot; ---- twang'd the string, out flew the quarrel long."
WARBURTON.

Such is Dr. Warburton's interpretation. Sir Thomas Hanmer reads:

That quarreller Fortune.

It from the bearer, 'tis a fufferance, panging' As foul and body's fevering.8

 $O_{LD} L$ . Alas, poor lady! She's a stranger now again.9

I think the poet may be eafily supposed to use quarrel for quarreller, as murder for the murderer, the act for the agent.

Dr. Johnson may be right. So, in Antony and Cleopatra:

" --- but that your royalty

"Holds idleness your subject, I should take you

" For Idleness itself."

Like Martial's-" Non vitiofus homo es, Zoile, sed Vitium." We might, however, read:

Yet if that quarrel fortune to divorce

It from the bearer.—

i. e. if any quarrel happen or chance to divorce it from the bearer. To fortune is a verb used by Shakspeare in The Two 

"That you will wonder what hath fortuned."

Again, in Spenfer's Fairy Queen, B. I. c. ii:

"It fortuned (high heaven did fo ordaine)" &c.

STEEVENS.

panging As foul and body's severing. ] So Bertram, in All's well that ends well: "I grow to you, and our parting is a tortur'd body." STEEVENS.

Again, in Antony and Cleopatra:

"The foul and body rive not more at parting, "Than greatness going off." MALONE.

9 - ftranger now again.] Again an alien; not only no longer queen, but no longer an Englishwoman. Johnson.

It rather means, she is alienated from the King's affection, is a stranger to his bed; for she still retained the rights of an Englishwonian, and was princess dowager of Wales. So, in the fecond scene of the third Act:

" --- Katharine no more

"Shall be call'd queen; but princess dowager, "And widow to prince Arthur." TOLLET.

Dr. Johnson's interpretation appears to me to be the true onc. MALONB.

Anne. So much the more Must pity drop upon her. Verily, I swear, 'tis better to be lowly born, And range with humble livers in content, Than to be perk'd up in a glistering grief, And wear a golden forrow.

OLD L. Our content Is our best having.

Anne. By my troth, and maidenhead, I would not be a queen.

OLD L. Beshrew me, I would, And venture maidenhead for't; and so would you, For all this spice of your hypocrisy:
You, that have so fair parts of woman on you, Have too a woman's heart; which ever yet Affected eminence, wealth, sovereignty;
Which, to say sooth, are blessings: and which gifts (Saving your mincing) the capacity
Of your soft cheveril 2 conscience would receive, If you might please to stretch it.

ANNE. Nay, good troth,—
OLD L. Yes, troth, and troth,—You would not be a queen?

I agree with Mr. Tollet. So, in King Lear:

"Dower'd with our curse, and firanger'd with our oath,"--

i.e. the revocation of my love has reduced her to the condition of an unfriended firanger. Steevens.

I — our best having.] That is, our best possession. So, in Macbeth:

"Of noble having and of royal hope." In Spanish, hazienda. Johnson.

<sup>2</sup> —— cheveril—] is kid-fkin, foft leather. Johnson.

So, in Histriomastix, 1610:

"The cheveril conscience of corrupted law."

STEEVENS.

Anne. No, not for all the riches under heaven.

OLD L. 'Tis strange; a three-pence bowed would hire me,

Old as I am, to queen it: But, I pray you, What think you of a duches? have you limbs To bear that load of title?

Anne. No, in truth.

OLD L. Then you are weakly made: Pluck off a little; 3

I would not be a young count in your way, For more than blufhing comes to: if your back Cannot vouchfafe this burden, 'tis too weak Ever to get a boy.

Anne. How you do talk! I fwear again, I would not be a queen For all the world.

OLD L. . In faith, for little England You'd venture an emballing: I myself Would for Carnarvonshire, although there 'long'd

3 —— Pluck off a little; &c ] What must she pluck off? I think we may better read:
—— Pluck up a little.

Pluck up! is an idiomatical expression for take courage.

Johnson.

The old lady first questions Anne Bullen about being a queen, which she declares her aversion to; she then proposes the title of a duches, and atks her if she thinks herself equal to the task of sustaining it; but as she still declines the offer of greatness,

---Pluck off a little, fays fhe; i.e. let us ftill further divest preferment of its glare, let us descend yet lower, and more upon a level with your own quality; and then adds:

I would not be a young count in your way, which is an inferior degree of honour to any before enumerated.

STEEVENS.

4 In faith, for little England
You'd venture an emballing: I myfelf
Would for Carnarvonshire,] Little England seems very

No more to the crown but that. Lo, who comes here?

properly opposed to all the world; but what has Carnarvonshire to do here? Does it refer to the birth of Edward II. at Carnarvon? or may not this be the allusion? By little England is meant, perhaps, that territory in Pembrokeshire, where the Flemings settled in Henry Ist's time, who speaking a language very different from the Welsh, and bearing some affinity to the English, this fertile spot was called by the Britons, as we are told by Camden, Little England beyond Wales; and, as it is a very fruitful country, may be justly opposed to the mountainous and barren county of Carnarvon. WHALLEY.

So, in A fhort Relation of a long Journey &c. by John Taylor the Water Poet: "Concerning Pembrookshire, the people do fpeak English in it almost generally, and therefore they call it Little England beyond Wales, it being the farthest fouth and west county in the whole principality." Steevens.

You'd venture an emballing: ] You would venture to be diftinguished by the ball, the entign of royalty. Johnson.

Dr. Johnson's explanation cannot be right, because a queen-confort, such as Anne Bullen was, is not distinguished by the ball, the ensign of royalty, nor has the poet expressed that she was so distinguished. Tollet.

Mr. Tollet's objection to Johnson's explanation is an hypercriticism. Shakspeare did not probably consider so curiously his distinction between a queen consort and a queen regent.

M. MASON.

Might we read-

You'd venture an empalling;

i. e. being invested with the pall or robes of state? The word occurs in the old tragedy of King Edward III. 1596:

"As with this armour I impall thy breast—."

And, in *Macleth*, the verb to pall is used in the sense of enrole:

"And pall thee in the dunnest smoke of hell."

MALONE.

The word recommended by Mr. Malone occurs also in Chapman's version of the eighth Book of Homer's Odyffey:

" -- fuch a radiance as doth round empall

"Crown'd Cytherea;—" STEEVENS.

Might we not read—an embalming? A queen confort is Vol. XV.

## Enter the Lord Chamberlain.

Cham. Good morrow, ladies. What wer't worth to know

The fecret of your conference?

Anne. My good lord, Not your demand; it values not your asking: Our mistress' forrows we were pitying.

CHAM. It was a gentle business, and becoming The action of good women: there is hope, All will be well.

Anne. Now I pray God, amen!

CHAM. You bear a gentle mind, and heavenly bleffings

Follow fuch creatures. That you may, fair lady, Perceive I fpeak fincerely, and high note's Ta'en of your many virtues, the king's majefty Commends his good opinion to you,<sup>5</sup> and

anointed at her coronation; and in King Richard II. the word is ufed in that fense:

"With my own tears I wash away my talm." Dr. Johnson properly explains it, the oil of confecration.

WHALLEY.

The Old Lady's jocularity, I am afraid, carries her beyond the bounds of decorum; but her quibbling allufion is more eafily comprehended than explained. RITSON.

<sup>5</sup> Commends his good opinion to you,] Thus the old copy, and fubfequent editors. Mr. Malone reads:

Commends his good opinion of you. Steevens.

The words-to you, in the next line, must in construction be

understood here. The old copy, indeed, reads:

Commends his good opinion of you to you, and——but the metre thows that cannot be right. The words—to you were probably accidentally omitted by the compositor in the fecond line, and being marked by the corrector as out, (to speak technically,) were inserted in the wrong place. The old error

Does purpose honour to you no less flowing Than marchioness of Pembroke; to which title A thousand pound a year, annual support, Out of his grace he adds.

ANNE. I do not know. What kind of my obedience I should tender; More than my all is nothing: 6 nor my prayers Are not words duly hallow'd,7 nor my wifhes

being again marked, the words that were wanting were properly inserted in the second line where they now stand, and the new error in the first was overlooked. In the printing-house this frequently happens. MALONE.

It is as probable that, in the prefent instance, a correction, and the erafure that was defigned to make room for it, have both been printed.

The phrase I found in the text I have not disturbed, as it is

Supported by a passage in Antony and Cleopatra:

" Commend unto his lips thy favouring hand."

Again, in King Lear:

"I did commend your highness' letters to them."

STEEVENS.

-6 More than my all is nothing: Not only my all is nothing, but if my all were more than it is, it were still nothing.

JOHNSON.

So, in Macbeth:

"More is thy due than more than all can pay."

STEEVENS.

7 \_\_\_\_\_ nor my prayers Are not words duly hallow'd, &c.] It appears to me abfolutely necessary, in order to make sense of this passage, to read: for my prayers

Are not words duly hallow'd, &c.

inflead of "nor my prayers."

Anne's argument is this: "More than my all is nothing, for my prayers and wishes are of no value, and yet prayers and wishes are all I have to return." M. MASON.

The double negative, it has been already observed, was commonly used in our author's time.

For my prayers, a reading introduced by Mr. Pope, even if fuch arbitrary changes were allowable, ought not to be admitted

More worth than empty vanities; yet prayers, and withes,

Are all I can return. 'Befeech your lordfhip, Vouchfafe to fpeak my thanks, and my obedience, As from a blufhing handmaid, to his highness; Whose health, and royalty, I pray for.

CHAM.

Lady,

I shall not fail to approve the fair conceit,

The king hath of you.—I have perus'd her well;

Afile

Beauty and honour in her are fo mingled,
That they have caught the king: and who knows

yet,
But from this lady may proceed a gem,
To lighten all this ifle? —I'll to the king,
And fay, I fpoke with you.

here, this being a diffinct proposition, not an illation from what has gone before. I know not, (fays Anne,) what external acts of duty and obeisance I ought to return for such unmerited favour. All I can do of that kind, and even more, if more were possible, would be insufficient: nor are any prayers that I can offer up for my benefactor sufficiently sanctified, nor any wishes that I can breathe for his happiness, of more value than the most worthless and empty vanities. Malone.

§ I shall not fail &c.] I shall not omit to strengthen, by my commendation, the opinion which the King has formed.

JOHNSON.

<sup>9</sup>——I have perus'd her well;] From the many artful ftrokes of address the poet has thrown in upon Queen Elizabeth and her mother, it thould seem that this play was written and performed in his royal mistress's time: if so, some lines were added by him in the last scene, after the accession of her successor, King James. Theobald.

To lighten all this ifle?] Perhaps alluding to the carbuncle, a gem supposed to have intrinsick light, and to shine in the dark: any other gem may reslect light, but cannot give it.

JOHNSON.

ANNE.

My honour'd lord. [Exit Lord Chamberlain.

OLD L. Why, this it is; fee, fee!

I have been begging fixteen years in court,
(Am yet a courtier beggarly,) nor could
Come pat betwixt too early and too late,
For any fuit of pounds: and you, (O fate!)
A very fresh-fish here, (fye, fye upon
This compell'd fortune!) have your mouth fill'd up,
Before you open it.

ANNE.

This is strange to me.

OLD L. How tastes it? is it bitter? forty pence, no.2

So, in Titus Andronicus:

"A precious ring, that lightens all the hole."

STEEVENS.

Thus, in a palace described in Amadis de Gaule, Trans. 1619, fol. B. IV. p. 5: "In the roofe of a chamber hung two lampes of gold, at the bottomes whereof were enchased two carbuncles, which gave so bright a splendour round about the roome, that there was no neede of any other light." With a reference to this notion, I imagine, Milton, speaking of the orb of the sun, says:

"If stone, carbunele most or chrysolite."

Paradife Loft, B. III. v. 596.

And that we have in Antony and Cleopatra:

"----were it carbuncled

"Like holy Phæbus' car." HOLT WHITE.

<sup>2</sup> — is it litter? forty pence, no.] Mr. Roderick, in his appendix to Mr. Edwards's book, proposes to read:

—— for two-pence,——

The old reading may, however, ftand. Forty pence was, in those days, the proverbial expression of a small wager, or a small sum. Money was then reckoned by pounds, marks, and nobles. Forty pence is half a noble, or the fixth part of a pound. Forty pence, or three and sour pence, still remains, in many offices, the legal and established see.

So, in King Richard II. Act V. fc. v:

"The cheapest of us is ten groats too dear."

There was a lady once, ('tis an old flory,)
That would not be a queen, that would fhe not,
For all the mud in Egypt: 3—Have you heard it?

Anne. Come, you are pleafant.

OLD L. With your theme, I could O'ermount the lark. The marchioness of Pembroke! A thousand pounds a year! for pure respect; No other obligation: By my life, That promises more thousands: Honour's train Is longer than his foreskirt. By this time, I know, your back will bear a duchess;—Say, Are you not stronger than you were?

Anne. Good lady, Make yourfelf mirth with your particular fancy, And leave me out on't. 'Would I had no being, If this falute my blood a jot; it faints me, To think what follows.

The queen is comfortless, and we forgetful

In our long absence: Pray, do not deliver What here you have heard, to her.

OLD L.

What do you think me? [Exeunt.

Again, in All's well that ends well, A& II. the Clown fays: "As fit as ten groats for the hand of an attorney."

Again, in Green's Groundwork of Coneycatching: "—wagers laying, &c. forty pence gaged against a match of wrestling."

Again, in The longer thou livest, the more Fool thou art, 1570: "I dare wage with any man forty pence."

Again, in The Storye of King Darius, 1565, an interlude:

"Nay, that I will not for fourty pence." Steevens.

For all the mud in Egypt: The fertility of Egypt is derived from the mud and flime of the Nile. Steevens.

#### SCENE IV.

# A Hall in Black-fryars.

Trumpets, Sennet, and Cornets. Enter Two Vergers, with Short Silver Wands; next them,

<sup>4</sup> —— Sennet,] Dr. Burney (whose General History of Mufick has been so highly and deservedly applauded) undertook to trace the etymology, and discover the certain meaning of this term, but without success. The following conjecture of his should not, however, be withheld from the publick:

" Senné or fennie, de l'Allemand sen, qui fignifie assemblee.

Dict. de vieux Language:

"Senne, affemblee a fon de cloche." Menage. Perhaps, therefore, (fays he,) fennet may mean a flourish for the purpose of affembling chiefs, or apprizing the people of their approach. I have likewise been informed, (as is elsewhere noted,) that feneste is the name of an antiquated French tune." See Julius Casar, Act I. sc. ii. Steevens.

In the fecond part of Marston's Antonio and Mellida—
"Cornets found a cynet." FARMER.

A fenet appears to have fignified a fhort flourish on cornets. In King Henry VI. P. III. after the King and the Duke of York have entered into a compact in the parliament-house, we find this marginal direction: "Senet. Here they [the lords] come down [from their feats]." In that place a flourish must have been meant. The direction which has occasioned this note should be, I believe, sennet on cornets.

In Marlowe's King Edward II. we find "Cornets found a

Signate."

Senet or fignate was undoubtedly nothing more than a flourish or founding. The Italian Sonata formerly fignified nothing more. See Florio's Italian Dict. 1611, in v.

That fenet was merely the corrupt pronunciation of fignate, is afcertained by the following entry in the folio MS. of Mr. Henflowe, who appears to have fpelt entirely by the ear:

"Laid out at fundry times, of my own ready money, about

the gainynge of ower comyfion, as followeth, 1597.

"Laid out for goinge to the corte to the Master of the Requeasts, xii d.

Two Scribes, in the Habits of Doctors; after them, the Archbishop of Canterbury alone; after him, the Bishops of Lincoln, Ely, Rochester, and Saint Asaph; 5 next them, with some small distance, follows a Gentleman bearing the Purse, with the Great Seal, and a Cardinal's Hat; then two Priests, bearing each a Silver Cross; then a Gentleman-Usher bare-headed, accompanied with a Sergeant at Arms, bearing a Silver Mace; then two Gentlemen, bearing two great Silver Pillars; 6

- 5 —— Archbishop of Canterbury, —— Bishops of Lincoln, Ely, Rochester, and Saint Asaph; These were, William Warham, John Longland, Nicholas West, John Fisher, and Henry Standish. West, Fisher, and Standish, were counsel for the Queen. Reed.
- o—pillars; Pillars were fome of the enfigns of dignity carried before cardinals. Sir Thomas More, when he was speaker to the commons, advised them to admit Wolsey into the house with his maces and his pillars. More's Life of Sir T. More. Johnson.

So, in *The Treatous*, a fatire on Cardinal Wolfey, no date, but published between the execution of the Duke of Buckingham and the repudiation of Queen Katharine. Of this curiofity the reader will find a particular account in Herbert's improved edit. of Ames's *Typographical Antiquities*, Vol. III. p. 1538, &c.

The author of this invective was William Roy. See Bale de Script. Brit. edit. 1548, p. 254, b:

"With worldly pompe incredible, "Before him rydeth two prestes stronge; "And they bear two crosses right longe,

"Gapynge in every man's face:
After them followe two lave men fecular

"After them folowe two laye men fecular, "And each of theym holdyn a pillar,

"In their hondes steade of a mace." STEEVENS.

At the end of Fiddes's Life of Cardinal Wolfey, is a curious letter of Mr. Antiis's, on the jubject of the two filver pillars usually borne before Cardinal Wolfey. This remarkable piece of pageantry did not escape the notice of Shakspeare. Percy.

Wolfey had two great croffes of filver, the one of his arch-

after them, fide by fide, the two Cardinals Wolsey and Campeius; two Noblemen with the Sword and Mace. Then enter the King and Queen, and their Trains. The King takes place under the cloth of fiate; the two Cardinals fit under him as judges. The Queen takes place at fome diftance from the King. The Bishops place themselves on each fide the court, in manner of a consistory; between them, the Scribes. The Lords sit next the Bishops. The Crier and the rest of the Attendants stand in convenient order about the stage.

Wol. Whilst our commission from Rome is read Let filence be commanded.

K. HEN. What's the need? It hath already publickly been read, And on all fides the authority allow'd; You may then spare that time.

Wol. Be't fo:—Proceed.

Scribe. Say, Henry king of England, come into the court.

bishoprick, the other of his legacy, borne before him whither-foever he went or rode, by two of the tallest priests that he could get within the realm. This is from Vol. III. p. 920, of Holinshed, and it feems from p. 837, that one of the pillars was the token of a cardinal, and perhaps he bore the other pillar as an archbishop. Tollet.

One of Wolfey's croffes certainly denoted his being Legate, as the other was borne before him either as cardinal or archbithop. "On the —— day of the fame moneth (fays Hall) the cardinall removed out of his house called Yorke-place, with one croffe, faying, that he would he had never borne more, meaning that by hys croffe which he bore as legate, which degree-taking was his confusion." Chron. Henry VIII. 104. b.

MALONE.

CRIER. Henry king of England, &c.

K. HEN. Here.

Scribe. Say, Katharine queen of England, come into court.

CRIER. Katharine, queen of England, &c.

[The Queen makes no answer, rises out of her chair, goes about the court, comes to the King, and kneels at his feet; then speaks.]

Q. Kath. Sir, I defire you, do me right and justice; And to bestow your pity on me: for I am a most poor woman, and a stranger, Born out of your dominions; having here No judge indifferent, nor no more assurance Of equal friendship and proceeding. Alas, sir, In what have I offended you? what cause Hath my behaviour given to your displeasure, That thus you should proceed to put me off, And take your good grace from me? Heaven witness, I have been to you a true and humble wise, At all times to your will conformable: 9

<sup>7 ——</sup> goes about the court,] "Because (says Cavendish) she could not come to the king directlie, for the distance severed between them." MALONE.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Sir, I defire you, do me right and justice; &c.] This fpeech of the Queen, and the King's reply, are taken from Holinshed, with the most trifling variations. Steevens.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> At all times to your will conformable:] The character Queen Katharine here prides herfelf for, is given to another Queen in The Historie of the uniting of the Kingdom of Portugall to the Crowne of Castill, fo. 1600, p. 238: "—at which time Queene Anne his wife fell ficke of a rotten fever, the which in few daies brought her to another life; wherewith the King was much grieved, being a lady wholly conformable to his humour." Reed.

Ever in fear to kindle your diflike, Yea, fubject to your countenance; glad, or forry, As I faw it inclin'd. When was the hour, I ever contradicted your defire, Or made it not mine too? Or which of your friends Have I not strove to love, although I knew He were mine enemy? what friend of mine That had to him deriv'd your anger, did I Continue in my liking? nay, gave notice1 He was from thence discharg'd? Sir, call to mind That I have been your wife, in this obedience, Upward of twenty years, and have been bleft With many children by you: If, in the courfe And process of this time, you can report, And prove it too, against mine honour aught. My bond to wedlock, or my love and duty, Against your facred person,2 in God's name,

nay, gave notice—] In modern editions:
—nay, gave not notice—

Though the author's common liberties of speech might justify the old reading, yet I cannot but think that not was dropped before notice, having the same letters, and would therefore follow Sir T. Hanmer's correction. Johnson.

Our author is so licentious in his construction, that I suspect no corruption. Malone.

Perhaps this inaccuracy (like a thousand others) is chargeable only on the blundering superintendants of the first folio.—Instead of—nay, we might read:

—— nor gave notice

He was from thence discharg'd? Steeyens.

2 - or my love and duty

Against your facred person,] There seems to be an error in the phrase "Against your sacred person;" but I don't know how to amend it. The sense would require that we should read, "Towards your sacred person," or some word of a similar import, which against will not bear: and it is not likely that against should be written by mistake for towards.

In the old copy there is not a comma in the preceding line

M. MASON.

Turn me away; and let the foul'st contempt
Shut door upon me, and so give me up
To the sharpest kind of justice. Please you, sir,
The king, your father, was reputed for
A prince most prudent, of an excellent
And unmatch'd wit and judgment: Ferdinand,
My father, king of Spain, was reckon'd one
The wisest prince, that there had reign'd by many
A year before: It is not to be question'd
That they had gather'd a wise council to them
Of every realm, that did debate this business,
Who deem'd our marriage lawful: Wherefore I
humbly

Befeech you, fir, to spare me, till I may Be by my friends in Spain advis'd; whose counsel I will implore: if not; i'the name of God,

Your pleafure be fulfill'd!

after duty. Mr. M. Mason has justly observed that, with such, a punctuation, the sense requires—Towards your sacred person. A comma being placed at duty, the construction is—If you can report and prove aught against mine honour, my love and duty, or aught against your facred person, &c. but I doubt whether this was our author's intention; for such an arrangement seems to make a breach of her honour and matrimonial bond to be something distinct from an offence against the king's person, which is not the case. Perhaps, however, by the latter words Shakspeare meant, against your life. Malone.

--- against my honour aught,

My bond to wedlock, or my love and duty

Against your sacred person, &c.] The meaning of this passage is sufficiently clear, but the construction of it has puzzled us all. It is evidently erroneous, but may be amended by merely removing the word or from the middle of the second line to the end of it. It will then run thus—

—— against my honour aught,— My bond to wedlock,—my love and duty,—or

Against your sacred person, &c.

This flight alteration makes it grammatical, as well as intelligible. M. Mason.

Wor. You have here, lady, (And of your choice,) these reverend fathers; men Of singular integrity and learning, Yea, the elect of the land, who are assembled To plead your cause: It shall be therefore bootless, That longer you desire the court; 3 as well For your own quiet, as to rectify What is unsettled in the king.

Cam. His grace Hath fpoken well, and justly: Therefore, madam, It's fit this royal fession do proceed; And that, without delay, their arguments Be now produc'd, and heard.

Q. Катн. To you I fpeak. Lord cardinal,—

Wol. Your pleasure, madam?

Q. KATH. Sir, I am about to weep; 4 but, thinking that We are a queen, (or long have dream'd fo,) certain, The daughter of a king, my drops of tears I'll turn to sparks of fire.

Wol.

Be patient yet.

- <sup>3</sup> That longer you defire the court; That you defire to protract the bufiness of the court; that you solicit a more distant seffion and trial. To pray for a longer day, i. e. a more distant one, when the trial or execution of criminals is agitated, is yet the language of the bar.—In the fourth solio, and all the modern editions, defer is substituted for defire. Malone.
- \* I am about to weep; &c.] Shakspeare has given almost a similar sentiment to Hermione, in The Winter's Tale, on an almost similar occasion:

"I am not prone to weeping, as our fex Commonly are, &c.—but I have

"That honourable grief lodg'd here, which burns "Worse than tears drown;" &c. Steevens.

Q. KATH. I will, when you are humble; nay, before,

Or God will punish me. I do believe, Induc'd by potent circumstances, that You are mine enemy; and make my challenge, You shall not be my judge: 5 for it is you Have blown this coal betwixt my lord and me,—Which God's dew quench!—Therefore, I say again, I utterly abhor, yea, from my soul, Refuse you for my judge; 6 whom, yet once more, I hold my most malicious foe, and think not At all a friend to truth.

Wol. I do profefs,
You fpeak not like yourfelf; who ever yet
Have flood to charity, and difplay'd the effects
Of difposition gentle, and of wisdom
O'ertopping woman's power. Madam, you do me
wrong:

I have no fpleen against you; nor injustice
For you, or any: how far I have proceeded,
Or how far further shall, is warranted
By a commission from the consistory,
Yea, the whole consistory of Rome. You charge me,
That I have blown this coal: I do deny it:

You shall not be my challenge, You shall not be my judge! Challenge is here a verbum juris, a law term. The criminal, when he refuses a juryman, tays—I challenge him. Johnson.

<sup>6</sup> I utterly abhor, yea, from my foul
Refuse you for my judge; These are not mere words of passion, but technical terms in the canon law.

Deteftor and Recufo. The former, in the language of canonifs, fignifies no more, than I protest against. BLACKSTONE.

The words are Holinshed's: "—and therefore openly protested that she did utterly athor, refuse, and forsake such a judge." Malon E.

The king is prefent: if it be known to him,
That I gainfay? my deed, how may he wound,
And worthily, my falfehood? yea, as much
As you have done my truth. But if 8 he know
That I am free of your report, he knows,
I am not of your wrong. Therefore in him
It lies, to cure me: and the cure is, to
Remove these thoughts from you: The which before
His highness shall speak in, I do beseech
You, gracious madam, to unthink your speaking,
And to say so no more.

Q. KATH. My lord, my lord,
I am a fimple woman, much too weak
To oppose your cunning. You are meek, and humble-mouth'd;

You fign your place and calling,9 in full feeming, With meeknefs and humility: but your heart Is cramm'd with arrogancy, fpleen, and pride. You have, by fortune, and his highnefs' favours, Gone flightly o'er low fteps; and now are mounted Where powers are your retainers: and your words,

<sup>7 ——</sup> gainsay—] i.e. deny. So, in Lord Surrey's translation of the fourth Book of the Æneid:

<sup>&</sup>quot;I hold thee not, nor yet gainfay thy words."

STEEVENS.

S —— But if—] The conjunction—But, which is wanting in the old copy, was supplied, for the fake of measure, by Sir T. Hanmer. Steevens.

<sup>9</sup> You fign your place and calling, Sign, for answer.
WARBURTON.

I think, to fign, must here be to fhow, to denote. By your outward meekness and humil ty, you fhow that you are of an holy order, but, &c. Johnson.

So, with a kindred fense, in Julius Casar: "Sign'd in thy spoil, and crimson'd in thy lethe."

STEEVENS,

Domesticks to you, serve your will, as't please Yourself pronounce their office. I must tell you, You tender more your person's honour, than Your high profession spiritual: That again I do refuse you for my judge; and here, Before you all, appeal unto the pope,

Where powers are your retainers: and your words,

Domesticks to you, serve your will, You have now got power at your beck, following in your retinue; and words therefore are degraded to the fervile state of performing any office which you shall give them. In humbler and more common terms: Having now got power, you do not regard your word.

The word power, when used in the plural and applied to one person only, will not bear the meaning that Dr. Johnson wishes

to give it.

By powers are meant the Emperor and the King of France, in the pay of one or the other of whom Wolfey was constantly retained; and it is well known that Wolfey entertained fome of the nobility of England among his domesticks, and had an absolute power over the reft. M. MASON.

Whoever were pointed at by the word powers, Shakspeare, furely, does not mean to fay that Wolfey was retained by them, but that they were retainers, or fubservient, to Wolfey. MALONE.

I believe that—powers, in the prefent inflance, are used merely to express persons in whom power is lodged. The Queen would infinuate that Wolfey had rendered the highest officers of state fubservient to his will. STEEVENS.

I believe we should read:

Where powers are your retainers, and your wards,

Domeficks to you, &c. . The Queen rifes naturally in her description. She paints the powers of government depending upon Wolfey under three images; as his retainers, his wards, his domestick fervants. TYRWHITT.

So, in Storer's Life and Death of Thomas Wolfey, Cardinal, 2 poem, 1599:

" I must have notice where their wards must dwell;

" I car'd not for the gentry, for I had

"Yong nobles of the land," &c. STEEVENS.

To bring my whole cause 'fore his holiness, And to be judg'd by him.

[She curt fies to the King, and offers to depart.

CAM. The queen is obstinate, Stubborn to justice, apt to accuse it, and Disdainful to be try'd by it; 'tis not well. She's going away.

K. HEN. Call her again.

CRIER. Katharine queen of England, come into the court.

Grif. Madam, you are call'd back.

Q. KATH. What need you note it? pray you, keep your way:

When you are call'd, return.—Now the Lord help, They vex me past my patience!—pray you, pass on: I will not tarry: no, nor ever more, Upon this business, my appearance make In any of their courts.

[Exeunt Queen, Griffith, and her other Attendants.

K. HEN. Go thy ways, Kate: That man i'the world, who shall report he has A better wife, let him in nought be trusted, For speaking salse in that: Thou art, alone, (If thy rare qualities, sweet gentleness, Thy meekness saint-like, wife-like government,—Obeying in commanding,—and thy parts Sovereign and pious else, could speak thee out,2)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> — could fpeak thee out,)] If thy feveral qualities had tongues to fpeak thy praife. Johnson.

Rather—had tongues capable of speaking out thy merits; i.e. of doing them extensive justice. In Cymbeline we have a similar expression:

<sup>&</sup>quot;You Speak him far." STEEVENS.

The queen of earthly queens:—She is noble born; And, like her true nobility, she has Carried herself towards me.

Wor. Most gracious sir,
In humblest manner I require your highness,
That it shall please you to declare, in hearing
Of all these ears, (for where I am robb'd and bound,
There must I be unloos'd; although not there
At once and fully satisfied,3) whether ever I
Did broach this business to your highness; or
Laid any scruple in your way, which might
Induce you to the question on't? or ever
Have to you,—but with thanks to God for such
A royal lady,—spake one the least word, might
Be to the prejudice of her present state,
Or touch of her good person?

K. Hen. My lord cardinal, I do excuse you; yea, upon mine honour, I free you from't. You are not to be taught That you have many enemies, that know not Why they are so, but, like to village curs, Bark when their fellows do: by some of these The queen is put in anger. You are excus'd: But will you be more justified? you ever Have wish'd the sleeping of this business; never Desir'd it to be stirr'd; but oft have hinder'd; oft

At once and fully satisfied,)] The fense, which is encumbered with words, is no more than this—I must be loosed, though when so loosed, I shall not be satisfied fully and at once; that is, I shall not be immediately satisfied. Johnson.

<sup>4 —</sup> might—] Old copy, redundantly—that might.
STEEVENS.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Defir'd it to be firr'd;] The useless words—to be, might, in my opinion, be safely omitted, as they clog the metre, without enforcement of the sense. Steevens.

The passages made toward it:6—on my honour, I speak my good lord cardinal to this point,7 And thus far clear him. Now, what mov'd me to't,—I will be bold with time, and your attention:—Then mark the inducement. Thus it came;—give heed to't:—

My conscience first receiv'd a tenderness, Scruple, and prick,8 on certain speeches utter'd By the bishop of Bayonne, then French ambassador; Who had been hither sent on the debating A marriage,9 'twixt the duke of Orleans and Our daughter Mary: I'the progress of this business, Ere a determinate resolution, he (I mean, the bishop) did require a respite; Wherein he might the king his lord advertise Whether our daughter were legitimate,

<sup>6</sup> The passages made toward it:] i.e. closed, or sastened. So, in The Comedy of Errors, Act III. sc. i:

"Why at this time the doors are made against you."

For the present explanation and pointing, I alone am answerable. A similar phrase occurs in Macbeth:

"Stop up the access and passage to remorse." Yet the sense in which these words have hitherto been received may be the true one. Steevens.

7 --- on my honour,

I speak my good lord cardinal to this point,] The King, having first addressed to Wolsey, breaks off; and declares upon his honour to the whole court, that he speaks the Cardinal's sentiments upon the point in question; and clears him from any attempt, or wish, to stir that business. Theobald.

<sup>8</sup> Scruple, and prick,] Prick of confcience was the term in confession. Johnson.

The expression is from Holinshed, where the King says: "The special cause that moved me unto this matter was a certaine scrupulositie that pricked my conscience," &c. See Holinshed, p. 907. Steevens.

9 A marriage,] Old copy—And marriage. Corrected by Mr. Pope. Malone.

Respecting this our marriage with the dowager. Sometimes our brother's wife. This respite shook The bosom of my conscience, enter'd me, Yea, with a splitting power, and made to tremble The region of my breaft; which forc'd fuch way, That many maz'd confiderings did throng, And press'd in with this caution. First, methought, I flood not in the fmile of heaven; who had Commanded nature, that my lady's womb, If not conceiv'd a male child by me, should Do no more offices of life to't, than The grave does to the dead: for her male iffue Or died where they were made, or shortly after This world had air'd them: Hence I took a thought. This was a judgment on me; that my kingdom, Well worthy the best heir o'the world, should not Be gladded in't by me: Then follows, that I weigh'd the danger which my realms ftood in By this my iffue's fail; and that gave to me Many a groaning throe. Thus hulling in

This refpite shook
The boson of my conscience, Though this reading be sense, yet, I verily believe, the poet wrote:

The bottom of my conscience,—
Shakspeare, in all his historical plays, was a most diligent observer of Holinshed's Chronicle. Now Holinshed, in the speech which he has given to King Henry upon this subject, makes him deliver himself thus: "Which words, once conceived within the secret lottom of my conscience, ingendred such a scrupulous doubt, that my conscience was incontinently accombred, vexed, and disquieted." Vid. Life of Henry VIII. p. 907. Theobald.

The phrase recommended by Mr. Theobald occurs again in King Heury VI. Part I:

"——for therein should we read

"The very bottom and foul of hope."
It is repeated also in Measure for Measure, All's well that ends well, King Henry VI. P. II. Coriolanus, &c. Steevens.

The wild fea <sup>2</sup> of my confcience, I did fteer Toward this remedy, whereupon we are Now prefent here together; that's to fay, I meant to rectify my confcience,—which I then did feel full fick, and yet not well,—By all the reverend fathers of the land, And doctors learn'd.—First, I began in private With you, my lord of Lincoln; you remember How under my oppression I did reek, When I first mov'd you.

Lin. Very well, my liege.

K. Hen. I have spoke long; be pleas'd yourself to say

How far you fatisfied me.

LIN. So please your highness, The question did at first so stagger me,—
Bearing a state of mighty moment in't,
And consequence of dread,—that I committed
The daring'st counsel which I had, to doubt;
And did entreat your highness to this course,
Which you are running here.

K. HEN.

I then mov'd you,3

The wild fea—] That is, floating without guidance; toffed here and there. Johnson.

The phrase belongs to navigation. A ship is said to hull when she is dismasted, and only her hull, or hulk, is left at the direction and mercy of the waves.

So, in The Alarum for London, 1602:

"And they lye hulling up and down the stream."

STEEVENS.

<sup>3</sup> I then mov'd you,] "I moved it in confession to you, my lord of Lincoln, then my ghostly father. And forasmuch as then you yourself were in some doubt, you moved me to ask the counsel of all these my lords. Whereupon I moved you,

My lord of Canterbury; and got your leave
To make this prefent fummons:—Unfolicited
I left no reverend perfon in this court;
But by particular confent proceeded,
Under your hands and feals. Therefore, go on:
For no diflike i'the world against the perfon
Of the good queen, but the sharp thorny points
Of my alleged reasons, drive this forward:
Prove but our marriage lawful, by my life,
And kingly dignity, we are contented
To wear our mortal state to come, with her,
Katharine our queen, before the primest creature
That's paragon'd o'the world.4

CAM. So please your highness, The queen being absent, 'tis a needful fitness That we adjourn this court till further day: Mean while must be an earnest motion

my lord of Canterbury, first to have your licence, in as much as you were metropolitan, to put this matter in question; and so I did of all of you, my lords." Holinshed's Life of Henry VIII.

p. 908. Theobald.

4 That's paragon'd o'the world.] Sir T. Hanmer reads, I think, better:

the primest creature
That's paragon o'the world. Johnson.

So, in The Two Gentlemen of Verona:
"No: but she is an earthly paragon."

Again, in Cymbeline:

"——an angel! or, if not, "An earthly paragon."

To paragon, however, is a verb used by Shakspeare, both in Antony and Cleopatra and Othello:

" If thou with Cæsar paragon again

" My man of men.
" — a maid

"That paragons description and wild same."

STEEVENS.

Made to the queen, to call back her appeal She intends unto his holinefs.

[They rife to depart.5

K. Hen. I may perceive, [Afide. These cardinals trifle with me: I abhor This dilatory sloth, and tricks of Rome. My learn'd and well-beloved servant, Cranmer, Pr'ythee return! with thy approach, I know, My comfort comes along. Break up the court: I say, set on. [Exeunt, in manner as they entered.

"My learn'd and well-beloved fervant, Cranmer,

"Prythee, return!——"
is no more than an apostrophe to the absent bishop of that name.

RIDLEY.

<sup>5</sup> They rife to depart.] Here the modern editors add: [The King speaks to Cranmer.] This marginal direction is not found in the old folio, and was wrongly introduced by some subsequent editor. Cranmer was now absent from court on an embassy, as appears from the last scene of this Act, where Cromwell informs Wolfey that he is returned and installed archbishop of Canterbury:

# ACT III. SCENE I.

Palace at Bridewell.

A Room in the Queen's Apartment.

The Queen, and some of her Women, at work.4

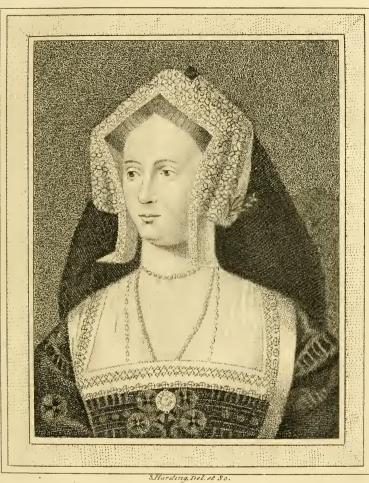
Q. KATH. Take thy lute, wench: my foul grows fad with troubles;
Sing, and difperse them, if thou canst: leave working.

## SONG.

Orpheus with his lute made trees, And the mountain-tops, that freeze, Bow themselves, when he did sing: To his musich, plants, and slowers, Ever sprung; as sun, and showers, There had been a lasting spring.

Every thing that heard him play,
Even the billows of the fea,
Hung their heads, and then lay by.
In fweet mufich is fuch art;
Killing care, and grief of heart,
Fall afleep, or, hearing, die.

at work.] Her majefty (fays Cavendish,) on being informed that the cardinals were coming to visit her, "rose up, having a skein of red filke about her neck, being at work with her maidens." Cavendish attended Wolsey in this visit; and the Queen's answer, in p. 108, is exactly conformable to that which he has recorded, and which he appears to have heard her pronounce. MALONE.



# QUEEN KATHARINE.

From a fine Original in Minature by HOLBEN. Colection of the Hon Horace Walpole. at Strawbery Hill.



## Enter a Gentleman.

Q. KATH. How now?

GENT. An't please your grace, the two great cardinals

Wait in the presence.5

Q. KATH. Would they fpeak with me? GENT. They will'd me fay fo, madam.

Q. KATH. Pray their graces
To come near. [Exit Gent.] What can be their business

With me, a poor weak woman, fallen from favour? I do not like their coming, now I think on't. They should be good men; their affairs as righteous:6 But all hoods make not monks.7

- <sup>5</sup> Wait in the presence.] i.e. in the presence-chamber. So, in Peacham's Compleat Gentleman: "The lady Anne of Bretaigne, passing thorow the presence in the court of France," &c.

  Steevens.
- They should be good men; their affairs as righteous:] Affairs for professions; and then the sense is clear and pertinent. The proposition is they are priests. The illation, they are good men; for being understood: but if affairs be interpreted in its common signification, the sentence is absurd. Warburton.

The fentence has no great difficulty: Affairs means not their present errand, but the business of their calling. Johnson.

Being churchmen they should be virtuous, and every business they undertake as righteous as their facred office: but all hoods, &c.—The ignorant editor of the second folio, not understanding the line, substituted are for as; and this capricious alteration (with many others introduced by the same hand,) has been adopted by all the modern editors. Malone.

7 — all hoods make not monks.] Cucullus non facit monachum. Steevens.

To this proverbial expression Chaucer alludes in his Romaunt of the Rose, 6190:

# Enter Wolsey and Campeius.

Wol. Peace to your highness!

Q. KATH. Your graces find me here part of a housewife;

I would be all, against the worst may happen. What are your pleasures with me, reverend lords?

Wol. May it please you, noble madam, to with-draw

Into your private chamber, we shall give you The full cause of our coming.

Q. Kath. Speak it here; There's nothing I have done yet, o' my conscience, Deserves a corner: 'Would, all other women Could speak this with as free a soul as I do! My lords, I care not, (so much I am happy Above a number,) if my actions Were tried by every tongue, every eye saw them, Envy and base opinion set against them, I know my life so even: If your business Seek me out, and that way I am wife in, so

"This argument is all roignous,
"It is not worth a crooked brere;

" Habite ne makith Monke ne Frere;

"But a clene life and devotion,

"Makith gode men of religion." GREY.

\* Envy and base opinion set against them, I would be glad that my conduct were in some publick trial confronted with mine enemies, that envy and corrupt judgment might try their utmost power against me. Johnson.

Euvy, in Shakspeare's age, often fignified malice. So, afterwards:

"Ye turn the good we offer into envy." MALONE.

9 Seek me out, &c.] I believe that a word has dropt out here, and that we should read:

Out with it boldly; Truth loves open dealing.

Wol. Tanta est ergà te mentis integritas, regina ferenissima,—

Q. KATH. O, good my lord, no Latin;<sup>2</sup> I am not fuch a truant fince my coming, As not to know the language I have liv'd in:

A firange tongue makes my cause more strange, suspicious;

Pray, fpeak in English: here are some will thank you,

If you speak truth, for their poor mistress' sake;

—— If your business Seek me, speak out, and that way I am wise in; i.e. in the way that I can understand it. TYRWHITT.

The metre shows here is a syllable dropt. I would read:

I know my life so even. If 'tis your business'
To seek me out, &c. BLACKSTONE.

The alteration proposed by Sir W. Blackstone injures one line as much as it improves the other. We might read:

Doth feek me out,——. RITSON.

and that way I am wife in,] That is, if you come to examine the title by which I am the King's wife; or, if you come to know how I have behaved as a wife. The meaning, whatever it may be, is so coarsely and unskilfully expressed, that the latter editors have liked nonsense better, and contrarily to the ancient and only copy, have published:

And that way I am wife in. Johnson.

This passage is untkilfully expressed indeed; so much so, that I don't see how it can import either of the meanings that Johnson contends for, or indeed any other. I therefore think that the modern editors have acted rightly in reading wife instead of wife, for which that word might easily have been mistaken; nor can I think the passage, so amended, nonsense, the meaning of it being this: "If your business relates to me, or to any thing of which I have any knowledge." M. Mason.

<sup>2</sup> O, good my lord, no Latin;] So, Holinshed, p. 908:
"Then began the cardinall to speake to her in Latine. Naie good my lord (quoth she) speake to me in English."

Steevens.

Believe me, fhe has had much wrong: Lord cardinal,

The willing'st fin I ever yet committed, May be absolv'd in English.

Wor. Noble lady,
I am forry, my integrity fhould breed,
(And fervice to his majefty and you,)<sup>3</sup>
So deep fuspicion, where all faith was meant.
We come not by the way of accusation,
To taint that honour every good tongue bless;
Nor to betray you any way to forrow;
You have too much, good lady: but to know
How you stand minded in the weighty difference
Between the king and you; and to deliver,
Like free and honest men, our just opinions,
And comforts to your cause.<sup>4</sup>

Cam. Most honour'd madam, My lord of York,—out of his noble nature, Zeal and obedience he still bore your grace; Forgetting, like a good man, your late censure Both of his truth and him, (which was too far,)—Offers, as I do, in a sign of peace, His service and his counsel.

Q. KATH. To betray me. [Afide. My lords, I thank you both for your good wills, Ye fpeak like honeft men, (pray God, ye prove fo!) But how to make you fuddenly an answer, In such a point of weight, so near mine honour,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> (And fervice to his majesty and you,)] This line stands fo very aukwardly, that I am inclined to think it out of its place. The author perhaps wrote, as Mr. Edwards has suggested:

<sup>&</sup>quot;I am forry my integrity should breed
"So deep suspicion, where all faith was meant,
"And service to his majesty and you." MALONE.

<sup>4 —</sup> to your cause. Old copy—our cause. Corrected by the editor of the second solio. MALONE.

(More near my life, I fear,) with my weak wit, And to fuch men of gravity and learning, In truth, I know not. I was fet at work Among my maids; full little, God knows, looking Either for fuch men, or fuch bufinefs. For her fake that I have been, for I feel The laft fit of my greatnefs, good your graces, Let me have time, and counfel, for my cause; Alas! I am a woman, friendless, hopeless.

Wol. Madam, you wrong the king's love with these fears;
Your hopes and friends are infinite.

Q. Kath. In England, But little for my profit: Can you think, lords, That any Englishman dare give me counsel? Or be a known friend, 'gainst his highness' pleasure, (Though he be grown so desperate to be honest,) And live a subject? Nay, forsooth, my friends, They that must weigh out my afflictions, They that my trust must grow to, live not here; They are, as all my other comforts, far hence, In mine own country, lords.

Johnson.

To weigh out is the fame as to outweigh. In Macleth, Shak-fpeare has overcome for come over. Steeyens.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> For her fake that I have been, &c.] For the fake of that royalty which I have heretofore possessed. Malone.

<sup>6 (</sup>Though he be grown fo desperate to be honest,)] Do you think that any Englishman dare advise me; or, if any man should venture to advise with honesty, that he could live?

To weigh out my afflictions.] This phrase is obscure. To weigh out, is, in modern language, to deliver by weight; but this sense cannot be here admitted. To weigh is likewise to deliberate upon, to consider with due attention. This may, perhaps, be meant. Or the phrase, to weigh out, may signify to counterbalance, to counteract with equal force. Johnson.

CAM. I would, your grace Would leave your griefs, and take my counfel.

Q. KATH. How, fir?

CAM. Put your main cause into the king's protection:

He's loving, and most gracious; 'twill be much Both for your honour better, and your cause; For, if the trial of the law o'ertake you, You'll part away disgrac'd.

Wol. He tells you rightly.

Q. KATH. Ye tell me what ye wish for both, my ruin:

Is this your christian counsel? out upon ye! Heaven is above all yet; there fits a judge, That no king can corrupt.

CAM. Your rage mistakes us.

Q. KATH. The more shame for ye; 8 holy men I thought ye,

Upon my foul, two reverend cardinal virtues; But cardinal fins, and hollow hearts, I fear ye: Mend them for fhame, my lords. Is this your

The cordial that ye bring a wretched lady?

A woman loft among ye, laugh'd at, fcorn'd?

I will not wifh ye half my miferies,

I have more charity: But fay, I warn'd ye;

Take heed, for heaven's fake, take heed, left at once

The burden of my forrows fall upon ye.

Wol. Madam, this is a mere diffraction; You turn the good we offer into envy.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> The more fhame for ye; ] If I mistake you, it is by your fault, not mine; for I thought you good. The distress of Katharine might have kept her from the quibble to which she is irresistibly tempted by the word cardinal. Johnson.

Q. KATH. Ye turn me into nothing: Woe upon ye, And all fuch false professor! Would ye have me (If you have any justice, any pity; If ye be any thing but churchmen's habits,) Put my sick cause into his hands that hates me? Alas! he has banish'd me his bed already; His love, too long ago: I am old, my lords, And all the fellowship I hold now with him Is only my obedience. What can happen To me, above this wretchedness? all your studies Make me a curse like this.

CAM. Your fears are worfe.

Q. KATH. Have I liv'd thus long—(let me speak myself,

Since virtue finds no friends,)—a wife, a true one? A woman (I dare fay, without vain-glory,) Never yet branded with fuspicion?

Have I with all my full affections

Still met the king? lov'd him next heaven? obey'd him?

Been, out of fondness, superstitious to him? Almost forgot my prayers to content him? And am I thus rewarded? 'tis not well, lords. Bring me a constant woman to her husband, One that ne'er dream'd a joy beyond his pleasure; And to that woman, when she has done most, Yet will I add an honour,—a great patience.

Wol. Madam, you wander from the good we aim at.

Q. KATH. My lord, I dare not make myself so guilty,

To give up willingly that noble title

<sup>9——</sup>Juperstitious to him?] That is, ferved him with superstitious attention; done more than was required. Johnson.

Your master wed me to: nothing but death Shall e'er divorce my dignities.

Wol. 'Pray, hear me.

Q. KATH. 'Would I had never trod this English earth,

Or felt the flatteries that grow upon it!
Ye have angels' faces, but heaven knows your

Ye have angels' faces, but heaven knows your hearts.

What will become of me now, wretched lady? I am the most unhappy woman living.—
Alas! poor wenches, where are now your fortunes?

[To her Women.

Shipwreck'd upon a kingdom, where no pity, No friends, no hope; no kindred weep for me, Almost, no grave allow'd me:—Like the lily,

<sup>1</sup> Ye have angels' faces,] She may perhaps allude to the old jingle of Angli and Angeli. Johnson.

I find this jingle in *The Arraygnment of Paris*, 1584. The goddeffes refer the diffute about the golden apple to the decifion of *Diana*, who fetting afide their respective claims, awards it to Queen *Elizabeth*; and adds:

"Her people are yeleped angeli,
"Or if I miss a letter, is the most."

In this paftoral, as it is called, the Queen herfelf may be almost faid to have been a performer, for at the conclusion of it, *Diana* gives the golden apple into her hands, and the Fates deposit their infignia at her feet. It was presented before her Majesty by the children of her chapel.

It appears, from the following passage in The Spanish Magquerado, by Greene, 1585, that this quibble was originally the quibble of a faint: "England, a little island, where, as faint Augustin saith, there be people with angel faces, so the inhabitants have the courage and hearts of lyons." Steevens.

See also Nashe's Anatomie of Alfurditie, 1589: "For my part I meane to suspend my sentence, and let an author of late memorie be my speaker; who affirmeth that they carry angels in their faces, and devils in their devices." MALONE.

That once was mistress of the field,<sup>2</sup> and flourish'd, I'll hang my head, and perish.

Wol.

Could but be brought to know, our ends are honeft,
You'd feel more comfort: why fhould we, good
lady,

Upon what cause, wrong you? alas! our places, The way of our profession is against it; We are to cure such forrows, not to sow them. For goodness' sake, consider what you do; How you may hurt yourself, ay, utterly Grow from the king's acquaintance, by this carriage.

The hearts of princes kis obedience,
So much they love it; but, to stubborn spirits,
They swell, and grow as terrible as storms.<sup>3</sup>
I know, you have a gentle, noble temper,
A soul as even as a calm; Pray, think us
Those we profess, peace-makers, friends, and servants.

CAM. Madam, you'll find it fo. You wrong your virtues

That once was mistress of the field, So, in Spenser's Fairy Queen, Book II. c. vi. ft. 16:
"The lily, lady of the flow'ring field." HOLT WHITE.

3 The hearts of princes kifs obedience, So much they love it; but, to flubborn spirits,

They swell, and grow as terrible as storms.] It was one of the charges brought against Lord Essex, in the year before this play was probably written, by his ungrateful kinsman, Sir Francis Bacon, when that nobleman, to the disgrace of humanity, was obliged, by a junto of his enemies, to kneel at the end of the council-table for several hours, that in a letter written during his retirement, in 1598, to the Lord Keeper, he had said, "There is no tempest to the passionate indignation of a prince."

MALONE,

With these weak women's fears. A noble spirit, As yours was put into you, ever casts
Such doubts, as salse coin, from it. The king loves
you;

Beware, you lose it not: For us, if you please To trust us in your business, we are ready To use our utmost studies in your service.

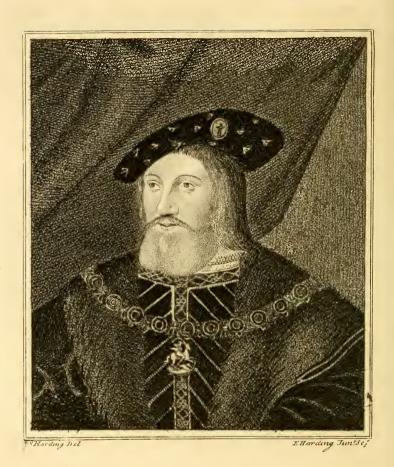
Q. KATH. Do what ye will, my lords: And, pray, forgive me,

If I have us'd myfelf unmannerly; 3
You know, I am a woman, lacking wit
To make a feemly answer to such persons.
Pray, do my service to his majesty:
He has my heart yet; and shall have my prayers,
While I shall have my life. Come, reverend fathers,
Bestow your counsels on me: she now begs,
That little thought, when she set footing here,
She should have bought her dignities so dear.

[Exeunt.

4 If I have us'd myfelf unmannerly; That is, if I have behaved myfelf unmannerly. M. Mason.





CHARLE SBRANDONDUKE OF SUFFOLK.

From an Original Picture in the Popsefation of the Right Hon the Rund of the Right Hon the Rund of the Right Hon the Part of the Rund of the Right Hon the Part of the Rund of the Right Hon the Rund of the Rund

## SCENE II.

Ante-chamber to the King's Apartment.

Enter the Duke of Norfolk, the Duke of Suffolk, the Earl of Surrey, and the Lord Chamberlain.

Nor. If you will now unite in your complaints And force them<sup>5</sup> with a confiancy, the cardinal Cannot fland under them: If you omit The offer of this time, I cannot promife, But that you shall sustain more new disgraces, With these you bear already.

Sur. I am joyful To meet the least occasion, that may give me Remembrance of my father-in-law, the duke, To be reveng'd on him.

Sur. Which of the peers Have uncontemn'd gone by him, or at least Strangely neglected? 6 when did he regard

So, in Measure for Measure:

" — Has he affections in him

"That thus can make him bite the law by the nose,

"When he would force it?" STEEVENS.

Strangely neglected?] Which of the peers has not gone by him contemned or neglected? Johnson.

Our author extends to the words, firangely neglected, the negative comprehended in the word uncontempt d. M. MASON.

Uncontemn'd, as I have before observed in a note on As you like it, must be understood, as if the author had written not contemn'd. See Vol. VIII. p. 34, n. 7. MALONE.

<sup>5</sup> And force them —] Force is enforce, urge. Johnson.

The stamp of nobleness in any person, Out of himself?

CHAM. My lords, you fpeak your pleafures: What he deferves of you and me, I know; What we can do to him, (though now the time Gives way to us,) I much fear. If you cannot Bar his access to the king, never attempt Any thing on him; for he hath a witchcraft Over the king in his tongue.

Nor. O, fear him not; His spell in that is out: the king hath found Matter against him, that for ever mars The honey of his language. No, he's settled, Not to come off, in his displeasure.

SUR. Sir, I should be glad to hear such news as this Once every hour.

Non. Believe it, this is true. In the divorce, his contrary proceedings <sup>8</sup> Are all unfolded; wherein he appears, As I could wish mine enemy.

7 --- when did he regard

The stamp of nobleness in any person,

Out of himself? The expression is bad, and the thought salie. For it supposes Wolsey to be noble, which was not so: we should read and point:

— when did he regard
The fiamp of noblenefs in any perfon;
Out of't himfelf?

i.e. When did he regard nobleness of blood in another, having none of his own to value himself upon? WARBURTON.

I do not think this correction proper. The meaning of the prefent reading is easy. When did he, however careful to carry his own dignity to the utmost height, regard any dignity of another? Johnson.

s — contrary proceedings—] Private practices opposite to his publick procedure. Journson.

Sur. How came

His practices to light?

Sur. Most strangely.

Sur. O, how, how?

Sur. The cardinal's letter to the pope miscarried, And came to the eye o'the king: wherein was read, How that the cardinal did entreat his holiness. To stay the judgment o'the divorce; For if It did take place, I do, quoth he, perceive, My king is tangled in affection to A creature of the queen's, lady Anne Bullen.

Sur. Has the king this?

Suf. Believe it.

Sur. Will this work?

CHAM. The king in this perceives him, how he coafts,

And liedges, his own way. But in this point All his tricks founder, and he brings his phyfick After his patient's death; the king already Hath married the fair lady.

Sur. 'Would he had!

SUF. May you be happy in your wish, my lord! For, I profess, you have it.

Sur. Now all my joy
Trace the conjunction! 1

<sup>9</sup> And hedges, his own way.] To hedge, is to creep along by the hedge: not to take the direct and open path, but to fleal covertly through circumvolutions. Johnson.

Hedging is by land, what coasting is by sea. M. MASON.

Trace the conjunction!] To trace, is to follow.

JOHNSON.

So, in Macketh:

"—all unfortunate fouls
"That trace him in his line."

Suf. My amen to't!

Non. All men's.

Sur. There's order given for her coronation: Marry, this is yet but young,<sup>2</sup> and may be left To fome ears unrecounted.—But, my lords, She is a gallant creature, and complete In mind and feature: I perfuade me, from her Will fall fome bleffing to this land, which shall In it be memoriz'd.<sup>3</sup>

Sur. But, will the king Digest this letter of the cardinal's? The lord forbid!

Nor. Marry, amen!

Sur.

No, no;
There be more wafps that buz about his nofe,
Will make this fting the fooner. Cardinal Campeius
Is ftolen away to Rome; hath ta'en no leave;
Has left the caufe o'the king unhandled; and
Is posted, as the agent of our cardinal,
To fecond all his plot. I do assure you
The king cry'd, ha! at this.

CHAM. Now, God incense him, And let him cry ha, louder!

The form of Surrey's wish has been anticipated by Richmond in King Richard III. fc. ult:

"Smile heaven upon this fair conjunction!"

STEEVENS.

<sup>2</sup> — lut young,] The fame phrase occurs again in Romeo and Juliet, Act I. sc. i:

"Good morrow, coufin.

Is the day so young?"

See note on this passage. Steevens.

<sup>3</sup> In it be memoriz'd.] To memorize is to make memorable. The word has been already used in Macbeth, Act I. sc. ii.

Steevens.

Non. But, my lord, When returns Cranmer?

Suf. He is return'd, in his opinions; which Have fatisfied the king for his divorce, Together with all famous colleges Almost in Christendom: 4 shortly, I believe, His second marriage shall be publish'd, and Her coronation. Katharine no more Shall be call'd, queen; but princess dowager, And widow to prince Arthur.

Nor. This fame Cranmer's A worthy fellow, and hath ta'en much pain In the king's business.

SUF. He has; and we shall see him For it, an archbishop.

Nor.

So I hear.

SUF.

'Tis fo.

The cardinal-

<sup>4</sup> He is return'd, in his opinions; which Have fatisfied the king for his divorce, Together with all famous colleges

Almost in Christendom: Thus the old copy. The meaning is this: Cranmer, says Suffolk, is returned in his opinions, i.e. with the same sentiments which he entertained before he went abroad, which (sentiments) have satisfied the king, together with all the samous colleges referred to on the occasion.—Or, perhaps the passage (as Mr. Tyrwhitt observes) may mean—He is return'd in effect, having sent his opinions, i.e. the opinions of divines, &c. collected by him. Mr. Rowe altered these lines as follows, and all succeeding editors have silently adopted his unnecessary change:

He is return d with his opinions, which Have fatisfied the king for his divorce, Gather'd from all the famous colleges Almost in Christendom:——. Steevens.

#### Enter Wolsey and Cromwell.

Nor. Observe, observe, he's moody.

Wol. The packet, Cromwell, gave it you the king?

CROM. To his own hand, in his bedchamber.5

Wol. Look'd he o'the infide of the paper?

CROM. Prefently
He did unfeal them: and the first he view'd,
He did it with a serious mind; a heed
Was in his countenance: You, he bade
Attend him here this morning.

Wol. Is he ready To come abroad?

CROM. I think, by this he is.

Wol. Leave me a while.— [Exit Cromwell.]
It shall be to the duches of Alengon,
The French king's fister: he shall marry her.—
Anne Bullen! No; I'll no Anne Bullens for him:
There is more in it than fair visage.—Bullen!
No, we'll no Bullens.—Speedily I wish
To hear from Rome.—The marchiones of Pembroke!

Nor. He's discontented.

Suf. May be, he hears the king Does whet his anger to him.

<sup>5</sup> To his own hand, in his bedchamber.] Surely, both the fyllable wanting in this line, and the respect due from the speaker to Wolsey, should authorize us to read:

To his own hand, fir, in his bedchamber.

And again, in Cromwell's next speech:

Was in his countenance: you, fir, he bade-.

or with Sir Thomas Hanmer:

and you he bade -. STEEVENS.

Sur. Sharp enough, Lord, for thy justice!

Woz. The late queen's gentlewoman; a knight's daughter,

To be her mistress' mistress! the queen's queen!— This candle burns not clear: 'tis I must snuff it; Then, out it goes.—What though I know her virtuous.

And well-deferving? yet I know her for A fpleeny Lutheran; and not wholesome to Our cause, that she should lie i'the bosom of Our hard-rul'd king. Again, there is sprung up An heretick, an arch one, Cranmer; one Hath crawl'd into the savour of the king, And is his oracle.

Nor. He is vex'd at fomething.

Suf. I would, 'twere fomething that would fret the ftring,

The mafter-cord of his heart!

Enter the King, reading a Schedule; 6 and LOVELL.

SUF. The king, the king. K. HEN. What piles of wealth hath he accumulated.

<sup>6</sup> Enter the King, reading a Schedule; That the Cardinal gave the King an inventory of his own private wealth, by mistake, and thereby ruined himself, is a known variation from the truth of history. Shakspeare, however, has not injudiciously represented the fall of that great man as owing to an incident which he had once improved to the destruction of another. See Holinshed, pp. 796 and 797:

"Thomas Ruthall, bishop of Durham, was, after the death of King Henry VII. one of the privy council to Henry VIII. to

To his own portion! and what expence by the hour Seems to flow from him! How, i'the name of thrift, Does he rake this together!—Now, my lords; Saw you the cardinal?

Nor. 'My lord, we have' Stood here observing him: Some strange commotion Is in his brain: he bites his lip, and starts; Stops on a sudden, looks upon the ground, Then, lays his singer on his temple; straight, Springs out into fast gait; then, stops again,?

whom the king gave in charge to write a book of the whole eftate of the kingdom, &c. Afterwards, the king commanded cardinal Wolfey to go to this bifhop, and to bring the book away with him.—This bifhop having written two books, (the one to answer the king's command, and the other intreating of his own private affairs,) did bind them both after one fort in vellum, &c. Now, when the cardinal came to demand the book due to the king, the bishop unadvisedly commanded his fervant to bring him the book bound in white vellum, lying in his study, in such a place. The servant accordingly brought forth one of the books so bound, being the book intreating of the state of the bishop, &c. The cardinal having the book went from the bishop, and after, (in his study by himself,) understanding the contents thereof, he greatly rejoiced, having now occasion (which he long fought for) offered unto him, to bring the bishop into the king's difgrace.

"Wherefore he went forthwith to the king, delivered the book into his hands, and briefly informed him of the contents thereof; putting further into the king's head, that if at any time he were defitute of a mass of money, he should not need to seek further therefore than to the cossers of the bishop. Of all which when the bishop had intelligence, &c. he was stricken with such grief of the same, that he shortly, through extreme forrow, ended his life at London, in the year of Christ 1523. After which, the cardinal, who had long before gaped after his bishoprick, in singular hope to attain thereunto, had now his

with in effect," &c. STEEVENS.

<sup>7—</sup>then, flops again.] Salluft, describing the disturbed flate of Catiline's mind, takes notice of the same circumstance:

Strikes his breaft hard; and anon, he cafts 8
His eye against the moon: in most strange postures
We have seen him set himself.

K. Hen. It may well be; There is a mutiny in his mind. This morning Papers of state he sent me to peruse, As I requir'd; And, wot you, what I found There; on my conscience, put unwittingly? Forsooth, an inventory, thus importing,—
The several parcels of his plate, his treasure, Rich stuffs, and ornaments of household; which I find at such proud rate, that it out-speaks Possession of a subject.

Nor. It's heaven's will; Some fpirit put this paper in the packet, To bless your eye withal.

K. Hen. If we did think His contemplation were above the earth, And fix'd on spiritual object, he should still Dwell in his musings: but, I am asraid, His thinkings are below the moon, not worth His serious considering.

[He takes his feat, and whifpers LOVELL, who goes to WOLSEY.

Wol. Heaven forgive me! Ever God bless your highness!

K. Hen. Good my lord,
You are full of heavenly ftuff, and bear the inventory
Of your best graces in your mind; the which

\* Strikes his breast hard; and anon, he casts—] Here I think we should be at liberty to complete a defective verse, by reading, with Sir Thomas Hanmer:

—— and then, anon, he casts—. Steevens.

You were now running o'er; you have scarce time To steal from spiritual leisure a brief span, To keep your earthly audit: Sure, in that I deem you an ill husband; and am glad To have you therein my companion.

Wol. Sir,
For holy offices I have a time; a time
To think upon the part of business, which
I bear i'the state; and nature does require
Her times of preservation, which, perforce,
I her frail son, amongst my brethren mortal,
Must give my tendance to.

K. HEN.

You have faid well.

Wol. And ever may your highness yoke together, As I will lend you cause, my doing well With my well saying!

K. Hen. 'Tis well faid again;
And 'tis a kind of good deed, to fay well:
And yet words are no deeds. My father lov'd you:
He faid, he did; and with his deed did crown
His word 9 upon you. Since I had my office,
I have kept you next my heart; have not alone
Employ'd you where high profits might come home,
But par'd my prefent havings, to bestow
My bounties upon you.

Wol. What should this mean? Sur. The lord increase this business! [Aside.

K. HEN. Have I not made you The prime man of the flate? I pray you, tell me, If what I now pronounce, you have found true:

<sup>&</sup>quot; with his deed did crown
His word—] So, in Macbeth:
"To crown my thoughts with acts—." Steevens.

And, if you may confess it, say withal, If you are bound to us, or no. What say you?

Wor. My fovereign, I confefs, your royal graces, Shower'd on me daily, have been more, than could My studied purposes requite; which went Beyond all man's endeavours: —my endeavours Have ever come too short of my desires, Yet, sil'd with my abilities: Mine own ends Have been mine so, that evermore they pointed To the good of your most facred person, and The profit of the state. For your great graces Heap'd upon me, poor undeserver, I Can nothing render but allegiant thanks; My prayers to heaven for you; my loyalty, Which ever has, and ever shall be growing, Till death, that winter, kill it.

K. Hen. Fairly answer'd;
A loyal and obedient subject is
Therein illustrated: The honour of it
Does pay the act of it; as, i'the contrary,
The foulness is the punishment. I presume,
That, as my hand has open'd bounty to you,
My heart dropp'd love, my power rain'd honour,
more

Beyond all man's endeavours:] The fense is, my purposes went beyond all human endeavour. I purposed for your honour more than it falls within the compass of man's nature to attempt.

JOHNSON.

I am rather inclined to think, that which refers to "royal graces;" which, fays Wolfey, no human endeavour could requite. MALONE.

<sup>2</sup> Yet, fil'd with my abilities:] My endeavours, though less than my defires, have fil'd, that is, have gone an equal pace with my abilities. Johnson.

So, in a preceding feene:

front but in that file

Where others tell steps with me." STEBYENS.

On you,<sup>3</sup> than any; fo your hand, and heart, Your brain, and every function of your power, Should, notwithstanding that your bond of duty,<sup>4</sup> As 'twere in love's particular, be more To me, your friend, than any.

Wol. I do profes,
That for your highness' good I ever labour'd
More than mine own; that am, have, and will be.5
Though all the world should crack their duty to you,
And throw it from their soul; though perils did
Abound, as thick as thought could make them, and
Appear in forms more horrid; yet my duty,

3 - my hand has open'd bounty to you,

My heart dropp'd love, my power rain'd honour, more
On you, &c.] As Ben Jonson is supposed to have made
some alterations in this play, it may not be amis to compare the
passage before us, with another, on the same subject, in the
New Inn:

"He gave me my first breeding, I acknowledge; "Then *shower'd* his *bounties* on me, like the hours

"That open-handed fit upon the clouds, And prefs the liberality of heaven

"Down to the laps of thankful men." STEEVENS.

4 — notwithstanding that your bond of duty,] Besides the general bond of duty, by which you are obliged to be a loyal and obedient subject, you owe a particular devotion of yourself to me, as your particular benefactor. Јоннѕон.

5 — that am, have, and will be.] I can find no meaning in these words, or see how they are connected with the rest of the sentence; and should therefore strike them out.

I fuppose the meaning is, that, or such a man, I am, have been, and will ever be. Our author has many hard and forced expressions in his plays; but many of the hardnesses in the piece before us appear to me of a different colour from those of Shakspeare. Perhaps, however, a line following this has been lost; for in the old copy there is no stop at the end of this line; and, indeed, I have some doubt whether a comma ought not to be placed at it, rather than a full point. Malone.

As doth a rock against the chiding flood,6 Should the approach of this wild river break, And frand unshaken yours.

'Tis nobly spoken:  $K. H_{EN}$ . Take notice, lords, he has a loyal breaft, For you have feen him open't.—Read o'er this; Giving him Papers.

And, after, this: and then to breakfast, with

What appetite you have.

Exit King, frowning upon Cardinal Wol-SEY: the Nobles throng after him, smiling, and whifpering.

WoL. What should this mean? What fudden anger's this? how have I reap'd it? He parted frowning from me, as if ruin Leap'd from his eyes: So looks the chafed lion Upon the daring huntsman that has gall'd him; Then makes him nothing. I must read this paper: I fear, the story of his anger.—'Tis so; This paper has undone me:—'Tis the account Of all that world of wealth I have drawn together · For mine own ends; indeed, to gain the popedom, And fee my friends in Rome. O negligence,

folio 1632:

<sup>6</sup> As doth a rock against the chiding flood,] So, in our author's 116th Sonnet:

<sup>&</sup>quot; --- it is an ever-fixed mark,

<sup>&</sup>quot;That looks on tempests, and is never shaken." The chiding flood is the refounding flood. So, in the verses in commendation of our author, by J. M. S. prefixed to the

<sup>&</sup>quot;——there plays a fair "But chiding fountain."

See Vol. XII. p. 361, n. 2. MALONE.

See also Vol. IV. p. 450, n. 5. Steevens.

<sup>&</sup>quot;Ille, velut pelagi rupes immota, refiftit."

Æn. VII. 586. S. W.

Fit for a fool to fall by! What cross devil
Made me put this main secret in the packet
I sent the king? Is there no way to cure this?
No new device to beat this from his brains?
I know, 'twill stir him strongly; Yet I know
A way, if it take right, in spite of fortune
Will bring me off again. What's this—To the
Pope?

The letter, as I live, with all the business I writ to his holiness. Nay then, farewell! I have touch'd the highest point of all my great-

ness;7

And, from that full meridian of my glory, I hafte now to my fetting: I shall fall Like a bright exhalation in the evening, And no man see me more.

Re-enter the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, the Earl of Surrey,8 and the Lord Chamberlain.

Non. Hear the king's pleasure, cardinal: who commands you

<sup>7</sup> I have touch'd the highest point of all my greatness;] So, in Marlowe's King Edward II:

"Base fortune, now I see that in thy wheel "There is a point, to which when men aspire,

"They tumble headlong down. That point I touch'd; "And feeing there was no place to mount up higher,

"Why should I grieve at my declining fall?"

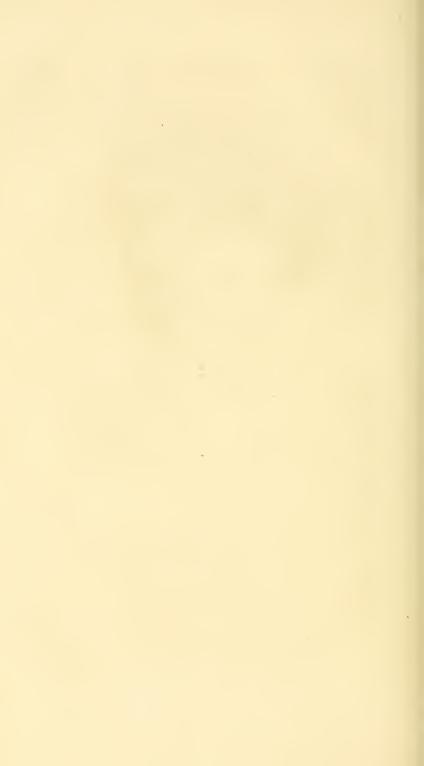
MALONE.

Re-enter the Dukes &c.] It may not be improper here to repeat, that the time of this play is from 1521, just before the Duke of Buckingham's commitment, to the year 1533, when Queen Elizabeth was born and christened. The Duke of Norfolk, therefore, who is introduced in the first scene of the first A&, or in 1522, is not the same person who here, or in 1529, demands the great seal from Wolsey; for Thomas Howard, who



EARL OF SURREY,

of the Hon Horace Hulpole. Strawbery Hill.



To render up the great feal presently Into our hands; and to confine yourself To Asher-house, my lord of Winchester's, Till you hear further from his highness.

was created Duke of Norfolk, 1514, died, we are informed by Holinshed, p. 891, at Whitsuntide, 1525. As our author has here made two persons into one, so, on the contrary, he has made one person into two. The Earl of Surrey here is the same with him who married the Duke of Buckingham's daughter, as appears from his own mouth:

"I am joyful

"To meet the least occasion that may give me "Remembrance of my father-in-law, the duke,"

Again:

"Thy ambition,

"Thou scarlet fin, robb'd this bewailing land "Of noble Buckingham, my father-in-law:

"You fent me deputy for Ireland; Far from his fuccour,—."

But Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey, who married the Duke of Buckingham's daughter, was at this time the individual above mentioned Duke of Norfolk. The reason for adding the third or fourth person as interlocutors in this scene is not very apparent, for Holinshed, p. 900, mentions only the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk being sent to demand the great seal, and all that is spoken would proceed with sufficient propriety out of their mouths. The cause of the Duke of Norfolk's animosity to Wolsey is obvious, and Cavendish mentions that an open quarrel at this time subsisted between the Cardinal and Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk. Reed.

or To Asher-house.] Thus the old copy. Asher was the ancient name of Esher; as appears from Holinshed: "—and everie man took their horses and rode strait to Asher."

Holinshed, Vol. II. p. 909. WARNER.

my lord of Winchester's,] Shakspeare forgot that Wolsey was himself Bishop of Winchester, unless he meant to say, you must confine yourself to that house which you possess as Bishop of Winchester. Asher, near Hampton-Court, was one of the houses belonging to that bishoprick. MALONE.

Fox, Bishop of Winchester, died Sept. 14, 1528, and Wolsey held this see in commendam. Esher therefore was his own house.

REED.

Wor. Stay, Where's your commission, lords? words cannot carry Authority so weighty.<sup>2</sup>

SUF. Who dare crofs them? Bearing the king's will from his mouth expressly?

Wol. Till I find more than will, or words, to do it, (I mean, your malice,) know, officious lords, I dare, and must deny it.<sup>3</sup> Now I feel Of what coarse metal ye are moulded,—envy. How eagerly ye follow my disgraces, As if it fed ye? and how sleek and wanton Ye appear in every thing may bring my ruin! Follow your envious courses, men of malice; You have christian warrant for them, and, no doubt, In time will find their fit rewards. That seal, You ask with such a violence, the king, (Mine, and your master,) with his own hand gave me: Bade me enjoy it, with the place and honours, During my life; and, to confirm his goodness, Tied it by letters patents: Now, who'll take it?

I believe the change pointed out was rather accidental than capricious; as, in the proof fleets of this republication, the words—weighty and mighty have more than once been given instead of each other. Steevens.

"Authority fo weighty."

To which they reply:

"Who dare crofs them?" &c.

Wolfey, answering them, continues his own speech, Till I find more than will or words (I mean more than your malicious will and words) to do it; that is, to carry authority fo mighty; I will deny to return what the King has given me. Johnson.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> — fo weighty.] The editor of the third folio changed weighty to mighty, and all the subsequent editors adopted his capricious alteration. Malone.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Till I find more than will, or words, to do it, (I mean, your malice,) know, &c.] Wolfey had faid:

—— words cannot carry

SUR. The king, that gave it.

Wol. It must be himself then.

SUR. Thou art a proud traitor, priest.

Within these forty hours 4 Surrey durst better Have burnt that tongue, than said so.

Sur. Thy ambition, Thou scarlet fin, robb'd this bewailing land Of noble Buckingham, my father-in-law: The heads of all thy brother cardinals, (With thee, and all thy best parts bound together,) Weigh'd not a hair of his. Plague of your policy! You tent me deputy for Ireland; Far from his succour, from the king, from all That might have mercy on the fault thou gav'st him; Whilst your great goodness, out of holy pity, Absolv'd him with an axe.

Wol. This, and all else This talking lord can lay upon my credit, I answer, is most false. The duke by law

4 Within these forty hours—] Why forty hours? But a few minutes have passed since Wolsey's disgrace. I suspect that Shakspeare wrote—within these four hours,—and that the perfon who revised and tampered with this play, not knowing that hours was used by our poet as a dissyllable, made this injudicious alteration. Malone.

I adhere to the old reading. Forty (I know not why) feems anciently to have been the familiar number on many occasions, where no very exact reckoning was necessary. In a former feene, the Old Lady offers to lay Anne Bullen a wager of "forty pence;" Slender, in The Merry Wives of Windsor, says—"I had rather than forty thillings—;" and in The Taming of the Shrew, "the humour of finty fancies" is the ornament of Grumio's hat. Thus, also, in Coriolanus:

<sup>&</sup>quot; ---- on fair ground

<sup>&</sup>quot;I could beat forty of them." STEEVENS.

Found his deferts: how innocent I was
From any private malice in his end,
His noble jury and foul cause can witness.
If I lov'd many words, lord, I thould tell you,
You have as little honesty as honour;
That I, in the way of loyalty and truth 5
Toward the king, my ever royal master,
Dare mate a sounder man than Surrey can be,
And all that love his follies.

Sur. By my foul, Your long coat, prieft, protects you; thou fhould'st

My fword i'the life-blood of thee elfe.—My lords, Can ye endure to hear this arrogance? And from this fellow? If we live thus tamely, To be thus jaded<sup>6</sup> by a piece of fcarlet, Farewell nobility; let his grace go forward, And dare us with his cap, like larks.?

5 That I, in the way &c.] Old copy—That in the way.
STEEVENS.

Mr. Theobald reads:

That I in the way &c. and this unnecessary emendation has been adopted by all the subsequent editors. Malone.

As this paffage is to me obscure, if not unintelligible, without Mr. Theobald's correction, I have not discarded it. Steevens.

<sup>6</sup> To be thus jaded—] To be abused and ill treated, like a worthless horse: or perhaps to be ridden by a priest;—to have him mounted above us. Malone.

The fame verb (whatever its precise meaning may be) occurs in Antony and Cleopatra, Act III. sc. i:

"The ne'er-yet-beaten horse of Parthia

"We have jaded out o'the field." Steevens.

<sup>7</sup> And dare us with his cap, like larks.] So, in Burton's Anatomy of Melancholy, edit. 1632, p. 656: "—never Hobie to dared a lark."

It is well known that the hat of a cardinal is scarlet; and

Wol. All goodness

Is poison to thy stomach.

Yes, that goodness Of gleaning all the land's wealth into one, Into your own hands, cardinal, by extortion; The goodness of your intercepted packets, You writ to the pope, against the king: your good-

Since you provoke me, shall be most notorious.— My lord of Norfolk,—as you are truly noble, As you respect the common good, the state Of our despis'd nobility, our issues, Who,8 if he live, will scarce be gentlemen,— Produce the grand fum of his fins, the articles Collected from his life:—I'll ftartle you Worse than the facring bell,9 when the brown wench 1

Lay kiffing in your arms, lord cardinal.

that one of the methods of daring larks was by finall mirrors failened on fearlet cloth, which engaged the attention of thefe birds while the fowler drew his net over them.

The fame thought occurs in Skelton's Why come ye not to

Court? i. e. a fatire on Wolfey:

"The red hat with his lure,

"Bringeth al thinges under cure." STEEVENS.

<sup>8</sup> Who, Old copy—Whom. Corrected in the fecond folio.

9 Worfe than the facring bell,] The little bell, which is rung to give notice of the Host approaching when it is carried in procession, as also in other offices of the Romith church, is called the facring, or confecration bell; from the French word, facrer.

THEOBALD.

The Abbefs, in The Merry Devil of Edmonton, 1608, fays:

"—you shall ring the facring bell,
"Keep your hours, and toll your knell."

Again, in Reginald Scott's Difcovery of Witchcraft, 1584: "He heard a little facring bell ring to the elevation of a tomorrow mass."

Wol. How much, methinks, I could despise this man,

But that I am bound in charity against it!

Nor. Those articles, my lord, are in the king's hand:

But, thus much, they are foul ones.

Wol. So much fairer, And tpotlefs, shall mine innocence arise, When the king knows my truth.

Sur. This cannot fave you: I thank my memory, I yet remember
Some of these articles; and out they shall.
Now, if you can blush, and cry guilty, cardinal,
You'll show a little honesty.

Wol. Speak on, fir; I dare your worst objections: if I blush, It is, to see a nobleman want manners.

SUR. I'd rather want those, than my head. Have at you.

The now obsolete verb to facre, is used by P. Holland, in his translation of Pliny's Natural History, Book X. ch. vi. And by Chapman, in his version of Homer's Hymn to Diana:

\*\* Sacring my song to every deity." Steevens.

when the brown wench &c.] The amorous propenfities of Cardinal Wolfey are much dwelt on in the ancient fatire already quoted, p. 88, n. 6:

"By his pryde and faulce treachery, "Whoardom and baudy leachery, "He hath been fo intollerable."

Again:

"The goodes that he thus gaddered "W:etchedly he hath scattered

"In causes nothynge expedient.
"To make wyndowes walles and dores,
"And to may tayne bandes and whores
"A grett parte thereof is spent."

And fill more grossly are his amours spoken of in many other parts of the same poem. Steevens.

First, that, without the king's affent, or knowledge, You wrought to be a legate; by which power You maim'd the jurifdiction of all bishops.

Nor. Then, that, in all you writ to Rome, or elfe To foreign princes, Ego et Rex meus Was still inscrib'd; in which you brought the king To be your servant.

Suf. Then, that, without the knowledge Either of king or council, when you went Ambassador to the emperor, you made bold To carry into Flanders the great seal.

Sur. Item, you fent a large commission To Gregory de Cassalis, to conclude, Without the king's will, or the state's allowance, A league between his highness and Ferrara.

Sur. That, out of mere ambition, you have caus'd Your holy hat to be ftamp'd on the king's coin.<sup>2</sup>

Sur. Then, that you have fent innumerable fubfrance,

(By what means got, I leave to your own confcience,) To furnish Rome, and to prepare the ways

<sup>2</sup> Your holy hat to be flamp'd on the king's coin.] In the long string of articles exhibited by the Privy Council against Wolsey, which Sir Edward Coke transcribed from the original, this offence composed one of the charges: "40. Also the said Lord Cardinal of his further pompous and presumptuous minde, hath enterprised to joyn and imprint the Cardinal's hat under your armes in your coyn of groats made at your city of York, which like deed hath not been seen to be done by any subject in your realm before this time." 4 Inst. 94. Holt White.

This was certainly one of the articles exhibited against Wolfey, but rather with a view to fwell the catalogue, than from any ferious cause of accusation; inasmuch as the Archbishops Cranmer, Bainbrigge, and Warham, were indulged with the same privilege. See Snelling's View of the Silver Coin and Coinage of England. Douce.

You have for dignities; to the mere undoing of all the kingdom. Many more there are; Which, fince they are of you, and odious, I will not taint my mouth with.

CHAM. O my lord, Press not a falling man too far; 'tis virtue: His faults lie open to the laws; let them, Not you, correct him. My heart weeps to see him So little of his great self.

Sur. I forgive him.

Suf. Lord cardinal, the king's further pleafure is,—

Because all those things, you have done of late
By your power legative within this kingdom,
Fall into the compats of a præmunire,5—
That therefore such a writ be sued against you;
To forfeit all your goods, lands, tenements,
Chattels, and whatsoever,6 and to be
Out of the king's protection:—This is my charge.

"—— I am as happy
"In my friend's good, as if 'twere merely mine."

STEEVENS.

See Vol. IV. p. 9, n. 3. MALONE.

<sup>3 —</sup> to the mere undoing—] Mere is abfolute. So, in The Honest Man's Fortune, by Beaumont and Fletcher:

<sup>4</sup> Fall into the compass &c.] The harshness of this line induces me to think that we should either read, with Sir Thomas Hanmer—Fall in the compass, or Fall into compass, omitting the article. Steevens.

<sup>5 —</sup> of a præmunire,] It is almost unnecessary to observe that præmunire is a barbarous word used instead of præmonere.

Steevens.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Chattels, and whatfoever,] The old copy—centles. I have ventured to fubfitute chattels here, as the author's genuine word, because the judgment in a writ of præmunire is, that the defendant shall be out of the king's protection; and his lands and tenements, goods and chattels, forseited to the king; and

Nor. And so we'll leave you to your meditations. How to live better. For your stubborn answer, About the giving back the great seal to us, The king shall know it, and, no doubt, shall thank you.

So fare you well, my little good lord cardinal.

[Exeunt all but Wolsey.

Wol. So farewell to the little good you bear me. Farewell, a long farewell, to all my greatness! This is the state of man; To-day he puts forth The tender leaves of hope, to-morrow blossoms, And bears his blushing honours thick upon him: The third day, comes a frost, a killing frost; And.—when he thinks, good easy man, full surely His greatness is a ripening,—nips his root, to all furely his greatness is a ripening,—nips his root,

that his body shall remain in prison at the king's pleasure. This very description of the *præmunire* is set out by Holinshed, in his Life of King Herry VIII. p. 909. Theobald.

The emendation made by Mr. Theobald, is, I think, fully justified by the patlage in Holinshed's Chronicle, on which this is founded; in which it is observable that the word chattels is spelt cattels, which might have been easily confounded with castles: "After this, in the King's Bench his matter for the premunire being called upon, two attornies which he had authorised by his warrant signed with his own hand, confessed the action, and so had judgment to forfeit all his landes, tenements, goods, and cattels, and to be put out of the king's protection."

Chron. Vol. II. p. 909. Malone.

This is the ftate of man; To-day he puts forth The tender leaves of hope, &c.] So, in our author's 25th Sonnet:

"Great princes' favourites their fair leaves spread,

"But as the marigold in the fun's eye;
"And in themselves their pride lies buried,

"For at a frown they in their glory die." MALONE.

\* — nips his root,] "As spring-frosts are not injurious to the roots of fruit-trees," Dr. Warburton reads—fhoot. Such capricious alterations I am sometimes obliged to mention, merely

And then he falls, as I do. I have ventur'd, Like little wanton boys that fwim on bladders, This many fummers in a fea of glory;
But far beyond my depth: my high-blown pride At length broke under me; and now has left me, Weary, and old with fervice, to the mercy Of a rude fiream, that must for ever hide me. Vain pomp, and glory of this world, I hate ye; I feel my heart new open'd: O, how wretched Is that poor man, that hangs on princes' favours! There is, betwixt that smile we would aspire to, That sweet aspect of princes, and their ruin, More pangs and fears than wars or women have; And when he falls, he falls like Lucifer, Never to hope again.—

to introduce the notes of those, who, while they have shewn them to be unnecessary, have illustrated our author. Malone.

Vernal frosts, indeed, do not kill the *root*, but then to *nip* the *shoots* does not kill the tree or make it fall. The metaphor will not, in either reading, correspond exactly with nature.

JOHNSON.

I adhere to the old reading, which is countenanced by the following passage in A. W.'s Commendation of Gascoigne and his Poesses:

"And frosts so nip the rootes of vertuous-meaning minds."

See Gascoigne's Works, 1587. Steevens.

9 — and their ruin,] Most of the modern editors read—our ruin. Steevens.

Their ruin is, their displeasure, producing the downfall and ruin of him on whom it lights. So before:

"He parted frowning from me, as if ruin

"Leap'd from his eyes." MALONE.

<sup>1</sup> And when he falls, he falls like Lucifer,] So, in Church-yard's Legend of Cardinal Wolfey, Mirrour for Magistrates, 1587:

"Your fault not half fo great as was my pride, "For which offence fell Lucifer from the ikies."

MALONE.





Schiavonetti Salp

# ( ROSIWE TATAO

From a Beautifull Picture by Holbien. In the Popo ision of Sir William Burrell Barronet.

Pub Ocor. 10. 1791. by & Harding Bleet Street.

## Enter CROMWELL, amazedly.

Why, how now, Cromwell? CROM. I have no power to speak, fir.

Wor. What, amaz'd At my misfortunes? can thy fpirit wonder, A great man should decline? Nay, an you weep, I am sallen indeed.

CROM.

How does your grace?

Wor.

Never fo truly happy, my good Cromwell.

I know mytelf now; and I feel within me
A peace above all earthly dignities,
A itall and quiet confcience. The king has cur'd

me,
I happyly though his green; and from these feedbard.

I humbly thank his grace; and from these shoulders, These ruin'd pillars, out of pity, taken A load would fink a navy, too much honour: O. 'tis a burden, Cromwell, 'tis a burden, Too heavy for a man that hopes for heaven.

CROM. I am glad, your grace has made that right use of it.

Wor. I hope, I have: I am able now, methinks, (Out of a fortitude of foul I feel,)
To endure more miteries, and greater far,

In The Life and Death of Thomas Wolfey, &c. a poem, by Tho. Storer, ftudent of Christ-church, in Oxford, 1599, the Cardinal expresses himself in a manner somewhat similar:

"If once we fall, we fall Colorfus-like,

"We fall at once, like pillars of the funne," &c.
STEEVENS.

Than my weak-hearted enemies dare offer.<sup>2</sup> What news abroad?

Crom. The heaviest, and the worst, Is your displeasure with the king.

Wol. God bless him!

CROM. The next is, that fir Thomas More is chosen

Lord chancellor in your place.

Wol. That's fomewhat fudden: But he's a learned man. May he continue Long in his highness' favour, and do justice For truth's sake, and his conscience; that his bones, When he has run his course, and sleeps in blessings, May have a tomb of orphans' tears wept on 'em! 3 What more?

2 ——I am able now, methinks, (Out of a fortitude of foul I feel,) To endure more miferies, and greater far,

Than my weak-hearted enemies dare offer.] So, in King Henry VI. Part II:

" More can I bear, than you dare execute."

Again, in Othello:

"Thou hast not half the power to do me harm,

" As I have to be hurt." MALONE.

a tomb of orphans' tears wept on 'em!] The chancellor is the general guardian of orphans. A tomb of tears is very harsh. Johnson.

This idea will appear not altogether indefentible to those who recollect the following epigram of Martial:

" Flentibus Heliadum ramis dum vipera ferpit,
" Fluxit in obstantem succina gemma feram:

"Quæ dum miratur pingui fe rore teneri,
"Concreto riguit vincta repente gelu.
"Ne tibi rega!i placeas Cleopatra fepulchro,
"Vipera fi tumulo nobiliore jacet."

The Heliades certainly wept a tomb of tears over the viper. The same conceit, however, is found in Drummond of Hawthornden's Teares for the Death of Moeliades:

Crom. That Cranmer is return'd with welcome, Install'd lord archbishop of Canterbury.

Wol. That's news indeed.

Crom. Last, that the lady Anne, Whom the king hath in secrecy long married, This day was view'd in open, as his queen, Going to chapel; and the voice is now Only about her coronation.

Wol. There was the weight that pull'd me down.

O Cromwell,

The king has gone beyond me, all my glories In that one woman I have loft for ever: No fun shall ever usher forth mine honours, Or gild again the noble troops that waited Upon my siniles. 5 Go, get thee from me, Cromwell;

"The Muses, Phæbus, Love, have raised of their tearcs "A cryssial tomb to him, through which his worth appeares." Steevens.

A fimilar conceit occurs in King Richard II. Act III. fc. iii.
HENLEY.

The old copy has—on him. The error, which probably arose from similitude of sounds, was corrected by Mr. Steevens.

MALONE

4 — in open,] A Latinism, [in aperto] perhaps introduced by Ben Jonson, who is supposed to have tampered with this play. Et castris in aperto positis: Liv. I. 33. i.e. in a place exposed on all sides to view. Steevens.

5 Or gild again the noble troops that waited

Upon my smiles.] The number of persons who composed Cardinal Wolsey's household, according to the printed account, was eight hundred. "When (says Cavendish, in his Life of Wolsey,) shall we see any more such subjects, that shall keepe such a noble house?—Here is an end of his houshold. The number of persons in the cheyne-roll [check-roll] were eight hundred persons."

But Cavendish's work, though written in the time of Queen Mary, was not published till 1641; and it was then printed most unfaithfully, some passages being interpolated, near half of

I am a poor fallen man, unworthy now
To be thy lord and master: Seek the king;
That sun, I pray, may never set! I have told him
What, and how true thou art: he will advance thee;
Some little memory of me will stir him,
(I know his noble nature,) not to let
Thy hopeful service perish too: Good Cromwell,
Neglect him not; make use now, and provide
For thine own future safety.

Crom. O my lord,
Muft I then leave you? muft I needs forego
So good, fo noble, and fo true a mafter?
Bear witness, all that have not hearts of iron,
With what a forrow Cromwell leaves his lord.—
The king shall have my fervice; but my prayers
For ever, and for ever, shall be yours.

Wol. Cromwell, I did not think to shed a tear

the MS. being omitted, and the phrafeology being modernifed throughout, to make it more readable at that time; the covert object of the publication probably having been, to render Laud odious, by shewing how far church-power had been extended by Wolfey, and how dangerous that prelate was, who, in the opinion of many, followed his example. The perfons who procured this publication, seem to have been little folicitous about the means they employed, if they could but obtain their end; and therefore, among other unwarrantable fophistications, they took care that the number "of troops who waited on Wolfey's smiles," should be sufficiently magnified; and, instead of one hundred and eighty, which was the real number of his household, they printed eight hundred. This appears from two MSS. of this work in the Museum; MSS. Harl. N°. 428, and MSS. Birch, 4233.

In another manuscript copy of Cavendish's Life of Wolfey, in the Publick Library at Cambridge, the number of the Cardinal's household, by the addition of a cypher, is made 1800.

MALONE.

<sup>6 —</sup> make use—] i. e. make interest. So, in Much Admatout Nothing: "—I gave him use for it." Steevens.

In all my miferies; but thou hast forc'd me
Out of thy honest truth to play the woman.

Let's dry our eyes: and thus far hear me, Cromwell;

And,—when I am forgotten, as I shall be;
And sleep in dull cold marble, where no mention
Of me more must be heard of,—fay, I taught thee,
Say, Wolsey,—that once trod the ways of glory,
And sounded all the depths and shoals of honour,—
Found thee a way, out of his wreck, to rise in;
A sure and safe one, though thy master miss'd it.
Mark but my fall, and that that ruin'd me.
Cromwell, I charge thee, sling away ambition;
By that fin fell the angels, how can man then,
The image of his Maker, hope to win by't?
Love thyself last: cherish those hearts that hate
thee;

i. e. thy dependants. For the contrary practice had contributed to Wolfey's ruin. He was not careful enough in making de-

<sup>7—</sup>fling away ambition;] Wolfey does not mean to condemn every kind of ambition; for in a preceding line he fays he will inftruct Cromwell how to rife, and in the fubfequent lines he evidently confiders him as a man in office: "—then if thou fall'st," &c. Ambition here means a criminal and inordinate ambition, that endeavours to obtain honours by dishonest means. Malone

<sup>8</sup> By that fin fell the angels,] See p. 138, n. 1.

<sup>9——</sup>cherish those hearts that hate thee; Though this be good divinity, and an admirable precept for our conduct in private life, it was never calculated or defigned for the magistrate or publick minister. Nor could this be the direction of a man experienced in affairs to his pupil. It would make a good christian, but a very ill and very unjust statesman. And we have nothing so infamous in tradition, as the supposed advice given to one of our kings, to cherish his enemies, and be in no pain for his friends. I am of opinion the poet wrote:

Corruption wins not more than honefty.

Still in thy right hand carry gentle peace,

To filence envious tongues. Be just, and fear not:

Let all the ends, thou aim'st at, be thy country's,

Thy God's, and truth's; then if thou fall'st, O

Cromwell,

Thou fall'st a blessed martyr. Serve the king;
And,—Pr'ythee, lead me in:
There take an inventory of all I have,<sup>1</sup>
To the last penny; 'tis the king's: my robe,
And my integrity to heaven, is all
I dare now call mine own. O Cromwell, Cromwell,
Had I but serv'd my God with half the zeal<sup>2</sup>

pendants by his bounty, while intent in amaffing wealth to himfelf. The following line feems to confirm this correction:

Corruption wins not more than honefly.

i. e. You will never find men won over to your temporary occafions by bribery, fo useful to you as friends made by a just and generous munificence. WARBURTON.

I am unwilling wantonly to contradict so ingenious a remark, but that the reader may not be misled, and believe the emendation proposed to be necessary, he should remember that this is not a time for Wolfey to speak only as a statesman, but as a christian. Shakspeare would have debased the character, just when he was employing his strongest efforts to raise it, had he drawn it otherwise. Nothing makes the hour of disgrace more irksome, than the reslection, that we have been deaf to offers of reconciliation, and perpetuated that enmity which we might have converted into friendship. Steevens.

Pr'ythee, lead me in:

There take an inventory of all I have,] This inventory Wolfey actually caused to be taken upon his disgrace, and the particulars may be seen at large in Stowe's Chronicle, p. 546, edit. 1631.

Among the Harl. MSS. there is one intitled, "An Inventorie of Cardinal Wolfey's rich Housholde Stuffe. Temp. Hen. VIII. The original book, as it feems, kept by his own officers." See Harl. Jatal. No. 599. Douge.

<sup>2</sup> Had I but ferv'd my God &c.] This fentence was really uttered by Wolfey. Johnson.

I ferv'd my king, he would not in mine age Have left me naked to mine enemies.

CROM. Good fir, have patience.

Wol. So I have. Farewell The hopes of court! my hopes in heaven do dwell. [Exeunt.

When Samrah, the deputy governor of Basorah, was deposed by Moawiyah the fixth caliph, he is reported to have expressed himself in the same manner: "If I had served God so well as I have served him, he would never have condemned me to all eternity."

A fimilar fentiment also occurs in The Earle of Murton's

Tragedy, by Churchyard, 1593:

"Had I ferv'd God as well in euery fort,
"As I did ferue my king and maifter ftill;
"My fcope had not this feason beene so short,
"Nor world haue had the power to doe me ill."

STEEVENS.

Antonio Perez, the favourite of Philip the Second of Spain, made the fame pathetick complaint: "Mon zele etoit si grand vers ces benignes puissances [la cour de Turin,] que si j'en eusse eu autant pour Dieu, je ne doubte point qu'il ne m'eut deja recompensé de son paradis." MALONE.

This was a firange fentence for Wolfey to utter, who was difgraced for the basest treachery to his King in the affair of the divorce: but it shows how naturally men endeavour to palliate their crimes even to themselves. M. Mason.

There is a remarkable affinity between these words and part of the speech of Sir James Hamilton, who was supposed by King James V. thus to address him in a dream: "Though I was a sinner against God, I failed not to thee. Had I been as good a servant to the Lord my God, as I was to thee, I had not died that death." Pinscottie's History of Scotland, p. 261, edit. 1788, 12mo. Douge.

### ACT IV. SCENE I.

#### A Street in Westminster.

## Enter Two Gentlemen, meeting.

1 GENT. You are well met once again.3

2 GENT. And fo are you.4

1 GENT. You come to take your fland here, and behold

The lady Anne pass from her coronation?

2 GENT. 'Tis all my business. At our last encounter,

The duke of Buckingham came from his trial.

1 GENT. 'Tis very true: but that time offer'd forrow;

This, general joy.

2 GENT. 'Tis well: The citizens, I am fure, have shown at full their royal minds; 5

Royal, I believe, in the prefent instance, only fignifies—noble. So, Macbeth, speaking of Banquo, mentions his "royalty of nature." Steevens.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> — once again.] Alluding to their former meeting in the fecond Act. Johnson.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> And fo are you.] The conjunction—And was supplied by Sir Thomas Hanner, to complete the measure. Steevens.

their royal minds; i.e. their minds well affected to their King. Mr. Pope unnecessarily changed this word to loyal. In King Henry IV. Part II. we have "royal faith," that is, faith due to kings; which Sir T. Hanmer changed to loyal, and I too hastily followed Dr. Johnson and the late editions, in adopting the emendation. The recurrence of the same expression, though it is not such a one as we should now use, convinces me that there is no error in the text in either place. Malone.

As, let them have their rights, they are ever for-

In celebration of this day 6 with shows, Pageants, and fights of honour.

1 GENT. Never greater, Nor, I'll affure you, better taken, fir.

2 GENT. May I be bold to ask what that contains; That paper in your hand?

1 GENT. Yes: 'tis the lift Of those, that claim their offices this day, By custom of the coronation. The duke of Suffolk is the first, and claims To be high fleward; next, the duke of Norfolk, He to be earl marshal; you may read the rest.

2 GENT. I thank you, fir; had I not known those ·customs.

I should have been beholden to your paper. But, I befeech you, what's become of Katharine, The princess dowager? how goes her business?

1 GENT. That I can tell you too. The archbishop Of Canterbury, accompanied with other Learned and reverend fathers of his order, Held a late court at Dunstable, fix miles off From Ampthill, where the princess lay; to which She oft was cited by them, but appear'd not: And, to be fhort, for not appearance,7 and

But Shakspeare meant fuch a day as this, a coronation day. And fuch is the English idiom, which our author commonly prefers to grammatical nicety. Johnson.

<sup>6 —</sup> this day —] Sir Thomas Hanmer reads: — thefe days —

<sup>7 —</sup> not appearance,] I suppose, our author wrote—nonappearance. So, in *The Winter's Tale:*"—— the execution did cry out

<sup>&</sup>quot; Against the non-performance." STEEVENS.

The king's late scruple, by the main affent Of all these learned men she was divorc'd, And the late marriage<sup>8</sup> made of none effect: Since which, she was removed to Kimbolton, Where she remains now, sick.

2 Gent.

Alas, good lady!—
[Trumpets.

The trumpets found: fland close, the queen is coming.

#### THE ORDER OF THE PROCESSION.

## A lively flourish of Trumpets; then, enter

- 1. Two Judges.
- 2. Lord Chancellor, with the purfe and mace before him.
- 3. Choristers singing.

[Mufick.

- 4. Mayor of London bearing the mace. Then Garter, in his coat of arms, and on his head, a gilt copper crown.
- -5. Marquis Dorfet, bearing a feeptre of gold, on his head a demi-coronal of gold. With him, the Earl of Surrey, bearing the rod of filver with the dove, crowned with an earl's coronet. Collars of SS.
- 6. Duke of Suffolk, in his robe of estate, his coronet on his head, bearing a long white wand, as high-sleward. With him, the Duke of Nor-

<sup>\* —</sup> the late marriage—] i.e. the marriage lately confidered as a valid one. Steevens.

<sup>•</sup> i. e. in his coat of office, emblazoned with the royal arms. Steevens.



ainted by & land of Colocen.

imyraveney in

## AUDILEY, LORD CHANCELLOR.

From the Original in the Pefsession of Lord Howard, at Audley End.

London Pub, Feb. I. 1792, by E Harding Fled S!



folk, with the rod of marshalship, a coronet on his head. Collars of SS.

- 7. A canopy borne by four of the Cinque-ports; under it, the Queen in her robe; in her hair richly adorned with pearl, crowned. On each fide of her, the Bishops of London and Winchester.
- 8. The old Duchefs of Norfolk, in a coronal of gold, wrought with flowers, bearing the Queen's train.
- 9. Certain Ladies or Counteffes, with plain circlets 1 of gold without flowers.

2 GENT. A royal train, believe me.—These I know;—

Who's that, that bears the scepter?

1  $G_{ENT}$ . Marquis Dorfet: And that the earl of Surrey, with the rod.

2 GENT. A bold brave gentleman: And that should be

The duke of Suffolk.

1 GENT. 'Tis the fame; high-steward.

2 GENT. And that my lord of Norfolk?

1 GENT. Yes.

2 GENT. Heaven blefs thee! [Looking on the Queen.

Thou hast the sweetest face I ever look'd on.— Sir, as I have a soul, she is an angel;

coronal—circlets—] I do not recollect that these two words occur in any other of our author's works; a circumstance that may serve to strengthen Dr. Farmer's opinion—that the directions for the court pageantry throughout the present drama, were drawn up by another hand. Steevens.

Our king has all the Indies in his arms, And more, and richer, when he strains that lady:<sup>2</sup> I cannot blame his conscience.

1 GENT. They, that bear The cloth of honour over her, are four barons Of the Cinque-ports.

2 GENT. Those men are happy; and so are all, are near her.

I take it, she that carries up the train, Is that old noble lady, duches of Norfolk,

- 1 GENT. It is; and all the rest are countesses.
- 2 Gent. Their coronets fay fo. These are stars, indeed;

And, fometimes, falling ones.

1 Gent. No more of that.

[Exit Procession, with a great flourish of Trumpets.

#### Enter a third Gentleman.

God fave you, fir! Where have you been broiling?
3 Gent. Among the croud i'the abbey; where a finger

when he strains that lady: I do not recollect that our author, in any other of his works, has used the verb—firain in its present sense, which is that of the Latin comprimere. Thus Livy, I. 4: "Compressa vestalis, quum geminum partum edidisset," &c. Again, in Chapman's version of the 21st Islad:

"Bright Peribea, whom the flood, &c. "Compress d."

I have pointed out this circumftance, because Ben Jonson is fuspected of having made some additions to the play before us, and, perhaps, in this very scene which is descriptive of the perfonages who compose the antecedent procession. See Dr. Farmer's note on the Epilogue to this play.

Could not be wedg'd in more; and I am stifled 3 With the mere rankness of their joy.

2 Gent. You faw

The ceremony?

3 GENT. That I did.

1 GENT. How was it?

3 GENT. Well worth the feeing.

2 Gent. Good fir, speak it to us.

3 Gent. As well as I am able. The rich stream<sup>4</sup> Of lords, and ladies, having brought the queen To a prepar'd place in the choir, fell off A distance from her; while her grace sat down To rest a while, some half an hour, or so, In a rich chair of state, opposing freely The beauty of her person to the people. Believe me, sir, she is the goodliest woman That ever lay by man: which when the people Had the full view of, such a noise arose As the shrouds make at sea in a stiff tempest, As loud, and to as many tunes: hats, cloaks, (Doublets, I think,) slew up; and had their faces Been loose, this day they had been lost. Such joy I never saw before. Great-bellied women,

4 — The rich stream &c.]

Virg. Georg. II. 461. MALONE.

Again, in the fecond Thebaid of Statius, v. 223:

" ---- foribus cum immissa superbis

" Unda fremit vulgi."

So, in Timon of Athens, A& I. fc. i:

"—this confluence, this great flood of vifitors." See Dr. Johnson's note on this passage. STERVENS.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> — and I am flifled—] And was introduced by Sir T. Hanmer, to complete the measure. Steevens.

<sup>&</sup>quot;——ingentem foribus domus alta fuperbis
"Mane falutantum totis vomit ædibus undam."

That had not half a week to go,<sup>5</sup> like rams <sup>6</sup> In the old time of war, would fhake the prefs, And make them reel before them. No man living Could fay, *This is my wife*, there; all were woven So ftrangely in one piece.

2 GENT. But, 'pray, what follow'd?7

3 GENT. At length her grace rose, and with modest paces

Came to the altar; where she kneel'd, and, faint-like.

Cast her fair eyes to heaven, and pray'd devoutly. Then rose again, and bow'd her to the people: When by the archbishop of Canterbury She had all the royal makings of a queen; As holy oil, Edward Confessor's crown, The rod, and bird of peace, and all such emblems Laid nobly on her: which perform'd, the choir, With all the choicest musick of the kingdom, Together sung Te Deum. So she parted, And with the same sull state pac'd back again To York-place, where the feast is held.

1 GENT. Sir, you Must no more call it York-place, that is past: For, fince the cardinal fell, that title's lost; 'Tis now the king's, and call'd—Whitehall.

STEEVENS.

<sup>5</sup> \_\_\_\_\_ to go,] i.e. to continue in their pregnancy. So, afterwards:

<sup>&</sup>quot;——the fruit she goes with

<sup>&</sup>quot;I pray for heartily." STEEVENS.

<sup>6 ——</sup> like rams—] That is, like battering rams.

JOHNSON.

So, in Virgil, Æneid II:

"——labat ariete crebro

<sup>&</sup>quot;Janua — ." STEEVENS.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> But, 'pray, what follow'd?] The word—'pray was added, for the fake of the measure, by Sir Thomas Hanmer.

3 Gent. I know it; But 'tis fo lately alter'd, that the old name Is fresh about me.

 $2 G_{ENT}$ . What two reverend bishops Were those that went on each side of the queen?

3 GENT. Stokefly and Gardiner; the one, of Winchester,

(Newly preferr'd from the king's fecretary,) The other, London.

2 GENT. He of Winchester Is held no great good lover of the archbishop's, The virtuous Cranmer.

3 GENT. All the land knows that: However, yet there's no great breach; when it comes,

Cranmer will find a friend will not fhrink from him.

2 GENT. Who may that be, I pray you?

3 GENT. Thomas Cromwell;

A man in much efteem with the king, and truly A worthy friend.—The king

Has made him mafter o'the jewel-house, And one, already, of the privy-council.

2 GENT. He will deferve more.

3 GENT. Yes, without all doubt. Come, gentlemen, ye shall go my way, which Is to the court, and there ye shall be my guests; Something I can command. As I walk thither, I'll tell ye more.

BOTH. You may command us, fir. [Exeunt.

#### SCENE II.8

#### Kimbolton.

Enter Katharine, Dowager, fich; led between Griffith and Patience.

GRIF. How does your grace?

KATH. O, Griffith, fick to death: My legs, like loaden branches, bow to the earth, Willing to leave their burden: Reach a chair;—So,—now, methinks, I feel a little ease. Didst thou not tell me, Griffith, as thou led'st me, That the great child of honour,9 cardinal Wolsey, Was dead?

GRIF. Yes, madam; but, I think, your grace, Out of the pain you fuffer'd, gave no ear to't.

KATH. Pr'ythee, good Griffith, tell me how he died:

If well, he ftepp'd before me, happily, For my example.<sup>2</sup>

- <sup>3</sup> Scene II.] This scene is above any other part of Shak-speare's tragedies, and perhaps above any scene of any other poet, tender and pathetick, without gods, or furies, or poissons, or precipices, without the help of romantick circumstances, without improbable fallies of poetical lamentation, and without any throes of tumultuous misery. Johnson.
  - 9 —— child of honour,] So, in King Henry IV. Part I:
    "That this fame child of honour and renown—."

STEEVENS.

I think, Old copy—I thank. Corrected in the fecond folio. MALONE.

For my example.] Happily feems to mean on this occasion—peradventure, haply. I have been more than once of this opi-

GRIF. Well, the voice goes, madam: For after the flout earl Northumberland<sup>3</sup> Arrested him at York, and brought him forward (As a man forely tainted,) to his answer, He fell sick suddenly, and grew so ill, He could not sit his mule.<sup>4</sup>

nion, when I have met with the fame word thus fpelt in other passages. Steevens.

Mr. M. Maion is of opinion that happily here means fortunately. Mr. Steevens's interpretation is, I think, right. So, in King He ry VI Part II:

"Thy fortune. York, hadft thou been regent there, "Might happily have provide far worse than his"

MALONE.

The flout earl Northumberland—] So, in Chevy

Chase:

" The flout earl of Northumberland

"A vow to God did make" &c. STEEVENS.

4 He could not fit his mule.] In Cavendish's Life of Wolfey, 1641, it is said that Wolfey poisoned himself; but the words—"at which time it was apparent that he had poisoned himself," which appear in p. 105 of that work, were an interpolation, inserted by the publisher for some finisher purpose; not being found in the two manuscripts now preserved in the Museum. See a former note, p. 141. MALONE.

Cardinals generally rode on mules. "He rode like a cardinal, fumptuously upon his mule." Cavendish's Life of Wolfey.

REED

In the representation of the Champ de Drap d'Or, published by the Society of Antiquaries, the Cardinal appears mounted on one of these animals very richly caparisoned. This circumstance also is much dwelt on in the ancient Satire quoted p. 88, n. 6:

" Wat. What yf he will the devils bliffe? " Jef. They regarde it no more be giffe " Then waggynge of his mule's tayle.

"Wat. Doth he then use on mule's to ryde?" Jef Ye, and that with so shamful pryde

"That to tell it is not possible."

Again:

"Then followeth my lorde on his mule" Trapped with golde under her cule

"In every poynt most curiously."

KATH.

Alas, poor man!

GRIF. At last, with easy roads,5 he came to Leicester,

Lodg'd in the abbey; where the reverend abbot, With all his convent, honourably receiv'd him; To whom he gave these words,—O father abbot, An old man, broken with the storms of state, Is come to lay his weary bones among ye; Give him a little earth for charity!

So went to bed: where eagerly his sickness Pursu'd him still; and, three nights after this, About the hour of eight, (which he himself Foretold, should be his last,) full of repentance Continual meditations, tears, and sorrows, He gave his honours to the world again, His blessed part to heaven, and slept in peace.

KATH. So may he rest; his faults lie gently on him! Yet thus far, Griffith, give me leave to speak him, And yet with charity,—He was a man Of an unbounded stomach, ever ranking Himself with princes; one, that by suggestion Ty'd all the kingdom: fimony was fair play;

Again:

"The boffes of his mulis brydles

"Myght bye Christ and his disciples
"As farre as I coulde ever rede." STEEVENS.

one, that by fuggestion

Ty'd all the kingdom:] The word suggestion, says the critick, [Dr. Warburton] is here used with great propriety and seeming knowledge of the Latin tongue: and he proceeds to settle the sense of it from the late Roman writers and their

<sup>5 —</sup> with eafy roads,] i.e. by fhort stages. Steevens.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Of an unbounded fromach,] i. e. of unbounded pride, or haughtiness. So, Holinshed, speaking of King Richard III:

"Such a great audacitie and such a stomach reigned in his bodie." Steenens.

His own opinion was his law: I'the prefence He would fay untruths; and be ever double,

gloffers. But Shakspeare's knowledge was from Holinshed,

whom he follows verbatim:

"This cardinal was of a great flomach, for he computed himself equal with princes, and by craftie fuggestions got into his hands innumerable treasure: he forced little on simonie, and was not pitifull, and stood affectionate in his own opinion: in open presence he would lie and seie untruth, and was double both in speech and meaning: he would promise much and perform little: he was vicious of his bodie, and gave the clergie

euil example." Edit. 1587, p. 922.

Perhaps, after this quotation, you may not think, that Sir Thomas Hanmer, who reads tyth'd—inftead of ty'd all the kingdom, deferves quite so much of Dr. Warburton's severity.—Indisputably the passage, like every other in the speech, is intended to express the meaning of the parallel one in the chronicle; it cannot therefore be credited, that any man, when the original was produced, should still choose to defend a cant acceptation, and inform us, perhaps, seriously, that in gaming language, from I know not what practice, to tye is to equal! A sense of the word, as I have yet found, unknown to our old writers; and, if known, would not surely have been used in this place by our author.

But, let us turn from conjecture to Shakspeare's authorities. Hall, from whom the above description is copied by Holinshed, is very explicit in the demands of the cardinal: who having insolently told the lord mayor and aldermen, "For sothe I thinke, that halfe your substance were too little," assures them, by way of comfort, at the end of his harangue, that, upon an average, the tythe should be sufficient: "Sirs, speake not to breake that thyng that is concluded, for some shall not paie the tenth parte, and some more." And again: "Thei saied, the cardinall by visitacions, makyng of abbottes, probates of testamentes, graunting of faculties, licences, and other pollyngs in his courtes legan-

tines, had made his threafure egall with the kynges."

Edit. 1548, p. 138, and 143. FARMER.

In Storer's Life and Death of Thomas Wolfey, a poem, 1599, the Cardinal fays:

"I car'd not for the gentrie, for I had

"Tithe-gentlemen, yong nobles of the land," &c.

STEEVENS

Ty'd all the kingdom:] i.e. he was a man of an unbounded

Both in his words and meaning: He was never, But where he meant to ruin, pitiful:

ftomach, or pride, ranking himself with princes, and by suggestion to the King and the Pope, he ty'd, i. e. limited, circumscribed, and set bounds to the liberties and properties of all persons in the kingdom. That he did so, appears from various passages in the play. Act II. sc. ii. "free us from his slavery," or this imperious man will work us all from princes into pages: all men's honours," &c. Act III. sc. ii. "You wrought to be a legate, by which power you maim'd the jurisdiction of all bishops." See also Act I. sc. i. and Act III. sc. ii. This construction of the passage may be supported from D'Ewes's Journal of Queen Elizabeth's Parliaments, p. 644: "Far be it from me that the state and prerogative of the prince should be

tied by me, or by the act of any other subject."

Dr. Farmer has displayed such eminent knowledge of Shakspeare, that it is with the utmost diffidence I dissent from the alteration which he would establish here. He would read tyth'd, and refers to the authorities of Hall and Holinshed about a tax of the tenth, or tythe of each man's substance, which is not taken notice of in the play. Let it be remarked that it is Queen Katharine speaks here, who, in Act I. sc. ii. told the King it was a demand of the fixth part of each fubject's fubstance, that caused the rebellion. Would she afterwards say that he, i.e. Wolfey, had tythed all the kingdom, when flie knew he had almost double-tuthed it? Still Dr. Farmer insists that "the pasfage, like every other in the speech, is intended to express the meaning of the parallel one in the Chronicle:" i.e. The cardinal "by craftie fuggestion got into his hands innumerable treasure." This passage does not relate to a publick tax of the tenths, but to the Cardinal's own private acquifitions. If in this fense I admitted the alteration, tyth'd, I would suppose that, as the Queen is descanting on the Cardinal's own acquirements, she borrows her term from the principal emolument or payment due to priefts; and means to intimate that the Cardinal was not content with the tythes legally accruing to him from his own various pluralities, but that he extorted fomething equivalent to them throughout all the kingdom. So, Buckingham fays, Act I. fc. i. "No man's pie is freed from his ambitious finger." So, again, Surrey fays, Act III. fc. ult. "Yes, that goodness of gleaning all the land's wealth into one, into your own hands, cardinal, by extortion:" and ibidem, "You have fent innumerable substance (by what means got, I leave to your own conscience) to the mere undoing of all the kingdom." This extortion is fo freHis promifes were, as he then was, mighty; But his performance, as he is now, nothing. Of his own body he was ill, and gave The clergy ill example.

GRIF. Noble madam, Men's evil manners live in brass; their virtues We write in water. May it please your highness To hear me speak his good now?

quently fpoken of, that perhaps our author purposely avoided a repetition of it in the passage under consideration, and therefore gave a different fentiment declarative of the consequence of his unbounded pride, that must humble all others. Toller.

<sup>8</sup> — as he is now, nothing.] So, in Massinger's Great Duke of Florence:

" ---- Great men,

"Till they have gain'd their ends, are giants in "Their promifes; but those obtain'd, weak pygmies

" In their performance." STEEVENS.

<sup>9</sup> Of his own body he was ill,] A criminal connection with women was anciently called the vice of the body. Thus, in The Manciple's Tale, by Chaucer:

"If of hire body dishonest she be."

Again, in Holinshed, p. 1258: "—he laboured by all meanes to cleare mistresse Sanders of committing evill of her todie with him." Steevens.

So, the Protector fays of Jane Shore, Hall's Chronicle, Edw. IV. p. 16: "She was naught of her bodye." MALONE.

their virtues

We write in water.] Beaumont and Fletcher have the same thought in their Philaster:

" ---- all your better deeds

"Shall be in water writ, but this in marble."

STEEVENS.

This reflection bears a great refemblance to a passage in Sir Thomas More's History of Richard III. whence Shakspeare undoubtedly formed his play on that subject. Speaking of the ungrateful turns which Jane Shore experienced from those whom she had served in her prosperity, More adds, "Men use, if they have an evil turne, to write it in marble, and whoso doth us a good turne, we write it in duste."

More's Works, bl. l. 1557, p. 59. PERCY.

KATH.

Yes, good Griffith;

I were malicious else.

GRIF.

This cardinal,2

In Whitney's Emblemes, printed at Leyden, 4to. 1586, p. 183, is the following:

" Scribit in marmore læsus.

"In marble harde our harmes wee alwayes grave,
"Because, wee still will beare the same in minde:

"In duste wee write the benefittes wee have,

"Where they are foone defaced with the winde.
"So, wronges wee houlde, and never will forgive;
"And foone forget, that fill with us shoulde live."

Again, as Mr. Ritson quotes from Harrington's Ariosto:

"Men fay it, and we fee it come to pass,

"Good turns in fand, fhrewd turns are writ in brafs."
To avoid an unneceffary multiplication of inflances, I fhall just observe, that the same sentiment is found in Massinger's Maid of Honour, A&V. sc. ii. and Marston's Malcontent, A&II. sc. iii. Reed.

<sup>2</sup> This cardinal, &c.] This speech is formed on the following passage in Holinshed: "This cardinal, (as Edmond Campion, in his Historie of Ireland, described him,) was a man undoubtedly born to honour; I think, (faith he,) fome prince's baftard, no butcher's fonne; exceeding wife, faire-fpoken, high-minded. full of revenge, vitious of his bodie, loftie to his enemies, were they never to bigge, to those that accepted and fought his friendfhip wonderful courteous; a ripe schooleman, thrall to affections, brought a bed with flatterie; infaciable to get, and more princelie in bestowing, as appeareth by his two colleges at Ipswich and Oxenford, the one overthrown with his fall, the other unfinished, and yet as it lyeth, for an house of studentes, (considering all the appurtenances,) incomparable throughout Christendome.-He held and injoied at once the bishoprickes of Yorke, Duresme, and Winchester, the dignities of Lord Cardinall, Legat, and Chancellor, the abbaie of St. Albons, diverse priories, fundrie fat benefices in commendam; a great preferrer of his fervants, an advanuer of learning, floute in every quarrel, never happy till this his overthrow: wherein he shewed such moderation, and ended so perfectlie, that the houre of his death did him more honour than all the pomp of his life pailed. \*"

<sup>\*</sup> So, in Macbeth:

<sup>&</sup>quot; ---- nothing in his life

<sup>&</sup>quot; Became him like the leaving it ;---." STEEVENS,

Though from an humble frock, undoubtedly ... Was fashion'd to much honour. From his cradle, He was a scholar, and a ripe, and good one; Exceeding wife, fair spoken, and persuading: 4 Lofty, and sour, to them that lov'd him not;

When Shakspeare fays that Wolsey was "a scholar from his cradle," he had probably in his thoughts the account given by Cavendish, which Stowe has copied: "Cardinal Wolsey was an honest, poor man's sonne—who, being but a child, was very apt to learne; wherefore by means of his parents and other his good friends he was maintained at the university of Oxford, where in a short time he prospered so well, that in a small time, (as he told me with his owne mouth,) he was made bachelour of arts, when he was but sisten years of age, and was most commonly called the boy batchelour." See also Wolsey's Legend, Mirrour for Mayistrates, 1587.

I have here followed the punctuation of the old copy, where there is a full point at honour, and From his cradle begins a new fentence. This punctuation has likewife been adopted in the late editions. Mr. Theobald, however, contends that we ought

to point thus:

"Was fashion'd to much honour from his cradle." And it must be owned that the words of Holinshed, here thrown into verse, "This cardinall was a man undoubtedly BORN to honour," strongly supports his regulation. The reader has before him the arguments on each side. I am by no means consident that I have decided rightly. MALONE.

The prefent punctuation,

"—— From his cradle,

"He was a scholar,——

Geems to be countenanced by a paffage in King Henry V:
"Never was fuch a fudden fcholar made."

STEEVENS.

- Was fashion'd to much honour.] Perhaps our author borrowed this expression from Saint Paul's Epistle to the Romans, ix. 21: "Hath not the potter power over the clay of the same lump, to make one vessel unto honour" &c. Steevens.
- fair spoken, and persuading: Eloquence constituted a part of the Cardinal's real character. In the charges exhibited against him, it was alledged that at the Privy Council "he would have all the words to himself, and consumed much time with a fair tale." See 4 Inst. 91. Holy White.

But, to those men that sought him, sweet as summers. And though he were unsatisfied in getting, (Which was a fin,) yet in bestowing, madam, He was most princely: Ever witness for him Those twins of learning, that he rais'd in you, Ipswich, and Oxford! one of which fell with him, Unwilling to outlive the good that did it; The other, though unfinish'd, yet so famous, So excellent in art, and still so rising, That Christendom shall ever speak his virtue. His overthrow heap'd happiness upon him; For then, and not till then, he felt himself, And sound the blessedness of being little: And, to add greater honours to his age Than man could give him, he died, fearing God.

KATH. After my death I wish no other herald, No other speaker of my living actions, To keep mine honour from corruption,

<sup>5</sup> Ipfwich,] " The foundation-stone of the College which the Cardinal founded in this place, was discovered a few years ago. It is now in the Chapter-house of Christ-Church, Oxford." Seward's Anecdotes of distinguished Persons, &c. 1795.

STEEVENS.

of Unwilling to outlive the good that did it; Unwilling to furvive that virtue which was the cause of its foundation: or, perhaps, "the good" is licentiously used for the good man; "the virtuous prelate who founded it." So, in The Winter's Tale: "—a piece many years in doing."

Mr. Pope and the fubfequent editors read—the good he did it; which appears to me unintelligible. "The good he did it," was laying the foundation of the building and endowing it: if therefore we suppose the college unwilling to outlive the good he did

it, we suppose it to expire instantly after its birth.

"The college unwilling to live longer than its founder, or the goodness that gave rise to it," though certainly a conceit, is sufficiently intelligible. Malone.

Good, I believe, is put for goodness. So, in p. 159:

" --- May it please your highness

"To hear me speak his good now?" STEEVENS.

But such an honest chronicler as Griffith.
Whom I most hated living, thou hast made me,
With thy religious truth, and modesty,
Now in his ashes honour: Peace be with him!—
Patience, be near me still; and set me lower:
I have not long to trouble thee.—Good Griffith,
Cause the musicians play me that sad note
I nam'd my knell, whilst I sit meditating
On that celestial harmony I go to.

## Sad and folemn musick.

GRIF. She is afleep: Good wench, let's fit down quiet,
For fear we wake her;—Softly, gentle Patience.

The Vision. Enter, solemnly tripping one after another, six Personages, clad in white robes, wearing on their heads garlands of lays, and golden vizards on their faces; branches of lays, or palm, in their hands. They first congee unto her, then dance; and, at certain changes, the first two hold a spare garland over her head; at which, the other four make reverend court's fies; then the two, that held the garland, deliver the same to the other next two, who observe the same

<sup>7 —</sup> folemnly tripping one after another,] This whimfical flage-direction is exactly taken from the old copy. Steevens.

Of this stage-direction I do not believe our author wrote one word. Katharine's next speech probably suggested this tripping dumb-shew to the too busy reviver of this play. Malone.

<sup>&</sup>quot;

golden vizards—] These tawdry disguises are also mentioned in Hall's account of a maske devised by King Henry VIII:

"—thei were appareled &c. with visers and cappes of golde."

Stevens.

order in their changes, and holding the garland over her head: which done, they deliver the same garland to the last two, who likewise observe the same order: at which, (as it were by inspiration,) she makes in her sleep signs of rejoicing, and holdeth up her hands to heaven: and so in their dancing they vanish, carrying the garland with them. The musick continues.

KATH. Spirits of peace, where are ye? Are ye all gone?

And leave me here in wretchedness behind ye?9

GRIF. Madam, we are here.

 $K_{ATH}$ . It is not you I call for: Saw ye none enter, fince I flept?

GRIF.

None, madam.

KATH. No? Saw you not, even now, a bleffed troop

Invite me to a banquet; whose bright faces Cast thousand beams upon me, like the sun? They promis'd me eternal happiness; And brought me garlands, Griffith, which I feel I am not worthy yet to wear: I shall, Assuredly.

GRIF. I am most joyful, madam, such good dreams Posses your fancy.

STEEVENS.

<sup>9</sup> And leave me here in wretchedness behind ye?] Perhaps Mr. Gray had this passage in his thoughts, when he made his Bard exclaim, on a fimilar occasion, (the evanescence of visionary forms):

<sup>&</sup>quot;Stay, O flay! nor thus forlorn "Leave me unblefs'd, unpitied, here to mourn!"

KATH. Bid the musick leave,
They are harsh and heavy to me. [Musick ceases.

PAT. Do you note, How much her grace is alter'd on the fudden? How long her face is drawn? How pale fhe looks, And of an earthly cold? Mark you her eyes?

Grif. She is going, wench; pray, pray.  $P_{AT}$ . Heaven comfort her!

## Enter a Messenger.

Mess. An't like your grace,—

 $K_{ATH}$ . You are a faucy fellow: Deferve we no more reverence?

 $G_{RIF}$ . You are to blame, Knowing, the will not lofe her wonted greatness, To use to rude behaviour: go to, kneel.<sup>2</sup>

Mess. I humbly do entreat your highness' pardon; My haste made me unmannerly: There is staying A gentleman, sent from the king, to see you.

- 1—Mark you her eyes? The modern editors read—Mark her eyes. But in the old copy, there being a ftop of interrogation after this paffage, as after the foregoing clauses of the speech, I have ventured to insert the pronoun—you, which at once supports the ancient pointing, and completes the measure. Steevens.
- 2 go to, kneel.] Queen Katharine's fervants, after the divorce at Dunftable, and the Pope's curfe fluck up at Dunkirk, were directed to be fworn to ferve her not as a Queen, but as Princefs Dowager. Some refused to take the oath, and so were forced to leave her fervice; and as for those who took it and stayed, she would not be served by them, by which means she was almost destitute of attendants. See Hall, fol. 219. Bishop Burnet says, all the women about her still called her Queen. Burnet, p. 162. Reed.

KATH. Admit him entrance, Griffith: But this fellow

Let me ne'er see again.

[Exeunt Griffith and Messenger.

## Re-enter GRIFFITH, with CAPUCIUS.

If my fight fail not, You should be lord ambassador from the emperor, My royal nephew, and your name Capucius.

CAP. Madam, the fame, your fervant.

KATH. O my lord, The times, and titles, now are alter'd firangely With me, fince first you knew me. But, I pray you, What is your pleasure with me?

CAP. Noble lady,
First, mine own service to your grace; the next,
The king's request that I would visit you;
Who grieves much for your weakness, and by me
Sends you his princely commendations,
And heartily entreats you take good comfort.

KATH. O my good lord, that comfort comes too late:

'Tis like a pardon after execution:
That gentle phyfick, given in time, had cur'd me;
But now I am past all comforts here, but prayers.
How does his highness?

CAP. Madam, in good health.

KATH. So may he ever do! and ever flourish, When I shall dwell with worms, and my poor name, Banish'd the kingdom!—Patience, is that letter, I caus'd you write, yet sent away?

PAT. No, madam. [Giving it to KATHARINE.

KATH. Sir, I most humbly pray you to deliver This to my lord the king.<sup>3</sup>

CAP. Most willing, madam.

KATH. In which I have commended to his goodness

The model of our chaste loves,4 his young daughter:—

<sup>3</sup> This to my lord the king.] So, Holinfhed, p. 939: "—perceiving hir felfe to waxe verie weak and feeble, and to feele death approaching at hand, caused one of hir gentlewomen to write a letter to the king, commending to him hir daughter and his, befeeching him to stand good father unto hir; and further defired him to have some consideration of hir gentlewomen that had served hir, and to see them bestowed in marriage. Further that it would please him to appoint that hir servants might have their due wages, and a yeares wages beside."

STEEVENS.

This letter probably fell into the hands of Polydore Virgil, who was then in England, and has preferved it in the twenty-feventh book of his hiftory. The following is Lord Herbert's translation of it:

" My most dear lord, king, and husband,

"The hour of my death now approaching, I cannot choose but, out of the love I bear you, advise you of your soul's health, which you ought to prefer before all considerations of the world or flesh whatsoever: for which yet you have cast me into many calamities, and yourself into many troubles.—But I forgive you all, and pray God to do so likewise. For the rest, I commend unto you Mary our daughter, beseeching you to be a good father to her, as I have heretofore desired. I must entreat you also to respect my maids, and give them in marriage, (which is not much, they being but three,) and to all my other servants a years pay besides their due, lest otherwise they should be unprovided for. Lastly, I make this yow, that mine eyes desire you above all things. Farewell." Malone.

The legal inftrument for the divorce of Queen Katharine is still in being; and among the fignatures to it is that of Polydore Virgil. Steevens.

\* The model of our chaste loves,] Model is image or reprefentative. See Vol. VIII. p. 352, n. 2; and Vol. X. p. 532, n. 2. MALONE. The dews of heaven fall thick in bleffings on her! Beseeching him, to give her virtuous breeding; (She is young, and of a noble modest nature; I hope, fhe will deferve well;) and a little To love her for her mother's fake, that lov'd him, Heaven knows how dearly. My next poor petition Is, that his noble grace would have fome pity Upon my wretched women, that fo long, Have follow'd both my fortunes faithfully: Of which there is not one, I dare avow, (And now I should not lie,) but will deserve, For virtue, and true beauty of the foul, For honesty, and decent carriage, A right good hufband, let him be a noble;5 And, fure, those men are happy that shall have them. The last is, for my men;—they are the poorest, But poverty could never draw them from me;-That they may have their wages duly paid them, And fomething over to remember me by;

\* A right good &c.] I would read this line (not with a femicolon, as hitherto printed,) but with only a comma: A right good husband, let him be a noble;

i.e. though he were even of noble extraction. Whalley.

Let him be, I suppose, signifies, even though he should be; or, admit that he be. She means to observe, that nobility superadded to virtue, is not more than each of her women deserves to meet with in a husband.

The fame phraseology is found in King Richard II:

"Setting afide his high blood's royalty, "And let him be no kinfman to my liege."

Steevens.

This is, I think, the true interpretation of the line; but I do not fee why the words let him be a noble, may not, confidently with this meaning, be underflood in their obvious and ordinary fense. We are not to consider Katharine's women like the attendants on other ladies. One of them had already been married to more than a noble husband; having unfortunately captivated a worthless hing. Malone.

If heaven had pleas'd to have given me longer life, And able means, we had not parted thus. These are the whole contents:—And, good my lord, By that you love the dearest in this world, As you wish christian peace to souls departed, Stand these poor people's friend, and urge the king To do me this last right.

CAP. By heaven, I will; Or let me lose the fashion of a man!

KATH. I thank you, honest lord. Remember me In all humility unto his highness:
Say, his long trouble now is passing
Out of this world: tell him, in death I bless'd him,
For so I will.—Mine eyes grow dim.—Farewell,
My lord.—Griffith, farewell.—Nay, Patience,
You must not leave me yet. I must to bed;
Call in more women.—When I am dead, good wench,

Let me be us'd with honour: firew me over With maden flowers, that all the world may know I was a chafte wife to my grave: embalm me, Then lay me forth: although unqueen'd, yet like A queen, and daughter to a king, inter me. I can no more.—

[Exeunt, leading KATHARINE.

## ACT V. SCENE I.

# A Gallery in the Palace.

Enter Gardiner Bishop of Winchester, a Page with a Torch before him, met by Sir Thomas Lovell.

GAR. It's one o'clock, boy, is't not?

Bor. It hath firuck.

GAR. These should be hours for necessities, Not for delights; times to repair our nature With comforting repose, and not for us To waste these times.—Good hour of night, fir Thomas!

Whither fo late?

Lov. Came you from the king, my lord?

GAR. I did, fir Thomas; and left him at primero8

With the duke of Suffolk.

<sup>6</sup> Not for delights; Gardiner himfelf is not much delighted. The delight at which he hints, feems to be the King's diversion, which keeps him in attendance. Johnson.

These should be hours—

With comforting repose, Hence, perhaps, the following passage in the fifth Act of Rowe's Fair Penitent. Sciolto is the speaker:

"This dead of night, this filent hour of darkness, "Nature for rest ordain'd and soft repose." STEEVENS.

<sup>8</sup>—at primero—] Primero and Primavista, two games at cards, H. I. Primera, Primavista. La Primière, G. Prime, f. Prime veue. Primum, et primum visum, that is, first, and first seen: because he that can show such an order of cards first, wins the game. Minsheu's Guide into Tongues, col. 575. GREY.

Lov. I must to him too, Before he go to bed. I'll take my leave.

GAR. Not yet, fir Thomas Lovell. What's the matter?

It feems, you are in haste; an if there be No great offence belongs to't, give your friend Some touch of your late business: Affairs, that walk

(As, they fay, spirits do,) at midnight, have In them a wilder nature, than the business That seeks despatch by day.

Lov. My lord, I love you;
And durft commend a fecret to your ear
Much weightier than this work. The queen's in
labour,

They fay, in great extremity; and fear'd, She'll with the labour end.

GAR. The fruit, she goes with, I pray for heartily; that it may find Good time, and live: but for the stock, fir Thomas, I wish it grubb'd up now.

Lov. Methinks, I could Cry the amen; and yet my confeience fays She's a good creature, and, fweet lady, does Deferve our better wifhes.

GAR. But, fir, fir,—
Hear me, fir Thomas: You are a gentleman

So, in Woman's a Weathercock, 1612:

"Come will your worship make one at primero?"
Again, in the Preface to The Rival Friends, 1632: "—when it may be, some of our buttersty judgments expected a set at maw or primavista from them." Steevens.

<sup>9</sup> Some touch of your late business: ] Some hint of the business that keeps you awake so late. Johnson.

Of mine own way; I know you wife, religious; And, let me tell you, it will ne'er be well,—'Twill not, fir Thomas Lovell, take't of me, Till Cranmer, Cromwell, her two hands, and she, Sleep in their graves.

Lov. Now, fir, you fpeak of two The most remark'd i'the kingdom. As for Cromwell,—

Beside that of the jewel-house, he's made a master O'the rolls, and the king's secretary; further, sir, Stands in the gap and trade of more preferments, With which the time will load him: The archbishop Is the king's hand, and tongue; And who dare speak One syllable against him?

GAR. Yes, yes, fir Thomas, There are that dare; and I myfelf have ventur'd To fpeak my mind of him: and, indeed, this day, Sir, (I may tell it you,) I think, I have Incens'd the lords o'the council, that he is (For fo I know he is, they know he is,) A most arch heretick, a pestilence

- mine own way; Mine own opinion in religion.

  Johnson.
- he's made—] The pronoun, which was omitted in the old copy, was inferted by Mr. Theobald. MALONE.
- <sup>3</sup> Stands in the gap and trade of more preferments,] Trade is the practifed method, the general courfe. Johnson.

Trade has been already used by Shakspeare with this meaning in King Richard II:

"Some way of common trade." See Vol. XI. p. 109, n. 5. Steevens.

Incens'd the lords o'the council, that he is &c.

A most arch heretich, This passage, according to the old elliptical mode of writing, may mean—I have incens'd the lords of the council, for that he is, i. e. because. Stevens.

That does infect the land: with which they moved, Have broken with the king; 5 who hath so far Given ear to our complaint, (of his great grace And princely care; foreseeing those fell mischiefs Our reasons laid before him,) he hath commanded, To-morrow morning to the council-board He be convented. He's a rank weed, sir Thomas, And we must root him out. From your assairs I hinder you too long: good night, fir Thomas.

Lov. Many good nights, my lord; I rest your servant. [Exeunt Gardiner and Page.

As LOVELL is going out, enter the King, and the Duke of Suffolk.

K. HEN. Charles, I will play no more to-night; My mind's not on't, you are too hard for me. Sur. Sir, I did never win of you before.

I have roused the lords of the council by suggesting to them that he is a most arch heretick: I have thus incited them against him. Malone.

Incenfed, I believe, in this inftance, and some others, only means prompted, set on. So, in King Richard III:

"Think you, my lord, this little prating York "Was not incenfed by his fubtle mother?" Steevens.

5 — broken with the king;] They have broken filence; told their minds to the king. JOHNSON.

So, in Much Ado about Nothing: "I will break with her." Again, in The Two Gentlemen of Verona:

"I am to break with thee of some affairs." STEEVENS.

- 6 he hath commanded,] He, which is not in the old copy, was inferted by Mr. Pope. He hath was often written contractedly h'ath. Hence probably the error. Malone.
- <sup>7</sup> He be convented.] Convented is fummoned, convened. See Vol. VI. p. 392, n. 5. Steevens.

K. HEN. But little, Charles;
Nor shall not, when my fancy's on my play.—
Now, Lovell, from the queen what is the news?

Lov. I could not perionally deliver to her What you commanded me, but by her woman I fent your message; who return'd her thanks In the greatest humbleness, and desir'd your highness Most heartily to pray for her.

K. HEN. What fay'ft thou? ha! To pray for her? what, is fhe crying out?

Lov. So faid her woman; and that her fufferance

Almost each pang a death.8

K. HEN. Alas, good lady!

Suf. God fafely quit her of her burden, and With gentle travail, to the gladding of Your highness with an heir!

K. HEN. 'Tis midnight, Charles, Pr'ythee, to bed; and in thy prayers remember The eftate of my poor queen. Leave me alone; For I must think of that, which company Will not be friendly to.

Suf. I wish your highness A quiet night, and my good mistress will Remember in my prayers.

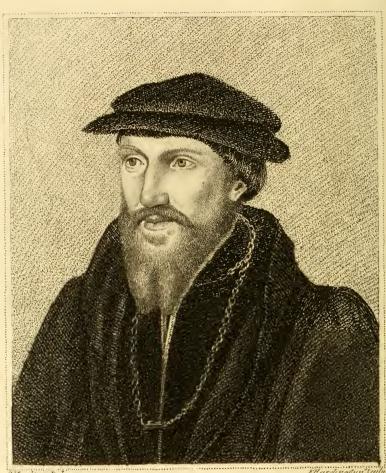
K. HEN.

Charles, good night.—
[Exit Suffolk.

<sup>\* —</sup> her sufferance made
Almost each pang a death.] We have had nearly the same fentiment before, in A& II. sc. iii:

<sup>&</sup>quot;As foul and body's fevering." MALONE.





SHarding Del.

EHardinggun Sculp

# LORD DENNY.

the Original by Helbien, at Greystock Caftle.

I, on: Fub, Aug. 9. 1792. by # & SHarding Patt Mall

#### Enter Sir Anthony Denny.9

## Well, fir, what follows?

9 Enter Sir Anthony Denny.] The fubftance of this and the two following scenes is taken from Fox's AEIs and Monuments

of the Christian Martyrs, &c. 1563:

"When night came, the king fent Sir Anthonie Denie about midnight to Lambeth to the archbishop, willing him forthwith to refort unto him at the court. The message done, the archbishop speedily addressed himselfe to the court, and comming into the galerie where the king walked and taried for him, his highnesse faid, Ah, my lorde of Canterbury, I can tell you newes. For divers weighty confiderations it is determined by me and the counfaile, that you to-morrowe at nine of the clocke shall be committed to the Tower, for that you and your chaplaines (as information is given us) have taught and preached, and thereby fown within the realme fuch a number of execrable herefies, that it is feared the whole realme being infected with them, no fmall contention and commotion will rife thereby amongst my fubjects, as of late daies the like was in divers parts of Germanie; and therefore the counsell have requested me for the triall of the matter, to fuffer them to commit you to the Tower, or elfe no man dare come forth, as witnesse in those matters, you being a counsellor.

"When the king had faid his mind, the archbishop kneeled down, and said, I am content, if it please your grace, with at my hart, to go thither at your highness commandment; and I most humbly thank your majesty that I may come to my triall, for there be that have many waies slandered me, and now this

way I hope to trie myselfe not worthy of such reporte.

"The king perceiving the mans uprightnesse, joyned with such simplicitie, said; Oh Lorde, what maner o'man be you? What simplicitie is in you? I had thought that you would rather have sued to us to have taken the paines to have heard you and your accusers together for your triall, without any such indurance. Do you not know what state you be in with the whole world, and how many great enemies you have? Do you not consider what an easie thing it is to procure three or foure salse knaves to witness against you? Thinke you to have better lucke that waie than your master Christ had? I see by it you will run headlong to your undoing, if I would suffer you. Your enemies shall not so prevaile against you; for I have otherwise devised with my selfe to keep you out of their handes. Yet notwith-

DEN. Sir, I have brought my lord the archbishop, As you commanded me.

flanding to-morrow when the counfaile shall sit, and fend for you, refort unto them, and if in charging you with this matter, they do commit you to the Tower, require of them, because you are one of them, a counfailer, that you may have your accusers brought before them without any further indurance. and use for your selfe as good persuasions that way as you may devife; and if no intreatie or reasonable request will serve, then deliver unto them this my ring (which then the king delivered unto the archbishop,) and faie unto them, if there be no remedie. my lords, but that I must needs go to the Tower, then I revoke my cause from you, and appeale to the kinges owne person by this token unto you all, for (faide the king then unto the archbithop) fo foone as they shall fee this my ring, they knowe it fo well, that they shall understande that I have referved the whole cause into mine owne handes and determination, and that I have discharged them thereof.

"The archbishop perceiving the kinges benignity so much to him wards, had much ado to forbeare teares. Well, said the king, go your waies, my lord, and do as I have bidden you. My lord, humbling himselfe with thankes, tooke his leave of

the kinges highnesse for that night.

"On the morrow, about nine of the clocke before noone, the counfaile fent a gentleman usher for the archbishop, who, when hee came to the counfaile-chamber doore, could not be let in, but of purpose (as it seemed) was compelled there to waite among the pages, lackies, and serving men all alone. D. Buts the king's physition resorting that way, and espying how my lord of Canterbury was handled, went to the king's highnesse, and said; My lord of Canterbury, if it please your grace, is well promoted; for now he is become a lackey or a ferving man, for yonder hee standeth this halfe hower at the counsaile-chamber doore amongste them. It is not so, (quoth the king,) I trowe, nor the counsaile hath not so little discretion as to use the metropolitane of the realme in that forte, specially being one of their own number. But let them alone (said the king) and we shall heare more soone.

"Anone the archbishop was called into the counsaile-chamber, to whom was alleadged as before is rehearsed. The archbishop aunswered in like fort, as the king had advised him; and in the end when he perceived that no maner of persuasion or intreatic could serve, he delivered them the king's ring, revoking his cause into the king's hands. The whole counsaile being thereat some-

K. Hen. Ha! Canterbury?
Den. Ay, my good lord.
K. Hen. 'Tis true: Where is he, Denny?
Den. He attends your highness' pleasure.

what amazed, the earle of Bedford with a loud voice confirming his words with a folemn othe, faid, when you first began the matter, my lordes, I told you what would come of it. Do you thinke that the king would suffer this man's finger to ake? Much more (I warrant you) will he defend his life against brabling varlets. You doe but cumber yourselves to hear tales and sables against him. And incontinently upon the receipt of the king's token, they all rose, and carried to the king his ring, surrendring that matter as the order and use was, into his own hands.

"When they were all come to the king's presence, his highness, with a severe countenance, said unto them; ah, my lordes, I thought I had wifer men of my counfaile than now I find you. What discretion was this in you thus to make the primate of the realme, and one of you in office, to wait at the counfaillechamber doore amongst serving men? You might have confidered that he was a counfailer as wel as you, and you had no fuch commission of me so to handle him. I was content that you should trie him as a counsellor, and not as a meane subject. But now I well perceive that things be done against him maliciouslie, and if some of you might have had your mindes, you would have tried him to the uttermost. But I doe you all to wit, and protest, that if a prince may bee beholding unto his fubject (and fo folemnlie laying his hand upon his breft, faid,) by the faith I owe to God I take this man here, my lord of Canterburie, to be of all other a most faithful subject unto us, and one to whome we are much beholding, giving him great commendations otherwise. And, with that, one or two of the chiefest of the countaile, making their excuse, declared, that in requesting his indurance, it was rather ment for his triall and his purgation against the common fame and slander of the worlde, than for any malice conceived against him. Well, well, my lords, (quoth the king,) take him, and well use him, as hee is worthy to bee, and make no more ado. And with that, every man caught him by the hand, and made faire weather of altogethers, which might eafilie be done with that man."

K. HEN.

Bring him to us. [Exit Denny.

Lov. This is about that which the bishop spake; I am happily come hither. [Aside.

## Re-enter DENNY, with CRANMER.

K. HEN.

Avoid the gallery. [Lovell feems to stay.

Ha!—I have faid.—Be gone.

What!— [Exeunt Lovell and Denny.

CRAN. I am fearful:—Wherefore frowns he thus? 'Tis his afpéct of terror. All's not well.

K. Hen. How now, my lord? You do desire to know

Wherefore I fent for you.

CRAN. It is my duty, To attend your highness' pleasure.

K. HEN. 'Pray you, arife, My good and gracious lord of Canterbury. Come, you and I must walk a turn together; I have news to tell you: Come, come, give me your hand.

Ah, my good lord, I grieve at what I speak,
And am right forry to repeat what follows:
I have, and most unwillingly, of late
Heard many grievous, I do say, my lord,
Grievous complaints of you; which, being confider'd,

Have mov'd us and our council, that you shall

happily—] The present instance, and another in p. 183, seem to militate against my former explanation of—happily, and to countenance that of Mr. M. Mason. See p. 154, n. 2. Steevens.

This morning come before us; where, I know, You cannot with fuch freedom purge yourself, But that, till further trial, in those charges Which will require your answer, you must take Your patience to you, and be well contented To make your house our Tower: You a brother of us.<sup>2</sup>

It fits we thus proceed, or elfe no witness Would come against you.

CRAN. I humbly thank your highness; And am right glad to catch this good occasion Most throughly to be winnow'd, where my chaff And corn shall fly asunder: for, I know, There's none stands under more calumnious tongues, Than I myself, poor man.<sup>3</sup>

K. HEN. Stand up, good Canterbury; Thy truth, and thy integrity, is rooted In us, thy friend: Give me thy hand, stand up; Pr'ythee, let's walk. Now, by my holy-dame, What manner of man are you? My lord, I look'd You would have given me your petition, that I should have ta'en some pains to bring together Yourself and your accusers; and to have heard you Without indurance,4 further.

CRAN.

Most dread liege,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> — You a brother of us, &c.] You being one of the council, it is necessary to imprison you, that the witnesses against you may not be deterred. Johnson.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Than I mufelf, poor man.] Poor man probably belongs to the King's reply. GREY.

<sup>4 —</sup> indurance,] i. e. confinement. Dr. Johnson, however, in his Dictionary, says that this word (which Shakspeare borrowed from Fox's narrative already quoted) means—delay, procrastination. Steevens.

The good I stand on 5 is my truth, and honesty; If they shall fail, I, with mine enemies, 6 Will triumph o'er my person; which I weigh not, 7 Being of those virtues vacant. I fear nothing What can be said against me.

K. HEN. Know you not how Your flate flands i'the world, with the whole world? Your enemies

Are many, and not finall; their practices
Must bear the same proportion: and not ever 8
The justice and the truth o'the question carries
The due o'the verdict with it: At what ease
Might corrupt minds procure knaves as corrupt
To swear against you? such things have been done.
You are potently oppos'd; and with a malice
Of as great size. Ween you of better luck,9

<sup>5</sup> The good I ftand on—] Though good may be taken for advantage or fuperiority, or any thing which may help or fupport, yet it would, I think, be more natural to fay:

The ground I fland on —. Johnson.

The old copy is certainly right. So, in *Coriolanus:*"Your *franchifes, whereon* you *fland*, confin'd
"Into an augre's bore." MALONE.

Again, in The Merry Wives of Windfor: "Though Page be a fecure fool, and flands fo firmly on his wife's frailty——."

STEEVENS.

- o —— I, with mine enemies,] Cranmer, I suppose, means, that whenever his honesty fails, he shall rejoice as heartily as his enemies at his destruction. Malone.
- 7 I weigh not,] i. e. have no value for. So, in Love's Labour's Loft:

"You weigh me not,—O that's, you care not for me." See King Richard III. Act III. fc. i. Steevens.

- <sup>3</sup> —— and not ever—] Not ever is an uncommon expression, and does not mean never, but not always. M. Mason.
- <sup>9</sup> Ween you of better luck,] To ween is to think, to imagine. Though now obfolete, the word was common to all our ancient writers. Steevens.

I mean, in perjur'd witness, than your master, Whose minister you are, whiles here he liv'd Upon this naughty earth? Go to, go to; You take a precipice for no leap of danger, And woo your own destruction.

CRAN. God, and your majesty, Protect mine innocence, or I fall into The trap is laid for me!

K. Hen. Be of good cheer;
They shall no more prevail, than we give way to.
Keep comfort to you; and this morning see
You do appear before them; if they shall chance,
In charging you with matters, to commit you,
The best persuasions to the contrary
Fail not to use, and with what vehemency
The occasion shall instruct you: if entreaties
Will render you no remedy, this ring
Deliver them, and your appeal to us
There make before them.—Look, the good man weeps!

He's honest, on mine honour. God's blest mother! I swear, he is true-hearted; and a soul None better in my kingdom.—Get you gone, And do as I have bid you.—[Exit CRANMER.]

He has strangled

His language in his tears.

# Enter an old Lady.

Gent. [Within.] Come back; What mean you?

LADY. I'll not come back; the tidings that I bring

an old Lady.] This, I suppose, is the same old cat that appears with Anne Bullen, p. 77. Steevens.

Will make my boldness manners.—Now, good angels

Fly o'er thy royal head, and shade thy person Under their blessed wings!

K. Hen. Now, by thy looks I guess thy message. Is the queen deliver'd? Say, ay; and of a boy.

Ladr. Ay, ay, my liege; And of a lovely boy: The God of heaven Both now and ever bless her! 3—'tis a girl, Promises boys hereafter. Sir, your queen Desires your visitation, and to be Acquainted with this stranger; 'tis as like you, As cherry is to cherry.

K. HEN.

Lovell,4\_

#### Enter LOVELL.

Lov. Sir.

K. Hen. Give her an hundred marks. I'll to the queen. [Exit King.

LADY. An hundred marks! By this light, I'll have more.

Fly o'er thy royal head, and shade thy person
Under their blessed wings! So, in Hamlet, A& III. sc.iv:
"Save me, and hover o'er me with your wings,

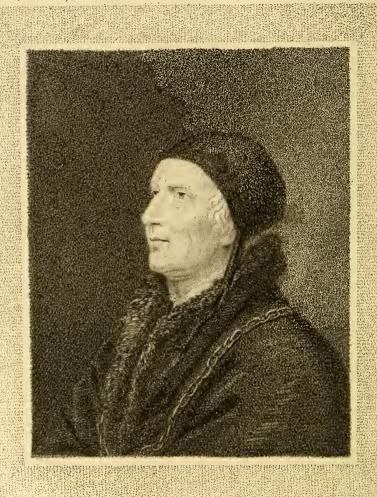
"You heavenly guards!" STEEVENS.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> — blefs her!] It is doubtful whether her is referred to the Queen or the girl. Johnson.

As I believe this play was calculated for the ear of Elizabeth, I imagine, her relates to the girl. Malone.

<sup>4</sup> Lovell, Lovell has been just fent out of the prefence, and no notice is given of his return: I have placed it here at the inftant when the King calls for him. Steevens.





1. Harding Dot .

WN Gurdiner L

## D. BUTTS.

in the original Picture by HANN HOLBEN. IN BARBERS HALL.

In 1 " 1.7.90. by R. Harding No. 132 Fleet Street

An ordinary groom is for fuch payment.

I will have more, or feeld it out of him.

Said I for this, the girl is like to him?

I will have more, or else unsay't; and now

While it is hot, I'll put it to the islue. [Exeunt.

#### SCENE II.

Lobby before the Council-Chamber.

Enter CRANMER; Servants, Door-Keeper, &c. attending.

CRAN. I hope, I am not too late; and yet the gentleman,

That was fent to me from the council, pray'd me To make great hafte. All fast? what means this?—
Hoa!

Who waits there?—Sure, you know me?

D. KEEP. Yes, my lord;

But yet I cannot help you.

CRAN. Why?

D. KEEP. Your grace must wait, till you be call'd for.

#### Enter Doctor Butts.

Cran. So.

Butts. This is a piece of malice. I am glad, I came this way so happily: The king Shall understand it presently. 

[Exit Butts.]

CRAN. [Afide.] 'Tis Butts, The king's physician; As he past along,

How earneftly he cast his eyes upon me! Pray heaven, he found not my difgrace! For certain,

This is of purpose lay'd, by some that hate me, (God turn their hearts! I never sought their malice,) To quench mine honour: they would shame to make me

Wait else at door; a fellow counsellor,

Among boys, grooms, and lackeys. But their pleasures

Must be fulfill'd, and I attend with patience.

Enter, at a window above,5 the King and Butts.

Butts. I'll flow your grace the ftrangest fight,— K. Hen. What's that, Butts?

BUTTS. I think, your highness faw this many a day.

K. HEN. Body o'me, where is it?

Butts. There, my lord: The high promotion of his grace of Canterbury;

s—at a window above,] The fuspicious vigilance of our ancestors contrived windows which overlooked the insides of chapels, halls, kitchens, passages, &c. Some of these convenient peep-holes may still be found in colleges, and such ancient houses as have not suffered from the reformations of modern architecture. Among Andrew Borde's instructions for building a house, (see his Dietarie of Health.) is the following: "Many of the chambers to have a view into the chapel."

Again, in a Letter from Matthew Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1573: "And if it please her majestic, the may come in through my gallerie, and see the disposition of the hall in

dynner time, at a window opening thereunto."

See Mr. Seward's Anecdotes of some distinguished Persons,

Vol. IV. p. 270.

Without a previous knowledge of this cuftom, Shakipeare's feenery, in the prefent inflance, would be obfeure.

STEEVENS.

Who holds his flate at door, 'mongst pursuivants, Pages, and footboys.

K. HEN. Ha! 'Tis he, indeed: Is this the honour they do one another?' 'Tis well, there's one above them yet. I had thought, They had parted fo much honeity among them, (At least, good manners,) as not thus to suffer A man of his place, and so near our favour, To dance attendance on their lordships' pleasures, And at the door too, like a post with packets. By holy Mary, Butts, there's knavery:

Let them alone, and draw the curtain close; 'Texeunt.

#### THE COUNCIL-CHAMBER.

Enter the Lord Chancellor, the Duke of Suffolk, Earl of Surrey, Lord Chamberlain, Gardiner, and Cromwell. The Chancellor places himself at the upper end of the table on the left hand; a seat being left void above him, as for the Archbishop of Canterbury. The rest seat themselves in order on each side. Cromwell at the lower end, as secretary.

CHAN. Speak to the business, master secretary: Why are we met in council?

fhared, &c. i.e. had fo much honefly among them.

STEEVENS.

7 — draw the curtain close; i.e. the curtain of the balcony, or upper stage, where the King now is. See The Historical Account of the English S. age, Vol. III. Malone.

<sup>8</sup> Chan. Speak to the business, This Lord Chancellor, though a character, has litherto had no place in the Dramatis Personæ. In the last scene of the fourth Act, we heard that Sir Thomas

Crom. Please your honours, The chief cause concerns his grace of Canterbury.

GAR. Has he had knowledge of it?

Crom. Yes.

Nor. Who waits there?

D. KEEP. Without, my noble lords?9

 $G_{AR}$ . Yes.

D. KEEP. My lord archbishop; And has done half an hour, to know your pleasures.

CHAN. Let him come in.

D. Keep. Your grace may enter now. [Cranmer approaches the Council-table.

More was appointed Lord Chancellor: but it is not he whom the poet here introduces. Wolfey, by command, delivered up the feals on the 18th of November, 1529; on the 25th of the fame month, they were delivered to Sir Thomas More, who furrendered them on the 16th of May, 1532. Now the conclusion of this scene taking notice of Queen Elizabeth's birth, (which brings it down to the year 1534,) Sir Thomas Audlie must necessarily be our poet's chancellor; who succeeded Sir Thomas More, and held the seals many years. Theobald.

In the preceding feene we have heard of the birth of Elizabeth, and from the conclusion of the present it appears that she is not yet christened. She was born September 7, 1533, and baptized on the 11th of the same month. Cardinal Wolsey was Chancellor of England from September 7, 1516, to the 25th of Ostober, 1530, on which day the seals were given to Sir Thomas More. He held them till the 20th of May, 1533, when Sir Thomas Audley was appointed Lord Keeper. He therefore is the person here introduced; but Shakspeare has made a mistake in calling him Lord Chancellor, for he did not obtain that title till the January after the birth of Elizabeth.

MALONE.

<sup>9 —</sup> noble lords?] The epithet—noble should be omitted, as it spoils the metre. Steevens.

Your grace may enter now.] It is not easy to ascertain the mode of exhibition here. The inside and the outside of the council-chamber seem to be exhibited at once. Norsolk within

CHAN. My good lord archbishop, I am very forry To sit here at this present, and behold That chair stand empty: But we all are men, In our own natures frail; and capable Of our slesh, few are angels: 2 out of which frailty,

calls to the Keeper without, who yet is on the stage, and supposed to be with Cranmer, &c. at the outside of the door of the chamber. The Chancellor and counsellors probably were placed behind a curtain at the back part of the stage, and spoke, but were not seen, till Cranmer was called in. The stage-direction in the old copy, which is, "Cranmer approaches the counciltable," not, "Cranmer enters the council-chamber," scems to countenance such an idea.

With all the "appliances and aids" that modern feenery furnishes, it is impossible to produce any exhibition that shall precisely correspond with what our author has here written. Our less scrupulous ancestors were contented to be told, that the same spot, without any change of its appearance, (except perhaps the drawing back of a curtain,) was at once the outside and the inside of the council-chamber. See the Account of our old Theatres, Vol. III. Malone.

How the outfide and infide of a room can be exhibited on the stage at the same instant, may be known from many ancient prints in which the act of listening or peeping is represented. See a samous plate illustrating the Tale of Giocondo, and intitled Vero essemble d'Impudicitia, cavato da M. L. Ariosto; and the engraving prefixed to Twelfth-Night, in Mr. Rowe's edition.

STEEVENS.

and capable

Of our flesh, few are angels: &c.] If this passage means any thing, it may mean, few are perfect, while they remain in their mortal capacity; i.e. while they are capable [in a condition] of being invested with flesh. A similar phrase occurs in Chapman's version of the fixteenth Iliad:

"That is no city libertine, nor capable of their gown." Shakspeare uses the word capable as perversely in King Lear:

" --- and of my land,

"Loyal and natural boy, I'll work the mean

"To make thee capable." STEEVENS.

The word capable almost every where in Shakspeare means intelligent, of capacity to understand, or quick of apprehension. So, in King Richard III:

And want of wisdom, you, that best should teach us, Have misdemean'd yourself, and not a little, Toward the king first, then his laws, in filling

"—O, 'tis a parlous boy,

"Bold, quick, ingenious, forward, capable!"

Again, in Hamlet:

"His form and cause conjoin'd, preaching to stones,

"Would make them capable!"

In the fame play Shakspeare has used incapable nearly in the sense required here:

"As one incapable [i. e. unintelligent] of her own dif-

tress."

So, Marston, in his Scourge of Villanie, 1599:

"To be perus'd by all the dung-four rabble "Of thin-brain'd ideots, dull uncapable."

Minsheu, in his Dictionary, 1617, renders the word by

indocilis.

The transcriber's ear, I suppose, deceived him, in the passage before us, as in many others; and the Chancellor, I conceive, means to say, the condition of humanity is such, that we are all born frail in disposition, and weak in our understandings. The subsequent words appear to me to add such support to this emendation, that I have ventured, contrary to my general rule, to give it a place in my text; which, however, I should not have done, had the original reading afforded a glimmering of sense:

we are all men,

In our own natures frail, incapable; Of our flesh, few are angels; out of which frailty,

And want of wisdom, you, &c.

Mr. Pope, in his licentious method, printed the paffage thus, and the three subsequent editors adopted his supposed reformation:

we are all men,
In our own natures frail, and capable
Of frailty, few are angels; from which frailty, &c.
MALONE.

I cannot extort any kind of fense from the passage as it stands. Perhaps it should be read thus:

The whole realm, by your teaching, and your chaplains,

(For fo we are inform'd,) with new opinions, Divers, and dangerous; which are herefies, And, not reform'd, may prove pernicious.

GAR. Which reformation must be sudden too, My noble lords: for those, that tame wild horses, Pace them not in their hands to make them gentle; But stop their mouths with stubborn bits, and spur them,

Till they obey the manage. If we suffer (Out of our easiness, and childish pity To one man's honour) this contagious sickness, Farewell, all physick: And what follows then? Commotions, uproars, with a general taint Of the whole state: as, of late days, our neighbours,

The upper Germany,<sup>3</sup> can dearly witness, Yet freshly pitied in our memories.

CRAN. My good lords, hitherto, in all the progress

Both of my life and office, I have labour'd, And with no little study, that my teaching, And the strong course of my authority, Might go one way, and safely; and the end Was ever, to do well: nor is there living (I speak it with a single heart, my lords,) A man, that more detests, more stirs against, Both in his private conscience, and his place,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> The upper Germany, &c.] Alluding to the herefy of Thomas Muntzer, which fprung up in Saxony in the years 1521 and 1522. GREY.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> — a fingle heart,] A heart void of duplicity or guile.

MALONE.

It is a fcriptural expression. See Acts, ii. 46. Reed.

Defacers of a publick peace,<sup>5</sup> than I do.
'Pray heaven, the king may never find a heart
With lefs allegiance in it! Men, that make
Envy, and crooked malice, nourifhment,
Dare bite the best. I do beseech your lordships,
That, in this case of justice, my accusers,
Be what they will, may stand forth face to face,
And freely urge against me.

Sur. Nay, my lord, That cannot be; you are a counfellor, And, by that virtue, no man dare accuse you.

GAR. My lord, because we have business of more moment,

We will be fhort with you. 'Tis his highness'

pleafure,

And our confent, for better trial of you, From hence you be committed to the Tower; Where, being but a private man again, You shall know many dare accuse you boldly, More than, I fear, you are provided for.

CRAN. Ah, my good lord of Winchester, I thank you,

You are always my good friend; if your will pafs, I shall both find your lordship judge and juror, You are so merciful: I see your end, 'Tis my undoing: Love, and meekness, lord, Become a churchman better than ambition; Win straying souls with modesty again, Cast none away. That I shall clear myself, Lay all the weight ye can upon my patience, I make as little doubt, as you do conscience, In doing daily wrongs. I could say more, But reverence to your calling makes me modest.

<sup>5</sup> Defacers of a publick peace,] Read,—the publick peace.
M. Mason.

GAR. My lord, my lord, you are a fectary, That's the plain truth; your painted gloss discovers, To men that understand you, words and weakness.

CROM. My lord of Winchester, you are a little, By your good favour, too sharp; men so noble, However faulty, yet should find respect For what they have been: 'tis a cruelty, To load a falling man.'

GAR. Good mafter fecretary, I cry your honour mercy; you may, worst Of all this table, say so.

CROM. Why, my lord?

 $G_{AR}$ . Do not I know you for a favourer Of this new feet? ye are not found.

Crom. Not found?

GAR. Not found, I fay.

Crom. 'Would you were half so honest! Men's prayers then would seek you, not their fears.

GAR. I shall remember this bold language.

Crom. Do.

Remember your bold life too.

CHAN. This is too much; Forbear, for shame, my lords.

 $G_{AR}$ . I have done.

CROM. And I.

omega of the state of the state

To load a falling man.] This fentiment had occurred before. The Lord Chamberlain, checking the Earl of Surrey for his reproaches to Wolfey, fays:

<sup>&</sup>quot;Press not a falling man too far." STEEVENS.

CHAN. Then thus for you,8 my lord,—It stands agreed,

I take it, by all voices, that forthwith You be convey'd to the Tower a prisoner; There to remain, till the king's further pleasure Be known unto us: Are you all agreed, lords?

ALL. We are.

CRAN. Is there no other way of mercy, But I must needs to the Tower, my lords?

GAR. What other Would you expect? You are strangely troublesome Let some o'the guard be ready there.

#### Enter Guard.

CRAN. For me? Must I go like a traitor thither?

 $G_{AR}$ . Receive him, And fee him fafe i'the Tower.

CRAN. Stay, good my lords, I have a little yet to fay. Look there, my lords; By virtue of that ring, I take my cause Out of the gripes of cruel men, and give it To a most noble judge, the king my master.

Schan. Then thus for you, &c.] This, and the little fpeech above—"This is too much," &c. are in the old copy given to the Lord Chamberlain. The difference between Cham, and Chan, is fo flight, that I have not befitated to give them both to the Chancellor, who on Cranmer's entrance first arraigns him, and therefore, (without any confideration of his high station in the council,) is the person to whom Shakspeare would naturally assign the order for his being committed to the Tower. The Chancellor's apologizing to the King for the committal in a subsequent passage, likewise supports the emendation now made, which was suggested by Mr. Capell. Malone.



SHarding Del .

WN.Gardiner.Sc

# CARDINER BISHOP OF WINCHESTER.

win in a de dicture or the Deposion of

7.232 Flee Street

PH NEW -



CHAM. This is the king's ring.9

Sur. 'Tis no counterfeit.

SUF. 'Tis the right ring, by heaven: I told ye all, When we first put this dangerous stone a rolling, 'Twould fall upon ourselves.

Nor. Do you think, my lords, The king will fuffer but the little finger Of this man to be vex'd?

CHAM. 'Tis now too certain: How much more is his life in value with him?' Would I were fairly out on't.

Crom. My mind gave me, In feeking tales, and informations, Against this man, (whose honesty the devil And his disciples only envy at,)
Ye blew the fire that burns ye: Now have at ye.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> This is the king's ring.] It feems to have been a cuftom, begun probably in the dark ages, before literature was generally diffused, and before the regal power experienced the restraints of law, for every monarch to have a ring, the temporary possession of which invested the holder with the same authority as the owner himself could exercise. The production of it was sufficient to suspend the execution of the law; it procured indemnity for offences committed, and imposed acquiescence and submission on whatever was done under its authority. Instances abound in the history of almost every nation. See Procopius de bell. Vandal. L. I. p. 15, as quoted in Farnworth's Machiavel, Vol. I. p. 9. The traditional story of the Earl of Essex, Queen Elizabeth, and the Countess of Nottingham, long considered as an incident of a romance, is generally known, and now as generally credited. See Birch's Negotiations, p. 206. Reed.

Enter King, frowning on them; takes his feat.

GAR. Dread fovereign, how much are we bound to heaven

In daily thanks, that gave us fuch a prince; Not only good and wife, but most religious: One that, in all obedience, makes the church The chief aim of his honour; and, to strengthen That holy duty, out of dear respect, His royal self in judgment comes to hear The cause betwixt her and this great offender.

K. Hen. You were ever good at fudden commendations,

Bishop of Winchester. But know, I come not To hear such flattery now, and in my presence; They are too thin and base to hide offences.

They are too thin &c.] i.e. the commendations above mentioned. Mr. Pope, in the former line, changed flattery to flatteries, and this unnecessary emendation has been adopted by all the subsequent editors. I believe our author wrote—

They are too thin and bare; and that the editor of the first solio, not understanding the word, changed it to base, as he did in King Henry IV. Part I. See Vol. XI. p. 222, n. 2. Malone.

2 \_\_\_ But know, I come not

To hear fuch flattery now, and in my prefence; They are too thin and base to hide offences. &c.] I think the pointing of these lines preferable to that in the former edition, in which they stand thus:

To hear fuch flatteries now: and in my presence
They are too thin, &c.

It then follows:

To me you cannot reach: you play the spaniel,
And think with wagging of your tongue to win me.
But the former of these lines should evidently be thus written:
To one you cannot reach you play the spaniel,

the relative whom being understood. WHALLEY. ..

To me you cannot reach, you play the fpaniel, And think with wagging of your tongue to win me; But, whatfoe'er thou tak'ft me for, I am fure, Thou haft a cruel nature, and a bloody.—
Good man, [To Cranmer.] fit down. Now let me fee the proudeft

He, that dares most, but was his finger at thee: By all that's holy, he had better starve, Than but once think his place becomes thee not.<sup>3</sup>

Sur. May it please your grace,-

K. Hen. No, fir, it does not please me. I had thought, I had had men of some understanding And wisdom, of my council; but I find none. Was it discretion, lords, to let this man, This good man, (few of you deserve that title,) This honest man, wait like a lowsy footboy At chamber door? and one as great as you are? Why, what a shame was this? Did my commission Bid ye so far forget yourselves? I gave ye Power as he was a counsellor to try him, Not as a groom; There's some of ye, I see, More out of malice than integrity, Would try him to the utmost, had ye mean; Which ye shall never have, while I live.

I think the old copy is right. MALONE.

Surely, the first of these lines should be pointed thus:

To me you cannot reach, you play the spaniel,—
That is, you sawn upon me, who am above your malice.

M. Mason.

In the punctuation of this passage I have followed the concurring advice of Mr. Whalley and Mr. M. Mason. Steevens.

<sup>3</sup> Than but once think his place becomes thee not.] Who dares to suppose that the place or situation in which he is, is not suitable to thee also? who supposes that thou art not as fit for the office of a privy counsellor as he is.

Mr. Rowe and all the subsequent editors read—this place.

Thus far, CHAN. My most dread sovereign, may it like your grace To let my tongue excuse all. What was purpos'd Concerning his imprisonment, was rather (If there be faith in men,) meant for his trial, And fair purgation to the world, than malice; I am fure, in me.

Well, well, my lords, respect him;  $K. H_{EN}$ . Take him, and use him well, he's worthy of it. I will fay thus much for him, If a prince May be beholden to a subject, I Am, for his love and fervice, fo to him. Make me no more ado, but all embrace him; Be friends, for fhame, my lords.—My lord of Canterbury,

I have a fuit which you must not deny me; That is, a fair young maid that yet wants baptifm,4

4 That is, &c.] My fuit is, that you would be a godfather to a fair young maid, who is not yet christened. Mr. Rowe reads-There is, &c. and all the subsequent editors have adopted this unnecessary alteration. The final word her, we should now confider as fuperfluous; but we have many inflances of a fimilar phraseology in these plays: -or, the construction may be-A fair young maid, &c. you must be godfather [to], and answer for her. So before in this play:

"whoever the king favours,

"The cardinal infantly will find employment [for],

" And far enough from court too."

Again, in The Merchant of Venice:

"How true a gentleman you fend relief [to]."

Again, in Julius Cæfar:

"Thy honourable metal may be wrought

"From what it is dispos'd [to]." See also Vol. X. p. 433, n. 8, and a note on Cymbeline, sc. ult. Vol. XVIII. MALONE.

The superfluous pronoun in the text (if it be superfluous) may be justified by the following passage in Romeo and Juliet:

" \_\_\_\_\_ this reverend holy friar,

"All our whole city is much bound to him."

STEEVENS.

You must be godfather,5 and answer for her.

CRAN. The greatest monarch now alive may glory In such an honour; How may I deserve it, That am a poor and humble subject to you?

K. Hen. Come, come, my lord, you'd spare your spoons; 6 you shall have

<sup>5</sup> You must be godfather,] Our prelates formerly were often employed on the like occasions. Cranmer was godfather to Edward VI. See Hall, fo. 232. Archbishop Warham to Henry's eldest son by Queen Katharine; and the Bishop of Winchester to Henry himself. See Sandford, 479, 495. Reed.

offer gilt spoons as a present to the child. These spoons were called apolite spoons, because the figures of the apostles were carved on the tops of the handles. Such as were at once opulent and generous, gave the whole twelve; those who were either more moderately rich or liberal, escaped at the expence of the four evangelists; or even sometimes contented themselves with presenting one spoon only, which exhibited the figure of any faint, in honour of whom the child received its name.

In the year 1560 we find entered on the books of the Stationers' company, "a fpoyne, of the gyfte of mafter Reginold

Wolfe, all gylte with the pycture of St. John."

Ben Jonson also, in his Bartholomew Fair, mentions spoons of this kind: "—and all this for the hope of a couple of apostile

spoons, and a cup to eat caudle in."

So, in Middleton's comedy of A chaste Maid of Cheapside, 1620: "2 Gos. What has he given her?—what is it, gostip? 3 Gos. A faire high standing cup, and two great 'postle spoons, one of them gilt. 1 Pur. Sure that was Judas then with the red beard."

Again:

"E'en the same gossip 'twas that gave the spoons." Again, in Sir Wm. D'Avenant's comedy of The Wits, 1639:

"—my pendants, carcanets, and rings, "My christ ning caudle-cup, and fpoons,

" Are diffolv'd into that lump."

Again, in The Maid of the Mill, by Beaumont and Fletcher:

"Yes, and who gave it her;

Two noble partners with you; the old duchess of Norfolk,

"And what they promis'd more, besides a spoon,

" And what apostle's picture."

Again, in The Noble Gentleman, by the same authors:

" I'll be a goffip, Bewford,

"I have an odd apostle spoon."

Mr. Pegge, in his preface to A Forme of Cury, a Roll of ancient English Cookery, compiled about A. D. 1390, &c. observes, that "the general mode of eating must either have been with the spoon or the singers; and this, perhaps, may have been the reason that spoons became the usual present from gostlips

to their god-children, at christenings." STEEVENS

As the following ftory, which is found in a collection of anecdotes, entitled Merry Passages and Jeasls, MSS. Harl. 6395, contains an allusion to this custom, and has not, I believe, been published, it may not be an improper supplement to this account of aposlle spoons. It shows that our author and Ben Jonson were once on terms of familiarity and friendship, however cold and jealous the latter might have been at a subsequent period:

"Shakspeare was godfather to one of Ben Jonson's children, and after the christening, being in deepe study, Jonson came to cheer him up, and ask'd him why he was so melancholy: No 'faith, Ben, says he, not I; but I have been considering a great while what should be the sittest gift for me to bestow upon my godchild, and I have resolv'd at last. I pr'ythee, what? says he.—I' faith, Ben, I'll give him a douzen good latten [Latin]

Spoons, and thou shalt translate them."

The collector of these anecdotes appears to have been nephew to Sir Roger L'Estrange. He names *Donne* as the relater of

this story.

The practice of sponfors giving spoons at christenings continued to the latter end of the last century, as appears from a pamphlet written against Dryden, entitled *The Reason of Mr*.

Bayes's Conversion, &c. p. 14.

At one period it was the mode to present gists of a different kind. "At this time," [the first year of Queen Elizabeth] says the continuator of Stowe's Chronicle, "and for many yeeres before, it was not the use and custome, as now it is, [1631,] for godfathers and godmothers generally to give plate at the baptism of children, (as spoones, cups, and such like,) but only to give christening shirts, with little hands and custs wrought either with silk or blue thread; the best of them for chief persons weare edged with a small lace of blacke silke and

And lady marquis Dorset; Will these please you? Once more, my lord of Winchester, I charge you, Embrace, and love this man.

GAR. With a true heart, And brother-love, I do it.

CRAN. And let heaven Witness, how dear I hold this confirmation.

K. Hen. Good man, those joyful tears show thy true heart.

The common voice, I fee, is verified

Of thee, which fays thus, Do my lord of Canter
bury

A shrewd turn, and he is your friend for ever.—Come, lords, we trifle time away; I long To have this young one made a christian. As I have made ye one, lords, one remain; So I grow stronger, you more honour gain.

Exeunt.

golde; the highest price of which for great men's children were feldom above a noble, and the common fort, two, three, or four

and five shillings a piece."

Whether our author, when he speaks of apostle-spoons, has, as usual, attributed the practice of his own time to the reign of Henry VIII. I have not been able to ascertain. Probably, however, he is here accurate; for we know that certain pieces of plate were, on some occasions, then bestowed; Hall, who has written a minute account of the christening of Elizabeth, informing us, that the gifts presented by her sponsors were a standing cup of gold, and fix gilt bowls, with covers.

Chron. Hen. VIII. fol. 218. MALONE.

<sup>7 —</sup> thy true heart.] Old copy—hearts. Corrected by the editor of the fecond folio. MALONE.

#### SCENE III.

#### The Palace Yard.

Noise and Tumult within. Enter Porter and his Man.

PORT. You'll leave your noise anon, ye rascals: Do you take the court for Paris-garden? 8 ye rude flaves, leave your gaping.9

Paris garden?] The bear-garden of that time.

JOHNSON.

This celebrated bear-garden on the Bankfide was fo called from Robert de Paris, who had a house and garden there in the time of King Richard II. Rot. claus. 16 R. II. dorf. ii. Blount's GLOSSOGRAPH. MALONE.

So, in Sir W. D'Avenant's News from Plimouth:

" --- do you take this manfion for Pict-hatch?

"You would be fuitors: yes, to a she-deer, "And keep your marriages in Paris-garden?"

Again, in Ben Jonson's Execution on Vulcan:

"And cried, it was a threatning to the bears, "And that accurred ground the Paris-garden."

The Globe theatre, in which Shakfpeare was a performer, stood on the fouthern fide of the river Thames, and was contiguous to this noted place of tumult and diforder. St. Mary Overy's church is not far from London Bridge, and almost opposite to Fishmongers' Hall. Winchester House was over against Cole Harbour. Paris-garden was in a line with Bridewell, and the Globe playhouse faced Blackfriars, Fleet-ditch, or St. Paul's. It was an hexagonal building of frone or brick. Its roof was of rufhes, with a flag on the top. See a fouth view of London, (as it appeared in 1599,) published by T. Wood, in Bishop's Court, in Chancery Lane, in 1771. STEEVENS.

9 \_\_\_gaping.] i. e. Shouting or roaring; a fense which this word has now almost lost. Littleton, in his Dictionary, has however given it in its present fignification as follows: "To

[Within.] Good master porter, I belong to the larder.

PORT. Belong to the gallows, and be hanged, you rogue: Is this a place to roar in?—Fetch me a dozen crab-tree flaves, and firong ones; there are but fwitches to them.—I'll fcratch your heads: You must be seeing christenings? Do you look for ale and cakes here, you rude rascals?

Man. Pray, fir, be patient; 't' is as much impossible

(Unless we sweep them from the door with cannons,) To featter them, as 'tis to make them sleep On May-day morning; which will never be: We may as well push against Paul's, as stir them.

PORT. How got they in, and be hang'd?

gape or lawl, vociferor." So, in Roscommon's Essay on translated Verse, as quoted in Dr. Johnson's Dictionary:

"That noify, naufeous, gaping fool was he." REED.

Such being one of the ancient fenses of the verb—to gape, perhaps the "gaping pig" mentioned by Shylock in The Merchant of Venice, has hitherto been misinterpreted. Steevens.

- i Pray, fir, be patient;] Part of this scene in the old copy is printed as verse, and part as prose. Perhaps the whole, with the occasional addition and omitsion of a few harmless syllables, might be reduced into a loose kind of metre; but as I know not what advantage would be gained by making the experiment, I have left the whole as I found it. Steevens.
- <sup>2</sup> On May-day morning;] It was anciently the custom for all ranks of people to go out a maying on the first of May. It is on record that King Henry VIII. and Queen Katharine partook of this diversion. See Vol. IV. p. 453, n. 4. Steevens.

Stowe fays, that, "in the month of May, namely, on Mayday in the morning, every man, except impediment, would walk into the fweet meadows and green woods; there to rejoice their fpirits with the beauty and favour of fweet flowers, and with the noise [i.e. concert] of birds, praising God in their kind." See also Brand's Observations on popular Antiquities, 8vo. 1777, p. 255. Reed.

Man. Alas, I know not; How gets the tide in? As much as one found cudgel of four foot (You fee the poor remainder) could distribute, I made no spare, sir.

PORT. You did nothing, fir.

MAN. I am not Sampson, nor fir Guy, nor Colbrand,<sup>3</sup> to mow them down before me: but, if I spared any, that had a head to hit, either young or old, he or she, cuckold or cuckold-maker, let me never hope to see a chine again; and that I would not for a cow, God save her.

[Within.] Do you hear, master Porter?

PORT. I shall be with you presently, good master puppy.—Keep the door close, firrah.

MAN. What would you have me do?

PORT. What should you do, but knock them down by the dozens? Is this Moorfields to muster in? 4 or have we some strange Indian<sup>5</sup> with the

- <sup>3</sup> fir Guy, nor Colbrand,] Of Guy of Warwick every one has heard. Colbrand was the Danish giant, whom Guy subdued at Winchester. Their combat is very elaborately described by Drayton, in his Polyolbion. Johnson.
- 4 Moorfields to muster in?] The train-bands of the city were exercised in Moorfields. Johnson.
- 5 ——fome firange Indian—] To what circumstance this refers, perhaps, cannot now be exactly known. A similar one occurs in Ram-Alley, or Merry Tricks, 1611:

"You shall see the strange nature of an outlandish beast lately

brought from the land of Cataia."

Again, in The Two Noble Kinsmen, by Beaumont and Fletcher:

"The Bavian with long tail and eke long TOOL."

Fig. I. in the print of Morris-dancers, at the end of King Henry IV. P. I. has a bib which extends below the doublet; and its length might be calculated for the concealment of the

great tool come to court, the women fo befiege us? Bless me, what a fry of fornication is at door! On my christian conscience, this one christening will beget a thousand; here will be father, godfather, and all together.

Man. The spoons will be the bigger, fir. There is a fellow somewhat near the door, he should be a brazier by his face, for, o'my conscience, twenty of the dog-days now reign in's nose; all that stand about him are under the line, they need no other penance: That fire-drake did I hit three times on

phallic obscenity mentioned by Beaumont and Fletcher, of which perhaps the *Bavian fool* exhibited an occasional view for the diversion of our indelicate ancestors. Toller.

- 6——he should be a brazier by his face,] A brazier fignifies a man that manufactures brass, and a reservoir for charcoal occasionally heated to convey warmth. Both these sere understood. Johnson.
- 7 That fire-drake—] A fire-drake is both a ferpent, anciently called a brenning-drake, or dipfas, and a name formerly given to a Will o'the Wifp, or ignis fatuus. So, in Drayton's Nymphidia:

"By the hiffing of the fnake, "The ruftling of the fire-drake."

Again, in Cæsar and Pompey, a tragedy, by Chapman, 1607:

"So have I feene a fire-drake glide along Before a dying man, to point his grave,

"And in it stick and hide."

Again, in Albertus Wallenstein, 1640:

"Your wild irregular luft, which like those fire-drakes

"Misguiding nighted travellers, will lead you

"Forth from the fair path," &c.

A fire-drake was likewise an artificial firework. So, in Your Five Gallants, by Middleton, 1608:

"-----but like fire-drakes,

"Mounted a little, gave a crack, and fell."

STEEVENS.

A fire-drake is thus described by Bullokar, in his Expositor, Svo. 1616: "Firedrake. A fire sometimes seen slying in the night, like a dragon. Common people think it a spirit that

the head, and three times was his nose discharged against me; he stands there, like a mortar-piece, to blow us.<sup>8</sup> There was a haberdasher's wife of small wit <sup>9</sup> near him, that railed upon me till her pink'd porringer fell off her head, <sup>1</sup> for kindling such a combustion in the state. I miss'd the meteor <sup>2</sup> once, and hit that woman, who cried out, clubs!<sup>3</sup>

keepeth fome treasure hid; but philosophers affirme it to be a great unequal exhalation, inflamed betweene two clouds, the one hot, the other cold, which is the reason that it also smoketh; the middle part whereof, according to the proportion of the hot cloud, being greater than the rest, maketh it seeme like a bellie, and both ends like unto a head and taile." Malone.

s — to blow us.] Read—to blow us up. M. MASON.

I believe the old reading is the true one. So, in Othello:

" ---- the cannon,

"When it hath blown his ranks into the air—."

In another of our author's plays (if my memory does not deceive me) we have "—and blow them to the moon."

STEEVENS.

- <sup>9</sup> There was a haberdasher's wife of small wit—] Ben Jonfon, whose hand Dr. Farmer thinks may be traced in different parts of this play, uses this expression in his Induction to The Magnetick Lady: "And all haberdashers of small wit, I presume." MALONE.
- ——till her pink'd porringer fell off her head,] Her pink'd porringer is her pink'd cap, which looked as if it had been moulded on a porringer. So, in The Taming of the Shrew:

"Hab. Here is the eap your worship did bespeak.

" Pet. Why this was moulded on a porringer."

MALONE.

<sup>2</sup> — the meteor—] The fire-drake, the brazier.

JOHNSON.

<sup>3</sup> — who cried out, clubs!] Clubs! was the outcry for affiftance, upon any quarrel or tumult in the ftreets. So, in The Renegado:

"——if he were

" In London among the clubs, up went his heels

" For striking of a prentice."

when I might fee from far some forty truncheoneers draw to her succour, which were the hope of the Strand,<sup>4</sup> where she was quartered. They fell on; I made good my place; at length they came to the broomstaff with me,<sup>5</sup> I defied them still; when suddenly a file of boys behind them, loose shot,<sup>6</sup> delivered such a shower of pebbles, that I was sain to draw mine honour in, and let them win the work:<sup>7</sup> The devil was amongst them, I think, surely.

PORT. These are the youths that thunder at a play-house, and fight for bitten apples; 8 that no

Again, in Greene's Tu Quoque:

" --- Go, y'are a prating jack;

"Nor is't your hopes of crying out for clubs,

"Can fave you from my chastisement." WHALLEY.

So, in the third A&t of *The Puritan*, when Oath and Skirmish are going to fight, Simon cries, "Clubs, clubs!" and Aaron does the like in *Titus Andronicus*, when Chiron and Demetrius

are about to quarrel.

Nor did this practice obtain merely amongst the lower class of people: for in *The First Part of Henry VI*. when the Mayor of London endeavours to interpose between the factions of the Duke of Glocester, and the Cardinal of Winchester, he says:

"I'll call for clubs, if you will not away."

M. Mason.

- <sup>4</sup>—the hope of the Strand,] Sir T. Hanmer reads—the forlorn hope. Johnson.
- 5 to the broomstaff with me,] The old copy has—to me. Corrected by Mr. Pope. Malone.
- 6 —— loofe fhot,] i. e. loofe or random flooters. See Vol. XII. p. 143, n. 3. Malone.
  - <sup>7</sup> the work:] A term of fortification. Steevens.
- \* that thunder at a play-house, and sight for bitten apples; ] The prices of seats for the vulgar in our ancient theatres were so very low, that we cannot wonder if they were filled with the tumultuous company described by Shakspeare in this scene.

So, in The Gul's Hornbook, by Decker, 1609: "Your groundling and gallery commoner buys his fport by the penny."

audience, but the Tribulation of Tower-hill, or the limbs of Limehouse,9 their dear brothers, are able

In Wit without Money, by Beaumont and Fletcher, is the following mention of them: "—break in at plays like prentices, for three a groat, and crack nuts with the fcholars in penny rooms again."

Again, in The Black Book, 1604, sixpenny rooms in play-

houses are spoken of.

Again, in The Bellman's Night Walks, by Decker, 1616: "Pay thy twopence to a player in this gallery, thou may'ft fit by a harlot."

Again, in the Prologue to Beaumont and Fletcher's Mad

Lover

"How many twopences you've flow'd to-day!"

The prices of the boxes indeed were greater.

So, in *The Gul's Hornbook*, by Decker, 1609: "At a new playe you take up the *twelvepenny room* next the ftage, because the lords and you may seeme to be haile fellow well met," &c. Again, in *Wit without Money*:

"And who extoll'd you in the half-crown boxes, "Where you might fit and muster all the beauties."

And lastly, it appears from the Induction to Bartholomew Fair, by Ben Jonson, that tobacco was smoked in the same place: "He looks like a fellow that I have seen accommodate gentlemen with tobacco at our theatres." And from Beaumont and Fletcher's Woman Hater, 1607, it should seem that beer was fold there: "There is no poet acquainted with more shakings and quakings towards the latter end of his new play, when he's in that case that he stands peeping between the curtains so fearfully, that a bottle of ale cannot be opened, but he thinks somebody hisses." Steevens.

See the Account of our old Theatres, Vol. III. MALONE.

o — the Tribulation of Tower-hill, or the limbs of Lime-house,] I suspect the Tribulation to have been a puritanical meeting-house. The limbs of Limehouse I do not understand.

Johnson.

Dr. Johnson's conjecture may be countenanced by the following paffage in "Magnificence, a goodly Interlude and a mery, devised and made by Mayster Skelton, Poete Laureate, lately deceasyd." Printed by John Rastell, fol. no date:

"Some fall to foly them felfe for to fpyll,

"And some fall prechynge on toure hyll." STEEVENS.

to endure. I have fome of them in Limbo Patrum, and there they are like to dance these three days;

Alliteration has given rife to many cant expressions, confisting of words paired together. Here we have cant names for the inhabitants of those places, who were notorious puritans, coined for the humour of the alliteration. In the mean time it must not be forgotten, that "precious limbs" was a common phrase of contempt for the puritans. T. WARTON.

Limehouse was, before the time of Shakspeare, and has continued to be ever fince, the residence of those who furnish stores, fails, &c. for shipping. A great number of foreigners having been constantly employed in these manufactures (many of which were introduced from other countries) they assembled themselves under their several pastors, and a number of places of different worship were built in consequence of their respective associations. As they clashed in principles they had frequent quarrels, and the place has ever since been samous for the variety of its sects, and the turbulence of its inhabitants. It is not improbable that Shakspeare wrote—the lambs of Limehouse.

A limb of the devil, is, however, a common vulgarisin; and in A new Trick to cheat the Devil, 1639, the same kind of expression occurs:

"I am a puritan; one that will eat no pork,

"Doth use to shut his shop on Saturdays,
"And open them on Sunday: a familist,

"And one of the arch limbs of Belzebub."

Again, in Every Man out of his Humour:

"I cannot abide these *limbs* of fattin, or rather Satan," &c. Steevens.

The word *limb*, in the fense of an impudently vicious person, is not uncommon in London at this day. In the north it is pronounced *limp*, and means a mischievous boy. The alteration suggested by Mr. Steevens is, however, sufficiently countenanced by the word *tribulation*, if in fact the allusion be to the puritans. Risson.

It appears from Stowe's Survey that the inhabitants of Tower-hill were remarkably turbulent.

It may, however, be doubted, whether this passage was levelled at the spectators assembled in any of the theatres in our author's time. It may have been pointed at some apprentices and inferior citizens, who used occasionally to appear on the

befides the running banquet of two beadles,2 that is to come.

stage, in his time, for their amusement. The Palfgrave, or Hector of Germany. was acted in 1615, by a company of citizens at the Red Bull; and The Hog hath lost his Pearle, a comedy, 1614, is said, in the title-page, to have been publickly acted by certain London prentices.

The fighting for bitten apples, which were then, as at prefent, thrown on the stage, [See the Induction to Bartholomew Fair: "Your judgment, rascal; for what?—Sweeping the stage? or, gathering up the broken apples?"—] and the words—"which no audience can endure," might lead us to suppose that these thunderers at the play-house were actors, and not

spectators.

The limbs of Limehouse, their dear brothers, were, perhaps, young citizens, who went to fee their friends wear the bulkin. A paffage in The Staple of News, by Ben Jonson, Act III. fc. last, may throw some light on that now before us: "Why, I had it from my maid Joan Hearfay, and she had it from a limb of the school, she says, a little limb of nine years old.— An there were no wifer than I, I would have ne'er a cunning school-master in England.—They make all their scholars playhoys. Is't not a fine fight, to fee all our children made interluders? Do we pay our money for this? We fend them to learn their grammar and their Terence, and they learn their play-books."—School-boys, apprentices, the students in the inns of court, and the members of the univerfities, all, at this time, wore occasionally the fock or the buskin.-However, I am by no means confident that this is the true interpretation of the paffage before us. MALONE.

It is evident that *The Tribulation*, from its fite, must have been a place of entertainment for the rabble of its precincts, and the *limbs of Limehouse* such performers as furnished out the show. Henley.

The Tribulation does not found in my ears like the name of any place of entertainment, unless it were particularly defigned for the use of Religion's prudes, the Puritans. Mercutio or Trnewit would not have been attracted by such an appellation, though it might operate forcibly on the saint-like organs of Elenever or Ananias.

Shakspeare, I believe, meant to describe an audience familiarized to excess of noise; and why should we suppose the Tribulation was not a puritanical meeting-house because it was noisy?

#### Enter the Lord Chamberlain.

Cham. Mercy o'me, what a multitude are here! They grow till too, from all parts they are coming, As if we kept a fair here! Where are these porters; These lazy knaves?—Ye have made a fine hand, fellows.

I can easily conceive that the turbulence of the most clamorous theatre, has been exceeded by the bellowings of puritanism against surplices and farthingales; and that our upper gallery, during Christmas week, is a sober consistory, compared with the vehemence of fanatick harangues against Bel and the Dragon, that idol Starch, the anti-christian Hierarchy, and the Whore of Babylon.

Neither do I fee with what propriety the *limbs of Limehoufe* could be called "young citizens," according to Mr. Malone's fupposition. Were the inhabitants of this place (almost two miles distant from the capital) ever collectively entitled citizens? The phrase, dear brothers, is very plainly used to point out some fraternity of canters allied to the Tribulation both in partials and manners, by tempestuous zeal and consummate ignorance.

STEEVENS.

in Limbo Patrum, He means, in confinement. In limbo continues to be a cant phrase, in the same sense, at this day. MALONE.

The Limbus Patrum is, properly, the place where the old Fathers and Patriarchs are supposed to be waiting for the resurrection. See note on Titus Andronicus, Act III. sc. i. Reed.

running banquet of two beadles,] A publick whipping;

JOHNSON.

This phrase, otherwise applied, has already occurred, p 51:

fome of these

"Should find a running banquet ere they refted."

A banquet, in ancient language, did not fignify either dinner or fupper, but the defert after each of them. So, in Thomas Newton's Herbal to the Bible, 8vo. 1587: "—and are used to be served at the end of meales for a junket or banquetting dish, as sucket and other daintie conceits likewise are."

To the confinement, therefore, of these rioters, a whipping

was to be the defert. STEEVENS.

There's a trim rabble let in: Are all these Your faithful friends o'the suburbs? We shall have Great store of room, no doubt, lest for the ladies, When they pass back from the christening.

Port. An't please your honour We are but men; and what so many may do, Not being torn a pieces, we have done: An army cannot rule them.

CHAM. As I live,
If the king blame me for't, I'll lay ye all
By the heels, and fuddenly; and on your heads
Clap round fines, for neglect: You are lazy knaves;
And here ye lie baiting of bumbards,<sup>3</sup> when
Ye should do service. Hark, the trumpets sound;
They are come already from the christening:
Go, break among the press, and find a way out
To let the troop pass fairly; or I'll find
A Marshalsea, shall hold you play these two months.

PORT. Make way there for the princefs.

Man. You great fellow, stand close up, or I'll make your head ake.

PORT. You i'the camblet, get up o'the rail; 4 I'll pick you o'er the pales else. 5 [Exeunt.

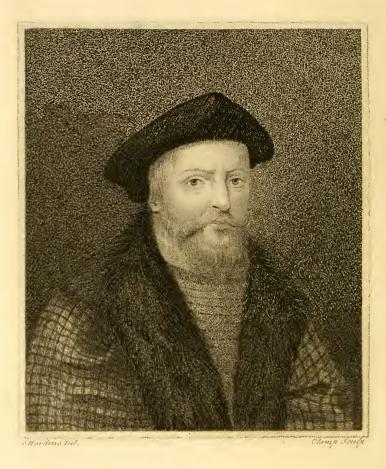
3 — here we lie baiting of bumbards,] A lumbard is an ale-barrel; to bait bumbards is to tipple, to lie at the fpigot.

It appears from a passage already quoted in a note on The Tempess, A&t II. sc. ii. out of Shirley's Martyr'd Soldier, 1638, that bumbards were the large vessels in which the beer was carried to foldiers upon duty. They resembled black jacks of leather. So, in Woman's a Weathercock, 1612: "She looks like a black bombard with a pint pot waiting upon it." Steevens.

<sup>4 —</sup> get up o'the rail;] We must rather read—get up off the rail,—or,—get off the rail. M. Mason.

<sup>5 —</sup> I'll pick you o'er the pales else.] To pich is topitch. "To pich a dart," Cole renders, jaculor. Dict. 1679. See a





## MINING CHANDLIN

### \RCHBISHOPOLCXXTERBURY

Horny VIII.

2. June 20. 77 9 2. by E Harding Fleet Street.

#### SCENE IV.

### The Palace.6

Enter Trumpets, founding; then two Aldermen, Lord Mayor, Garter, Cranmer, Duke of Norfolk, with his Marshal's Staff, Duke of Suffolk, two Noblemen bearing great standing-bowls for the christening gifts; then four Noblemen bearing a canopy, under which the Duchess of Norfolk, godmother, bearing the child richly habited in a mantle, &c. Train borne by a Lady: then follows the Marchioness of Dorset, the other godmother, and Ladies. The Troop pass once about the stage, and Garter speaks.

GART. Heaven, from thy endless goodness,8 fend prosperous life, long, and ever happy, to the high and mighty princess of England, Elizabeth!

note on Coriolanus, Act I. sc. i. where the word is, as I conceive, rightly spelt. Here the spelling in the old copy is peck.

MALONE

To pick and to pitch were anciently fynonymous. So, in Stubbes's Anatomy of Abufes, 1595, p. 138: "—to catch him on the hip, and to picke him on his necke."

Again, ibid: "to picke him on his nofe," &c. STEEVENS."

<sup>6</sup> The Palace.] At Greenwich, where, as we learn from Hall, fo. 217, this procession was made from the church of the Friars. Reed.

7 — flanding-bowls—] i. e. bowls elevated on feet or pedeftals. So, in Chapman's version of the 23d Iliad:
"— a great new jianding-bowl,

"— a great new flanding-towl,
"To fet downe both ways." STEEVENS.

<sup>8</sup> Heaven, from thy endless goodness, &c.] These words are

Flourish. Enter King, and Train.

CRAN. [Kneeling.] And to your royal grace, and the good queen,

My noble partners, and myself, thus pray;—All comfort, joy, in this most gracious lady, Heaven ever laid up to make parents happy, May hourly fall upon ye!

K. HEN. Thank you, good lord archbishop; 9 What is her name?

CRAN. Elizabeth.

K. Hen. Stand up, lord.—

[The King hiffes the Child.

With this kiss take my bleffing: God protect thee! Into whose hands I give thy life.

CRAN. Amen.

K. Hen. My noble goffips, ye have been too prodigal:

I thank ye heartily; fo shall this lady, When she has so much English.

CRAN. Let me fpeak, fir, For Heaven now bids me; and the words I utter Let none think flattery, for they'll find them truth. This royal infant, (heaven fill move about her!) Though in her cradle, yet now promifes Upon this land a thousand thousand blessings, Which time shall bring to ripeness: She shall be

not the invention of the poet, having been pronounced at the christening of Elizabeth. See Hall's Chronicle, Henry VIII. fol. 218. Malone.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Thank you, good lord archbishop;] I suppose the word archbishop should be omitted, as it only serves to spoil the measure. Be it remembered also that archbishop, throughout this play, is accented on the first syllable. Steevens.

(But few now living can behold that goodness,)
A pattern to all princes living with her,
And all that shall succeed: Sheba was never
More covetous of wisdom, and fair virtue,
Than this pure soul shall be: all princely graces,
That mould up such a mighty piece as this is,
With all the virtues that attend the good,
Shall still be doubled on her: truth shall nurse her,
Holy and heavenly thoughts still counsel her:
She shall be lov'd, and fear'd: Her own shall bless
her:

Her foes shake like a field of beaten corn, And hang their heads with forrow: Good grows with her:

In her days, every man shall eat in safety Under his own vine, what he plants; and sing The merry songs of peace to all his neighbours: God shall be truly known; and those about her From her shall read the perfect ways of honour, because in the perfect ways of honour ways of honour

Under his own vine, This part of the prophecy feems to have been burlefqued by Beaumont and Fletcher in The Beggar's Bush, where orator Higgin is making his congratulatory speech to the new king of the beggars:

" Each man shall eat his stolen eggs, and butter,

"In his own shade, or sunshine," &c. The original thought, however, is borrowed from the 4th chapter of the first Book of Kings: "Every man dwelt safely under his vine." Stevens.

A fimilar expression is in *Micah*, iv. 4: "But they shall fit every man under his vine, and under his fig tree, and none shall make them afraid." Reed.

<sup>2</sup> From her shall read the perfect ways of honour,] The old copy reads—way. The flight emendation now made is fully justified by the subsequent line, and by the scriptural expression which our author probably had in his thoughts: "Her ways are ways of pleasantness, and all her paths are peace."

And by those claim their greatness, not by blood. [Nor shall this peace sleep with her: 3 But as when

Thus, already in this play:

" — Wolfey, that once trod the ways of glory—."

STEEVENS.

By there, in the last line, means by those ways, and proves that we must read ways, instead of way, in the line preceding. Shall read from her, means, shall learn from her. M. MASON.

<sup>3</sup> [Nor shall this peace sleep with her: &c.] These lines, to the interruption by the King, seem to have been inserted at some revisal of the play, after the accession of King James. If the passage, included in crotchets, be left out, the speech of Cranmer proceeds in a regular tenour of prediction, and continuity of sentiments; but, by the interposition of the new lines, he first celebrates Elizabeth's successor, and then wishes he did not know that she was to die; first rejoices at the consequence, and then laments the cause. Our author was at once politick and idle; he resolved to flatter James, but neglected to reduce the whole speech to propriety; or perhaps intended that the lines inserted should be spoken in the action, and omitted in the publication, if any publication was ever in his thoughts. Mr. Theobald has made the same observation. Johnson.

I agree entirely with Dr. Johnson with respect to the time when these additional lines were inserted. See An Attempt to ascertain the Order of Shakspeare's Plays, Vol. II. I suspect they were added in 1613, after Shakspeare had quitted the stage, by that hand which tampered with the other parts of the play so much, as to have rendered the versisication of it of a different colour from all the other plays of Shakspeare. Malone.

Such indeed were the fentiments of Mr. Roderick, though the examples adduced by him in support of them are, in my judgment, undecisive. See Canons of Criticism, edit. 1763, p. 203. But, were the fact as he has stated it, we know not how far our poet might have intentionally deviated from his usual practice of vertification.

If the reviver of this play (or tamperer with it, as he is fivled by Mr. Malone.) had fo much influence over its numbers as to have entirely changed their texture, he must be supposed to have new woven the substance of the whole piece; a sact

almost ner dib'e.

The lines under immediate confideration were very probably furnished by Ben Jonfon; for

"When heaven thall call her from this cloud of dark-nefs,"

The bird of wonder dies, the maiden phænix,
Her ashes new create another heir,
As great in admiration as herself;
So thall she leave her blessedness to one,
(When heaven shall call her from this cloud of
darkness,)

Who, from the facred ashes of her honour, Shall star-like rife, as great in fame as the was, And so stand fix'd: Peace, plenty, love, truth, terror, That were the fervants to this chosen infant, Shall then be his, and like a vine grow to him; Wherever the bright sun of heaven shall thine, His honour and the greatness of his name Shall be, and make new nations: 4 He shall flourish, And, like a mountain cedar, reach his branches To all the plains about him: —Our children's children

Shall fee this, and blefs heaven.

K. HEN.

Thou speakest wonders.]

CRAN. She shall be, to the happiness of England, An aged princess; 5 many days shall see her,

(meaning the "dim spot" we live in,) is a seeming imitation of the following passage in the 9th Book of Lucan (a poet from whose stores old Ben has often enriched himself):

— quanta fub nocte jaceret Noftra dies. — Steevens.

4 His honour and the greatness of his name

Shall be, and make new nations:] On a picture of this contemptible king, which formerly belonged to the great Bacon, and is now in the possession of Lord Grimston, he is styled imperii Atlantici conditor. The year before the revival of this play (1612) there was a lottery for the plantation of Virginia. These lines probably allude to the settlement of that colony.

MALONE.

<sup>5</sup> She shall be, to the happiness of England, An aged princess; The transition here from the complimentary address to King James the First is so abrupt, that it And yet no day without a deed to crown it. 'Would I had known no more! but the must die, She must, the faints must have her; yet a virgin, A most unspotted lily shall she pass 'To the ground, and all the world shall mourn her.

K. Hen. O lord archbishop,
Thou hast made me now a man; never, before
This happy child, did I get any thing:
This oracle of comfort has so pleas'd me,
That, when I am in heaven, I shall defire
To see what this child does, and praise my Maker.—
I thank ye all,—To you, my good lord mayor,
And your good brethren, I am much beholden;
I have receiv'd much honour by your presence,

feems obvious to me, that compliment was inferted after the accellion of that prince. If this play was wrote, as in my opinion it was, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, we may eafily determine where Cranmer's eulogium of that princefs concluded. I make no question but the poet rested here:

And by those claim their greatness, not by blood. All that the bishop says after this, was an occasional homage paid to her successor, and evidently inserted after her demise. How naturally, without this insertion, does the king's joy and satisfactory reflection upon the bishop's prophecy, come in!

King, Thou fpeakest wonders. O lord archlishop,

Thou It made me now a man. Never, before This happy child, did I get any thing: &c.

Whether the king would fo properly have made this inference, upon hearing that a child of fo great hopes should die without issue, is submitted to judgment. THEOBALD.

<sup>6</sup> And your good brethren,] Old copy—you. But the aldermen were never called brethren to the king. The top of the nobility are but coufins and counfellors. Dr. Thirlby, therefore, rightly advised:

And your good brethren,—

i. e. the lord mayor's brethren, which is properly their ftyle.

Theobald.

So, in King Henry V:

"The mayor and all his brethren in best fort."

MALONE.

And ye shall find me thankful. Lead the way, lords:—

Ye must all see the queen, and she must thank ye, She will be sick else. This day, no man think He has business at his house; for all shall stay, This little one shall make it holiday. [Exeunt.8]

7 This little one shall make it holiday.] The old comedy of Grim the Collier of Croydon concludes with a fimilar idea:

"And all hell o'er, we'll make it holiday."
Hence, perhaps, the following stroke of infernal jocularity in Dryden's Œdipus:

" ----- we play,

" For hell's broke up, and ghosts have holiday."

8 The play of *Henry the Eighth* is one of those which still keeps possession of the stage by the splendour of its pageantry. The coronation, about forty years ago, drew the people together

The coronation, about forty years ago, drew the people together in multitudes for a great part of the winter.\* Yet pomp is not the only merit of this play. The meek forrows and virtuous diffres of Katharine have furnished some scenes, which may be justly numbered among the greatest efforts of tragedy. But the genius of Shakspeare comes in and goes out with Katharine. Every other part may be easily conceived and easily written.

JOHNSON.

<sup>\*</sup> Chetwood fays that, during one feason, it was exhibited 75 times. See his History of the Stage, p. 68. Steevens.

## EPILOGUE.

'Tis ten to one, this play can never please All that are here: Some come to take their ease, And sleep an act or two; but those, we fear, We have frighted with our trumpets; so, 'tis clear, They'll say, 'tis naught: others, to hear the city Abus'd extremely, and to cry,—that's witty! Which we have not done neither: that, I fear, All the expected good we are like to hear For this play at this time, is only in The merciful construction of good women; The merciful construction of good women; And say, 'twill do, I know, within a while

The merciful confiruction of good women;] A verte, with as unmufical a close, may be found in Burton's Anatomy of Melancholy, Part III. sect. ii.

"Rose, the pleasure of fine women." In Ben Jonson's Alchemist there is also a line in which the word

women is accented on the last syllable:

"And then your red man, and your white woman."

Act II. fc. iii. Steevens.

Though it is very difficult to decide whether short pieces be genuine or spurious, yet I cannot restrain myself from expressing my suspicion that neither the Prologue nor Epilogue to this play is the work of Shakspeare; non vultus, non color. It appears to me very likely that they were supplied by the friendship or

in in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> —— fuch a one we fhow'd them;] In the character of Katharine. JOHNSON.

<sup>3 —</sup> If they finile, &c.] This thought is too much hacknied. It has been used already in the Epilogues to As you like it and The Second Part of King Henry IV. STEEVENS.

All the best men are ours; for 'tis ill hap, If they hold, when their ladies bid them clap.

officiousness of Jonson, whose manner they will be perhaps found exactly to resemble. There is yet another supposition possible: the Prologue and Epilogue may have been written after Shakspeare's departure from the stage, upon some accidental revival of the play, and there will then be reason for imagining that the writer, whoever he was, intended no great kindness to him, this play being recommended by a subtle and covert censure of his other works. There is, in Shakspeare, so much of fool and fight;

" —— the fellow,

"In a long motley coat, guarded with yellow," appears so often in his drama, that I think it not very likely that he would have animadverted so severely on himself. All this, however, must be received as very dubious, since we know not the exact date of this or the other plays, and cannot tell how our author might have changed his practice or opinions.

JOHNSON.

Dr. Johnson's conjecture, thus cautiously stated, has been since strongly confirmed by Mr. Tyrwhitt's note, p. 5, by which it appears that this play was revived in 1613, at which time, without doubt, the Prologue and Epilogue were added by Ben Jonson, or some other person. On the subject of every one of our author's historical pieces, except this, I believe a play had been written, before he commenced a dramatick poet. See the Essay at the end of The Third Part of King Henry VI.

MALONE.

I entirely agree in opinion with Dr. Johnson, that Ben Jonson wrote the *Prologue and Epilogue* to this play. Shakspeare had, a little before, assisted him in his *Seganus*; and Ben was too proud to receive assistance without returning it. It is probable, that he drew up the directions for the parade at the *christening*, &c. which his employment at court would teach him, and Shakspeare must be ignorant of. I think, I now and then perceive his hand in the dialogue.

It appears from Stowe, that Robert Greene wrote fomewhat

on this subject. FARMER.

See the first scene of this play, p. 3. MALONE.

In support of Dr. Johnson's opinion it may not be amiss to quote the following lines from old Ben's Prologue to his Every Man in his Humour:

"To make a child new fwaddled, to proceed

"Man, and then shoot up, in one beard and weed, "Past threescore years: or with three rusty swords,

"And help of fome few foot-and-half-foot words,

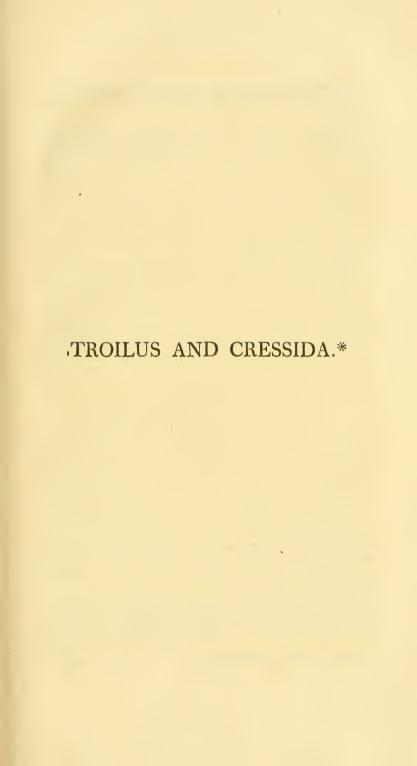
"Fight over York and Lancaster's long wars, "And in the tyring-house," &c. Steevens.

The historical dramas are now concluded, of which the two Parts of Henry the Fourth, and Henry the Fifth, are among the happiest of our author's compositions; and King John, Richard the Third, and Henry the Eighth, deservedly stand in the second class. Those whose curiosity would refer the historical scenes to their original, may consult Holinshed, and sometimes Hall: from Holinshed Shakspeare has often inserted whole speeches, with no more alteration than was necessary to the numbers of his verse. To transcribe them into the margin was unnecessary, because the original is easily examined, and they are feldom less perspicuous in the poet than in the historian.

To play histories, or to exhibit a fuccession of events by action and dialogue, was a common entertainment among our rude ancestors upon great festivities. The parish clerks once performed at Clerkenwell a play which lasted three days, con-

taining The History of the World. Johnson.

. It appears from more than one MS. in the British Museum, that the tradesmen of Chester were three days employed in the representation of their twenty-sour Whitsun plays or mysteries. The like performances at Coventry must have taken up a longer time, as they were no less than forty in number. The exhibition of them began on Corpus Christi day, which was (according to Dugdale) one of their ancient fairs. See the Harleian MSS. No. 2013, 2124, 2125, and MS. Cot. Vesp. D. VIII. and Dugdale's Warwickshire, p. 116. Stevens.





\* Troilus and Cressida.] The ftory was originally written by Lollius, an old Lombard author, and fince by Chaucer.

Mr. Pope (after Dryden) informs us, that the ftory of Troilus and Cressida was originally the work of one Lollius, a Lombard; (of whom Gascoigne speaks in Dan Bartholmewe his first Triumph: "Since Lollius and Chaucer both, make doubt upon that glose,") but Dryden goes yet further. He declares it to have been written in Latin verse, and that Chaucer translated it. Lollius was a historiographer of Urbino in Italy. Shakspeare received the greatest part of his materials for the structure of this play from the Troye Boke of Lydgate. Lydgate was not much more than a translator of Guido of Columpna, who was of Meslina in Sicily, and wrote his History of Troy in Latin, after Dictys Cretenfis, and Dares Phrygius, in 1287. On these. as Mr. Warton observes, he engrafted many new romantick inventions, which the tafte of his age dictated, and which the connection between Grecian and Gothick fiction eafily admitted; at the fame time comprehending in his plan the Theban and Argonautic stories from Ovid, Statius, and Valerius Flaccus. Guido's work was published at Cologne in 1477, again 1480: at Strafburgh, 1486, and *ibidem*, 1489. It appears to have been translated by Raoul le Feure, at Cologne, into French, from whom Caxton rendered it into English in 1471, under the title of his Recuyel, &c. fo that there must have been yet some earlier edition of Guido's performance than I have hitherto feen or heard of, unless his first translator had recourse to a manuscript.

Guido of Columpna is referred to as an authority by our own chronicler Grafton. Chaucer had made the loves of Troilus and Cressida famous, which very probably might have been Shak-speare's inducement to try their fortune on the stage.—Lydgate's Troye Boke was printed by Pynson, 1513. In the books of the Stationers' Company, anno 1581, is entered "A proper ballad, dialogue-wise, between Troilus and Cressida." Again, Feb. 7, 1602: "The booke of Troilus and Cressida, as it is acted by my Lo. Chamberlain's men." The first of these entries is in the name of Edward White, the second in that of M. Roberts, Again, Jan. 28, 1608, entered by Rich. Bonian and Hen. Whalley, "A booke called the history of Troilus and Cressida."

STEEVENS.

The entry in 1608-9 was made by the bookfellers for whom this play was published in 1609. It was written, I conceive, in 1602. See An Attempt to afcertain the Order of Shakfpeare's Plays, Vol. II. Malone.

Before this play of Troilus and Cressida, printed in 1609, is

a bookfeller's preface, showing that first impression to have been before the play had been acted, and that it was published with out Shakspeare's knowledge, from a copy that had fallen into the bookfeller's hands. Mr. Dryden thinks this one of the first of our author's plays: but, on the contrary, it may be judged, from the fore-mentioned preface, that it was one of his last; and the great number of observations, both moral and politick, with which this piece is crouded more than any other of his, seems to confirm my opinion. Pope.

We may learn, from this preface, that the original proprietors of Shakípeare's plays thought it their interest to keep them unprinted. The author of it adds, at the conclusion, these words: "Thank fortune for the 'scape it hath made among you, fince, by the grand possessor wills, I believe you should rather have prayed for them, than have been prayed," &c. By the grand possessor, I suppose, were meant Heming and Condell. It appears that the rival play-houses at that time made frequent depredations on one another's copies. In the Induction to The Malcontent, written by Webster, and augmented by Marston, 1606, is the following passage:

"I wonder you would play it, another company having in-

terest in it."

"Why not Malevole in folio with us, as Jeronimo in decimo fexto with them? They taught us a name for our play; we call

it One for another."

Again, T. Heywood, in his Preface to *The English Traveller*, 1633: "Others of them are fill retained in the hands of fome actors, who think it against their peculiar profit to have them come in print." Steevens.

It appears, however, that frauds were practifed by writers as well as actors. It stands on record against Robert Greene, the author of Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay, and Orlando Furioso, 1594 and 1599, that he sold the last of these pieces to two different theatres: "Master R.G. would it not make you blush, &c. if you sold not Orlando Furioso to the Queen's players for twenty nobles, and when they were in the country, sold the same play to the Lord Admiral's men for as much more? Was not this plain Coneycatching, M.G.?" Defence of Coneycatching, 1592.

This note was not merely inferted to expose the craft of authorship, but to show the price which was anciently paid for the copy of a play, and to ascertain the name of the writer of Orlando Furioso, which was not hitherto known. Greene appears to have been the first poet in England who sold the same piece to different people. Voltaire is much belied, if he has not

followed his example. Collins.

Notwithflanding what has been faid by a late editor, [Mr. Capell,] I have a copy of the first folio, including Troilus and Cressida. Indeed, as I have just now observed, it was at first either unknown or forgotten. It does not however appear in the list of the plays, and is thrust in between the histories and the tragedies without any enumeration of the pages; except, I think, on one leaf only. It differs entirely from the copy in the second folio. Farmer.

I have confulted at least twenty copies of the first folio, and Troilus and Cressida is not wanting in any of them.

STEEVENS.

### PREFACE

TO THE QUARTO EDITION OF THIS PLAY, 1609.

#### A never Writer to an ever Reader. Newes.

Eternall reader, you have heere a new play, never stal'd with the stage, never clapper-claw'd with the palmes of the vulger, and yet passing full of the palme comicall; for it is a birth of your [r. that] braine, that never under-tooke any thing commicall, vainely: and were but the vaine names of commedies changde for the titles of commodities, or of playes for pleas; you should see all those grand censors, that now stile them such vanities, flock to them for the maine grace of their gravities: especially this authors commedies, that are fo fram'd to the life. that they ferve for the most common commentaries of all the actions of our lives, shewing such a dexteritie and power of witte. that the most displeased with playes, are pleased with his commedies. And all fuch dull and heavy-witted worldlings, as were never capable of the witte of a commedie, comming by report of them to his representations, have found that witte there, that they never found in them-felves, and have parted better-wittied then they came: feeling an edge of witte fet upon them, more then ever they dreamd they had braine to grind it on. So much and fuch favored falt of witte is in his commedies, that they feeme (for their height of pleafure) to be borne in that fea that brought forth Venus. Amongst all there is none more witty than this: and had I time I would comment upon it, though I know it needs not, (for fo much as will make you thinke your testerne well bestowd) but for so much worth, as even poore I know to be fluft in it. It deferves fuch a labour, as well as the best commedy in Terence or Plautus. And beleeve this, that when hee is gone, and his commedies out of fale, you will fcramble for them, and fet up a new English inquisition. this for a warning, and at the perill of your pleafures loffe, and judgements, refuse not, nor like this the leffe, for not being fullied with the fmoaky breath of the multitude; but thanke fortune for the fcape it hath made amongst you: fince by the grand possessions wills I believe you should have prayd for them [r. it] rather then beene prayd. And fo I leave all fuch to bee prayd for (for the states of their wits healths) that will not praise it. Vale.

### PROLOGUE.

In Troy, there lies the fcene. From ifles of Greece

The princes orgulous,2 their high blood chaf'd,

I cannot regard this Prologue (which indeed is wanting in the quarto editions) as the work of Shakspeare; and perhaps the drama before us was not entirely of his construction. It appears to have been unknown to his affociates, Hemings and Condell, till after the first folio was almost printed off. On this subject, indeed, (as I learn from Mr. Malone's Emendations and Additions, &c. see Vol. III.) there seems to have been a play anterior to the present one:

"Aprel 7, 1599. Lent unto Thomas Downton to lende unto Mr. Deckers, & harey cheattel, in earnest of ther boocke called

Troyeles and Creaffedaye, the some of iii lb."

"Lent unto harey cheattell, & Mr. Dickers, [Henry Chettle and mafter Deckar] in pte of payment of their booke called Troyelles & Creffeda, the 16 of Aprell, 1599, xxs."

Lent unto Mr. Deckers and Mr. Chettel the 26 of maye, 1599, in earnest of a booke called Troylles and Crefeda, the

fome of xxs." STEEVENS.

I conceive this Prologue to have been written, and the dialogue, in more than one place, interpolated by fome Kyd or Marlowe of the time; who may have been paid for altering and amending one of Shakipeare's plays: a very extraordinary inflance of our author's negligence, and the managers' tafte!

RITSON.

<sup>2</sup> The princes orgulous,] Orgulous, i.e. proud, difdainful. Orgueilleux, Fr. This word is used in the ancient romance of Richard Cueur de Lyon:

" His atyre was orgulous."

Again, in Froiffart's Chronicle, Vol. II. p. 115, b: "—but they wyst\_nat how to passe ye ryver of Derne whiche was fell and orgulous at certayne tymes," &c. Steevens.

Have to the port of Athens fent their ships, Fraught with the ministers and instruments Of cruel war: Sixty and nine, that wore Their crownets regal, from the Athenian bay Put forth toward Phrygia: and their vow is made, To ranfack Troy; within whose strong immures The ravish'd Helen, Menelaus' queen, With wanton Paris fleeps; And that's the quarrel. To Tenedos they come; And the deep-drawing barks do there difgorge Their warlike fraughtage: Now on Dardan plains The fresh and yet unbruised Greeks do pitch Their brave pavilions: Priam's fix-gated city,3 Dardan, and Tymbria, Ilias, Chetas, Trojan, And Antenorides, with maffy ftaples, And corresponsive and fulfilling bolts,4 Sperr up the fons of Troy.5

"Fulfilled of all curtofie."

Again:

" Fulfilled of all unkindship." STEEVENS.

To be "fulfilled with grace and benediction" is still the language of our liturgy. BLACKSTONE.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> —— Priam's fix-gated city, &c.] The names of the gates are here exhibited as in the old copy, for the reason assigned by Dr. Farmer; except in the instance of Antenorides, instead of which the old copy has Antenonydus. The quotation from Lydgate shows that was an error of the printer. Malone.

<sup>4 —</sup> fulfilling lolts,] To fulfill, in this place, means to fill till there be no room for more. In this fense it is now obsolete. So, in Gower, De Confessione Amantis, Lib. V. fol. 114:

<sup>&</sup>quot; A lustie maide, a sobre, a meke,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Sperr up the fons of Troy.] [Old copy—Stirre.] This has been a most miserably mangled passage throughout all the editions; corrupted at once into salse concord and salse reasoning. Priam's fix-gated city stirre up the fons of Troy? Here's a verb plural governed of a nominative fingular. But that is easily remedied. The next question to be asked is, In what

Now expectation, tickling skittish spirits, On one and other side, Trojan and Greek,

fense a city, having fix strong gates, and those well barred and bolted, can be said to stir up its inhabitants? unless they may be supposed to derive some spirit from the strength of their fortifications. But this could not be the poet's thought. He must mean, I take it, that the Greeks had pitched their tents upon the plains before Troy; and that the Trojans were securely barricaded within the walls and gates of their city. This sense my correction restores. To sperre, or spar, from the old Teutonick word speren, signifies to shut up, defend by bars, &c.

THEOBALD.

So, in Spenfer's Fairy Queen, Book V. c. 10: "The other that was entred, labour'd faft

"To sperre the gate" &c.

Again, in the romance of The Squhr of Low Degre:

" Sperde with manie a dyvers pynne."

And in The Vision of P. Plowman, it is faid that a blind man "unsparryd his eine."

Again, in Warner's Allion's England, 1602, Book II. ch. 12: "When chafed home into his holdes, there fparred up in gates."

Again, in the 2d Part of Bale's Actes of English Votaryes: "The dore thereof off tymes opened and speared agayne."

STEEVENS.

Mr. Theobald informs us that the very names of the gates of Troy have been barbaroufly demolifhed by the editors; and a deal of learned dust he makes in setting them right again; much however to Mr. Heath's satisfaction. Indeed the learning is modeftly withdrawn from the later editions, and we are quietly instructed to read—

" Dardan, and Thymbria, Ilia, Scaa, Trojan,

"And Antenorides."

But had he looked into the *Troy Boke* of Lydgate, inflead of puzzling himfelf with *Dares Phrygius*, he would have found the horrid demolition to have been neither the work of Shakfpeare, nor his editors:

"Therto his cyte | compaffed enuyrowne Had gates VI to entre into the towne:

"The firste of all | and strengest eke with all,

"Largest also | and moste princypall,
"Of myghty byldyng | alone percless,
"Was by the kinge called | Dardanydes;

Sets all on hazard:—And hither am I come
A prologue arm'd,6—but not in confidence
Of author's pen, or actor's voice; but fuited
In like conditions as our argument,—
To tell you, fair beholders, that our play
Leaps o'er the vaunt<sup>7</sup> and firstlings<sup>8</sup> of those broils,

"And in ftorye | lyke as it is founde, "Tymbria | was named the feconde;

"And the thyrde | called Helyas,

"The fourthe gate | hyghte also Cetheas;
"The fysthe Trojana, | the fysth Anthonydes,
"Stronge and mighty | both in werre and pes."

Lond. Empr. by R. Pynfon, 1513, fol. B. II. ch. 11. The Troye Boke was fornewhat modernized, and reduced into regular stanzas, about the beginning of the last century, under the name of, The Life and Death of Hector—who fought a Hundred mayne Battailes in open Field against the Grecians; wherein there were flaine on both Sides Fourteene Hundred and Sixe Thousand, Fourscore and Sixe Men. Fol. no date. This work Dr. Fuller, and several other criticks, have erroneously quoted as the original; and observe, in consequence, that "if Chaucer's coin were of greater weight for deeper learning, Lydgate's were of a more resined standard for purer language: so that one might mistake him for a modern writer."

FARMER.

On other occasions, in the course of this play, I shall generally insert quotations from the *Troye Booke modernized*, as being the most intelligible of the two. Steevens.

6 A prologue arm'd,] I come here to speak the prologue, and come in armour; not defying the audience, in confidence of either the author's or actor's abilities, but merely in a character suited to the subject, in a dress of war, before a warlike play.

Johnson.

Motters feems to have borrowed this idea in his Prologue to Farquhar's Twin Rivals:

"With drums and trumpets in this warring age,
"A martial prologue should alarm the stage."

Steevens.

in King Lear:

" Vaunt-couriers to oak-cleaving thunderbolts."

STEEVENS.

'Ginning in the middle; flarting thence away To what may be digefted in a play.'
Like, or find fault; do as your pleafures are;
Now good, or bad, 'tis but the chance of war.

The vaunt is the vanguard, called, in our author's time, the vaunt-guard. Percy.

8 ——firstlings—] A scriptural phrase, signifying the first produce or offspring. So, in Genesis, iv. 4: "And Abel, he also brought of the firstlings of his slock." Steevens.

### PERSONS REPRESENTED.

Priam, King of Troy:

Hector, Troilus,

Paris.

Deiphobus, Helenus.

Æneas.

} Trojan Commanders. Antenor,

his Sons.

Calchas, a Trojan Priest, taking part with the Greeks.

Pandarus, Uncle to Creffida.

Margarelon, a baftard Son of Priam.

Agamemnon, the Grecian General:

Menelaus, his Brother.

Achilles, Ajax,

Ulvffes,

Nestor. Diomedes, Grecian Commanders.

Patroclus, Therfites, a deformed and scurrilous Grecian.

Alexander, Servant to Creffida.

Servant to Troilus; Servant to Paris; Servant to Diomedes.

Helen, Wife to Menelaus.

Andromache, Wife to Hector.

Caffandra, Daughter to Priam; a Prophetes.

Creffida, Daughter to Calchas.

Trojan and Greek Soldiers, and Attendants.

SCENE, Troy, and the Grecian Camp before it.

# TROILUS AND CRESSIDA.

### ACT I. SCENE I.

Troy. Before Priam's Palace.

Enter Troilus armed, and Pandarus.

Tro. Call here my varlet, I'll unarm again: Why should I war without the walls of Troy, That find such cruel battle here within? Each Trojan, that is master of his heart, Let him to field; Troilus, alas! hath none.

PAN. Will this geer ne'er be mended?2

Concerning the word varlet, see Recherches historiques fur les cartes à jouer. Lyon, 1757, p. 61. M.C. Tutet.

<sup>1 —</sup> my varlet,] This word anciently fignified a fervant or footman to a knight or warrior. So, Holinshed, speaking of the battle of Agincourt: "— diverse were releeved by their varlets, and conveied out of the field." Again, in an ancient epitaph in the church-yard of Saint Nicas at Arras:

<sup>&</sup>quot;Cy gift Hakin et son varlet,
"Tout dis-armè et tout di-pret,

<sup>&</sup>quot;Avec fon espé et falloche," &c. STEEVENS.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Will this geer ne'er be mended?] There is fomewhat proverbial in this question, which I likewise meet with in the interlude of King Darius, 1565:

<sup>&</sup>quot; Wyll not yet this geere be amended,

<sup>&</sup>quot; Nor your finful acts corrected?" STEEVENS.

Tro. The Greeks are firong, and skilful to their strength,

Fierce to their skill, and to their fierceness valiant; But I am weaker than a woman's tear, Tamer than sleep, fonder than ignorance; Less valiant than the virgin in the night, And skill-less as unpractis'd infancy.

PAN. Well, I have told you enough of this: for my part, I'll not meddle nor make no further. He, that will have a cake out of the wheat, must tarry the grinding.

TRO. Have I not tarried?

 $P_{AN}$ . Ay, the grinding; but you must tarry the bolting.

TRO. Have I not tarried?

 $P_{AN}$ . Ay, the bolting; but you must tarry the leavening.

TRO. Still have I tarried:

PAN. Ay, to the leavening: but here's yet in the word—hereafter, the kneading, the making of the cake, the heating of the oven, and the baking; nay, you must stay the cooling too, or you may chance to burn your lips.

Tro. Patience herfelf, what goddess e'er she be, Doth lesser blench at sufferance than I do.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>——shilful to their firength, &c.] i. e. in addition to their firength. The same phraseology occurs in Macbeth. See Vol. X. p. 16, n. 2. Steevens.

<sup>4</sup> \_\_\_\_\_fonder\_\_] i.e. more weak, or foolish. See Vol. VII. p. 328, n. 8. Malone.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> And tkill-less &c.] Mr. Dryden, in his alteration of this play, has taken this speech as it stands, except that he has changed skill-less to artless, not for the better, because skill-less refers to skill and skilful. Johnson.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Doth leffer blench —] To blench is to fhrink, ftart, or fly off. So, in Hamlet:

At Priam's royal table do I fit;
And when fair Creffid comes into my thoughts,—
So, traitor!—when fhe comes!—When is fhe
thence?

 $P_{AN}$ . Well, the looked yesternight fairer than ever I saw her look, or any woman else.

Tro. I was about to tell thee,—When my heart, As wedged with a figh, would rive in twain; Lest Hector or my father should perceive me, I have (as when the sun doth light a storm,) Bury'd this sigh in wrinkle of a sinile: 9 But forrow, that is couch'd in seeming gladness, Is like that mirth fate turns to sudden sadness.

PAN. An her hair were not fomewhat darker than Helen's, (well, go to,) there were no more comparison between the women,—But, for my part, she is my kinswoman; I would not, as they term it, praise her,—But I would somebody had heard her talk yesterday, as I did. I will not dispraise your fifter Cassandra's wit; but—

" --- if he but lelench,

"I know my courfe —."
Again, in The Pilgrim, by Beaumont and Fletcher:

" men that will not totter,
" Nor blench much at a bullet." STEEVENS.

when she comes!—When is she thence?] Both the old copies read—then she comes, when she is thence. Mr. Rowe corrected the former error, and Mr. Pope the latter.

MALONE.

<sup>8</sup> — a ftorm,)] Old copies—a fcorn. Corrected by Mr. Rowe. Malone.

See King Lear. Act III. fc.i. Steevens.

<sup>9</sup> — in wrinkle of a fmile:] So, in Twelfth-Night: "He doth fmile his face into more lines than the new map with the augmentation of the Indies." Malone.

Again, in The Merchant of Venice:

"With mirth and laughter let old wrinkles come."

STEEVENS.

Tro. O Pandarus! I tell thee, Pandarus,— When I do tell thee, There my hopes lie drown'd, Reply not in how many fathoms deep They lie indrench'd. I tell thee, I am mad In Creffid's love: Thou answer'st, She is fair: Pour'st in the open ulcer of my heart Her eyes, her hair, her cheek, her gait, her voice; Handlest in thy discourse, O, that her hand, I

Handlest in thy discourse, O, that her hand, &c. ] Handlest is here used metaphorically, with an allusion, at the same time, to its literal meaning; and the jingle between hand and handlest is perfectly in our author's manner.

The beauty of a female hand feems to have made a ftrong impression on his mind. Antony cannot endure that the hand

of Cleopatra should be touched:

"-To let a fellow that will take rewards. " And fay, God quit you, be familiar with "My playfellow, your hand,—this kingly feal, "And plighter of high hearts."

Again, in Romeo and Juliet:

" ---- they may feize

"On the white wonder of dear Juliet's hand."

In The Winter's Tale, Florizel, with equal warmth, and not less poetically, descants on the hand of his mistress:

" --- I take thy hand; this hand

" As foft as dove's down, and as white as it; "Or Ethiopian's tooth; or the fann'd fnow

"That's bolted by the northern blafts twice o'er." This passage has, I think, been wrong pointed in the late editions:

> Pour'st in the open ulcer of my heart Her eyes, her hair, her cheek, her gait; her voice Handlest in thy discourse; -O that her hand! In whose comparison, &c.

We have the same play of words in Titus Andronicus:

"O handle not the theme, to talk of hands, " Lest we remember still, that we have none!"

We may be certain therefore that those lines were part of the additions which our poet made to that play. MALONE.

If the derivation of the verb to handle were always present to those who employed it, I know not well how Chapman could vindicate the following passage in his version of the 23d Iliad,

In whose comparison all whites are ink, Writing their own reproach; To whose foft seizure The cygnet's down is harsh, and spirit of sense Hard as the palm of ploughman! 2 This thou tell'ft

As true thou tell'ft me, when I fay—I love her; But, faying, thus, instead of oil and balm, Thou lay'ft in every gash that love hath given me The knife that made it.

where the most eloquent of the Greeks (old Nestor) reminds Antilochus that his horfes

" --- their flow feet handle not."

The intentionally quaint phrase—" taste your legs," introduced in Twelfth-Night, is not more ridiculous than to talk of horses—

" handling their feet."

Though our author has many and very confiderable obligations to Mr. Malone, I cannot regard his foregoing supposition as one of them; for in what does it confift? In making Shakspeare answerable for two of the worst-lines in a degraded play, merely because they exhibit a jingle fimilar to that in the speech before us. STEEVENS.

2 - and spirit of sense

Hard as the palm of ploughman!] In comparison with Cressida's hand, says he, the spirit of sense, the utmost degree, the most exquisite power of sensibility, which implies a soft hand, fince the fense of touching, as Scaliger says in his Exercitations, refides chiefly in the fingers, is hard as the callous and infenfible palm of the ploughman. Warburton reads:

--- fpite of sense.

Hanmer:

to th' spirit of sense.

It is not proper to make a lover profess to praise his mistress in Spite of Sense; for though he often does it in Spite of the Sense of others, his own fenses are subdued to his desires. Johnson.

Spirit of sense is a phrase that occurs again in the third Act of this play:

nor doth the eye itself,

"That most pure *spirit of fense*, behold itself."

Mr. M. Mason (from whom I have borrowed this parallel)

recommends Hanmer's emendation as a necessary one. STEEVENS.  $P_{AN}$ . I fpeak no more than truth.

Tro. Thou dost not speak so much.

PAN. 'Faith, I'll not meddle in't. Let her be as she is: if she be fair, 'tis the better for her; an she be not, she has the mends in her own hands.'

TRO. Good Pandarus! How now, Pandarus?

PAN. I have had my labour for my travel; ill-thought on of her, and ill-thought on of you: gone between and between, but finall thanks for my labour.

Tro. What, art thou angry, Pandarus? what, with me?

PAN. Because she is kin to me, therefore, she's not so fair as Helen: an she were not kin to me, she would be as fair on Friday, as Helen is on Sunday. But what care I? I care not, an she were a black-a-moor; 'tis all one to me.

Tro. Say I, she is not fair?

 $P_{AN}$ . I do not care whether you do or no. She's

by the affiftance of cosmeticks. Johnson.

I believe it rather means—She may make the best of a lad bargain. This is a proverbial faying.

So, in Woman's a Weathercock, 1012: "I shall stay here and have my head broke, and then I have the mends in my own hands."

Again, in S. Gosson's School of Abuse, 1579: "—turne him with his back full of stripes, and his hands loden with his own amendes."

Again, in The Wild Goofe Chafe, by Beaumont and Fletcher: "The mends are in mine own hands, or the furgeon's." Again, in Burton's Anatomy of Melancholy, edit. 1632, p. 605: "—and if men will be jealous in fuch cases, the mends is in their owne hands, they must thank themselves." Steevens.

a fool to ftay behind her father; 4 let her to the Greeks; and fo' I'll tell her the next time I fee her: for my part, I'll meddle nor make no more in the matter.

Tro. Pandarus,-

PAN. Not I.

Tro. Sweet Pandarus,-

PAN. Pray you, fpeak no more to me; I will leave all as I found it, and there an end.

[Exit PANDARUS. An Alarum.

Tro. Peace, you ungracious clamours! peace, rude founds!

Fools on both fides! Helen must needs be fair, When with your blood you daily paint her thus. I cannot fight upon this argument; It is too starv'd a subject for my sword. But Pandarus—O gods, how do you plague me! I cannot come to Cressid, but by Pandar; And he's as tetchy to be woo'd to woo, As she is stubborn-chaste against all suit. Tell me, Apollo, for thy Daphne's love, What Cressid is, what Pandar, and what we?

<sup>4—</sup>to flay lehind her father; Calchas, according to Shakspeare's authority, The Defiration of Troy, was "a great learned bishop of Troy," who was fent by Priam to consult the oracle of Delphi concerning the event of the war which was threatened by Agamemnon. As soon as he had made "his oblations and demaunds for them of Troy, Apollo (says the book) aunswered unto him, saying; Calchas, Calchas, beware that thou returne not back again to Troy; but goe thou with Achylles, unto the Greekes, and depart never from them, for the Greekes shall have victoric of the Troyans by the agreement of the Gods." Hist. of the Destruction of Troy, translated by Caxton, 5th edit. 4to. 1617. This prudent bishop followed the advice of the Oracle, and immediately joined the Greeks.

Her bed is India; there she lies, a pearl: Between our Ilium,<sup>5</sup> and where she resides, Let it be call'd the wild and wandering slood; Ourself, the merchant; and this failing Pandar, Our doubtful hope, our convoy, and our bark.<sup>6</sup>

### Alarum. Enter ÆNE'AS.

ÆNE. How now, prince Troilus? wherefore not afield?

Tro. Because not there; This woman's answer forts, 8

For womanish it is to be from thence. What news, Æneas, from the field to-day?

ÆNE. That Paris is returned home, and hurt.

Tro. By whom, Æneas?

ÆNE. Troilus, by Menelaus.

Tro. Let Paris bleed: 'tis but a fear to feorn; Paris is gor'd with Menelaus' horn. [Alarum.

Ilium, properly speaking, is the name of the city; Troy, that

of the country. Steevens.

Our doubtful hope, our convoy, and our bark.] So, in The Merry Wives of Windfor:

"This punk is one of Cupid's carriers; Clap on more fails," &c. MALONE.

<sup>7</sup> How now, prince Troilus? wherefore not afield?] Shak-fpeare, it appears from various lines in this play, pronounced Troilus improperly as a diffyllable; as every mere English reader does at this day.

So also, in his Raje of Lucrece:

"Here manly Hector faints, here Troilus fwounds."

MALONE.

B——forts,] i.e. fits, fuits, is congruous. So, in King Henry V: "It forts well with thy fierceness." Steevens.

ÆNE. Hark! what good fport is out of town to-day!

Tro. Better at home, if would I might, were may.—

But, to the fport abroad;—Are you bound thither?

ÆNE. In all fwift hafte.

 $T_{RO}$ .

Come, go we then together. [Exeunt.

### SCENE II.

The same. A Street.

Enter CRESSIDA and ALEXANDER.

CRES. Who were those went by?

ALEX. Queen Hecuba, and Helen.

CRES. And whither go they?

ALEX. Up to the eastern tower, Whose height commands as subject all the vale, To see the battle. Hector, whose patience Is, as a virtue, fix'd,9 to-day was mov'd:

9 — Hector, whose patience

Is, as a virtue, fix'd,] Patience fure was a virtue, and therefore cannot, in propriety of expression, be said to be like one. We should read:

Is as the virtue f(x)d,——

i. e. his patience is as fixed as the goddess Patience itself. So we find Troilus a little before saying:

"Patience herfelf, what goddess ere she be, "Doth lesser blench at sufferance than I do."

It is remarkable that Dryden when he altered this play, and found this false reading, altered it with judgment to—

" --- whose patience

" Is fix'd like that of heaven."

Which he would not have done had he feen the right reading

 $\mathbf{R}$ 

He chid Andromache, and struck his armourer; And, like as there were husbandry in war,<sup>1</sup> Before the sun rose, he was harnes'd light,<sup>2</sup>

here given, where his thought is fo much better and nobler expressed. WARBURTON.

I think the present text may stand. Hector's patience was as a virtue, not variable and accidental, but fixed and constant. If I would alter it, it should be thus:

— Hector, whose patience Is all a virtue fix'd,—

All, in old English, is the intensive or enforcing particle.

JOHNSON.

I had once almost persuaded myself that Shakspeare wrote,

--- whose patience Is, as a statue fix'd.

So, in The Winter's Tale, fc. ult:

"The statue is but newly fix'd."

The fame idea occurs also in the celebrated passage in Twelfth-Night:

"—— fat like patience on a monument."

The old adage—Patience is a virtue, was perhaps uppermost in the compositor's mind, and he therefore inadvertently substituted the one word for the other. A virtue fixed may, however, mean the flationary image of a virtue. Steevens.

husbandry in war,] So, in Macbeth:
"There's husbandry in heaven." STEEVENS.

Husbandry means economical prudence. Troilus alludes to Hector's early rifing. So, in King Henry V:

"—our bad neighbours make us early firrers,
"Which is both healthful and good hushandry"

"Which is both healthful and good husbandry."

MALONE,

<sup>2</sup> Before the fun rose, he was harness'd light,] Does the poet mean (tays Mr. Theobald) that Hector had put on light armour? Mean! what else could he mean? He goes to fight on foot; and was not that the armour for his purpose? So, Fairfax, in Tatlo's Derusalem:

"The other princes put on harness light

" As footmen use-."

Yet, as if this had been the highest absurdity, he goes on, Or does he mean that Hector was sprightly in his arms even before funrise? or is a conundrum aimed at, in sun rose and harness'd light? Was any thing like it? But, to get out of this per-

And to the field goes he; where every flower Did, as a prophet, weep<sup>3</sup> what it forefaw In Hector's wrath.

plexity, he tells us, that a very flight alteration makes all thefe constructions unnecessary, and so changes it to harness-dight. Yet indeed the very flightest alteration will, at any time, let the poet's fense through the critick's fingers: and the Oxford editor very contentedly takes up what is left behind, and reads harnefs-dight too, in order, as Mr. Theobald well expresses it, to make all construction unnecessary. WARBURTON.

How does it appear that Hector was to fight on foot rather to-day than any other day? It is to be remembered, that the ancient heroes never fought on horseback; nor does their manner of fighting in chariots feem to require less activity than on foot. Johnson.

It is true that the heroes of Homer never fought on horseback; yet fuch of them as make a fecond appearance in the Eneid, like their antagonists the Rutulians, had cavalry among their troops. Little can be inferred from the manner in which Ascanius and the young nobility of Troy are introduced at the conclusion of the funereal games; as Virgil very probably, at the expence of an anachronism, meant to pay a compliment to the military exercises instituted by Julius Cæsar, and improved by Augustus. It appears from different passages in this play, that Hector fights on horseback; and it should be remembered that Shakspeare was indebted for most of his materials to a book which enumerates Efdras and Pythagoras among the baftard children of King Priamus. Our author, however, might have been led into his mistake by the manner in which Chapman has translated several parts of the *Iliad*, where the heroes mount their chariots or descend from them. Thus, Book VI. speaking of Glaucus and Diomed:

" --- from horse then both descend." STEEVENS.

If Dr. Warburton had looked into The Destruction of Troy, already quoted, he would have found, in every page, that the leaders on each fide were alternately tumbled from their horfes by the prowefs of their adversaries. MALONE.

Did, as a prophet, weep. So, in A Midfummer-Night's Dream, Vol. IV. p. 406:
"And when she weeps, weeps every little flower,

where every flower

What was his cause of anger? CRES.

ALEX. The noise goes, this: There is among the Greeks

A lord of Trojan blood, nephew to Hector; They call him, Ajax.

CRES. Good: And what of him?

ALEX. They fay he is a very man per fe,4 And ftands alone.

CRES. So do all men; unless they are drunk, fick, or have no legs.

ALEX. This man, lady, hath robbed many beafts of their particular additions; 5 he is as valiant as the lion, churlish as the bear, flow as the elephant: a man into whom nature hath fo crouded humours. that his valour is crushed into folly,6 his folly fauced with discretion: there is no man hath a

4 — per se, So, in Chaucer's Testament of Cresseide: "Of faire Cresseide the floure and a per se

" Of Troie and Greece."

Again, in the old comedy of Wily Beguiled: "In faith, my fweet honeycomb, I'll love thee a per fe a."

Again, in Blurt Master Constable, 1602:

"That is the a per fe of all, the creame of all."

5 — their particular additions;] Their peculiar and characteristick qualities or denominations. The term in this fense is originally forenfick. MALONE.

So, in Macbeth:

" --- whereby he doth receive " Particular addition, from the bill

"That writes them all alike." STEEVENS.

6 — that his valour is crushed into folly,] To be crushed into folly, is to be confused and mingled with folly, so as that they make one mass together. Johnson.

So, in Cymbeline:

" Crush him together, rather than unfold

"His measure duly." STEEVENS.

virtue that he hath not a glimpse of; nor any man an attaint, but he carries some stain of it: he is melancholy without cause, and merry against the hair: He hath the joints of every thing; but every thing so out of joint, that he is a gouty Briareus, many hands and no use; or purblind Argus, all eyes and no sight.

 $C_{RES}$ . But how fhould this man, that makes me fmile, make Hector angry?

ALEX. They fay, he yesterday coped Hector in the battle, and struck him down; the disdain and shame whereof hath ever since kept Hector fasting and waking.

### Enter PANDARUS.

CRES. Who comes here?

ALEX. Madam, your uncle Pandarus.

CRES. Hector's a gallant man.

ALEX. As may be in the world, lady.

 $P_{AN}$ . What's that? what's that?

CRES. Good morrow, uncle Pandarus.

-PAN. Good morrow, cousin Cressid: What do you talk of?—Good morrow, Alexander.—How do you, cousin? 8 When were you at Ilium? 9

<sup>7 —</sup> against the hair: Is a phrase equivalent to another now in use—against the grain. The French say—à contrepoil. See Vol. XI. p. 374, n. 7. Steevens.

See Vol. V. p. 103, n. 3. MALONE.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Good morrow, cousin Cressid: What do you talk of? Good morrow, Alexander.—How do you, cousin?] Good morrow, Alexander, is added, in all the editions, (says Mr. Pope,) very absurdly, Paris not being on the stage. Wonderful acuteness!

CRES. This morning, uncle.

PAN. What were you talking of, when I came? Was Hector armed, and gone, ere ye came to Ilium? Helen was not up, was she?

CRES. Hector was gone; but Helen was not up.

PAN. E'en so; Hector was stirring early.

Cres. That were we talking of, and of his anger.

 $P_{AN}$ . Was he angry?

CRES. So he fays here.

PAN. True, he was fo; I know the cause too; he'll lay about him to-day, I can tell them that: and there is Troilus will not come far behind him; let them take heed of Troilus; I can tell them that too.

But, with submission, this gentleman's note is much more abfurd; for it falls out very unluckily for his remark, that though Paris is, for the generality, in Homer called Alexander; yet, in this play, by any one of the characters introduced, he is called nothing but Paris. The truth of the fact is this: Pandarus is of a busy, impertinent, infinuating character; and it is natural for him, so foon as he has given his cousin the good-morrow, to pay his civilities too to her attendant. This is purely èv you, as the grammarians call it; and gives us an admirable touch of Pandarus's character. And why might not Alexander be the name of Cressida's man? Paris had no patent, I suppose, for engrossing it to himself. But the late editor, perhaps, because we have had Alexander the Great, Pope Alexander, and Alexander Pope, would not have so eminent a name prostituted to a common varlet. Theobald.

This note is not preferved on account of any intelligence it brings, but as a curious fpecimen of Mr. Theobald's mode of animadversion on the remarks of Mr. Pope. Stevens.

<sup>9—</sup>at Ilium?] Ilium, or Ilion, (for it is fpelt both ways,) was, according to Lydgate, and the author of The Defiruction of Troy, the name of Priam's palace, which is faid by these writers to have been built upon a high rock. See a note in A&IV. sc. v. on the words—"Yon towers," &c. MALONE.

CRES. What, is he angry too?

PAN. Who, Troilus? Troilus is the better man of the two.

Cres. O, Jupiter! there's no comparison.

PAN. What, not between Troilus and Hector? Do you know a man if you see him?

Cres. Ay; if ever I faw him before, and knew him.

PAN. Well, I fay, Troilus is Troilus.

 $C_{RES}$ . Then you fay as I fay; for, I am fure, he is not Hector.

 $\it Pan.$  No, nor Hector is not Troilus, in fome degrees.

CRES. 'Tis just to each of them; he is himself.

PAN. Himfelf? Alas, poor Troilus! I would, he were,—

CRES. So he is.

PAN. ——'Condition, I had gone bare-foot to India.

CRES. He is not Hector.

PAN. Himself? no, he's not himself.—'Would'a were himself! Well, the gods are above; Time must friend, or end: Well, Troilus, well,—I would, my heart were in her body!—No, Hector is not a better man than Troilus.

CRES. Excuse me.

PAN. He is elder.

CRES. Pardon me, pardon me.

PAN. The other's not come to't; you shall tell

Well, the gods are above;] So, in Othello: "Heaven's above all." Malone.

me another tale, when the other's come to't. Hector shall not have his wit 2 this year.

CRES. He shall not need it, if he have his own.

PAN. Nor his qualities;

Cres. No matter.

PAN. Nor his beauty.

CRES. 'Twould not become him, his own's better.

PAN. You have no judgment, niece: Helen herfelf fwore the other day, that Troilus, for a brown favour, (for so 'tis, I must confess,)—Not brown neither.

CRES. No, but brown.

PAN. 'Faith, to fay truth, brown and not brown.

CRES. To fay the truth, true and not true.

PAN. She prais'd his complexion above Paris.

CRES. Why, Paris hath colour enough.

 $P_{AN}$ . So he has.

Cres. Then, Troilus should have too much: if she praised him above, his complexion is higher than his; he having colour enough, and the other higher, is too slaming a praise for a good complexion. I had as lief, Helen's golden tongue had commended Troilus for a copper nose.

 $P_{AN}$ . I fwear to you, I think, Helen loves him better than Paris.

CRES. Then she's a merry Greek,3 indeed.

The expression occurs in many old English books. See Act IV. sc. iv:

"A woeful Cressid mongst the merry Greeks." MALONE.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>—his wit—] Both the old copies have—will. Corrected by Mr. Rowe. Malone.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> — a merry Greek,] Græcari, among the Romans, fignified to play the reveller. Steevens.

PAN. Nay, I am fure the does. She came to him the other day into a compassed window,4—and, you know, he has not past three or four hairs on his chin.

Cres. Indeed, a tapfter's arithmetick may foon bring his particulars therein to a total.

PAN. Why, he is very young: and yet will he, within three pound, lift as much as his brother Hector.

CRES. Is he fo young a man, and fo old a lifter? 5

PAN. But, to prove to you that Helen loves him;—she came, and puts me her white hand to his cloven chin,——

' Cres. Juno have mercy !—How came it cloven?

PAN. Why, you know, 'tis dimpled: I think, his finiling becomes him better than any man in all Phrygia.

4 — compassed window.] The compassed window is the same as the bow window. Johnson.

A compassed window is a circular bow window. In The Taming of the Shrew the same epithet is applied to the cape of a woman's gown: "—a small compassed cape." Steevens.

A coved cieling is yet in fome places called a compaffed cieling.

MALONE.

5—fo old a lifter?] The word lifter is used for a thief, by Greene, in his Art of Coneycatching, printed 1591: on this the humour of the passage may be supposed to turn. We still call a person who plunders shops, a Jhop-lifter. Ben Jonson uses the expression in Cynthia's Revels:

"One other peculiar virtue you possess is, lifting."
Again, in The Roaring Girl, 1611: "—cheaters, lifters, nips, foists, puggards, courbers."

Again, in Holland's Leaguer, 1633: "Broker or pandar, cheater or lifter." Steevens.

Hliftus, in the Gothick language, fignifies a thief. See Archælog. Vol. V. p. 311. BLACKSTONE.

CRES. O, he fmiles valiantly.

 $P_{AN}$ . Does he not?

Cres. O yes, an 'twere a cloud in autumn.

PAN. Why, go to then:—But to prove to you that Helen loves Troilus,—

Cres. Troilus will ftand to the proof, if you'll prove it fo.

 $P_{AN}$ . Troilus? why, he efteems her no more than I efteem an addle egg.

Cres. If you love an addle egg as well as you love an idle head, you would eat chickens i'the shell.

PAN. I cannot choose but laugh, to think how she tickled his chin;—Indeed, she has a marvellous white hand, I must needs confess.

CRES. Without the rack.

 $P_{AN}$ . And the takes upon her to fpy a white hair on his chin.

CRES. Alas, poor chin! many a wart is richer.

 $P_{AN}$ . But, there was fuch laughing;—Queen Hecuba laughed, that her eyes ran o'er.

CRES. With mill-stones.6

PAN. And Caffandra laughed.

 $C_{RES}$ . But there was a more temperate fire under the pot of her eyes;—Did her eyes run o'er too?

PAN. And Hector laughed. -

CRES. At what was all this laughing?

PAN. Marry, at the white hair that Helen spied on Troilus' chin.

6 —— her eyes ran o'er.
Cref. With mill-ftones.] So, in King Richard III:
"Your eyes drop mill-flones, when fools' eyes drop tears."
MALONE.

Cres. An't had been a green hair, I should have laughed too.

PAN. They laughed not fo much at the hair, as at his pretty answer.

CRES. What was his answer?

PAN. Quoth she, Here's but one and fifty hairs on your chin, and one of them is white.

CRES. This is her question.

PAN. That's true; make no question of that. One and fifty hairs,7 quoth he, and one white: That white hair is my father, and all the rest are his sons. Jupiter! quoth she, which of these hairs is Paris my husband? The forked one, quoth he; pluck it out, and give it him. But, there was such laughing! and Helen so blushed, and Paris so chased, and all the rest so laughed, that it passed.

Cres. So let it now; for it has been a great while going by.

PAN. Well, cousin, I told you a thing yesterday; think on't.

CRES. So I do.

PAN. I'll be fworn, 'tis true; he will weep you, an 'twere a man born in April.9

7 One and fifty hairs,] [Old copies—Two and fifty.] I have ventured to substitute—One and fifty, I think with some certainty. How else can the number make out Priam and his fifty sons? Theobald.

\* — that it paffed.] i.e. that it went beyond bounds. So, in The Merry Wives of Windfor: "Why this paffes, mafter Ford." Creffida plays on the word, as used by Pandarus, by employing it herself in its common acceptation. Steevens.

9 — an 'twere a man born in April.] i. e. as if 'twere, &c. So, in A Midfummer-Night's Dream: "I will roar you an 'twere any nightingale."

Cres. And I'll fpring up in his tears, an 'twere a nettle against May.

[A Retreat founded.

PAN. Hark, they are coming from the field: Shall we fland up here, and fee them, as they pass toward Ilium? good niece, do; sweet niece Creffida.

CRES. At your pleafure.

PAN. Here, here, here's an excellent place; here we may fee most bravely: I'll tell you them all by their names, as they pass by; but mark Troilus above the rest.

# ÆNEAS passes over the Stage.

Cres. Speak not fo loud.

PAN. That's Æneas; Is not that a brave man? he's one of the flowers of Troy, I can tell you; But mark Troilus; you shall see anon.

CRES. Who's that?

## Antenor passes over.

#### PAN. That's Antenor; he has a fhrewd wit, 1

The foregoing thought occurs also in Antony and Cleopatra:

"The April's in her eyes: it is love's fpring,
"And these the showers to bring it on." STEEVENS.

1 That's Antenor; he has a shrewd wit,]

"Anthenor was ———— "Copious in words, and one that much time fpent

"To jeft, when as he was in companie, So driely, that no man could it espie; And therewith held his countenaunce so well,

"That every man received great content
"To heare him speake, and pretty jests to tell,
"When he was pleasant, and in merriment:

"Yet in his fpeech fome jest he always had."

Lydgate, p. 105.

can tell you; and he's a man good enough: he's one o'the foundest judgments in Troy, whosoever, and a proper man of person:—When comes Troilus?—I'll show you Troilus anon; if he see me, you shall see him nod at me.

CRES. Will he give you the nod?

PAN. You shall see.

CRES. If he do, the rich shall have more.2

### HECTOR passes over.

PAN. That's Hector, that, that, look you, that; There's a fellow!—Go thy way, Hector;—There's a brave man, niece.—O brave Hector!—Look, how he looks! there's a countenance: Is't not a brave man?

CRES. O, a brave man!

PAN. Is 'a not? It does a man's heart good—Look you what hacks are on his helmet? look you yonder, do you fee? look you there! There's no jefting: there's laying on; take't off who will, as they fay: there be hacks!

Cres. Be those with swords?

Such, in the hands of a rude English poet, is the grave Antenor, to whose wisdom it was thought necessary that the art of Ulysses should be opposed:

"Et moveo Priamum, Priamoque Antenora junctum."

the rich shall have more.] The allusion is to the word noddy, which, as now, did, in our author's time, and long before, fignify a filly fellow, and may, by its etymology, fignify likewise full of nods. Cressid means, that a noddy shall have more nods. Of such remarks as these is a comment to consist! Johnson.

To give the nod, was, I believe, a term in the game at cards called Noddy. This game is perpetually alluded to in the old comedies. See Vol. IV. p. 186, n. 7. Steevens.

#### Paris passes over.

PAN. Swords? any thing, he cares not: an the devil come to him, it's all one: By god's lid, it does one's heart good:—Yonder comes Paris, yonder comes Paris: look ye yonder, niece; Is't not a gallant man too, is't not?—Why, this is brave now.—Who faid, he came hurt home to-day? he's not hurt: why, this will do Helen's heart good now. Ha! 'would I could fee Troilus now!—you shall fee Troilus anon.

CRES. Who's that?

### HELENUS passes over.

PAN. That's Helenus,—I marvel, where Troilus is:—That's Helenus;—I think he went not forth to-day:—That's Helenus.

CRES. Can Helenus fight, uncle?

PAN. Helenus? no;—yes, he'll fight indifferent well:—I marvel, where Troilus is!—Hark; do you not hear the people cry, Troilus?—Helenus is a prieft.

CRES. What fneaking fellow comes yonder?

### Troilus passes over.

PAN. Where? yonder? that's Deiphobus: 'Tis Troilus! there's a man, niece!—Hem!—Brave Troilus! the prince of chivalry!

Cres. Peace, for shame, peace!

PAN. Mark him; note him;—O brave Troilus!—look well upon him, niece; look you, how his

fword is bloodied,<sup>3</sup> and his helm more hack'd than Hector's;<sup>4</sup> And how he looks, and how he goes!—O admirable youth! he ne'er faw three and twenty. Go thy way Troilus, go thy way; had I a fifter were a grace, or a daughter a goddefs, he fhould take his choice. O admirable man! Paris?—Paris is dirt to him; and, I warrant, Helen, to change, would give an eye to boot.<sup>5</sup>

### Forces pass over the Stage.

CRES. Here come more.

PAN. Asses, fools, dolts! chaff and bran, chaff and bran! porridge after meat! I could live and die i'the eyes of Troilus. Ne'er look, ne'er look; the eagles are gone; crows and daws, crows and daws! I had rather be such a man as Troilus, than Agamemnon and all Greece.

CRES. There is among the Greeks, Achilles; a better man than Troilus.

 $P_{AN}$ . Achilles? a drayman, a porter, a very camel.

Cres. Well, well.

how his fword is bloodied,] So, Lydgate, describing Troilus, in a couplet that reminds us of Dryden, or Pope:

"He was fo ferfe they might him not withfland,
"When that he helde his blody fworde in hand."
I always quote from the original poem, edit. 1555.

MALONE.

4 — his helm more hack'd than Hector's;] So, in Chaucer's Troilus and Creffeide, Book III. 640:

"His helme to hewin was in twenty places," &c.
STEEVENS.

5 — an eye to boot.] So, the quarto. The folio, with lefs force,—Give money to boot. Johnson.

PAN. Well, well?—Why, have you any difcretion? have you any eyes? Do you know what a man is? Is not birth, beauty, good fhape, difcourfe, manhood, learning, gentlenefs, virtue, youth, liberality, and fuch like, the spice and falt that feason a man?

Cres. Ay, a minced man: and then to be baked with no date in the pye,<sup>6</sup>—for then the man's date is out.

 $P_{AN}$ . You are fuch a woman! one knows not at what ward you lie.<sup>7</sup>

CRES. Upon my back, to defend my belly; upon my wit, to defend my wiles; upon my fecrecy, to defend mine honefty; my mafk, to defend my beauty; and you, to defend all these: and at all these wards I lie, at a thousand watches.

PAN. Say one of your watches.

6 — no date in the pye,] To account for the introduction of this quibble, it should be remembered that dates were an ingredient in ancient pastry of almost every kind. So, in Romeo and Juliet:

"They call for dates and quinces in the paftry." Again, in All's well that ends well, Act I: "-your date is

better in your pye and porridge, than in your cheek."

STEEVENS.

at what ward you lie.] A metaphor from the art of defence. So, Falftaff, in King Henry IV. P. I: "Thou know'ft my old ward; here I lay;" &c. Steevens.

<sup>8</sup> — upon my wit, to defend my wiles;] So read both the copies: and yet perhaps the author wrote:

Upon my wit to defend my will.

The terms wit and will were, in the language of that time, put often in opposition. Johnson.

So, in The Rape of Lucrece:

"What wit fets down, is blotted ftraight with will." Yet I think the old copy right. MALONE.

CRES. Nay, I'll watch you for that; and that's one of the chiefest of them too: if I cannot ward what I would not have hit, I can watch you for telling how I took the blow; unless it swell past hiding, and then it is past watching.

 $P_{AN}$ . You are fuch another!

## Enter Troilus' Boy.

Box. Sir, my lord would infantly fpeak with you. PAN. Where?

Box. At your own house; there he unarms him.

PAN. Good boy, tell him I come: [Exit Boy.] I doubt, he be hurt.—Fare ye well, good niece.

CRES. Adieu, uncle.

 $P_{AN}$ . I'll be with you, niece, by and by.

CRES. To bring, uncle,—

PAN. Ay, a token from Troilus.

Cres. By the fame token—you are a bawd.—

[Exit Pandarus. Words, vows, griefs, tears, and love's full facrifice,

He offers in another's enterprize:
But more in Troilus thousand fold I see
Than in the glass of Pandar's praise may be;
Yet hold I off. Women are angels, wooing:

<sup>9</sup> At your own house; there he unarms him.] These necessary words are added from the quarto edition. Pope.

Things won are done, joy's foul lies in the doing: t

The words added are only—there he unarms him. Johnson.

The foul's joy lies in the doing: So read both the oldeditions, for which the later editions have poorly given:

The foul's joy lies in doing. Johnson.

That she belov'd knows nought, that knows not this,—

Men prize the thing ungain'd more than it is: That she was never yet, that ever knew Love got so sweet, as when defire did sue: Therefore this maxim out of love I teach,—Achievement is command; ungain'd, beseech: Then though 4 my heart's content 5 firm love doth bear.

Nothing of that shall from mine eyes appear.

Exit.

It is the reading of the fecond folio. RITSON.

Yet hold I off. Women are angels, wooing:

Things won are done, joy's foul lies in the doing: This is the reading of all the editions; yet it must be erroneous; for the last fix words of the passage are totally inconsistent with the rest of Cressida's speech, and the very reverse of the doctrine she professes to teach. I have, therefore, no doubt that we ought to read:

—— joy's foul dies in the doing: which means, that the fire of passion is extinguished by enjoyment.

The following fix lines fufficiently confirm the propriety of this amendment, which is obtained by the change of a fingle letter:

That she belov'd &c. &c. M. MASON.

- <sup>2</sup> That she-] Means, that woman. Johnson.
- <sup>3</sup> Achievement is command; ungain'd, befeech:] The meaning of this obscure line seems to be—" Men, after possession, become our commanders; before it, they are our suppliants."
- <sup>4</sup> Then though—] The quarto reads—Then; the folio and the other modern editions read improperly—That. Johnson.
  - 5 ---- my heart's content-] Content, for capacity.

    WARBURTON.

On confidering the context, it appears to me that we ought to read—" my heart's confent," not content. M. Mason.

---- my heart's content --- Perhaps means, my heart's fatis-faction or joy; my well pleafed heart. So, in our author's De-

#### SCENE III.

The Grecian Camp. Before Agamemnon's Tent.

Trumpets. Enter Agamemnon, Nestor, Ulysses, Menelaus, and Others.

AGAM. Princes, What grief hath fet the jaundice on your cheeks? The ample proposition, that hope makes In all defigns begun on earth below, Fails in the promis'd largeness: checks and disasters Grow in the veins of actions highest rear'd; As knots, by the conflux of meeting fap, Infect the found pine, and divert his grain Tortive and errant from his course of growth. Nor, princes, is it matter new to us, That we come fhort of our suppose so far, That, after feven years' fiege, yet Troy walls ftand; Sith every action that hath gone before, Whereof we have record, trial did draw Bias and thwart, not answering the aim, And that unbodied figure of the thought That gav't furmifed shape. Why then, you princes, Do you with cheeks abash'd behold our works; And think them shames, which are, indeed, nought elfe

But the protractive trials of great Jove,

dication of his *Venus and Adonis* to Lord Southampton: "I leave it to your honourable furvey, and your honour to your heart's content." This is the reading of the quarto. The folio has—contents. MALONE.

My heart's content, I believe, fignifies—the acquiescence of my heart. Steevens.

To find perfiftive conftancy in men?
The fineness of which metal is not found
In fortune's love: for then, the bold and coward,
The wise and fool, the artist and unread,
The hard and soft, seem all affin'd and kin:
But, in the wind and tempest of her frown,
Distinction, with a broad and powerful fan,
Puffing at all, winnows the light away;
And what hath mass, or matter, by itself
Lies, rich in virtue, and unmingled.

NEST. With due observance of thy godlike feat,<sup>8</sup> Great Agamemnon, Nestor shall apply Thy latest words.<sup>9</sup> In the reproof of chance

"Which is that god in office, guiding men?"
So godlike feat is here, flate supreme above all other commanders. THEOBALD.

This emendation Theobald might have found in the quarto, which has—the godlike feat. Johnson.

thy godlike feat,] The throne in which thou fittest, "like a descended god." MALONE.

9 —— Neftor shall apply Thy latest words.] Nestor applies the words to another instance. Johnson.

Perhaps Neftor means, that he will attend particularly to, and confider, Agamemnon's latest words. So, in an ancient interlude, entitled, The Nice Wanton, 1560:

<sup>6 —</sup> affin'd—] i.e. joined by affinity. The fame adjective occurs in Othello:

<sup>&</sup>quot;If partially affin'd, or leagu'd in office." Steevens.

<sup>7 ——</sup> troad—] So the quarto. The folio reads—loud.

JOHNSON.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> With due observance of thy godlike seat,] Goodly [the reading of the folio] is an epithet that carries no very great compliment with it; and Nettor seems here to be paying deference to Agamemnon's state and pre-eminence. The old books [the quartos] have it—to thy godly seat: godlike, as I have reformed the text, seems to me the epithet designed; and is very conformable to what Æneas afterwards says of Agamemnon:

Lies the true proof of men: The fea being fmooth, How many shallow bauble boats dare fail Upon her patient breaft, making their way With those of nobler bulk?2 But let the ruffian Boreas once enrage The gentle Thetis,3 and, anon, behold The ftrong-ribb'd bark through liquid mountains

Bounding between the two moift elements, Like Perfeus' horfe: 4 Where's then the faucy boat,

"O ye children, let your time be well fpent; "Applye your learning, and your elders obey." See also Vol. IX. p. 40, n. 3. MALONE.

patient breast, The quarto, not so well-ancient breaft. Johnson.

2 With those of nobler bulk?] Statius has the same thought, though more diffusively expressed:

"Sic ubi magna novum Phario de littore puppis "Solvit iter, jamque innumeros utrinque rudentes

"Lataque veliferi porrexit brachia mali, "Invafitque vias; it eodem angusta phaselus

" Æquore, et immensi partem sibi vendicat austri." Again, in The Sylvæ of the fame author, Lib. I. iv. 120: " ----- immenfæ veluti connexa carinæ

"Cymba minor, cum fævit hyems-" \_\_\_\_et eodem volvitur austro." Mr. Pope has imitated the paffage. STEEVENS.

3 But let the ruffian Boreas once enrage

The gentle Thetis,] So, in Lord Cromwell, 1602: "When I have feen Boreas begin to play the ruffian with us, then would I down on my knees." MALONE.

4 Bounding between the two moist elements, Like Perseus' horse:] Mercury, according to the fable, presented Perseus with talaria, but we no where hear of his horse. The only flying horse of antiquity was Pegasus; and he was the property, not of Perseus, but Bellerophon. But our poet followed a more modern fabulift, the author of The Destruction of Troy, a book which furnished him with some other circumstances of this play. Of the horse alluded to in the text he found in that book the following account:

Whose weak untimber'd sides but even now Co-rival'd greatness? either to harbour sled, Or made a toast for Neptune. Even so Doth valour's show, and valour's worth, divide, In storms of fortune: For, in her ray and brightness, The herd hath more annoyance by the brize, Than by the tiger: but when the splitting wind Makes slexible the knees of knotted oaks,

"Of the blood that iffued out [from Medusa's head] there engendered Pegasus, or the flying horse. By the flying horse that was engendered of the blood issued from her head, is understood, that of her riches issuing of that realme he [Perseus] founded and made a fhip named Pegase,—and this ship was likened unto an horse flying," &c.

Again: "By this fashion Perseus conquered the head of Medusa, and did make Pegase, the most swift ship that was in

all the world."

In another place the fame writer assures us, that this ship, which he always calls Perseus' slying horse, "flew on the fea like unto a bird."

Dest. of Troy, 4to. 1617, p. 155-164. MALONE.

The foregoing note is a very curious one; and yet our author perhaps would not have contented himself with merely comparing one ship to another. Unallegorized Pegasus might be fairly styled Perseus' horse, because the heroism of Perseus had given him existence.

So, in the fable of The Hors, the Shepe, and the Ghoos,

printed by Caxton:

"The stede of perfeus was cleped pigase

"With swifte wynges" &c.

Whereas, itid. a fhip is called "—an hors of tre."
See Univerfity Library, Cambridge, D. 5. 42. STEEVENS.

5 — by the brize,] The brize is the gad or horse-fly. So, in Monsteur Thomas, 1639:

"—Have ye got the brize there?

"Give me the holy fprinkle."
Again, in Vittoria Corombona, or The White Devil, 1612: "I will put brize in his tail, fet him a gadding prefently."
See note on Antony and Cleopatra, Act III. fc. viii.

STEEVENS.

And flies fled under shade, Why, then, the thing of courage,

As rous'd with rage, with rage doth fympathize, And with an accent turn'd in felf-fame key, Returns to chiding fortune.8

Ultrss. Agamemnon,—
Thou great commander, nerve and bone of Greece,
Heart of our numbers, foul and only spirit,
In whom the tempers and the minds of all
Should be shut up,—hear what Ulysses speaks.
Besides the applause and approbation
The which,—most mighty for thy place and sway,—
[To Agamemnon.

And thou most reverend for thy firetch'd-out life,—

[To Nestor.]

I give to both your fpeeches,—which were fuch, As Agamemnon and the hand of Greece Should hold up high in brass; and such again, As venerable Nestor, hatch'd in silver,

<sup>6</sup> And flies fled under fhade,] i.e. And flies are fled under fhade. I have observed similar omissions in the works of many of our author's contemporaries. MALONE.

the thing of courage,] It is faid of the tiger, that in florms and high winds he rages and roars most furiously.

HANMER.

<sup>8</sup> Returns to chiding fortune.] For returns, Hanmer reads replies, unnecessarily, the sense being the same. The solio and quarto have retires, corruptly. Johnson.

So, in King Richard II:

"Northumberland, fay-thus the king returns; ---."

STEEVENS.

The emendation was made by Mr. Pope. Chiding is noify, clamorous. So, in King Henry VIII:

"As doth a rock against the chiding flood."

See p. 127, n. 6. MALONE.

See also Vol. IV. p. 450, n. 5. Steevens.

Should with a bond of air (firong as the axletree 9 On which heaven rides,) knit all the Greekish ears To his experienc'd tongue, —yet let it please both,—

2 —— axletree—] This word was anciently contracted into a diffyllable. Thus in Beaumont and Fletcher's Bonduca:

" ----- when the mountain

"Melts under their hot wheels, and from their ax'trees "Huge claps of thunder plough the ground before them."

STEEVENS.

I — fpeeches,—which were fuch,
As Agamemnon and the hand of Greece
Should hold up high in brafs; and fuch again,
As venerable Neftor, hatch'd in filver,
Should with a bond of air—
— knit all the Greekish ears

To his experienc'd tongue,] Ulyffes begins his oration with praifing those who had spoken before him, and marks the characteristick excellencies of their different eloquence,—firength, and sweetness, which he expresses by the different metals on which he recommends them to be engraven for the instruction of posterity. The speech of Agamemnon is such that it ought to be engraven in brass, and the tablet held up by him on the one side, and Greece on the other, to show the union of their opinion. And Nestor ought to be exhibited in silver, uniting all his audience in one mind by his soft and gentle elocution. Brass is the common emblem of strength, and silver of gentleness. We call a fost voice a silver voice, and a pertuasive tongue a silver tongue. I once read for hand, the hand of Greece, but I think the text right. To hatch is a term of art for a particular method of engraving. Hacher, to cut, Fr.

Johnson.

In the description of Agamemnon's speech, there is a plain allusion to the old custom of engraving laws and publick records in brass, and hanging up the tables in temples, and other places of general resort. Our author has the same allusion in Measure for Measure, Act V. sc. i. The Duke, speaking of the merit of Angelo and Escalus, says, that

"A forted refidence, 'gainst the tooth of time

"And razure of oblivion ---."

So far therefore is clear. Why Neftor is faid to be hatch'd in filver, is much more obscure. I once thought that we ought to read,—thatch'd in filver, alluding to his filver hair; the same

Thou great,—and wife,2—to hear Ulyffes fpeak.

metaphor being used by Timon, Act IV. sc. iv. to Phryne and Timandra:

> " --- thatch your poor thin roofs "With burthens of the dead ---."

But know not whether the prefent reading may not be underflood to convey the same allusion; as I find, that the species of engraving, called hatching, was particularly used in the hilts of fwords. See Cotgrave in v. Hache; hacked, &c. also, Hatched, as the hilt of a fword; and in v. Hacher; to hacke, &c. also. to hatch a hilt. Beaumont and Fletcher's Custom of the Country, Vol. II. p. 90:

"When thine own bloody fword cried out against thee.

" Hatch'd in the life of him ——.

As to what follows, if the reader should have no more conception than I have, of

"——a bond of air, firong as the axle-tree

"On which heaven rides; "

he will perhaps excuse me for hazarding a conjecture, that the true reading may possibly be:

--- a bond of awe,---.

The expression is used by Fairfax, in his 4th Eclogue, Muses Library, p. 368:
"Unty these bonds of awe and cords of duty."

After all, the conftruction of this passage is very harsh and irregular; but with that I meddle not, believing it was left fo by the author. TYRWHITT.

Perhaps no alteration is necessary: hatch'd in filver, may mean, whose white hair and beard make him look like a figure engraved on filver.

The word is metaphorically used by Heywood, in The Iron Age, 1632:

his face

" Is hatch'd with impudency three-fold thick."

And again, in Beaumont and Fletcher's Humorous Lieutenant:

"His weapon hatch'd in blood."

Again, literally, in The Two Merry Milkmaids, 1620:

"Double and treble gilt,

" Hatch'd and inlaid, not to be worn with time."

Again, more appositely, in Love in a Maze, 1632: "Thy hair is fine as gold, thy chin is hatch'd

" With filver ---.

Again, in Chapman's version of the 23d Iliad:

"Shall win this fword, filver'd and hatch'd; --."

AGAM. Speak,3 prince of Ithaca; and be't of less expect 4

The voice of Neftor, which on all occasions enforced attention, might be, I think, not unpoetically called, a bond of air, because its operations were visible, though his voice, like the wind, was unfeen. STEEVENS.

In a newspaper of the day, intitled The Newes published for Satisfaction and Information of the People, Nov. 12, 1663, No. XI. p. 86, is advertized, "Loft, in Scotland Yard, a broad fword hatcht with filver." REED.

In the following verses in our author's Rape of Lucrece, nearly the same picture of Nestor is given. The fifth line of the first stanza may lead us to the true interpretation of the words hatch'd in filver. In a subsequent passage the colour of the old man's

beard is again mentioned:

"I'll hide my filver beard in a gold beaver." Dr. Johnson therefore is undoubtedly mistaken in supposing that there is any allufion to the foft voice or filver tongue of Neftor. The poet, however, might mean not merely that Neftor looked like a figure engraved in filver (as Mr. Steevens supposes); but that he should actually be so engraved.

With respect to the breath or speech of Nestor, here called a bond of air, it is fo truly Shakspearian, that I have not the smallest doubt of the genuineners of the expression. Shakspeare frequently calls words wind, and air. So, in one of his poems:

"--- forrow ebbs, being blown with wind of words."

Again, in Romeo and Juliet :

"Three civil broils, bred of an airy word." Again, more appositely, in Much Ado about Nothing: " Charm ache with air, and agony with words."

The verses above alluded to are these:

"There pleading you might fee grave Neftor stand,

"As 'twere encouraging the Greeks to fight; "Making fuch fober action with his hand, "That it beguil'd attention, charm'd the fight;

"In speech it seem'd, his beard all filver white "Waggid up and down, and from his lips did fly "Thin winding breath, which purl'd up to the fky.

" About him were a press of gaping faces,

"Which feem'd to fwallow up his found advice,

"All jointly list'ning but with several graces, " As if some mermaid did their ears entice;

"Some high, fome low; the painter was fo nice,

"The fealps of many almost hid behind

"To jump up higher feem'd, to mock the mind."

That matter needless, of importless burden, Divide thy lips; than we are confident,

What is here called *fpeech that leguil'd attention*, is in the text a *bond of air*; i.e. *breath*, or words that firongly enforced the attention of his auditors. In the fame poem we find a kindred expression:

"Feaft-finding minftrels, tuning my defame, "Will tie the hearers to attend each line."

Again, more appointely, in Drayton's Mortimeriados, 4to. no date:

"Torlton, whose tongue men's ears in chains could bind." The word knit, which alone remains to be noticed, is often used by Shakspeare in the same manner. So, in Macbeth:

" — to the which my duties " Are with a most indisfoluble tie

" For ever knit."

Again, in Othello: "I have profess'd me thy friend, and I confess me knit to thy deserving with cables of perdurable

toughnefs."

A pattage in Puttenham's Arte of English Poesse, 1589, may illustrate that before us: "Whether now persuasions may not be faid violent and forcible, especially to simple myndes, in special I refer to all men's judgement that hear the story. At least waies I finde this opinion confirmed by a pretie devise or embleme that Lucianus alleageth he saw in the portrait of Hercules within the citie of Marieilles in Provence; where they had signred a lustie old man with a long chayne tyed by one end at his tong, by the other end at the people's eares, who stood afar off, and seemed to be drawen to him by force of that chayne fastened to his tong; as who would say, by force of his perfuasions." MALONE.

Thus, in Chapman's version of the 13th Odyssey:

"He faid; and filence all their tongues contain'd (In admiration) when with pleafure chain'd "Their ears had long been to him." Steevens.

Thou great,—an l wife,] This passage is sense as it stands; yet I have little doubt that Shakspeare wrote—

Though great and wife, ...... M. MASON.

<sup>3</sup> Agam. Speak, &c.] This speech is not in the quarto.

JOHNSON.

4 —— expect—] Expect for expectation. Thus, in our author's works, we have suffect for sufficion, &c.

STEEVENS.

When rank Therfites opes his mastiff jaws, We shall hear musick, wit, and oracle.

*ULYSS*. Troy, yet upon his bafis, had been down, And the great Hector's fword had lack'd a master,<sup>5</sup> But for these instances.

The specialty of rule 6 hath been neglected: And, look, how many Grecian tents do stand Hollow upon this plain, so many hollow factions. 7 When that the general is not like the hive, 8 To whom the foragers shall all repair, What honey is expected? Degree being vizarded, The unworthiest shows as fairly in the mask.

- 5 Hector's fword had lack'd a mafter,] So, in Cymbeline:
  - "Your fword, or mine; or mafterless leaves both —."

    STEEVENS
- <sup>6</sup> The Specialty of rule—] The particular rights of supreme authority. Jониson.
- 7 Hollow upon this plain, so many hollow sactions.] The word hollow, at the beginning of the line, injures the metre, without improving the sense, and should probably be struck out.

  M. MASON.

I would rather omit the word in the fecond instance. To fland empty, (hollow, as Shakspeare calls it,) is a provincial phrase applied to houses which have no tenants. These factions, however, were avowed, not hollow, or insidious. Remove the word hollow, at the beginning of the verse, and every tent in sight would become chargeable as the quondam residence of a factious chief; for the plain sense must then be—there are as many hollow factions as there are tents. Steevens.

\* When that the general is not like the hive, The meaning is,—When the general is not to the army like the hive to the bees, the repository of the stock of every individual, that to which each particular resorts with whatever he has collected for the good of the whole, what honey is expected? what hope of advantage? The sense is clear, the expression is consused.

JOHNSON.

The heavens themselves,9 the planets, and this center,1

Observe degree, priority, and place,
Insisture, course, proportion, season, form,
Office, and custom, in all line of order:
And therefore is the glorious planet, Sol,
In noble eminence enthron'd and spher'd
Amidst the other; whose med'cinable eye
Corrects the ill aspects of planets evil,<sup>2</sup>
And posts, like the commandment of a king,
Sans check, to good and bad: But, when the planets,
In evil mixture, to disorder wander,<sup>3</sup>

- <sup>9</sup> The heavens themfelves,] This illustration was probably derived from a passage in Hooker: "If celestial spheres should forget their wonted motion; if the prince of the lights of heaven should begin to stand; if the moon should wander from her beaten way; and the seasons of the year blend themselves; what would become of man?" WARBURTON.
- the planets, and this center,] i.e. the center of the earth, which, according to the Ptolemaic fystem, then in vogue, is the center of the folar fystem. WARBURTON.

By this center, Ulyffes means the earth itself, not the center of the earth. According to the fystem of Ptolemy, the earth is the center round which the planets move. M. Mason.

<sup>2</sup> Corrects the ill aspects of planets evil,] So, the folio. The quarto reads:

Corrects th' influence of evil planets. MALONE.

3 — But, when the planets,

In evil mixture, to diforder wander, &c.] I believe the poet, according to aftrological opinions, means, when the planets form malignant configurations, when their afpects are evil towards one another. This he terms evil mixture. Johnson.

The poet's meaning may be fomewhat explained by Spenfer, to whom he feems to be indebted for his prefent allufion:

" For who fo lifte into the heavens looke,

"And fearch the courses of the rowling spheres, "Shall find that from the point where they first tooke "Their setting forth, in these sew thousand yeares

"They all are wandred much; that plaine appeares.

# 270 TROILUS AND CRESSIDA.

What plagues, and what portents? what mutiny? What raging of the fea? fhaking of earth? Commotion in the winds? frights, changes, horrors. Divert and crack, rend and deracinate. The unity and married calm of states.

"For that fame golden fleecy ram, which bore "Phrixus and Helle from their stepdames feares,

"Hath now forgot where he was plaft of yore, "And shouldred hath the bull which fayre Europa bore.

" And eke the bull hath with his bow-bent horne

"So hardly butted those two twins of Jove,

"That they have cruth'd the crab, and quite him borne

"Into the great Nemæan lion's grove.

"So now all range, and do at random rove

"Out of their proper places far away,

"And all this world with them amite doe move, "And all his creatures from their course astray,

"Till they arrive at their last ruinous decay."

Fairy Queen, B.V. c.i. STEEVENS.

The apparent irregular motions of the planets were supposed to portend some disasters to mankind; indeed the planets themselves were not thought formerly to be confined in any fixed orbits of their own, but to wander about ad libitum, as the etymology of their names demonstrates. Anonymous.

4 —— deracinate—] i.e. force up by the roots. So again, in King Henry V:

" ----- the coulter rufts

"That should deracinate such favag'ry." STEEVENS.

5 — married calm of flates —] The epithet—married, which is used to denote an intimate union, is employed in the same sense by Milton:

" \_\_\_\_\_ Lydian airs

" Married to immortal verse."

Again:

" --- voice and verse

" Wed your divine founds."

Again, in Sylvester's translation of Du Bartas's Eden:

"—— shady groves of noble palm-tree sprays,

"Of amorous myrtles and immortal bays;
"Never unleav'd, but evermore they're new,
"Self-arching, in a thousand arbours grew.

"Birds marrying their fweet tunes to the angels' lays, "Sung Adam's blifs, and their great Maker's praife."

Quite from their fixure? O, when degree is shak'd,6 Which is the ladder of all high defigns, The enterprize 7 is fick! How could communities, Degrees in schools, and brotherhoods in cities,8 Peaceful commérce from dividable shores,9 The primogenitive and due of birth, Prerogative of age, crowns, fceptres, laurels, But by degree, stand in authentick place? Take but degree away, untune that ftring, And, hark, what diffeord follows! each thing meets In mere oppugnancy: The bounded waters Should lift their bosoms higher than the shores, And make a fop of all this folid globe:2 Strength should be lord of imbecility, And the rude fon should strike his father dead: Force should be right; or, rather, right and wrong, (Between whose endless jar justice resides,)

The subject of Milton's larger poem would naturally have led him to read this description in Sylvester. The quotation from him I owe to Dr. Farmer.

Shakspeare calls a harmony of features, married lineaments, in Romeo and Juliet, Act I. fc. iii. See note on this paffage.

STEEVENS.

- 6 O, when degree is shak'd,] I would read: - So, when degree is Shak'd. Johnson.
- <sup>7</sup> The enterprize—] Perhaps we should read: Then enterprize is fick! Johnson.
- 8 \_\_\_\_\_ brotherhoods in cities,] Corporations, companies, confraternities. Johnson.
- 9 dividable shores, i. e. divided. So, in Antony and Cleopatra, our author uses corrigible for corrected. Mr. M. Mason has the same observation. Steevens.
  - mere oppugnancy:] Mere is absolute. So, in Hamlet: "—things rank and gross in nature Possess it merely." Steevens.

<sup>2</sup> And make a fop of all this folid globe: ] So, in King Lear: " --- I'll make a fop o'the moonshine of you."

STEEVENS.

Should lose their names, and so should justice too. Then every thing includes itself in power, Power into will, will into appetite; And appetite, an universal wolf, So doubly reconded with will and power, Must make perforce an universal prey, And, last, eat up himself. Great Agamemnon. This chaos, when degree is fuffocate, Follows the choking. And this neglection 3 of degree it is, That by a pace 4 goes backward, with a purpose It hath to climb.5 The general's difdain'd By him one ftep below; he, by the next; That next, by him beneath: fo every step, Exampled by the first pace that is fick Of his superior, grows to an envious fever Of pale and bloodless emulation:6 And 'tis this fever that keeps Troy on foot, Not her own finews. To end a tale of length, Troy in our weakness stands, not in her strength.

NEST. Most wisely hath Ulysses here discover'd The fever whereof all our power 7 is sick.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> — this neglection—] This uncommon word occurs again in Pericles, 1609:

<sup>&</sup>quot; if neglection

<sup>&</sup>quot;Should therein make me vile,—." MALONE.

<sup>\*</sup> That by a pace—] That goes backward flep by flep.

Johnson.

with a purpose It hath to climb.] With a design in each man to aggrandize himself, by slighting his immediate superior. Johnson.

Thus the quarto. Folio-in a purpose. MALONE.

<sup>6 ——</sup> bloodless emulation:] An emulation not vigorous and active, but malignant and fluggish. Johnson.

<sup>7 —</sup> our power —] i. e. our army. So, in another of our author's plays:

<sup>&</sup>quot;Who leads his power?" STEEVENS.

AGAM. The nature of the fickness found, Ulysses, What is the remedy?

ULISS. The great Achilles,—whom opinion crowns

The finew and the forehand of our hoft,—
Having his ear full of his airy fame,<sup>8</sup>
Grows dainty of his worth, and in his tent
Lies mocking our defigns: With him, Patroclus,
Upon a lazy bed the livelong day
Breaks fcurril jefts;
And with ridiculous and aukward action
(Which, flanderer, he imitation calls,)
He pageants us. Sometime, great Agamemnon,
Thy toplefs deputation 9 he puts on;
And, like a firutting player,—whofe conceit
Lies in his hamstring, and doth think it rich
To hear the wooden dialogue and found
'Twixt his stretch'd footing and the scaffoldage,
Such to-be-pitied and o'er-wrested seeming 2

8 — his airy fame,] Verbal elogium; what our author, in Macbeth, has called mouth honour. See p. 264, note.

MALONE.

9 Thy toples deputation—] Toples is that which has nothing topping or overtopping it; supreme; sovereign.
JOHNSON.

So, in Doctor Faustus, 1604:

"Was this the face that launch'd a thousand ships,

"And burnt the topless towers of Ilium?" Again, in The Blind Beggar of Alexandria, 1598:

"And toples honours be bestow'd on thee." STEEVENS.

'I 'Twist his firetch'd footing and the scaffoldage,] The galleries of the theatre, in the time of our author, were sometimes termed the scaffolds. See The Account of the ancient Theatres, Vol. III. MALONE.

overcharged. Both the old copies, as well as all the modern editions, have—o'er-rested, which affords no meaning.

MALONE.

He acts thy greatness in: and when he speaks, 'Tis like a chime a mending; 3 with terms unfour'd.4

Which, from the tongue of roaring Typhon dropp'd, Would feem hyperboles. At this fufty ftuff, The large Achilles, on his press'd bed lolling, From his deep chest laughs out a loud applause; Cries—Excellent!—'tis Agamemnon just.—
Now play me Nestor;—hem, and stroke thy beard, As he, being 'drest to some oration.
That's done;—as near as the extremest ends Of parallels; 5 as like as Vulcan and his wise:
Yet good Achilles still cries, Excellent!
'Tis Nestor right! Now play him me, Patroclus, Arming to answer in a night alarm.
And then, forsooth, the faint defects of age
Must be the scene of mirth; to cough, and spit, And with a palsy-fumbling on his gorget,

Over-wrested is—wound up too high. A wrest was an instrument for tuning a harp, by drawing up the strings. See Mr. Douce's note on Act III. sc. iii. Steevens.

- <sup>3</sup> a chime a mending; To this comparison the praise of originality must be allowed. He who, like myself, has been in the tower of a church while the chimes were repairing, will never wish a second time to be present at so dissonantly noisy an operation. Steevens.
- \* unfquar'd,] i.e. unadapted to their fubject, as frones are unfitted to the purposes of architecture, while they are yet unfquar'd. Steevens.

5 — as near as the extremest ends

Of parallels; The parallels to which the allusion feems to be made, are the parallels on a map. As like as east to west.

JOHNSON.

odiffinet words. But it should be written—palfy-fumbling, i.e. paralytick fumbling. Tyrwhitt.

Funtling is often applied by our old English writers to the speech. So, in King John, 1591:

Shake in and out the rivet:—and at this fport, Sir Valour dies; cries, O!—enough, Patroclus;—Or give me ribs of fleel! I fhall fplit all In pleafure of my fpleen. And in this fashion, All our abilities, gifts, natures, shapes, Severals and generals of grace exact, Achievements, plots, orders, preventions, Excitements to the field, or speech for truce, Success, or loss, what is, or is not, serves As stuff for these two to make paradoxes.

NEST. And in the imitation of these twain (Whom, as Ulysses says, opinion crowns With an imperial voice,) many are insect. Ajax is grown self-will'd; and bears his head In such a rein,9 in sull as proud a place As broad Achilles: keeps his tent like him; Makes sactious seasts; rails on our state of war, Bold as an oracle: and sets Thersites

"-- he fumbleth in the mouth;

"His fpeech doth fail."

Again, in North's translation of *Plutarch*: "—he heard his wife Calphurnia being fast asleepe, weepe and figh, and put forth many fumbling lamentable fpeaches."

Shakspeare, I believe, wrote—in his gorget. MALONE.

On feems to be used for—at. So, p. 285: "Pointing on him." i. e. at him. Steevens.

<sup>7</sup> All our abilities, gifts, natures, shapes, Severals and generals of grace exact, Achievements, plots, &c.] All our good grace exact, means our excellence irreprehensible. Johnson.

but it is not clear and diffinct. I wish the copies had given:

to make parodies. Johnson.

9 —— bears his head In fuch a rein,] That is, holds up his head as haughtily. We still say of a girl, fhe bridles. Johnson. (A flave, whose gall coins flanders like a mint, 1) To match us in comparisons with dirt; To weaken and discredit our exposure, How rank soever rounded in with danger. 2

ULYSS. They tax our policy, and call it cowardice:

Count wisdom as no member of the war; Forestall prescience, and esteem no act But that of hand: the still and mental parts,— That do contrive how many hands shall strike, When sitness calls them on; and know, by measure Of their observant toil, the enemies' weight,3— Why, this hath not a singer's dignity: They call this—bed-work, mappery, closet-war: So that the ram, that batters down the wall, For the great swing and rudeness of his poize, They place before his hand that made the engine; Or those, that with the sineness of their souls By reason guide his execution.

NEST. Let this be granted, and Achilles' horse Makes many Thetis' sons. [Trumpet founds.

whose gall coins slanders like a mint, i.e. as fast as a mint coins money. See Vol. XI. p. 240, n. 7. Malone.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> How rank foever rounded in with danger.] A rank weed is a high weed. The modern editions filently read:

How hard foever—. Johnson.

rounded in with danger.] So, in King Henry V:
"How dread an army hath enrounded him." STEEVENS.

of their observant toil, the enemies' weight, I think it were better to read:

and know the measure,

By their observant toil, of the enemies' weight.

John

toil." M. MASON.

AGAM.

What trumpet? look, Menelaus.4

#### Enter ÆNEAS.

MEN. From Troy.

AGAM. What would you 'fore our tent?

 $\mathscr{E}_{\mathit{NE}}.$  Is this

Great Agamemnon's tent, I pray?

AGAM. Even this.

ÆNE. May one, that is a herald, and a prince, Do a fair meffage to his kingly ears?<sup>5</sup>

AGAM. With furety stronger than Achilles' arm <sup>6</sup> 'Fore all the Greekish heads, which with one voice Call Agamemnon head and general.

ÆNE. Fair leave, and large fecurity. How may A stranger to those most imperial looks?

- \* What trumpet? look, Menelaus.] Surely, the name of Menelaus only ferves to destroy the metre, and should therefore be omitted. Steevens.
  - 5 kingly ears?] The quarto:
     kingly eyes. Johnson.
- <sup>6</sup> ——Achilles' arm —] So the copies. Perhaps the author wrote:
  - ——Alcides' arm. Johnson.
- 7 A stranger to those most imperial looks—] And yet this was the seventh year of the war. Shakspeare, who so wonderfully preserves character, usually consounds the customs of all nations, and probably supposed that the ancients (like the heroes of chivalry) fought with beavers to their helmets. So, in the fourth Act of this play, Nestor says to Hector:

"But this thy countenance, still lock'd in steel,

"I never faw till now."

Shakspeare might have adopted this error from the wooden cuts to ancient books, or from the illuminators of manuscripts, who never feem to have entertained the least idea of habits, manners, or customs more ancient than their own. There are

Know them from eyes of other mortals?

AGAM.

How?

 $\mathcal{E}_{NE}$ . Ay;

I ask, that I might waken reverence, And bid the cheek be ready with a blush Modest as morning when she coldly eyes The youthful Phæbus:

Which is that god in office, guiding men? Which is the high and mighty Agamemnon?

AGAM. This Trojan scorns us; or the men of Troy

Are ceremonious courtiers.

ENE. Courtiers as free, as debonair, unarm'd, As bending angels; that's their fame in peace: But when they would feem foldiers, they have galls, Good arms, firong joints, true fwords; and, Jove's accord,

Nothing so full of heart.9 But peace, Æneas,

books in the British Museum of the age of King Henry VI; and in these the heroes of ancient Greece are represented in the very dresses worn at the time when the books received their decorations. Steevens.

In The Destruction of Troy Shakspeare found all the chieftains of each army termed knights, mounted on flately horses, defended with modern helmets, &c. &c. Malone.

In what edition did these representations occur to Shakspeare?

So the quarto. The folio has:
——on the cheek—. Johnson.

Good arms, firong joints, true fivords; and, Jove's accord, Nothing fo full of heart.] I have not the smallest doubt that the poet wrote—(as I suggested in my Second Appendix, 8vo. 1783):

——they have galls, Good arms, strong joints, true fwords; and, Jove's a god Nothing so full of heart.

# Peace, Trojan; lay thy finger on thy lips!

So, in Macleth:

"Sleek o'er your rugged looks; be bright and jovial

"Among your guests to-night."

Again, in Antony and Cleopatra:

"Cæfar, why he's the Jupiter of men."

Again, itidem:

"Thou art, if thou dar'ft be, the earthly Jove."

The text, in my apprehension, is unintelligible, though I have not ventured, on my own opinion, to disturb it. In the old copy there is no point after the word accord, which adds some support to my conjecture. It also may be observed, that in peace the Trojans have just been compared to angels; and here Æneas, in a similar strain of panegyrick, compares them in war to that God who was proverbially distinguished for high spirits.

The prefent punctuation of the text was introduced by Mr. Theobald. The words being pointed thus, he thinks it clear that the meaning is—They have galls, good arms, &c. and, Jove annuente, nothing is fo full of heart as they. Had Shakipeare written, "—with Jove's accord," and "Nothing's fo full," &c. fuch an interpretation might be received; but, as the words

stand, it is inadmissible.

The quarto reads:
—— and great Jove's accord—&c. MALONE.

Perhaps we should read:

— and Love's a lord Nothing fo full of heart.

The words Jove and Love, in a future fcene of this play, are fubfituted for each other, by the old blundering printers. In Love's Labour's Loft, Cupid is ftyled "Lord of ay-mees;" and Romeo fpeaks of his "bofom's Lord." In Othello, Love is commanded to "yield up his hearted throne." And, yet more appositely, Valentine, in The Two Gentlemen of Verona, says, —love's a mighty lord—."

The meaning of Æneas will then be obvious. The most confident of all passions is not so daring as we are in the field. So,

in Romeo and Juliet:

"And what Love can do, that dares Love attempt."

Mr. M. Mason would read-" and Jove's own bird."

Perhaps, however, the old reading may be the true one, the fpeaker meaning to fay, that, when they have the accord of Jove. on their fide, nothing is fo courageous as the Trojans. Thus, in Coriolanus:

The worthiness of praise distains his worth,
If that the prais'd himself bring the praise forth:
But what the repining enemy commends,
That breath fame follows; that praise, sole pure,
transcends.

AGAM. Sir, you of Troy, call you yourself Æneas?

ÆNE. Ay, Greek, that is my name.

AGAM. What's your affair, I pray you? 2

ÆNE. Sir, pardon; 'tis for Agamemnon's ears.

AGAM. He hears nought privately, that comes from Troy.

ÆNE. Nor I from Troy come not to whisper him: I bring a trumpet to awake his ear; To set his sense on the attentive bent, And then to speak.

"The god of foldiers

" (With the confent of supreme Jove) inform

"Thy thoughts with nobleness."

Jove's accord, in the prefent inflance, like the Jove probante of Horace, may be an ablative absolute, as in Pope's version of the 19th Iliad, 190:

"And, Jove attesting, the firm compact made."

STEEVENS.

The worthiness of praise distains his worth,
If that the praised himself bring the praise forth: So, in
Coriolanus:

"——power unto itself most commendable, "Hath not a tomb so evident as a chair "To extol what it hath done." MALONE.

<sup>2</sup> What's your affair, I pray you?] The words—I pray you, are an apparent interpolation, and confequently defiroy the meafure.

"Agam. What's your affair?—"

These hemistichs, joined together, form a complete verse.

AGAM. Speak frankly as the wind; 3 It is not Agamemnon's fleeping hour: That thou shalt know, Trojan, he is awake, He tells thee so himself.

ENE. Trumpet, blow loud, Send thy brass voice through all these lazy tents;—And every Greek of mettle, let him know, What Troy means fairly, shall be spoke aloud.

[Trumpet founds.]

We have, great Agamemnon, here in Troy A prince call'd Hector, (Priam is his father,) Who in this dull and long-continued truce 4 Is rusty 5 grown; he bade me take a trumpet, And to this purpose speak. Kings, princes, lords! If there be one, among the fair'st of Greece, That holds his honour higher than his ease; That seeks his praise more than he fears his peril; That knows his valour, and knows not his fear; That loves his mistress more than in confession,6

" - I must have liberty

"Withal, as large a charter as the wind

"To blow on whom I please; ---. " STEEVENS.

4 —— long-continued truce—] Of this long truce there has been no notice taken; in this very Act it is faid, that Ajax coped Hector yesterday in the battle. Johnson.

Here we have another proof of Shakspeare's falling into inconfishencies, by sometimes adhering to, and sometimes deserting, his original: a point, on which some stress has been laid in the Differtation printed at the end of The Third Part of King Henry VI. See Vol. XIV. p. 255—6.

Henry VI. See Vol. XIV. p. 255—6.

Of this dull and long-continued truce (which was agreed upon at the defire of the Trojans, for fix months,) Shakspeare found an account in the seventh chapter of the third Book of The Destruction of Troy. In the fifteenth chapter of the same book the beautiful daughter of Calchas is first introduced. Malone.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Speak frankly as the wind;] So, Jaques, in As you like it:

<sup>5 —</sup> rusty—] Quarto,—resty. Johnson.

<sup>6 —</sup> more than in confession,] Confession for profession.
WARBURTON.

(With truant vows to her own lips he loves,7)
And dare avow her beauty and her worth,
In other arms than hers,8—to him this challenge.
Hector, in view of Trojans and of Greeks,
Shall make it good, or do his best to do it,
He hath a lady, wiser, fairer, truer,
Than ever Greek did compass in his arms;
And will to-morrow with his trumpet call,
Mid-way between your tents and walls of Troy,
To rouse a Grecian that is true in love:
If any come, Hector shall honour him;
If none, he'll say in Troy, when he retires,
The Grecian dames are sun-burn'd, and not worth
The splinter of a lance.9 Even so much.

AGAM. This shall be told our lovers, lord Æneas; If none of them have soul in such a kind, We left them all at home: But we are soldiers; And may that soldier a mere recreant prove, That means not, hath not, or is not in love! If then one is, or hath, or means to be, That one meets Hector; if none else, I am he.

Nest. Tell him of Nestor, one that was a man When Hector's grandsire suck'd: he is old now; But, if there be not in our Grecian host 1 One noble man, that hath one spark of fire

<sup>7 —</sup> to her own lips he loves,] That is, confession made with idle vows to the lips of her whom he loves. Johnson.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> In other arms than hers,] Arms is here used equivocally for the arms of the body, and the armour of a foldier.

<sup>9 —</sup> and not worth

The splinter of a lance.] This is the language of romance. Such a challenge would better have suited Palmerin or Amadis, than Hector or Æneas. Steevens.

in our Grecian host—] So the quarto. The folio has—Grecian mould MALONE.

To answer for his love, Tell him from me,—
I'll hide my filver beard in a gold beaver,
And in my vantbrace 2 put this wither'd brawn;
And, meeting him, will tell him, That my lady
Was fairer than his grandame, and as chaste
As may be in the world; His youth in flood,
I'll prove this truth with my three drops of blood.3

ÆNE. Now heavens forbid fuch fearcity of youth! ULYSS. Amen.

AGAM. Fair lord Æneas, let me touch your hand;

To our pavilion shall I lead you, fir. Achilles shall have word of this intent; So shall each lord of Greece, from tent to tent: Yourself shall feast with us before you go, And find the welcome of a noble foe.

[Exeunt all but Ulysses and Nestor.

ULYSS. Neftor,—

NEST. What fays Ulyffes?

Ulrss. I have a young conception in my brain, Be you my time to bring it to fome shape.4

<sup>2</sup> And in my vantbrace—] An armour for the arm, avantbras. Pope.

Milton uses the word in his Sampson Agonistes, and Heywood in his Iron Age, 1632:

" --- peruse his armour,

"The dint's still in the vantbrace." Steevens.

in Coriolanus, one of the Volcian Guard fays to old Menenius, "Back, I fay, go, left I let forth your half pint of blood."

Thus the quarto. The folio reads—L// paym this truth

Thus the quarto. The folio reads—Ill pawn this truth.

MALONE.

\* Be you my time &c.] i.e. be you to my present purpose what time is in respect of all other schemes, viz. a ripener and bringer of them to maturity. Steevens.

NEST. What is't?

ULYSS. This 'tis:

Blunt wedges rive hard knots: The feeded pride<sup>5</sup> That hath to this maturity blown up In rank Achilles, must or now be cropp'd, Or, shedding, breed a nursery <sup>6</sup> of like evil, To overbulk us all.

NEST. Well, and how?7

ULYSS. This challenge that the gallant Hector fends,

However it is fpread in general name, Relates in purpose only to Achilles.

NEST. The purpose is perspicuous even as sub-

Whose groffness little characters sum up:8

I believe Shakspeare was here thinking of the period of gestation which is sometimes denominated a semale's time, or reckoning. T. C.

5 — The feeded pride &c.] Shakspeare might have taken this idea from Lyte's Herbal, 1578 and 1579. The Oleander tree or Nerium "hath scarce one good propertie." It may be compared to a Pharisee, "who maketh a glorious and beautiful show, but inwardly is of a corrupt and poisoned nature."—"It is high time &c. to supplant it (i. e. pharisaism) for it hath already floured, so that I feare it will shortly feede, and fill this wholesome soyle full of wicked Nerium." Tollet.

So, in The Rape of Lucrece:

"How will thy shame be feeded in thine age, "When thus thy vices bud before thy spring?"

Malone.

Malone.

Malone.

Johnson.

<sup>7</sup> Well, and how?] We might complete this defective line by reading:

Well, and how then?

Sir T. Hanmer reads—how now? Steevens.

The purpose is perspicuous even as substance,

Whose grossness little characters sum up:] That is, the

And, in the publication, make no strain,9 But that Achilles, were his brain as barren As banks of Libya,—though, Apollo knows, 'Tis dry enough,-will with great speed of judgment,

Ay, with celerity, find Hector's purpose Pointing on him.

ULTSS. And wake him to the answer, think you? NEST. Yes.

It is most meet; Whom may you else oppose, That can from Hector bring those honours off, If not Achilles? Though't be a fportful combat, Yet in the trial much opinion dwells; For here the Trojans tafte our dear'ft repute With their fin'ft palate: And trust to me, Ulysses, Our imputation shall be oddly pois'd In this wild action: for the fuccess,

purpose is as plain as body or substance; and though I have collected this purpose from many minute particulars, as a gross body is made up of small insensible parts, yet the result is as clear and certain as a body thus made up is palpable and visible. This is the thought, though a little obscured in the conciseness of the expression. WARBURTON.

Substance is estate, the value of which is ascertained by the use of small characters, i. e. numerals. So, in the prologue to King Henry V:

" --- a crooked figure may

"Attest, in little place, a million." The gross sum is a term used in The Merchant of Venice. Groffness has the same meaning in this instance. Steevens.

9 And, in the publication, make no strain,] Nestor goes on to fay, make no difficulty, no doubt, when this duel comes to be proclaimed, but that Achilles, dull as he is, will discover the drift of it. This is the meaning of the line. So afterwards, in this play, Ulysses says:
"I do not firain at the position."

i.e. I do not hefitate at, I make no difficulty of it. THEOBALD.

those honours - Folio-his honour. MALONE.

Although particular, shall give a scantling 2 Of good or bad unto the general: And in fuch indexes, although finall pricks 3 To their subsequent volumes, there is seen The baby figure of the giant mass Of things to come at large. It is suppos'd, He, that meets Hector, iffues from our choice: And choice, being mutual act of all our fouls, Makes merit her election; and doth boil, As 'twere from forth us all, a man diftill'd Out of our virtues; Who miscarrying, What heart receives from hence a conquering part, To fleel a ftrong opinion to themselves? Which entertain'd,4 limbs are his instruments,5 In no less working, than are swords and bows Directive by the limbs.

ULYSS. Give pardon to my fpeech;—
Therefore 'tis meet, Achilles meet not Hector.
Let us, like merchants, fhow our foulest wares,
And think, perchance, they'll fell; if not,6

<sup>2</sup> — feantling —] That is, a measure, proportion. The carpenter cuts his wood to a certain feantling. Johnson.

So, in John Florio's translation of Montaigne's Essays, folio, 1603: "When the lion's tkin will not fusfice, we must add a scantling of the fox's." MALONE.

3 —— finall pricks —] Small points compared with the volumes. Johnson.

Indexes were, in Shakfpeare's time, often prefixed to books.

Malone.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Which entertain'd, &c.] These two lines [and the concluding hemistich] are not in the quarto. Johnson.

<sup>5 ——</sup> limbs are his infiruments,] The folio reads:
—— limbs are in his infiruments.

I have omitted the impertment preposition. Steevens.

o \_\_\_\_if not,] I suppose, for the sake of metre, we should read:

<sup>-</sup> if they do not. STEEYENS.

The luftre of the better shall exceed, By showing the worse first. Do not consent, That ever Hector and Achilles meet; For both our honour and our shame, in this, Are dogg'd with two strange followers.

NEST. I fee them not with my old eyes; what are they?

ULTSS. What glory our Achilles fhares from Hector,

Were he not proud, we all should share 8 with him: But he already is too insolent;
And we were better parch in Africk sun,
Than in the pride and salt scorn of his eyes,
Should he 'scape Hector sair: If he were soil'd,
Why, then we did our main opinion crush
In taint of our best man. No. make a lottery;
And, by device, let blockish Ajax draw

The luftre of the better shall exceed, By showing the worse sirst.] The folio reads: The lustre of the better, yet to show, Shall show the better.

I once thought that the alteration was made by the author; but a more diligent comparison of the quartos and the first folio has convinced me that some arbitrary alterations were made in the latter copy by its editor. The quarto copy of this play is in general more correct than the folio. MALONE.

So the quarto. The folio—wear.

Johnson.

<sup>9</sup> — our main opinion —] is, our general estimation or character. See Vol. XI. p. 422, n. 9. Opinion has already been used in this scene in the same scale. Malone.

Llockish Ajax—] Shakspeare, on this occasion, has deserted Lydgate, who gives a very different character of Ajax:

"Another Ajax (furnamed Telamon)

"There was, a man that learning did adore," &c.

"Who did fo much in eloquence abound, .

"That in his time the like could not be found."

The fort to fight with Hector: Among ourselves,

Again:

"And one that hated pride and flattery," &c.

Our author appears to have drawn his portrait of the Grecian chief from the invectives thrown out against him by Ulysses in the thirteenth Book of Ovid's Metamorphosis, translated by Golding, 1587; or from the prologue to Harrington's Metamorphosis of Ajax, 1596, in which he is represented as "strong, heady, boisterous, and a terrible fighting fellow, but neither wise, learned, staide, nor polliticke." Steevens.

I fuspect that Shakspeare consounded Ajax Telamonius with Ajax Oileus. The characters of each of them are given by Lydgate. Shakspeare knew that one of the Ajaxes was Hector's nephew, the son of his fister; but perhaps did not know that he was Ajax Telamonius, and in consequence of not attending to this circumstance has attributed to the person whom he has introduced in this play part of the character which Lydgate had drawn for Ajax Oileus:

"Oileus Ajax was right corpulent;
"To be well cladde he fet all his entent.

"In rich aray he was full curyous, "Although he were of body corfyous."

"Of armes great, with shoulders square and brode;

"It was of him almost a horse-lode."

"High of stature, and boystrous in a pres, "And of his speech rude, and rechless. "Full many worde in ydel hym asterte, "And but a coward was he of his herte."

Ajax Telamonius he thus describes:

"An other Ajax Thelamonyius

"There was also, diserte and virtuous; "Wonder faire and semely to behold,

"Whose heyr was black and upward ay gan folde,

"In compas wife round as any fphere;
"And of mufyke was there none his pere.

" ---- yet had he good practike

" In armes eke, and was a noble knight. " No man more orped, nor hardyer for to fight,

" Nor defirous for to have victorye;

"Devoyde of pomp, hating all vayn glorye, "All ydle laud fpent and blowne in vayne."

Lydgate's Auncient Historie, &c. 1555.

There is not the fmallest ground in Lydgate for what the author of the Rifacimento of this poem, published in 1614, has

Give him allowance for the better man,
For that will phyfick the great Myrmidon,
Who broils in loud applause; and make him fall
His crest, that prouder than blue Iris bends.
If the dull brainless Ajax come safe off,
We'll dress him up in voices: If he fail,
Yet go we under our opinion still
That we have better men. But, hit or miss,
Our project's life this shape of sense assumes,—
Ajax, employ'd, plucks down Achilles' plumes.

introduced, concerning his eloquence and adoring learning. See Mr. Steevens's note.

Perhaps, however, The Destruction of Troy led Shakspeare to give this representation; for the author of that book, describing these two persons, improperly calls Ajax Oileus, simply Ajax, as

the more eminent of the two:

"Ajax was of a huge flature, great and large in the shoulders, great armes, and always was well clothed, and very richly; and was of no great enterprise, and spake very quicke. Thelamon Ajax was a marvellous faire knight; he had black hayres, and he hadde great pleasure in musicke, and he sang him selfe very well: he was of greate prowesse, and a valiant man of warre, and without pompe." Malone.

Mr. Malone observes, that "there is not the smallest ground, &c. concerning his eloquence and adoring learning." But may we ask what interpretation this gentleman would give to the epithets

" --- diserte and virtuous?"

By the first word, (formed from the Latin disertus,) eloquence must have been designed; and by the latter, the artes ingenuæ, which in the age of Lydgate were often called the virtuous arts.

STEEVENS.

<sup>2</sup> The fort—] i. e. the lot. Steevens.

So, in Lydgate's Auncient Historie, &c:

"Calchas had experience "Especially of calculation;

" Of forte also, and divynation." MALONE.

-3 — under our opinion—] Here again opinion means character. Malone.

Vol. XV.

Nest. Ulyffes,
Now I begin to relifh thy advice; 4
And I will give a tafte of it forthwith
To Agamemnon: go we to him straight.
Two curs shall tame each other; Pride alone
Must tarre the mastiffs on, 5 as 'twere their bone.

[Exeunt.

## ACT II.6 SCENE I.

Another Part of the Grecian Camp.

Enter AJAX and THERSITES.

AJAX. Therfites,—

THER. Agamemnon—how if he had boils? full, all over, generally?

AJAX. Therfites,—

THER. And those boils did run?—Say so,—did not the general run then? were not that a botchy core?

AJAX. Dog,—

\* — Uluffes, Now I begin &c.] The quarto and folio have—Now, Uluffes, I begin, &c. The transposition was made by Mr. Steevens. Malone.

<sup>5</sup> Must tarre the mashiffs on,] Tarre, an old English word, fignifying to provoke or urge on. See King John, Act IV. sc. i:

"Snatch at his mafter that doth tarre him on." POPE.

<sup>6</sup> Act II.] This play is not divided into Acts in any of the original editions. JOHNSON.

 $T_{HER}$ . Then would come fome matter from him;  $\tilde{\mathbf{I}}$  fee none now.

AJAX. Thou bitch-wolf's fon, canft thou not hear? Feel then.

[Strikes him.]

THER. The plague of Greece upon thee,7 thou mongrel beef-witted lord!8

AJAX. Speak then, thou unfalted leaven, fpeak:9 I will beat thee into handfomenefs.

<sup>7</sup> The plague of Greece upon thee,] Alluding perhaps to the plague fent by Apollo on the Grecian army. JOHNSON.

The following lines of Lydgate's Auncient Historie of the Warres between the Trojans and the Grecians, 1555, were probably here in our author's thoughts:

"And in this whyle a great mortalyte, "Both of fworde and of pefilence, "Among Greekes, by fatal influence "Of noyous hete and of corrupt eyre,

" Engendred was, that the in great dispayre

"Of theyr life in the fyelde they leye,
"For day by day fodaynly they deye,
"Whereby theyr nombre fast gan dyscrece;

"And whan they fawe that it ne wolde fece, By theyr advyfe the kyng Agamemnowne

" For a trewfe fent unto the towne,

" For thirty dayes, and Priamus the kinge

"Without abode graunted his axynge." MALONE.

Our author may as well be supposed to have caught this circumstance, relative to the *plague*, from the first Book of Hall's or Chapman's version of the *lliad*. Steevens.

\* — thou mongrel beef-witted lord!] So, in Twelfth-Night: "—I am a great eater of leef, and I believe that does harm to my wit." Steevens.

He calls Ajax mongrel on account of his father's being a Grecian and his mother a Trojan. See Hector's speech to Ajax, in Act IV. sc. v:

"Thou art, great lord, my father's fifter's fon," &c.
MALONE.

<sup>9</sup> Speak then, thou unfalted leaven, fpeak:] Unfalted leaven means four without falt, malignity without wit. Shakfpeare

THER. I shall sooner rail thee into wit and holiness: but, I think, thy horse will sooner con an oration, than thou learn a prayer without book. Thou canst strike, canst thou? a red murrain o'thy jade's tricks!

AJAX. Toads-stool, learn me the proclamation.

THER. Dost thou think, I have no sense, thou strikest me thus?

AJAX. The proclamation,-

THER. Thou art proclaimed a fool, I think.

AJAX. Do not, porcupine, do not; my fingers itch.

THER. I would, thou didft itch from head to foot, and I had the feratching of thee; I would

wrote first unfalted; but recollecting that want of falt was no fault in leaven, changed it to vinew'd. Johnson.

The want of falt is no fault in leaven; but leaven without the addition of falt will not make good bread: hence Shakipeare used it as a term of reproach. MALONE.

Unfalted is the reading of both the quartos. Francis Beaumont, in his letter to Speght on his edition of Chaucer's works, 1602, fays: "Many of Chaucer's words are become as it were vinew'd and hoarie with over long lying."

Again, in Tho. Newton's Herbal to the Bible, 8vo. 1587: "For being long kept they grow hore and vinewed."

STEEVENS.

In the Preface to James the First's Bible, the translators speak of fenowed (i. e. vinewed or mouldy) traditions.

BLACKSTONE.

The folio has—thou whinid'st leaven; a corruption undoubtedly of vinnewdst, or vinniedst: that is, thou most mouldy leaven. In Dorsetshire they at this day call cheese that is become mouldy, vinny cheese. MALONE.

in The Tempest: "—The red plague rid you!" STEEVENS.

make thee the loathformest scab in Greece.<sup>2</sup> When thou art forth in the incursions, thou strikest as slow as another.

AJAX. I fay, the proclamation,—

THER. Thou grumblest and railest every hour on Achilles; and thou art as full of envy at his greatness, as Cerberus is at Proserpina's beauty, ay, that thou barkest at him.<sup>3</sup>

AJAX. Mistress Thersites!

THER. Thou shouldest strike him.

AJAX. Cobloaf!4

THER. He would pun thee into shivers 5 with his fift, as a failor breaks a biscuit.

<sup>2</sup> — in Greece.] [Thus far the folio.] The quarto adds—when thou art forth in the incursions, thou strikest as slow as another. Johnson.

<sup>3</sup> — ay, that thou barkeft at him.] I read,—O that thou barkedft at him. Johnson.

The old reading is I, which, if changed at all, should have been changed into ay. Tyrwhitt.

<sup>4</sup> Cobloaf!] A crufty, uneven, gibbous loaf, is in fome counties called by this name. STEEVENS.

A cob-loaf, fays Minsheu, in his Dictionary, 1616, is "a bunne. It is a little loaf made with a round head, such as cob-irons which support the fire. G. Bignet, a ligne, a knob or lump risen after a knock or blow." The word Bignets Cotgrave, in his Dictionary, 1611, renders thus: "Little round loaves or lumps, made of fine meale, oyle, or butter, and reasons: bunnes, lenten loaves."

Cob-loaf ought, perhaps, to be rather written cop-loaf.

MALONE.

<sup>5</sup> — pun thee into fhivers—] Pun is in the midland counties the vulgar and colloquial word for—pound. Johnson.

It is used by P. Holland, in his translation of Pliny's Natural History, Book XXVIII. ch. xii: "—punned altogether and

AJAX. You whorefon cur!

Beating him.

THER. Do, do.

AJAX. Thou ftool for a witch !6

THER. Ay, do, do; thou fodden-witted lord! thou hast no more brain than I have in mine elbows; an affinego<sup>7</sup> may tutor thee: Thou scurvy valiant

reduced into a liniment." Again, Book XXIX. ch. iv: "The gall of these lizards punned and dissolved in water."

STEEVENS.

Cole, in his Dictionary, renders it by the Latin words contero, contundo. Mr. Pope, who altered whatever he did not understand, reads—pound, and was followed by three subsequent editors. Malone.

- <sup>6</sup> Thou flool for a witch!] In one way of trying a witch they used to place her on a chair or stool, with her legs tied across, that all the weight of her body might rest upon her seat; and by that means, after some time, the circulation of the blood would be much stopped, and her sitting would be as painful as the wooden horse. Grey.
- <sup>7</sup> an affinego I am not very certain what the idea conveyed by this word was meant to be. Afinaio is Italian, fays Sir T. Hanmer, for an afs-driver: but, in Mirza, a tragedy, by Rob. Baron, Act III. the following passage occurs, with a note annexed to it:

" ---- the flout trufty blade,

"That at one blow has cut an afinego

" Afunder like a thread.——"

"This (fays the author) is the usual trial of the Persian shamtheers, or cemiters, which are crooked like a crescent, of so good metal, that they prefer them before any other, and so

tharp as any razor."

I hope, for the credit of the prince, that the experiment was rather made on an ass, than an ass-driver. From the following passage I should suppose assign to be merely a cant term for a foolish fellow, an idiot: "They apparelled me as you see, made a fool, or an assign of nie." See The Antiquary, a comedy, by S. Marmion, 1641. Again, in Beaumont and Fletcher's Scornful Lady: "—all this would be forsworn, and I again an assign, as your fifter left me." Steevens.

Asinego is Portuguese for a little ass. Musgrave.

ass! thou art here put to thrash Trojans; and thou art bought and fold<sup>8</sup> among those of any wit, like a Barbarian slave. If thou use to beat me,<sup>9</sup> I will begin at thy heel, and tell what thou art by inches, thou thing of no bowels, thou!

AJAX. You dog!

THER. You feurvy lord!

AJAX. You cur!

[Beating him.

THER. Mars his idiot! do, rudeness; do, camel; do, do.

### Enter Achilles and Patroclus.

ACHIL. Why, how now, Ajax? wherefore do you thus?

How now, Therfites? what's the matter, man?

THER. You see him there, do you?

ACHIL. Ay; what's the matter?

And Dr. Musgrave might have added, that, in his native county, it is the vulgar name for an assa at present. Henley.

The fame term, as I am informed, is also current among the lower rank of people in Norfolk. Steevens.

An asinego is a he ass. "A fouldiers wife abounding with more lust than love, complaines to the king, her husband did not fatisfie her, whereas he makes her to be coupled to an asinego, whose villainy and lust took away her life."

Herbert's Travels, 1634, p. 98. RITSON.

\* — thou art bought and fold—] This was a proverbial expression. MALONE.

So, in King Richard III:

"For Dickon thy mafter is lought and fold."

Again, in King Henry VI. Part I:

"From lought and fold lord Talbot." STEEVENS.

<sup>9</sup> If thou use to beat me,] i.e. if thou continue to beat me, or make a practice of beating me. Steevens.

# 296 TROILUS AND CRESSIDA.

THER. Nay, look upon him.

ACHIL. So I do; What's the matter?

THER. Nay, but regard him well.

ACHIL. Well, why I do fo.

THER. But yet you look not well upon him: for, whosoever you take him to be, he is Ajax.

ACHIL. I know that, fool.

THER. Ay, but that fool knows not himself.

AJAX. Therefore I beat thee.

THER. Lo, lo, lo, lo, what modicums of wit he utters! his evafions have ears thus long. I have bobbed his brain, more than he has beat my bones: I will buy nine sparrows for a penny, and his pia mater is not worth the ninth part of a sparrow. This lord, Achilles, Ajax,—who wears his wit in his belly, and his guts in his head,—I'll tell you what I say of him.

ACHIL. What?

THER. I fay, this Ajax-

Асніг. Nay, good Ajax.

[AJAX offers to strike him, ACHILLES interposes.

THER. Has not fo much wit—

ACHIL. Nay, I must hold you.

THER. As will flop the eye of Helen's needle, for whom he comes to fight.

ACHIL. Peace, fool!

his pia mater &c.] So, in Twelfth-Night: "—here comes one of thy kin has a most weak pia mater." The pia mater is a membrane that protects the substance of the brain.

THER. I would have peace and quietness, but the fool will not: he there; that he; look you there.

AJAX. O thou damned cur! I shall-

ACHIL. Will you fet your wit to a fool's?

 $T_{HER}$ . No, I warrant you; for a fool's will shame it.

 $P_{ATR}$ . Good words, Therfites.

ACHIL. What's the quarrel?

AJAX. I bade the vile owl, go learn me the tenour of the proclamation, and he rails upon me.

THER. I ferve thee not.

AJAX. Well, go to, go to.

THER. I ferve here voluntary.

ACHIL. Your last service was sufferance, 'twas not voluntary; no man is beaten voluntary; <sup>2</sup> Ajax was here the voluntary, and you as under an impress.

THER. Even so ?—a great deal of your wit too lies in your sinews, or else there be liars. Hector shall have a great catch, if he knock out either of your brains; 3 'a were as good crack a fusty nut with no kernel.

ACHIL. What, with me too, Therfites?

THER. There's Ulyffes, and old Neftor,—whose wit was mouldy ere your grandsires had nails + on

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> — is leaten voluntary:] i.e. voluntarily. Shakfpeare often uses adjectives adverbially. See Vol. XI. p. 386, n. 9.

MALONE.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Hector shall have a great catch, if he knock out either of your brains; &c.] The same thought occurs in Cymbeline:

<sup>&</sup>quot;Could have knock'd out his brains, for he had none."

<sup>\*</sup> Meftor,—whose wit was mouldy ere your grandsires had nails—] [Old copies—their grandsires.] This is one of

their toes,—yoke you like draught oxen, and make you plough up the wars.

ACHIL. What, what?

THER. Yes, good footh; To, Achilles! to, Ajax! to!

AJAX. I shall cut out your tongue.

 $T_{HER}$ . 'Tis no matter; I shall speak as much as thou, afterwards.

PATR. No more words, Therfites; peace.

THER. I will hold my peace when Achilles' brach bids me,<sup>5</sup> shall I?

these editors' wise riddles. What! was Nestor's wit mouldy before his grandsire's toes had nails? Preposterous nonsense! and yet so easy a change as one poor pronoun for another, sets all right and clear. Theobald.

5 — when Achilles' brach bids me,] The folio and quarto read—Achilles brooch. Brooch is an appendant ornament. The meaning may be, equivalent to one of Achilles' hangers-on.

JOHNSON.

Brach I believe to be the true reading. He calls Patroclus, in contempt, Achilles's dog. So, in Timon of Athens:

"When thou art Timon's dog" &c.

A brooch was a cluster of gems affixed to a pin, and anciently worn in the hats of people of distinction. See the portrait of Sir Christopher Hatton. Steevens.

I believe brache to be the true reading. It certainly means a bitch, and not a dog, which renders the expression more abusive and offensive. Thersites calls Patroclus Achilles' brache, for the same reason that he afterwards calls him his male harlot, and his masculine whore. M. Mason.

I have little doubt of broch being the true reading, as a term

of contempt.

The meaning of broche is well ascertained—a spit—a bodkin; which being formerly used in the ladies' dress, was adorned with jewels, and gold and silver ornaments. Hence in old lists of jewels are found brotchets.

I have a very magnificent one, which is figured and described by Pennant, in the second volume of his *Tour to Scotland*, in 1772,

ACHIL. There's for you, Patroclus.

THER. I will fee you hanged, like clotpoles, ere I come any more to your tents; I will keep where there is wit ftirring, and leave the faction of fools.

[Exit.]

PATR. A good riddance.

ACHIL. Marry, this, fir, is proclaimed through all our hoft:

That Hector, by the first hour of the sun, Will, with a trumpet, 'twixt our tents and Troy, To-morrow morning call some knight to arms, That hath a stomach; and such a one, that dare Maintain—I know not what; 'tis trash: Farewell.

p. 14, in which the fpit or bodkin forms but a very small part of the whole. Lort.

Broch was, properly, a trinket with a pin affixed to it, and is confequently used by Shakspeare for an ornament in general. So, in Hamlet:

" — he is the *brooch* indeed "And gem of all the nation."

So, in Antony and Cleopatra:

" - not the imperious flow

" Of the full fortun'd Cæfar, ever shall

"Be broach'd with me."

But Thersites could not mean to compliment Patroclus, and therefore this cannot, I think, be the true reading. Brach, which was introduced by Mr. Rowe, might serve well enough, but that it certainly meant a bitch. [See Vol. IX. p. 16, n. 9.] It is possible, however, that Shakspeare might have used the word as synonymous to follower, without any regard to sex.

I have fometimes thought that the word intended might have been Achilles's brock, i.e. that over-weening conceited coxcomb, who attends upon Achilles. Our author has used this term of contempt in Twelfth-Night: "Marry, hang thee, brock!" So, in The Jests of George Peele, quarto, 1657: "This self-conceited brock had George invited," &c.

MALONE.

A brock, literally, means-a badger. Steevens.

o — the first —] So the quarto. Folio—the fifth—.

MALONE.

## 300 TROILUS AND CRESSIDA.

AJAX. Farewell. Who shall answer him?

ACHIL. I know not, it is put to lottery; otherwise,

He knew his man.

Asax. O, meaning you:—I'll go learn more of it. [Exeunt.

#### SCENE II.

Troy. A Room in Priam's Palace.

Enter PRIAM, HECTOR, TROILUS, PARIS, and HELENUS.

PRI. After fo many hours, lives, fpeeches fpent, Thus once again fays Neftor from the Greeks; Deliver Helen, and all damage elfe—As honour, lojs of time, travel, expence, Wounds, friends, and what elfe dear that is confum'd In hot digeftion of this cormorant war,—Shall be fruck off:—Hector, what fay you to't?

HECT. Though no man leffer fears the Greeks

HECT. Though no man leffer fears the Greeks than I,

As far as toucheth my particular, yet,
Dread Priam,
There is no lady of more fofter bowels,
More fpungy<sup>7</sup> to fuck in the fense of fear,
More ready to cry out—Who knows what follows?<sup>8</sup>
Than Hector is: The wound of peace is surety,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> — fpungy—] So, in Macbeth:
"— his fpungy officers." STEEVENS.

<sup>8 ——</sup> Who knows what follows?] Who knows what ill confequences may follow from purfuing this or that course?

MALONE.

Surety fecure; but modest doubt is call'd The beacon of the wise, the tent that searches To the bottom of the worst. Let Helen go: Since the first sword was drawn about this question, Every tithe soul, 'mongst many thousand dismes,' Hath been as dear as Helen; I mean, of ours: If we have lost so many tenths of ours, To guard a thing not ours; not worth to us, Had it our name, the value of one ten; What merit's in that reason, which denies The yielding of her up?

Tro. Fye, fye, my brother! Weigh you the worth and honour of a king, So great as our dread father, in a fcale Of common ounces? will you with counters fum The past-proportion of his infinite? And buckle-in a waist most fathomless, With spans and inches so diminutive As fears and reasons? fye, for godly shame!

HEL. No marvel, though you bite fo sharp at reasons,2

<sup>9 —</sup> many thousand disines,] Disme, Fr. is the tithe, the tenth. So, in the Prologue to Gower's Confession Amantis, 1554:

<sup>&</sup>quot;The disme goeth to the battaile." Again, in Holinshed's Reign of Richard II: "—so that there was levied, what of the disme, and by the devotion of the people," &c. Steevens.

The past-proportion of his infinite?] Thus read both the copies. The meaning is, that greatness to which no measure bears any proportion. The modern editors silently give:

The vast proportion—. Johnson.

though you bite fo sharp at reasons, &c.] Here is a wretched quibble between reasons and raisins, which, in Shakfpeare's time, were, I believe, pronounced alike. Dogberry, in Much Ado about Nothing, plays upon the same words: "If Justice cannot tame you, the shall never weigh more reasons in her balance." Malone.

You are so empty of them. Should not our father Bear the great sway of his affairs with reasons, Because your speech hath none, that tells him so?

Tro. You are for dreams and flumbers, brother prieft,

You fur your gloves with reason. Here are your reasons:

You know, an enemy intends you harm;
You know, a fword employ'd is perilous,
And reason flies the object of all harm:
Who marvels then, when Helenus beholds
A Grecian and his fword, if he do set
The very wings of reason to his heels;
And sly like chidden Mercury from Jove,
Or like a star dis-orb'd?3—Nay, if we talk of reason,

Let's flut our gates, and fleep: Manhood and honour

Should have have hearts, would they but fat their thoughts

With this cramm'd reason: reason and respect Make livers pale, and lustihood deject.<sup>4</sup>

The prefent fuspicion of a quibble on the word—reason, is not, in my opinion, sufficiently warranted by the context.

<sup>3</sup> And fly like chidden Mercury from Jove, Or like a flar dif-orb'd?] These two lines are misplaced in all the folio editions. POPE.

4 — reason and respect
Make livers pale, &c ] Respect is caution, a regard to confequences. So, in our author's Rape of Lucrece:

"Then, childish fear, avaunt! debating die! "Respect and reason wait on wrinkled age!—"Sad pause and deep regard beseem the sage."

Again, in Timon of Athens:

"The icy precepts of respect, but follow'd "The sugar'd game before thee." MALONE.

HECT. Brother, she is not worth what she doth

The holding.

What is aught, but as 'tis valued? TRO. HECT. But value dwells not in particular will: It holds his estimate and dignity As well wherein 'tis precious of itself As in the prizer: 'tis mad idolatry,

To make the fervice greater than the god; And the will dotes, that is attributive 5 To what infectiously itself affects,

Without fome image of the affected merit.6

Tro. I take to-day a wife, and my election Is led on in the conduct of my will;7 My will enkindled by mine eyes and ears. Two traded pilots 'twixt the dangerous shores Of will and judgment: How may I avoid, Although my will distaste what it elected, The wife I chose? there can be no evafion To blench from this, and to stand firm by honour:

<sup>5</sup> And the will dotes, that is attributive —] So the quarto. The folio reads—inclinable, which Mr. Pope fays "is better."

MALONE.

I think the first reading better; the will dotes that attributes or gives the qualities which it affects; that first causes excellence. and then admires it. Johnson.

6 Without some image of the affected merit:] We should read:

--- the affected's merit.

i. e. without fome mark of merit in the thing affected.

WARBURTON.

The present reading is right. The will affects an object for fome supposed merit, which Hector says is centurable, unless the merit so affected be really there. Johnson.

in the conduct of my will; i.e. under the guidance of my will. MALONE.

s \_\_\_\_ blench \_ ] See p. 234, n. 6. Steevens.

We turn not back the filks upon the merchant, When we have foil'd them; 9 nor the remainder viands

We do not throw in unrespective fieve, Because we now are full. It was thought meet. Paris should do some vengeance on the Greeks: Your breath with full confent<sup>2</sup> bellied his fails; The feas and winds (old wranglers) took a truce, And did him fervice: he touch'd the ports defir'd; And, for an old aunt,3 whom the Greeks held captive.

- of oil'd them; So reads the quarto. The folio: fpoil'd them. Johnson.
- I unrespective fieve, That is, unto a common voider. Sieve is in the quarto. The folio reads:
- unrespective same; for which the fecond folio and modern editions have filently printed:

--- unrespective place. Johnson.

It is well known that fieves and half-fieves are baskets to be met with in every quarter of Covent Garden market; and that, in fome families, balkets lined with tin are still employed as voiders. With the former of these senses sieve is used in The Wits, by Sir W. D'Avenant:

" apple-wives "That wrangle for a fieve."

Dr. Farmer adds, that, in feveral counties of England, the baskets used for carrying out dirt, &c. are called sieves. The correction, therefore, in the fecond folio, appears to have been unnecessary. Steevens.

<sup>2</sup> Your breath with full confent—] Your breaths all blowing together; your unanimous approbation. See Vol. XII. p. 217, n. 5. Thus the quarto. The folio reads-of full confent. MALONE.

3 And, for an old aunt,] Priam's fister, Hesione, whom Hercules, being enraged at Priam's breach of faith, gave to Telanion, who by her had Ajax. MALONE.

This circumstance is also found in Lydgate, Book II. where Priam fays:

He brought a Grecian queen, whose youth and freshness

Wrinkles Apollo's, and makes pale the morning.4 Why keep we her? the Grecians keep our aunt: Is the worth keeping? why, the is a pearl, Whose price hath launch'd above a thousand ships, And turn'd crown'd kings to merchants. If you'll avouch, 'twas wisdom Paris went, (As you must needs, for you all cry'd—Go, go,) If you'll confess, he brought home noble prize, (As you must needs, for you all clapp'd your hands, And cry'd—Inestimable!) why do you now The issue of your proper wisdoms rate; And do a deed that fortune never did,5 Beggar the estimation which you priz'd Richer than sea and land? O thest most base; That we have stolen what we do fear to keep!

"My fyster eke, called Exiona

"Out of this regyon ye have ladde away" &c.

STEEVENS.

4 — makes pale the morning.] So the quarto. The folio and modern editors—

— makes stale the morning. Johnson.

5 And do a deed that fortune never did,] If I understand this passage, the meaning is: "Why do you, by censuring the determination of your own wisdoms, degrade Helen, whom fortune hath not yet deprived of her value, or against whom, as the wife of Paris, fortune has not in this war so declared, as to make us value her less?" This is very harsh, and much strained.

JOHNSON.

The meaning, I believe, is: "Act with more inconftancy and caprice than ever did fortune." HENLEY.

Fortune was never fo unjust and mutable as to rate a thing on one day above all price, and on the next to set no estimation whatsoever upon it. You are now going to do what fortune never did. Such, I think, is the meaning. MALONE.

Vol. XV.

But, thieves, unworthy of a thing fo ftolen, That in their country did them that diffrace, We fear to warrant in our native place!

Cas. [Within.] Cry, Trojans, cry!

 $P_{RI}$ . What noise? what shriek-is this?

TRO. 'Tis our mad fifter, I do know her voice.

Cas. [Within.] Cry, Trojans!

HECT. It is Cassandra.

## Enter Cassandra, raving.7

Cas. Cry, Trojans, cry! lend me ten thousand eyes,
And I will fill them with prophetick tears.

HECT. Peace, fifter, peace.

Cas. Virgins and boys, mid-age and wrinkled elders,8

<sup>6</sup> But, thieves,] Sir T. Hanmer reads—Base thieves,—.

Johnson.

That did, in the next line, means—that which did.

That did, in the next line, means—that which did.

Malone

<sup>7</sup> Enter Cassandra, raving.] This circumstance also is from the third Book of Lydgate's Auncient Historie, &c. 1555:

"This was the noise and the pyteous crye
"Of Cassandra that so dredefully

"She gan to make aboute in every firete

"Through ye towne" &c. STEEVENS.

So the quarto. Folio—wrinkled old. Malone.

Elders, the erroneous reading of the quarto, would feem to have been properly corrected in the copy whence the first folio was printed; but it is a rule with printers, whenever they meet with a strange word in a manuscript, to give the nearest word to it they are acquainted with; a liberty which has been not very

Soft infancy, that nothing canst but cry,
Add to my clamours! let us pay betimes
A moiety of that mass of moan to come.
Cry, Trojans, cry! practise your eyes with tears!
Troy must not be, nor goodly Ilion stand;
Our fire-brand brother, Paris, burns us all.
Cry, Trojans, cry! a Helen, and a woe:
Cry, cry! Troy burns, or else let Helen go. [Exit.

HECT. Now, youthful Troilus, do not these high

Of divination in our fifter work Some touches of remorfe? or is your blood So madly hot, that no difcourfe of reason, Nor fear of bad success in a bad cause, Can qualify the same?

Tro. Why, brother Hector, We may not think the justness of each act Such and no other than event doth form it; Nor once deject the courage of our minds, Because Cassandra's mad; her brain-sick raptures

fparingly exercifed in all the old editions of our author's plays. There cannot be a question that he wrote:

—— mid-age and wrinkled eld.
So, in The Merry Wives of Windfor:

"The fuperstitious idle-headed eld."

Again, in Meafure for Meafure:

"Doth beg the alms of palfied eld." RITSON.

<sup>9</sup> Troy must not be, nor goodly Ilion stand;] See p. 240, n. 5, and p. 246, n. 9. This line unavoidably reminds us of another in the second Book of the Æneid:

"Trojaque nunc stares, Priamique arx alta maneres."
STEEVENS.

Our fire-brand brother, Hecuba, when pregnant with Paris, dreamed she should be delivered of a burning torch:

" — et face prægnans
" Cisseïs regina Parin creat."

Æneid X. 705. STEEVENS.

Cannot distaste the goodness of a quarrel, Which hath our several honours all engag'd To make it gracious. For my private part, I am no more touch'd than all Priam's sons: And Jove forbid, there should be done amongst us Such things as might offend the weakest spleen To fight for and maintain!

PAR. Else might the world convince of levity<sup>4</sup> As well my undertakings, as your counsels:
But I attest the gods, your full consent <sup>5</sup> Gave wings to my propension, and cut off All fears attending on so dire a project.
For what, alas, can these my single arms?
What propugnation is in one man's valour,
To stand the push and enmity of those
This quarrel would excite? Yet, I protest,
Were I alone to pass the difficulties,
And had as ample power as I have will,
Paris should ne'er retract what he hath done,
Nor faint in the pursuit.

PRI. Paris, you fpeak Like one befotted on your fweet delights: You have the honey ftill, but these the gall; So to be valiant, is no praise at all.

<sup>2</sup> —— distaste—] Corrupt; change to a worse state.

TOHNSON

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> To make it gracious.] i.e. to fet it off; to fhow it to advantage. So, in Marston's Malcontent, 1604: "—he is most exquisite, &c. in fleeking of tkinnes, bluthing of cheeks, &c. that ever made an ould lady gracious by torch-light."

<sup>4 —</sup> convince of levity—] This word, which our author frequently employs in the obtolete fense of—to overpower, subdue, seems, in the present instance, to signify—convict, or subject to the charge of levity. Steevens.

<sup>5 —</sup> your full confent—] Your unanimous approbation. See p. 304, n. 2. Malone.

 $P_{AR}$ . Sir, I propose not merely to myself The pleasures such a beauty brings with it; But I would have the foil of her fair rape 6 Wip'd off, in honourable keeping her. What treason were it to the ransack'd queen, Difgrace to your great worths, and shame to me, Now to deliver her possession up, On terms of base compulsion? Can it be, That so degenerate a strain as this, Should once fet footing in your generous bosoms? There's not the meanest spirit on our party, Without a heart to dare, or fword to draw, When Helen is defended; nor none fo noble, Whose life were ill bestow'd, or death unfam'd, Where Helen is the fubject: then, I fay, Well may we fight for her, whom, we know well, The world's large spaces cannot parallel.

HECT. Paris, and Troilus, you have both faid well;

And on the cause and question now in hand Have gloz'd,7—but superficially; not much Unlike young men, whom Aristotle 8 thought

6 — her fair rape—] Rape, in our author's time, commonly fignified the carrying away of a female. MALONE.

It has always borne that, as one of its fignifications; raptus Helenæ (without any idea of personal violence) being constantly rendered—the rape of Helen. Steevens.

<sup>7</sup> Have gloz'd,] So, in Spenfer's Fairy Queen, Book III. viii. 14:

To gloze, in this inflance, means to infinuate; but, in Shak-fpeare, to comment. So, in King Henry V:

"Which Salique land the French unjustly gloze "To be the realm of France." Steevens.

<sup>8</sup> —— Ariftotle—] Let it be remembered, as often as Shak-fpeare's anachronisms occur, that errors in computing time were

Unfit to hear moral philosophy:
The reasons, you allege, do more conduce
To the hot passion of distemper'd blood,
Than to make up a free determination
'Twixt right and wrong; For pleasure, and revenge,
Have ears more deaf than adders of to the voice
Of any true decision. Nature craves,
All dues be render'd to their owners; Now
What nearer debt in all humanity,
Than wise is to the husband? if this law
Of nature be corrupted through affection;
And that great minds, of partial indulgence.
To their benumbed wills, resist the same;

very frequent in those ancient romances which seem to have formed the greater part of his library. I may add, that even classick authors are not exempt from such mistakes. In the fifth Book of Statius's Thelaid, Amphiaraus talks of the sates of Nestor and Priam, neither of whom died till long after him. If on this occasion, somewhat should be attributed to his augural profession, yet if he could so freely mention, nay, even quote as examples to the whole army, things that would not happen till the next age, they must all have been prophets as well as himself, or they could not have understood him.

Hector's mention of Ariftotle, however, (during our ancient propenfity to quote the authorities of the learned on every occafion) is not more abfurd than the following circumftance in The Dialogues of Creatures Moralyfed, bl. l. no date, (a book which Shakspeare might have seen,) where we find God Almighty quoting Cato. See Dial, IV. I may add, on this subject, that during an altercation between Noah and his Wife, in one of the Chester Whitsun Playes, the Lady swears by—Christ and Saint

John. STEEVENS.

<sup>9 —</sup> more deaf than adders—] See Vol. XIII. p. 283, n. 4. Steevens.

of partial indulgence—] i.e. through partial indulgence. M. Mason.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> — benumbed wills,] That is, inflexible, immoveable, no longer obedient to fuperior direction. Johnson.

There is a law<sup>3</sup> in each well-order'd nation,
To curb those raging appetites that are
Most disobedient and refractory.
If Helen then be wise to Sparta's king,—
As it is known she is,—these moral laws
Of nature, and of nations, speak aloud
To have her back return'd: Thus to persist
In doing wrong, extenuates not wrong,
But makes it much more heavy. Hector's opinion
Is this, in way of truth: 4 yet, ne'ertheless,
My spritely brethren, I propend to you
In resolution to keep Helen still;
For 'tis a cause that hath no mean dependance
Upon our joint and several dignities.

Tro. Why, there you touch'd the life of our defign:

Were it not glory that we more affected
Than the performance of our heaving spleens,<sup>5</sup>
I would not wish a drop of Trojan blood
Spent more in her defence. But, worthy Hector,
She is a theme of honour and renown;
A spur to valiant and magnanimous deeds;
Whose present courage may beat down our foes,
And same, in time to come, canonize us:<sup>6</sup>
For, I presume, brave Hector would not lose

There is a law—] What the law does in every nation between individuals, justice ought to do between nations.

<sup>4</sup> Is this, in way of truth: Though confidering truth and justice in this question, this is my opinion; yet as a question of honour, I think on it as you. Johnson.

<sup>5 —</sup> the performance of our heaving spleens,] The execution of spirit and resentment. Johnson.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> — canonize us:] The hope of being registered as a faint, is rather out of its place at so early a period, as this is of the Trojan war. Steevens.

So rich advantage of a promis'd glory, As fmiles upon the forehead of this action, For the wide world's revenue.

Hect. I am yours,
You valiant offspring of great Priamus.—
I have a roifting challenge fent amongft
The dull and factious nobles of the Greeks,
Will ftrike amazement to their drowfy fpirits:
I.was advértis'd, their great general flept,
Whilft emulation 7 in the army crept;
This, I prefume, will wake him.

[Execut.

#### SCENE III.

The Grecian Camp. Before Achilles' Tent.

### Enter THERSITES.

THER. How now, Therfites? what, lost in the labyrinth of thy fury? Shall the elephant Ajax carry it thus? he beats me, and I rail at him: O worthy fatisfaction! 'would, it were otherwise; that I could beat him, whilft he railed at me: 'Sfoot, I'll learn to conjure and raise devils, but I'll see some issue of my spiteful executions. Then there's

7 —— emulation —] That is, envy, factious contention.

JOHNSON

Emulation is now never used in an ill sense; but Shakspeare meant to employ it so. He has used the same with more propriety in a former scene, by adding epithets that ascertain its meaning:

<sup>&</sup>quot;Exampled by the first pace that is fick
"Of his superior, grows to an envious fever

<sup>&</sup>quot;Of pale and bloodless emulation." MALONE.

Achilles,—a rare engineer.<sup>8</sup> If Troy be not taken till thefe two undermine it, the walls will fiand till they fall of themselves. O thou great thunderdarter of Olympus, forget that thou art Jove the king of gods; and, Mercury, lose all the serpentine craft of thy Caduceus; 9 if ye take not that little little less-than-little wit from them that they have! which short-armed ignorance itself knows is so abundant scarce, it will not in circumvention deliver a fly from a spider, without drawing their massy irons, 1 and cutting the web. After this, the vengeance on the whole camp! or, rather, the boneache! 2 for that, methinks, is the curse dependant

Cyllenes cœlique decus! facunde minister, Aurea cui torto virga dracone viret. Steevens.

Thus the quarto. The folio reads—the maffy irons. In the late editions iron has been substituted for irons, the word found in the old copies, and certainly the true reading. So, in King Richard III:

"Put in their hands thy bruifing irons of wrath, "That they may crush down with a heavy fall

Bruising irons, in this quotation, as Mr. Henley has well obferved in loco, fignify—maces, weapons formerly used by our English cavalry. See Grose on ancient Armour, p. 53.

STEEVENS.

<sup>\* —</sup> a rare engineer.] The old copies have—enginer, which was the old fpelling of engineer. So, truncheoner, pioner, mutiner, fonneter, &c. MALONE.

<sup>9 —</sup> the serpentine craft of thy Caduceus; ] The wand of Mercury is wreathed with ferpents. So Martial, Lib. VII. Epig. lxxiv:

without drawing their maffy irons, That is, without drawing their fivords to cut the web. They use no means but those of violence. Johnson.

<sup>&</sup>quot;The usurping helmets of our adversaries." MALONE.

the bone-ache [] In the quarto—the Neapolitan bone-ache! Johnson,

on those that war for a placket.<sup>3</sup> I have faid my prayers; and devil, envy, say Amen. What, ho! my lord Achilles!

#### Enter Patroclus.

PATR. Who's there? Therfites? Good Therfites, come in and rail.

Ther. If I could have remembered a gilt counterfeit, thou wouldest not have slipped out of my contemplation: 4 but it is no matter; Thyself upon thyself! The common curse of mankind, folly and ignorance, be thine in great revenue! heaven bless thee from a tutor, and discipline come not near thee! Let thy blood be thy direction 5 till thy death! then if she, that lays thee out, says—thou art a fair

<sup>3</sup> — that war for a placket.] On this occasion Horace must be our expositor:

- fuit ante Helenam \*\*\*\*\* teterrima l'elli

Caufa.

Sat. Lib. I. iii. 107. STEEVENS.

In mine opinion, this remark enlumineth not the English reader. See mine handling of the same subject, in the play of King Lear, Act III. sc. iv. Vol. XVII. Amner.

<sup>4</sup> If I could have remembered a gilt counterfeit, thou wouldest not have slipped out of my contemplation:] Here is a plain allusion to the counterfeit piece of money called a slip, which occurs again in Romeo and Juliet, Act II. sc. iv. and which has been happily illustrated by Mr. Reed, in a note on that passage. There is the same allusion in Every Man in his Humour, Act II. sc. v. Whalley.

<sup>5</sup> Let thy blood be thy direction—] Thy blood means, thy paffions; thy natural propenfities. See Vol. VIII. p. 178, n. 4.

MALONE.

So, in The Yorkshire Tragedy: "—for 'tis our blood to love what we are forbidden." This word has the same sense in Timon of Athens and Cymbeline. Steevens.

corfe, I'll be fworn and fworn upon't, fhe never fhrouded any but lazars. Amen. Where's Achilles?

PATR. What, art thou devout? wast thou in prayer?

THER. Ay; The heavens hear me!

#### Enter Achilles.

ACHIL. Who's there?

PATR. Therfites, my lord.

Actil. Where, where?—Art thou come? Why, my cheefe, my digestion, why hast thou not served thyself in to my table so many meals? Come; what's Agamemnon?

THER. Thy commander, Achilles;—Then tell me, Patroclus, what's Achilles?

 $P_{ATR}$ . Thy lord, Therfites; Then tell me, I pray thee, what's thyfelf?

THER. Thy knower, Patroclus; Then tell me, Patroclus, what art thou?

PATR. Thou mayest tell, that knowest.

ACHIL. O, tell, tell.

THER. I'll decline the whole question.<sup>6</sup> Agamemnon commands Achilles; Achilles is my lord; I am Patroclus' knower; and Patroclus is a fool.<sup>7</sup>

PATR. You rascal!

THER. Peace, fool; I have not done.

<sup>6</sup> ——decline the whole question.] Deduce the question from the first case to the last. Johnson.

See Vol. XIV. p. 453, n. g. MALONE.

7 —— Patroclus is a fool.] The four next speeches are not in the quarto. Johnson.

ACHIL. He is a privileged man.—Proceed, Therfites.

THER. Agamemnon is a fool; Achilles is a fool; Therfites is a fool; and, as aforefaid, Patroclus is a fool.

ACHIL. Derive this; come.

THER. Agamemnon is a fool to offer to command Achilles; Achilles is a fool to be commanded of Agamemnon; Therfites is a fool to ferve fuch a fool; and Patroclus is a fool positive.<sup>8</sup>

PATR. Why am I a fool?

THER. Make that demand of the prover.9—It fuffices me, thou art. Look you, who comes here?

Enter AGAMEMNON, ULYSSES, NESTOR, DIO-MEDES, and AJAX.

ACHIL. Patroclus, 'I'll fpeak with nobody:—Come in with me, Therfites. [Exit.

THER. Here is fuch patchery, fuch juggling, and fuch knavery! all the argument is, a cuckold, and a whore; A good quarrel, to draw emulous factions, and bleed to death upon. Now the dry

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> — a fool positive.] The poet is still thinking of his grammar; the first degree of comparison being here in his thoughts. Malone.

<sup>9 ——</sup> of the prover.] So the quarto. Johnson.

The folio profanely reads—to thy creator. STEEVENS.

There feems to be a profane allusion in the last speech but one spoken by Thersites. MALONE.

to draw emulous factions,] i. e. envious, contending factions. See p. 312, n. 7. MALONE.

Why not rival factions, factions jealous of each other?

ferpigo on the subject! 2 and war, and lechery, confound all! [Exit.

AGAM. Where is Achilles?

 $P_{ATR}$ . Within his tent; but ill-difpos'd, my lord.

AGAM. Let it be known to him, that we are here. He fhent our meffengers; 3 and we lay by Our appertainments, vifiting of him:

Let him be told fo; left, perchance, he think We dare not move the question of our place, Or know not what we are.

 $P_{ATR}$ .

I shall say so to him.

[Exit.

ULYSS. We saw him at the opening of his tent; He is not sick.

<sup>2</sup> Now the dry serpigo &c.] This is added in the folio.

Johnson

The ferpigo is a kind of tetter. The term has already occurred in Measure for Measure. Steevens.

3 He shent our messengers;] i.e. rebuked, rated.

WARBURTON.

This word is used in common by all our ancient writers. So, in Spenser's Fairy Queen, Book IV. c. vi:

"Yet for no bidding, not for being Shent,

"Would he restrained be from his attendement."

Again, ilid:

"He for fuch baseness shamefully him *shent*." Again, in the ancient metrical romance of *The Sowdon of Balyloyne*, p. 41:

" ——haftowe no mynde
" How the curfed Sowdan Laban

" All messengeris he doth Shende." STEEVENS.

The quarto reads—fate; the folio—fent. The correction was made by Mr. Theobald. Sir T. Hanmer reads—He fent us meffengers. I have great doubts concerning the emendation now adopted, though I have nothing fatisfactory to propose. Though fent might easily have been misprinted for fhent, how could fate (the reading of the original copy) and fhent have been confounded? Malone.

AGAX. Yes, lion-fick, fick of proud heart: you may call it melancholy, if you will favour the man; but, by my head, 'tis pride: But why, why? let him fhow us a cause.—A word, my lord.

[Takes AGAMEMNON aside.

NEST. What moves Ajax thus to bay at him?

ULYSS. Achilles hath inveigled his fool from him.

NEST. Who? Therfites?

ULYSS. He.

NEST. Then will Ajax lack matter, if he have loft his argument.

 $U_{LYSS}$ . No you fee, he is his argument, that has his argument; Achilles.

NEST. All the better; their fraction is more our wish, than their faction: But it was a strong composure, 4 a fool could disunite.

ULYSS. The amity, that wisdom knits not, folly may easily untie. Here comes Patroclus.

#### Re-enter PATROCLUS.

NEST. No Achilles with him.

*ULYSS*. The elephant hath joints,<sup>5</sup> but none for courtefy: his legs are legs for necessity, not for flexure.

" —— Is fhe pliant?

"I hope you are no elephant, you have joints."

In The Dialogues of Creatures Moralysed, &c. bl. l. is mention of "the olefawnte that bowyth not the kneys;" a curious specimen of our early Natural History. Steevens.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> — composure,] So reads the quarto very properly; but the folio, which the moderns have followed, has, it was a strong counsel. Johnson.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> The elephant hath joints, &c.] So, in All's lost by Lust, 1633:

<sup>&</sup>quot;Stubborn as an elephant's leg, no bending in her." Again, in All Fools, 1605:

PATR. Achilles bids me fay—he is much forry, If any thing more than your fport and pleasure Did move your greatness, and this noble state, To call upon him; he hopes, it is no other, But, for your health and your digestion sake, An after-dinner's breath.

Me are too well acquainted with these answers:
But his evasion, wing'd thus swift with scorn,
Cannot outfly our apprehensions.
Much attribute he hath; and much the reason
Why we ascribe it to him: yet all his virtues,—
Not virtuously on his own part beheld,—
Do, in our eyes, begin to lose their gloss;
Yea, like fair fruit in an unwholesome dish,
Are like to rot untasted. Go and tell him,
We come to speak with him: And you shall not sin,
If you do say—we think him over-proud,
And under-honest; in self-assumption greater,

6 — noble flate,] Person of high dignity; spoken of Agamemnon. Johnson.

Noble flate rather means the flately train of attending nobles whom you bring with you. Patroclus had already addressed Agamemnon by the title of "your greatness." Steevens.

State was formerly applied to a fingle person. So, in Wits, Fits, and Fancies, 1614: "The archbishop of Grenada saying to the archbishop of Toledo, that he much marvelled, he being fo great a flate, would visit hospitals—."

Again, in Harrington's translation of Ariosto, 1591:

"The Greek demands her, whither the was going,
"And which of these two great estates her keeps."

Yet Mr. Steevens's interpretation appears to me to agree better with the context here. Malone.

7 — breath.] Breath, in the present instance, stands for—breathing, i. e. exercise. So, in Hamlet: "—it is the breathing time of day with me." Steevens.

Than in the note of judgment; 8 and worthier than himfelf

Here tend the favage strangeness he puts on; Difguise the holy strength of their command. And underwrite in an observing kind 2 His humorous predominance; yea, watch His pettifh lunes,3 his ebbs, his flows, as if The paffage and whole carriage of this action Rode on his tide. Go, tell him this; and add, That, if he overhold his price fo much,

- E Than in the note &c.] Surely the two unnecessary words in the, which spoil the metre, should be omitted. STEEVENS.
- o tend the favage strangeness— i.e. shyness, distant behaviour. So, in Venus and Adonis:

"Measure my sirangeness with my unripe years." Again, in Romeo and Juliet:

" \_\_\_\_\_I'll prove more true,

- "Than those that have more cunning to be ftrange." To tend is to attend upon. MALONE.
- 1 \_\_\_underwrite\_] To subscribe, in Shakspeare, is to obey. Johnson.

So, in King Lear: "You owe me no fulfcription."

STEEVENS.

- i. e. in a mode religiously attentive. So, in A Midfummer-Night's Dream: "To do observance to a morn of May." STEEVENS.
- 3 His pettish lunes,] This is Sir T. Hanmer's emendation of his pettish lines. The old quarto reads:

His courfe and time. This speech is unfaithfully printed in modern editions.

JOHNSON.

The quarto reads:

His course and time, his ebbs and flows, and if The paffage and whole stream of his commencement Rode on his tide.

His [his commencement] was probably misprinted for this, as it is in a subsequent passage in this scene in the quarto copy: "And how his filence drinks up his applause."

MALONE.

We'll none of him; but let him, like an engine Not portable, lie under this report— Bring action hither, this cannot go to war: A ftirring dwarf we do allowance give4 Before a fleeping giant :—Tell him fo.

 $P_{ATR}$ . I fhall; and bring his answer presently. Exit.

AGAM. In fecond voice we'll not be fatisfied, We come to fpeak with him.—Ulyffes, enter.5 Exit ULYSSES.

ATAX. What is he more than another?

AGAM. No more than what he thinks he is.

AJAX. Is he fo much? Do you not think, he thinks himself a better man than I am?

AGAM. No question.

AJAX. Will you subscribe his thought, and fay he is?

AGAM. No, noble Ajax; you are as ftrong, as valiant, as wife, no lefs noble, much more gentle, and altogether more tractable.

Agax. Why should a man be proud? How doth pride grow? I know not what pride is.

AGAM. Your mind's the clearer, Ajax, and your virtues the fairer. He that is proud, eats up himfelf: pride is his own glass, his own trumpet, his

<sup>4 —</sup> allowance give—] Allowance is approbation. So, in King Lear:
"——if your fweet fway

<sup>&</sup>quot; Allow obedience." STEEVENS.

<sup>5 —</sup> enter.] Old copies, regardless of metre,—enter you. STEEVENS.

own chronicle; and whatever praises itself but in the deed, devours the deed in the praise.

 $A_{JAX}$ . I do hate a proud man, as I hate the engendering of toads.<sup>7</sup>

NEST. And yet he loves himself: Is it not strange? [Afide.

#### Re-enter ULYSSES.

*ULYSS*. Achilles will not to the field to-morrow. *AGAM*. What's his excuse?

ULYSS. He doth rely on none; But carries on the ftream of his dispose, Without observance or respect of any, In will peculiar and in self-admission.

AGAM. Why will he not, upon our fair request, Untent his person, and share the air with us?

ULYSS. Things fmall as nothing, for requeft's fake only,
He makes important: Poffefs'd he is with greatness;
And speaks not to himself, but with a pride
That quarrels at felf-breath: imagin'd worth
Holds in his blood such swoln and hot discourse,
That, 'twist his mental and his active parts,

<sup>6 —</sup> whatever praises itself but in the deed, devours the deed in the praise.] So, in Coriolanus:

<sup>&</sup>quot;—power, unto itself most commendable, "Hath not a tomb so evident as a chair "To extol what it hath done." MALONE.

the engendering of toads.] Whoever wishes to comprehend the whole force of this allusion, may consult the late Dr. Goldsmith's History of the Earth, and animated Nature, Vol. VII. p. 92—93. Steevens.

Kingdom'd Achilles in commotion rages,<sup>8</sup>
And batters down himfelf: What should I say?
He is so plaguy proud,<sup>9</sup> that the death tokens of it<sup>1</sup>
Cry—No recovery.

AGAM. Let Ajax go to him.— Dear lord, go you and greet him in his tent: 'Tis faid, he holds you well; and will be led, At your request, a little from himself.

ULYSS. O Agamemnon, let it not be fo! We'll confecrate the fleps that Ajax makes When they go from Achilles: Shall the proud lord, That baftes his arrogance with his own feam;<sup>2</sup>

- <sup>8</sup> Kingdom'd Achilles in commotion rages,] So, in Julius Cæfar:
  - "The genius and the mortal inftruments
    - "Are then in council; and the flate of man, "Like to a little kingdom, fuffers then
    - "The nature of an infurrection." MALONE.
- <sup>9</sup> He is fo plaguy proud, &c.] I cannot help regarding the vulgar epithet—plaguy, which extends the verse beyond its proper length, as the wretched interpolation of some soolish player. Steevens.
- the death-tokens of it—] Alluding to the decifive fpots appearing on those infected by the plague. So, in Beaumont and Fletcher's Valentinian:
  - " Now, like the fearful tokens of the plague,
  - "Are mere fore-runners of their ends." STEEVENS.

Dr. Hodges, in his Treatife on the Plague, fays: "Spots of a dark complexion, usually called tokens, and looked on as the pledges or forewarnings of death, are minute and distinct blasts, which have their original from within, and rise up with a little pyramidal protuberance, the pestilential poison chiefly collected at their bases, tainting the neighbouring parts, and reaching to the surface." Reed.

<sup>2</sup> — with his own feam;] Swine-feam, in the North, is hog's-lard. RITSON.

See Sherwood's English and French Dictionary, folio, 1650.

And never fuffers matter of the world Enter his thoughts,—fave fuch as do revolve And ruminate himfelf,—fhall he be worshipp'd Of that we hold an idol more than he? No, this thrice worthy and right valiant lord Must not so stale his palm, nobly acquir'd; Nor, by my will, assuiplingate his merit, As amply titled as Achilles is, By going to Achilles:

That were to enlard his fat-already pride; 3 And add more coals to Cancer, when he burns With entertaining great Hyperion. 4 This lord go to him! Jupiter forbid; And say in thunder—Achilles, go to him.

NEST. O, this is well; he rubs the vein of him.

[Afide.

Dio. And how his filence drinks up this applause!

AJAX. If I go to him, with my arm'd fift I'll path him

Over the face.5

<sup>3</sup> That were to enlard &c.] This is only the well-known proverb—Greafe a fat fow &c. in a more flately drefs.

STEEVENS.

4 \_\_\_\_\_ to Cancer, when he burns

With entertaining great Hyperion.] Cancer is the Crab,

a fign in the zodiack.

The same thought is more clearly expressed by Thomson, whose words, on this occasion, are a sufficient illustration of our author's:

" And Cancer reddens with the folar blaze."

5 \_\_\_\_\_ I'll pash him

Over the face.] i.e. strike him with violence. So, in The Virgin Martyr, by Massinger, 1623:
"——when the batt'ring ram

"Were fetching his career backward, to pash

"Me with his horns to pieces."

AGAM.

O, no, you shall not go.

AJAX. An he be proud with me, I'll pheeze his pride:6

Let me go to him.

*ULYSS.* Not for the worth <sup>7</sup> that hangs upon our quarrel.

AJAX. A paltry, infolent fellow,—

 $N_{EST}$ . How he describes Himself!

 $A_{JAX}$ . Can he not be fociable?

ULYSS. The raven Chides blackness.

Again, in Churchyard's *Challenge*, 1596, p. 91: "—the pot which goeth often to the water comes home with a knock, or at length is pashed all to pieces." Reed.

o pheeze his pride: To pheeze is to comb or curry.

Johnson.

Mr. Steevens has explained the word feaze, as Dr. Johnson does, to mean the untwisting or unravelling a knotted skain of filk or thread. I recollect no authority for this use of it. To feize is to drive away; and the expression—I'll feize his pride, may fignify, I'll humble or lower his pride. See Vol. IX. p. 11, n. 1. Whalley.

To comb or curry, undoubtedly, is the meaning of the word here. Kersey, in his Dictionary, 1708, says that it is a seaterm, and that it signifies, to separate a cable by untwisting the ends; and Dr. Johnson gives a similar account of its original meaning. [See the reference at the end of the foregoing note.] But whatever may have been the origin of the expression, it undoubtedly signified, in our author's time, to beat, knock, sirike, or whip. Cole, in his Latin Dictionary, 1679, renders it, slagellare, virgis cædere, as he does to feage, of which the modern school-boy term, to fag, is a corruption. Malone.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Not for the worth—] Not for the value of all for which we are fighting. Johnson.

AJAX. I will let his humours blood.8

AGAM. He'll be physician,9 that should be the patient. [Aside.

Agax. An all men Were o'my mind,—

ULYSS. Wit would be out of fashion.

[Aside.

Agax. He should not bear it so, He should eat swords first: Shall pride carry it?

Nest. An 'twould, you'd carry half. [Afide. ULYSS. He'd have ten fhares.

Afide.

AJAX. I'll knead him, I will make him fup-

Nest. He's not yet thorough warm: force him with praifes:

Pour in, pour in; his ambition is dry. [Afide.

<sup>8</sup> I will let his humours blood.] In the year 1600 a collection of Epigrams and Satires was published with this quaint title: The Letting of Humours Blood in the Head-vaine.

MALONE.

9 He'll be physician, Old copies—the physician.
S

STEEVENS.

I'll knead him, &c.] Old copy:

Ajax. I'll knead him, I'll make him supple, he's not yet thorough warm.

Neft. - force him with praises: &c.

The latter part of Ajax's speech is certainly got out of place, and ought to be assigned to Nestor, as I have ventured to transpose it. Ajax is feeding on his vanity, and boasting what he will do to Achilles; he'll pash him o'er the face, he'll make him eat swords, he'll knead him, he'll supple him, &c. Nestor and Ulysses slily labour to keep him up in this vein; and to this end Nestor crastily hints that Ajax is not warm yet, but must be crammed with more flattery. Theobald.

Neftor was of the fame opinion with Dr. Johnson, who, speaking of a metaphysical Scotch writer, said, that he thought

ULTSS. My lord, you feed too much on this diflike. [To AGAMEMNON.

NEST. O noble general, do not do fo.

Dio. You must prepare to fight without Achilles.

ULTSS. Why, 'tis this naming of him does him harm.

Here is a man—But 'tis before his face; I will be filent.

NEST. Wherefore should you so? He is not emulous, as Achilles is.

ULYSS. Know the whole world, he is as valiant.

AJAX. A whorefon dog, that fhall palter 3 thus with us!

I would, he were a Trojan!

Nest. What a vice

Were it in Ajax now——

 $U_{LYSS}$ . If he were proud?

Dio. Or covetous of praise?

ULYSS. Ay, or furly borne?

there was "as much charity in helping a man down hill as up hill, if his tendency be downwards." See Bofwell's Tour to the Hebrides, third edit. p. 245. Malone.

——force him—] i.e. ftuff him. Farcir, Fr. So, again, in this play: "—malice forced with wit." Steevens.

<sup>2</sup> He is not emulous,] Emulous is here used, in an ill sense, for envious. See p. 316, n. 1. Malone.

Emulous, in this inflance, and perhaps in fome others, may well enough be fupposed to fignify—jealous of higher authority.

STEEVENS.

that shall palter—] That shall juggle with us, or fly from his engagements. So, in Julius Cafar:

" - what other band

"Than fecret Romans, who have fpoke the word,

" And will not palter?" MALONE.

Dio. 'Or strange, or self-affected?

ULYSS. Thank the heavens, lord, thou art of

fweet composure;

Praise him that got thee, she that gave thee suck:4 Fam'd be thy tutor, and thy parts of nature Thrice-fam'd, beyond all erudition:5 But he that disciplin'd thy arms to fight, Let Mars divide eternity in twain, And give him half: and, for thy vigour, Bull-bearing Milo his addition yield 6 To finewy Ajax. I will not praise thy wisdom, Which, like a bourn, a pale, a thore, confines Thy fpacious and dilated parts: Here's Neftor,— Instructed by the antiquary times, He must, he is, he cannot but be wise;— But pardon, father Nestor, were your days As green as Ajax', and your brain fo temper'd, You should not have the eminence of him, But be as Ajax.

Agax. Shall I call you father?

- beyond all thy erudition. Steevens.

Our author here, as usual, pays no regard to chronology. Milo of Croton lived long after the Trojan war. Malone.

<sup>4——</sup> The that gave thee fuck: This is from St. Luke, xi. 27: "Bleffed is the womb that bare thee, and the paps that thou haft fucked." STEEVENS.

<sup>5 —</sup> leyond all erudition:] Thus the folio. The quartos, erroneously:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Bull-bearing Milo his addition yield—] i.e. yield his titles, his celebrity for firength. △ddition, in legal language, is the title given to each party, showing his degree, occupation, &c. as efquire, gentleman, yeoman, merchant, &c.

<sup>7 ——</sup> like a bourn,] A bourn is a boundary, and fometimes a rivulet dividing one place from another. So, in King Lear, Act III. fc. vi:

<sup>&</sup>quot;Come o'er the bourn, Beffy, to me." See note on this passage. Stevens.

Nest. Ay, my good fon.8

Dio. Be rul'd by him, lord Ajax.

ULTSS. There is no tarrying here; the hart Achilles

Keeps thicket. Please it our great general To call together all his state of war; Fresh kings are come to Troy: To-morrow, We must with all our main of power stand fast: And here's a lord,—come knights from east to west, And cull their flower, Ajax shall cope the best.

AGAM. Go we to council. Let Achilles fleep: Light boats fail fwift, though greater hulks draw deep. [Exeunt.

8 Ajax. Shall I call you father?

Neft. Ay, my good fon.] In the folio and in the modern editions Ajax defires to give the title of father to Ulysses; in the quarto, more naturally, to Nestor. Johnson.

Shakfpeare had a cuftom prevalent about his own time in his thoughts. Ben Jonfon had many who called themselves his

fons.

Mr. Vaillant adds, that Cotton dedicated his *Treatife on Fishing* to his *father Walton*; and that Ashmole, in his *Diary*, observes—"April 3. Mr. William Backhouse, of Swallowsheld, in com. Berks, caused me to call him *father* thenceforward."

STEEVENS.

<sup>9</sup> Fresh kings are come to Troy: &c.] We might complete this imperfect verse by reading:

Fresh kings are come to succour Troy: &c.

So, Spenser:

"To fuccour the weak flate of fad afflicted Troy."

STEEVENS.

"—— draw deep.] So, in the Prologue to this play:
"—— the deep-drawing barks." Steevens.

#### ACT III. SCENE I.

Troy. A Room in Priam's Palace.

Enter PANDARUS and a Servant.

PAN. Friend! you! pray you, a word: Do not you follow the young lord Paris?

SERV. Ay, fir, when he goes before me.

PAN. You do depend upon him, I mean?

SERV. Sir, I do depend upon the lord.

PAN. You do depend upon a noble gentleman; I must needs praise him.

SERV. The lord be praifed!

PAN. You know me, do you not?

SERV. 'Faith, fir, superficially.

 $P_{AN}$ . Friend, know me better; I am the lord Pandarus.

SERV. I hope, I shall know your honour better.2

PAN. I do desire it.

SERV. You are in the state of grace.

Musick within.

PAN. Grace! not fo, friend; honour and lord-fhip are my titles:—What mufick is this?

MALONE.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> I hope, I shall know your honour better.] The fervant means to quibble. He hopes that Pandarus will become a better man than he is at present. In his next speech he chooses to understand Pandarus as if he had said he wished to grow better, and hence the servant affirms that he is in the state of grace. The second of these speeches has been pointed, in the late editions, as if he had asked, of what rank Pandarus was.

 $S_{ERV}$ . I do but partly know, fir; it is mufick in parts.

PAN. Know you the muficians?

SERV. Wholly, fir.

PAN. Who play they to?

SERV. To the hearers, fir.

PAN. At whose pleasure, friend?

SERV. At mine, fir, and theirs that love mufick.

PAN. Command, I mean, friend.

SERV. Who shall I command, fir?

PAN. Friend, we understand not one another; I am too courtly, and thou art too cunning: At whose request do these men play?

SERV. That's to't, indeed, fir: Marry, fir, at the request of Paris my lord, who is there in perfon; with him, the mortal Venus, the heart-blood of beauty, love's invisible foul,<sup>3</sup>——

PAN. Who, my coufin Creffida?

SERV. No, fir, Helen; Could you not find out that by her attributes?

PAN. It should seem, fellow, that thou hast not seen the lady Cressida. I come to speak with Paris from the prince Troilus: I will make a complimental assault upon him, for my business seeths.

SERV. Sodden bufinefs! there's a ftewed phrase,4 indeed!

<sup>3 —</sup> love's invifible foul,] may mean, the foul of love invifible every where elfe. Johnson.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Sodden *infinefs! there's a* flewed *phrafe*,] The quibbling fpeaker feems to mean that *fodden* is a phrafe fit only for the *fiews*. Thus, fays the *Bawd* in *Pericles*: "The finff we have, a firong wind will blow it to pieces, they are fo pitifully *fodden*."

Steevens.

## Enter Paris and Helen, attended.

PAN. Fair be to you, my lord, and to all this fair company! fair defires, in all fair measure, fairly guide them! especially to you, fair queen! fair thoughts be your fair pillow!

HELEN. Dear lord, you are full of fair words.

PAN. You fpeak your fair pleasure, sweet queen.—Fair prince, here is good broken musick.

PAR. You have broke it, coufin: and, by my life, you shall make it whole again; you shall piece it out with a piece of your performance:—Nell, he is full of harmony.

PAN. Truly, lady, no.

HELEN. O, fir,---

PAN. Rude, in footh; in good footh, very rude.

 $P_{AR}$ . Well faid, my lord! well, you fay fo in fits.5

 $P_{AN}$ . I have business to my lord, dear queen:—My lord, will you vouchfase me a word?

HELEN. Nay, this shall not hedge us out: we'll hear you fing, certainly.

PAN. Well, fweet queen, you are pleafant with me.—But (marry) thus, my lord,—My dear lord, and most esteemed friend, your brother Troilus—

" Satan. Upon these chearful words I needs must dance 2

fitte." STEEVENS.

<sup>5—</sup>in fits.] i. e. now and then, by fits; or perhaps a quibble is intended. A fit was a part or division of a song, sometimes a strain in musick, and sometimes a measure in dancing. The reader will find it sufficiently illustrated in the two former senses by Dr. Percy, in the first volume of his Reliques of ancient English Poetry: in the third of these significations it occurs in All for Money, a tragedy, by T. Lupton, 1578:

HELEN. My lord Pandarus; honey-fweet lord,—

PAN. Go to, fweet queen, go to:—commends himfelf most affectionately to you.

HELEN. You shall not bob us out of our melody; If you do, our melancholy upon your head!

PAN. Sweet queen, fweet queen; that's a fweet queen, i'faith.

HELEN. And to make a fweet lady fad, is a four offence.

PAN. Nay, that shall not serve your turn; that shall it not, in truth, la. Nay, I care not for such words; no, no.—And, my lord, he defires you, that, if the king call for him at supper, you will make his excuse.

HELEN. My lord Pandarus,—

PAN. What fays my fweet queen,—my very very fweet queen?

PAR. What exploit's in hand? where fups he tonight?

HELEN. Nay, but my lord,—

PAN. What fays my fweet queen?—My coufin will fall out with you. You must not know where, he sups.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>6</sup> And, my lord, he defires you,] Here I think the speech of Pandarus should begin, and the rest of it should be added to that of Helen, but I have followed the copies. Johnson.

Mr. Rowe had disposed these speeches in this manner. Hanmer annexes the words, "And to make a sweet lady" &c. to the preceding speech of Pandarus, and in the rest follows Rowe.

<sup>7</sup> You must not know where he sups. &c.] These words are in the quarto given to Helen, and the editor of the solio did not perceive the error. In like manner, in A&II. sc. i. p. 293, four speeches belonging to different persons are all in the quarto

PAR. I'll lay my life, with my disposer Creffida.

affigned to Ajax. "Cobloaf! He would pun thee," &c. and in the last scene of the same Act, words that evidently belong to Nestor are given to Ajax, [see p. 326, n. 1,] both in the quarto and folio. I have not therefore hefitated to add the words, "You must not know where he sups," to the speech of Pandarus. Mr. Steevens proposes to assign the next speech, "I'll lay my life," &c to Helen instead of Paris. This arrangement appeared to me so plausible, that I once regulated the text accordingly. But it is observable that through the whole of the dialogue Helen fieadily perfeveres in foliciting Pandarus to fing: "My lord Pandarus,"—"Nay, but my lord,"—&c. I do not therefore believe that Shakspeare intended she should join in the prefent inquiry. Mr. M. Mafon's objection also to such an arrangement is very weighty. "Pandarus, (he observes,) in his next speech but one, clearly addresses Paris, and in that speech he calls Creffida his difpofer." In what fense, however, Paris can call Creffida his difpofer, I am altogether ignorant. Mr. M. Mason supposes that "Paris means to call Cressida his governor or director, as it appears, from what Helen fays afterwards, that they had been good friends."

Perhaps Shakipeare wrote—defpifer. What Pandarus fays afterwards, that "Paris and Creffida are twain," fupports this

conjecture.

I do not believe that deposer (a reading suggested below) was our author's word; for Cressida had not deposed Helen in the affections of Troilus. A speech in a former scene, in which Pandarus says, Helen loves Troilus more than Paris, (which is insisted on by an anonymous Remarker,) [Mr. Ritson,] proves nothing. Had he said that Troilus once loved Helen better than Cressida, and afterwards preferred Cressida to her, the observation might deserve some attention.

The words,—I'll lay my life—are omitted in the folio. The words,—You must not know where he sups,—I find Sir Thomas

Hanmer had affigned to Pandarus. MALONE.

I believe, with Sir Thomas Hanmer, that—You must not know where he sups, should be added to the speech of Pandarus; and that the following one of Paris should be given to Helen. That Cressida wanted to separate Paris from Helen, or that the beauty of Cressida had any power over Paris, are circumstances not evident from the play. The one is the opinion of Dr. Warburton, the other a conjecture of Mr. Heath's. By giving, however, this line,—I'll lay my life with my disposer Cressida, to Helen, and by changing the word disposer into deposer, some meaning

PAN. No, no, no fuch matter, you are wide; 8 come, your difpofer is fick.

PAR. Well, I'll make excuse.

PAN. Ay, good my lord. Why fhould you fay—Creffida? no, your poor difpofer's fick.

PAR. I spy.9

PAN. You fpy! what do you fpy?—Come, give me an inftrument.—Now, fweet queen.

HELEN. Why, this is kindly done.

 $P_{AN}$ . My niece is horribly in love with a thing you have, fweet queen.

HELEN. She shall have it, my lord, if it be not my lord Paris.

may be obtained. She addresses herself, I suppose, to Pandarus, and, by her deposer, means—she who thinks her beauty (or, whose beauty you suppose) to be superior to mine. But the passage in question (as Arthur says of himself in King John,) is "not worth the coil that is made for it."

The word—disposer, however, occurs in The Epistle Dedi-

catorie to Chapman's Homer:

" Nor let her poore difposer (learning) lie

"Still bed-rid." STEEVENS.

The dialogue should perhaps be regulated thus:

" Par. Where fups he to-night? "Helen. Nay, but my lord,—

" Pan. What fays my sweet queen?

"Par. My coufin will fall out with you. [To Helen. Pan. You must not know where he sups. [To Paris. Helen. I'll lay my life with my deposer Creshida."

She calls Creffida her depofer, because she had deposed her in the affections of Troilus, whom Pandarus, in a preceding scene, is ready to swear she loved more than Paris. Ritson.

- \* you are wide; ] i.e. wide of your mark; a common exclamation when an archer miffed his aim. So, in Spenfer's State of Ireland: "Surely he shoots wide on the bow-hand, and very far from the mark." STEEVENS.
- <sup>9</sup> Par. I fpy.] This is the usual exclamation at a childish game called Hie, fpy, hie. Steevens.

PAN. He! no, she'll none of him; they two are twain.

HELEN. Falling in, after falling out, may make them three.

PAN. Come, come, I'll hear no more of this; I'll fing you a fong now.

HELEN. Ay, ay, pr'ythee now. By my troth, fweet lord,<sup>2</sup> thou haft a fine forehead.<sup>3</sup>

 $P_{AN}$ . Ay, you may, you may.

HELEN. Let thy fong be love: this love will undo us all. O, Cupid, Cupid, Cupid!

PAN. Love! ay, that it shall, i'faith.

PAR. Ay, good now, love, love, nothing but love.

 $P_{AN}$ . In good troth, it begins fo:

Love, love, nothing but love, still more!
For, oh, love's bow
Shoots buck and doe:
The shaft confounds,4
Not that it wounds 5
But tickles still the fore.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>I</sup> Falling in, after falling out, &c.] i.e. the reconciliation and wanton dalliance of two lovers after a quarrel, may produce a child, and fo make three of two. Tollet.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> ——fweet lord,] In the quarto—fweet lad. Johnson.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> — a fine forehead.] Perhaps, confidering the character of Pandarus, Helen means that he has a forehead illuminated by eruptions. To these, Falstaff has already given the splendid names of—brooches, pearls, and ouches. See notes on King Henry IV. Part II. Vol. XII. p. 80, 81, n. 5. Steevens.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> The fhaft confounds—] To confound, it has already been observed, formerly meant to destroy. Malone.

<sup>5 ---</sup> that it wounds, i.e. that which it wounds.

These lovers cry—Oh! oh! they die!
Yet that which seems the wound to kill,
Doth turn oh! oh! to ha! ha! he!
So dying love lives still:6
Oh! oh! a while, but ha! ha! ha!
Oh! oh! groans out for ha! ha! ha!

Hey ho!

HELEN. In love, i'faith, to the very tip of the nose.

PAR. He eats nothing but doves, love; and that breeds hot blood, and hot blood begets hot thoughts, and hot thoughts beget hot deeds, and hot deeds is love.

Both Malone and Musgrave have mistaken the sense of this passage. Pandarus means to say, that "the shaft consounds," not because the wounds it gives are severe, but because "it tickles still the fore."

To confound does not fignify here to defiroy, but to annoy or perplex; and that it wounds does not mean that which it wounds, but in that it wounds, or because it wounds.

M. MASON.

<sup>6</sup> These lovers cry—Oh! Oh! they die! Yet that which seems the wound to kill,

Doth turn oh! oh! to ha! ha! he!

So dying love lives fill: So, in our author's Venus and Adonis:

"For I have heard, it [love] is a life in death, "That laughs and weeps, and all but in a breath!"

MALONE.

The wound to kill may mean the wound that feems mortal.

The wound to kill is the killing wound. M. MASON.

A paffage in Maffinger's Fatal Dowry may prove the aptest comment on the third line of this despicable ditty:

"Beaumelle. [Within.] Ha! ha! ha!

"Charalois. How's this? It is my lady's laugh—
"When first I pleas'd her, in this merry language

"She gave me thanks." STEEVENS.

VOL. XV.

PAN. Is this the generation of love? hot blood, hot thoughts, and hot deeds?—Why, they are vipers: Is love a generation of vipers? Sweet lord, who's a-field to-day?

PAR. Hector, Deiphobus, Helenus, Antenor, and all the gallantry of Troy: I would fain have armed to-night, but my Nell would not have it fo. How chance my brother Troilus went not?

HELEN. He hangs the lip at fomething;—you know all, lord Pandarus.

PAN. Not I, honey-fweet queen.—I long to hear how they fped to-day.—You'll remember your brother's excuse?

PAR. To a hair.

PAN. Farewell, fweet queen.

HELEN. Commend me to your niece.

PAN. I will, fweet queen. [Exit. [A Retreat founded.

STEEVENS.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup>—a generation of vipers?] Here is an apparent allusion to the whimsical physiology of Shakspeare's age. Thus, fays Thomas Lupton, in *The Seventh Booke of Notable Thinges*, 4to. bl.1: "The female vyper doth open her mouth to receyve ye generative &c. of the male vyper, which receyved, she doth byte off his head. This is the maner of the froward generating of vypers. And, after that, the young vipers that springs of the same, do eate or gnaw assunder their mother's belly, therby comming or bursting forth. And so they (being revengers of theyr father's iniurye) do kyll theyr owne mother. You may see, they were a towardly kynde of people, that were called the generation of vipers." St. Matthew, iii. 7, &c.

E Pan. Is this the generation of love? &c.—Sweet lord, who's a-field to-day?] However Pan. may have got fluffled to the head of this speech, no more of it, I am consident, than the last five or fix words belongs to that character. The rest is clearly Helen's. RITSON.

PAR. They are come from field: let us to Priam's hall,

To greet the warriors. Sweet Helen, I must woo you

To help unarm our Hector: his ftubborn buckles, With these your white enchanting fingers touch'd, Shall more obey, than to the edge of steel, Or force of Greekish sinews; you shall do more Than all the island kings, difarm great Hector.

HELEN. 'Twill make us proud to be his fervant, Paris:

Yea, what he shall receive of us in duty, Give us more palm in beauty than we have; Yea, overshines ourself.

Par. Sweet, above thought I love thee. Exeunt.

#### SCENE II.

The same. Pandarus' Orchard.

Enter PANDARUS and a Servant, meeting.

PAN. How now? where's thy master? at my cousin Crestida's?

SERV. No, fir; he ftays for you to conduct him thither.

## Enter Troilus.

PAN. O, here he comes.—How now, how now? TRO. Sirrah, walk off. [Exit Servant.

<sup>9 —</sup> above thought I love thee.] So, in Antony and Cleopatra:
"She's cunning past man's thought." Steevens.

## 340 TROILUS AND CRESSIDA.

PAN. Have you feen my coufin?

Tro. No, Pandarus: I stalk about her door, Like a strange soul upon the Stygian banks Staying for wastage. O, be thou my Charon, And give me swift transportance to those sields, Where I may wallow in the lily beds Propos'd for the deserver! O gentle Pandarus, From Cupid's shoulder pluck his painted wings, And sly with me to Cressid!

PAN. Walk here i'the orchard, I'll bring her straight. [Exit PANDARUS.

The imaginary relish is so sweet
That it enchants my sense; What will it be,
When that the watry palate tastes indeed
Love's thrice-reputed nectar? death, I fear me;
Swooning destruction; or some joy too sine,
Too subtle-potent, tun'd too sharp in sweetness,
For the capacity of my ruder powers:
I fear it much; and I do fear besides,
That I shall lose distinction in my joys;
As doth a battle, when they charge on heaps
The enemy slying.

rately than the folio, which has—and too fharp. Johnson.

The quarto has to instead of too. MARONE.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> That I shall lese distinction in my joys; Thus, in Sappho's Epistle to Phaon:

<sup>&</sup>quot; — ubi jam amborum fuerat confusa voluptas,—"
STEEVENS.

#### Re-enter Pandarus.

PAN. She's making her ready, fhe'll come flraight: you must be witty now. She does so blush, and fetches her wind so short, as if she were frayed with a sprite: 3 I'll fetch her. It is the prettiest villain:—she fetches her breath as short as a new-ta'en sparrow.

[Exit Pandarus.

Tro. Even fuch a paffion doth embrace my bofom:4

My heart beats thicker than a feverous pulse; And all my powers do their bestowing lose, Like vassalage at unawares encountring The eye of majesty.<sup>5</sup>

### Enter PANDARUS and CRESSIDA.

PAN. Come, come, what need you blush? shame's a baby.—Here she is now: swear the oaths now to

- <sup>3</sup> frayed—] i.e. frighted. So, in Chapman's version of the 21st Iliad:
  - " all the massacres
  - "Left for the Greeks, could put on looks of no more overthrow
  - "Than now fray'd life." STEEVENS.
- \* Even fuch a passion doth embrace my bosom:] So, in The Merchant of Venice:
  - " \_\_\_ rath-embraced despair." MALONE.

<sup>5</sup> Like vaffalage at unawares encount ring
The eye of majefu.] Mr. Rowe feems to have imitated
this paffage in his Ambitious Stepmother, Act I:

- "Well may the ignoble herd
- "Start, if with heedless steps they unawares
- "Tread on the lion's walk: a prince's genius "Awes with fuperior greatness all beneath him."

STEEVENS.

her, that you have fworn to me.-What, are you gone again? you must be watched ere you be made tame,6 must you? Come your ways, come your ways; an you draw backward, we'll put you i'the fills,7—Why do you not speak to her?—Come, draw this curtain, and let's fee your picture.8 Alas the day, how loath you are to offend daylight! an 'twere dark, you'd close sooner. So, so; rub on,

6 ---- you must be watched ere you be made tame,] Alluding to the manner of taming hawks. So, in The Taming of the Shrew:

" --- to watch her as we watch these kites."

Hawks were tamed by being kept from fleep, and thus Pandarus means that Creffida should be tamed. MALONE.

7 —— i'the fills.] That is, in the fhafts. Fill is a provincial word used in some counties for thills, the shafts of a cart or

waggon. See Vol. VII. p. 269, n. 9.

The editor of the fecond folio, for fills, the reading of the first folio, substituted files, which has been adopted in all the modern editions. The quarto has filles, which is only the more ancient spelling of fills. The words "draw backward" show that the original is the true reading. MALONE.

Sir T. Hanmer supports the reading of the second folio, by faying-put you in the files, " alludes to the custom of putting men suspected of cowardice [i. e. of drawing backward,] in the middle places." Thus, Homer, Iliad IV. 299:

The word files does not mean the middle places, but the ranks. The common foldiers of an army are called the rank and file; and when the ferjeants or corporals mitbehave, it is usual to punish them by reducing them to the files, that is, to the rank of private men. To draw backward, is merely to fall back, and has no reference to drawing in a carriage.

M. MASON. 8 Come, draw this curtain, and let's fee your picture.] It should feem, from these words, that Cressida, like Olivia in Twelfth-Night, was intended to come in veiled. Pandarus how-

ever had, as usual, a double meaning. MALONE.

and kiss the mistress. How now, a kiss in fee-farm! build there, carpenter; the air is sweet. Nay, you shall fight your hearts out, ere I part you. The falcon as the tercel, for all the ducks i'the river: 3 go to, go to.

<sup>9</sup> So, fo; rub on, and kiss the mistress.] The allusion is to bowling. What we now call the jack, seems, in Shakspeare's time, to have been termed the mistress. A bowl that kisses the jack or mistress, is in the most advantageous situation. Rub on is a term at the same game. So, in No Wit like a Woman's, a comedy, by Middleton, 1657:

" --- So, a fair riddance;

"There's three ruls gone; I've a clear way to the miftress."

Again, in Decker's Satiromastix, 1602:

"Mini. Since he hath hit the mistires so often in the fore-

game, we'll even play out the rubbers.
"Sir Vaugh. Play out your rubbers in God's name; by Jesu

I'll never bowl in your alley." MALONE.

An infrance to the fame effect was long ago fuggefted in a note on Cymbeline, Act II. fc. i. Steevens.

a kiss in fee-farm! Is a kiss of a duration that has no bounds; a fee-farm being a grant of lands in fee, that is, for ever, reserving a certain rent. MALONE.

How much more poetically is the fame idea expressed in *Coriolanus*, when the jargon of law was absent from our author's thoughts!

" ---- O, a kifs,

"Long as my exile, fweet as my revenge!"

STEEVENS.

\* \_\_\_ luild there, carpenter; the air is fiveet.] So, in Macleth:

" does approve

"By his lov'd mansionry, that heaven's breath

"Smells wooingly here." STEEVENS.

<sup>3</sup> The falcon as the tercel, for all the ducks i'the river:] Pandarus means, that he'll match his niece against her lover for any bett. The tercel is the male hawk; by the falcon we generally understand the female. Theobald.

I think we should rather read:—at the tercel—.

TYRWHITT.

Tre. You have bereft me of all words, lady.

PAN. Words pay no debts, give her deeds: but The'll bereave you of the deeds too, if the call your activity in question. What, billing again? Here's —In witness whereof the parties interchangeably4— Come in, come in; I'll go get a fire.

Exit PANDARUS.

Cres. Will you walk in, my lord?

Tro. O Creffida, how often have I wished me thus?

CRES. Wished my lord?—The gods grant!—O my lord!

In Chaucer's Troilus and Creffeide, L. IV. 410, is the following stanza, from which Shakspeare may have caught a glimpse of meaning, though he has not very clearly expressed it. Pandarus is the speaker:

"What? God forbid, alway that eche plefaunce " In o thing were, and in non othir wight; "If one can finge, anothir can wel daunce,

"If this be godely, the is glad and light, "And this is faire, and that can gode aright; "Eche for his vertue holdin is full dere,

"Both heroner and faucon for rivere."
Again, in Fenton's Tragicall Difcourfes, bl. l. 4to. 1567: -how is that possible to make a froward kite a forward hawke to the ryver?" P. 159, b.

Mr. M. Mason observes, that the meaning of this difficult paffage is, "I will back the falcon against the tiercel, I will wager that the falcon is equal to the tiercel." STEEVENS.

4 — the parties interchangeably—] have fet their hands and feals. So afterwards: "Go to, a bargain made: feal it, feul it." Shakspeare appears to have had here an idea in his thoughts that he has often expressed. So, in Measure for Megfure:

" But my kiffes bring again,

" Seals of love, but feal'd in vain."

Again, in his Venus and Adonis:

"Pure lips, fweet feals in my foft lips imprinted, "What bargains may I make, still to be fealing?"

MALONE.

 $T_{RO}$ . What fhould they grant? what makes this pretty abruption? What too curious dreg espies my sweet lady in the fountain of our love?

Cres. More dregs than water, if my fears have eyes.5

 $T_{RO}$ . Fears make devils cherubins; they never fee truly.

 $C_{RES}$ . Blind fear, that feeing reason leads, finds faser sooting than blind reason stumbling without fear: To fear the worst, ost cures the worst.

Tro. O, let my lady apprehend no fear: in all Cupid's pageant there is prefented no monfter.<sup>6</sup>

CRES. Nor nothing monstrous neither?

Tro. Nothing, but our undertakings; when we vow to weep feas, live in fire, eat rocks, tame tigers; thinking it harder for our mistress to devise imposition enough, than for us to undergo any difficulty imposed. This is the monstructive in love, lady,—that the will is infinite, and the execution confined; that the desire is boundless, and the act a flave to limit.

<sup>5 —</sup> if my fears have eyes.] The old copics have—tears. Corrected by Mr. Pope. Malone.

omonster.] From this passage, however, a Fear appears to have been a personage in other pageants; or perhaps in our ancient moralities. To this circumstance Aspatia alludes in The Maid's Tragedy:

<sup>&</sup>quot; --- and then a Fear:

<sup>&</sup>quot;Do that Fear bravely, wench." See also Antony and Cleopatra, Act II. sc. ii. Steevens.

we have, not a Trojan prince talking to his miftrefs, but Orlando Furioso vowing that he will endure every calamity that can be imagined; boasting that he will achieve more than ever knight performed. MALONE.

Cres. They fay, all lovers fwear more performance than they are able, and yet referve an ability that they never perform; vowing more than the perfection of ten, and discharging less than the tenth part of one. They that have the voice of lions, and the act of hares, are they not monsters?

Tro. Are there fuch? fuch are not we: Praife us as we are tasted, allow us as we prove; our head shall go bare, till merit crown it: no perfection in reversion shall have a praise in present: we will not name desert, before his birth; and, being born, his addition shall be humble. Few words to fair faith: Troilus shall be such to Cressid, as what envy can fay worst, shall be a mock for his truth; and what truth can speak truest, not truer than Troilus.

CRES. Will you walk in, my lord?

#### Re-enter PANDARUS.

PAN. What, blushing still? have you not done talking yet?

- our head shall go bare, till merit crown it:] I cannot forbear to observe, that the quarto reads thus: Our head shall go bare, till merit louer part no affection, in reversion, &c. Had there been no other copy, how could this have been corrected? The true reading is in the folio. Johnson.
- <sup>9</sup> his addition fhall be humble.] We will give him no high or pompous titles. Johnson.

Addition is still the term used by conveyancers in describing the quality and condition of the parties to deeds, &c. Reed.

what envy can say worst, shall be a mock for his truth; i.e. shall be only a mock for his truth. Even malice (for such is the meaning of the word envy) shall not be able to impeach his truth, or attack him in any other way, except by ridiculing him for his constancy. See p. 64, n. 2. Malone.

CRES. Well, uncle, what folly I commit, I dedicate to you.

PAN. I thank you for that; if my lord get a boy of you, you'll give him me: Be true to my lord: if he flinch, chide me for it.

Tro. You know now your hoftages; your uncle's word, and my firm faith.

PAN. Nay, I'll give my word for her too; our kindred, though they be long ere they are wooed, they are conftant, being won: they are burs, I can tell you; they'll flick where they are thrown.<sup>2</sup>

Cres. Boldness comes to me now, and brings me heart:—

Prince Troilus, I have lov'd you night and day For many weary months.

 $T_{RO}$ . Why was my Creffid then fo hard to win?

Cres. Hard to feem won; but I was won, my lord,

With the first glance that ever—Pardon me;—
If I confess much, you will play the tyrant.
I love you now; but not, till now, so much
But I might master it:—in faith, I lie;
My thoughts were like unbridled children, grown
Too headstrong for their mother: See, we fools!
Why have I blabb'd? who shall be true to us,
When we are so unsecret to ourselves?
But, though I lov'd you well, I woo'd you not;
And yet, good faith, I wish'd myself a man;
Or that we women had men's privilege
Of speaking first. Sweet, bid me hold my tongue;

"Nay, triar, I am a kind of bur, I shall stick."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> — they'll stick where they are thrown.] This allusion has already occurred in Measure for Measure:

For, in this rapture, I shall surely speak
The thing I shall repent See, see, your silence,
Cunning in dumbness, from my weakness draws
My very soul of counsel: Stop my mouth.

Tro. And shall, albeit sweet musick issues thence.

PAN. Pretty, i'faith.

CRES. My lord, I do befeech you, pardon me; 'Twas not my purpofe, thus to beg a kifs: I am afham'd;—O heavens! what have I done?—For this time will I take my leave, my lord.

Tro. Your leave, fweet Creffid?

PAN. Leave! an you take leave till to-morrow morning,—

Cres. Pray you, content you.

Tro. What offends you, lady?

Cres. Sir, mine own company.

Tro. You cannot flun Yourfelf.

CRES. Let me go and try:<sup>4</sup> I have a kind of felf refides with you;<sup>5</sup> But an unkind felf, that itfelf will leave,

<sup>3</sup> Cunning in dumbness, The quarto and folio read—Coming in dumbness. The emendation was made by Mr. Pope.

MALONE.

\* Let me go and try:] This verse being impersect, I suppose our author to have originally written:

Let me go in, my lord, and try. Steevens.

<sup>5</sup> I have a kind of felf refides with you;] So, in our author's 123d Sonnet:

" — for I, being pent in thee,

"Perforce am thine, and all that is in me." MALONE.

A fimilar thought occurs in Antony and Cleopatra:

"That thou, refiding here, go'ft yet with me," &c.

STEEVENS.

To be another's fool. I would be gone:—Where is my wit? I know not what I speak.6

Tro. Well know they what they fpeak, that fpeak fo wifely.

Cres. Perchance, my lord, I show more craft than love;

And fell fo roundly to a large confession, To angle for your thoughts: But you are wise; Or else you love not; For to be wise, and love, Exceeds man's might; that dwells with gods above.?

6 —— I would be gone:—
Where is my wit? I know not what I speak.] Thus the quartos. The folio reads:

To be another's fool. Where is my wit?
I would be gone. I speak I know not what, MALONE.

7 — But you are wife;
Or elfe you love not; For to be wife, and love,
Exceeds man's might; &c.] I read:
— but we're not wife,

Or elfe we love not; to be wife, and love, Exceeds man's might;——

Creffida, in return to the praise given by Troilus to her wisdom, replies: "That lovers are never wise; that it is beyond the power of man to bring love and wisdom to an union."

I don't think that this passage requires any amendment. Cressida's meaning is this: "Perchance I fell too roundly to confession, in order to angle for your thoughts; but you are not so easily taken in; you are too wise, or too indifferent; for to be wise and love, exceeds man's might." M. Mason.

——to be wife and love, Exceeds man's might; This is from Spenfer, Shepherd's Calendar, March:

"To be wife, and eke to love,

" Is granted fcarce to gods above." TYRWHITT.

This thought originally belongs to Publius Syrus, among whose fentences we find this:

"Amare et sapere vix Deo conceditur."

Marston, in *The Dutch Courtezan*, 1605, has the same thought, and the line is printed as a quotation:

Tro. O, that I thought it could be in a woman. (As, if it can, I will prefume in you,) To feed for aye her lamp and flames of love;8 To keep her constancy in plight and youth, Outliving beauty's outward, with a mind That doth renew swifter than blood decays!9 Or, that perfuafion could but thus convince me, That my integrity and truth to you

> "But raging luft my fate all ftrong doth move; " The gods themselves cannot be wife, and love."

Creffida's argument is certainly inconfequential: "But you are wife, or elfe you are not in love; for no one who is in love can be wife." I do not, however, believe there is any corruption, as our author fometimes entangles himfelf in inextricable difficulties of this kind. One of the commentators has endeayoured to extort fenfe from the words as they fland, and thinks there is no difficulty. In these cases, the furest way to prove the inaccuracy, is, to omit the word that embarraffes the tentence. Thus, if, for a moment, we read:

——But you are wife;

Or else you love; for to be wife, and love, Exceeds man's might; &c.

the inference is clear, by the omission of the word not: which is not a word of fo little importance that a fentence shall have just the same meaning whether a negative is contained in it or taken from it. But for all inaccuracies of this kind our poet himfelf is undoubtedly answerable.—Sir T. Hanner, to obtain fome fense, arbitrarily reads:

A sign you love not. MALONE.

<sup>8</sup> To feed for aye her lamp  $\mathfrak{C}c$ .] Troilus alludes to the perpetual lamps which were supposed to illuminate sepulchres:

" \_\_\_\_lafting flames, that burn "To light the dead, and warm th' unfruitful urn."

See my note on Pericles, Act III. fc. i. Steevens.

9 - fwifter than blood decays!] Blood, in Shakfpeare, frequently means defire, appetite. MALONE.

In the prefent inflance, the word blood has its common fignification. So, in Much Ado about Nothing:

"Time hath not yet fo dry'd this blood -. " STEEVENS.

Might be affronted with the match and weight Of fuch a winnow'd purity in love; How were I then uplifted! but, alas, I am as true as truth's fimplicity, And fimpler than the infancy of truth.

CRES. In that I'll war with you.

Tro. O virtuous fight, When right with right wars who shall be most right! True swains in love shall, in the world to come, Approve their truths by Troilus: when their rhymes, Full of protest, of oath, and big compare, Want similes, truth tir'd with iteration, 4—

<sup>т</sup> Might be affronted with the match—] I wish "my integrity might be met and matched with such equality and force of pure unmingled love." Јонизои.

So, in Hamlet:

"--- that he, as 'twere by accident, may here

" Affront Ophelia." STEEVENS.

- <sup>2</sup> And fimpler than the infancy of truth,] This is fine; and means, "Ere truth, to defend itself against deceit in the commerce of the world, had, out of necessity, learned worldly policy." WARBURTON.
- 3 compare,] i. e. comparison. So Milton, Paradise Lyst, B. III:

"Beyond compare the fon of God was feen --."

STEEVENS.

\* True fwains in love shall, in the world to come,
Approve their truths by Troilus: when their rhymes,
Fu!! of protest, of oath, and big compare.

Fu'll of protest, of oath, and big compare,
Want fimiles, truth tir'd with iteration,—] The metre,
as well as the sense, of the last verse, will be improved, I think,
by reading:

"Want similes of truth, tir'd with iteration, -.

So, a little lower in the same speech:

Yet after all comparisons of truth. TYRWHITT.

This is a very probable conjecture. Truth at prefent has no verb to which it can relate. MALONE.

As true as fteel,5 as plantage to the moon,6

<sup>5</sup> As true as fteel,] As true as fteel is an ancient proverbial fimile. I find it in Lydgate's Troy Book, where he speaks of Troilus, L. II. c. xvi:

"Thereto in love trewe as any stele."

Virgil, Æneid VII. 640, applies a fimilar epithet to a fword:

"——fidoque accingitur ense."
i.e. a weapon in the metal of which he could conside; a trufty blade. It should be observed, however, that Geo. Gascoigne, in his Steele Glass, 1576, bestows the same character on his Mirrour:

"--- this poore glass which is of trustie steele."

Again:

"-- that steele both trusty was and true."

Mirrors formerly being made of fteel, I once thought the meaning might be, "as true as the mirror, which faithfully exhibits every image that is prefented before it." But I now think with Mr. Steevens, that—As true as fteel was merely a proverbial expression, without any such allusion. A passage in an old piece entitled The Pleesures of Poetry, no date, but printed in the time of Queen Elizabeth, will admit either interpretation:

"Behold in her the lively glaffe,

"The pattern, true as fieel." MALONE.

<sup>6</sup> — as plantage to the moon,] Alluding to the common opinion of the influence the moon has over what is planted or fown, which was therefore done in the increase:

"Rite Latonæ puerum canentes, "Rite crefcentem face noctilucam,

" Profperam frugum, ---." Hor. Lib. IV. Od. vi.

WARBURTON.

Plantage is not, I believe, a general term, but the herb which we now call plantain, in Latin, plantago, which was, I suppose, imagined to be under the peculiar influence of the moon.

Johnson.

Shakipeare ipeaks of plantain by its common appellation in Romeo and Juliet; and yet, in Sapho and Phao, 1591, Mandrake is called Mandrage:

"Sow next thy vines mandrage."

From a book entitled *The profitable Art of Gardening*, &c. by Tho. Hill, Londoner, the third edition, printed in 1579, I learn, that neither fowing, planting, nor grafting, were ever undertaken without a ferupulous attention to the encrease or waning

As fun to day, as turtle to her mate, As iron to adamant,<sup>7</sup> as earth to the center,— Yet, after all comparisons of truth, As truth's authentick author to be cited,<sup>8</sup> As true as Troilus shall crown up the verse,<sup>9</sup> And sanctify the numbers.

Cres. Prophet may you be! If I be false, or swerve a hair from truth, When time is old and hath forgot itself, When waterdrops have worn the stones of Troy, And blind oblivion swallow'd cities up, And mighty states characterless are grated To dusty nothing; yet let memory, From false to false, among false maids in love,

of the moon.—Dryden does not appear to have understood the passage, and has therefore altered it thus:

As true as flowing tides are to the moon. Steevens.

This may be fully illustrated by a quotation from Scott's Difcoverie of Witchcroft: "The poore husbandman perceiveth that the increase of the moone maketh plants frutefull: so as in the full moone they are in the best strength; decaieing in the wane; and in the conjunction do utterlie wither and vade."

FARMER.

<sup>7</sup> As iron to adamant,] So, in Greene's Tu Quoque, 1614: "As true to thee as fieel to adamant." MALONE.

<sup>8</sup> As truth's authentick author to be cited,] Troilus shall crown the verse, as a man to be cited as the authentick author of truth; as one whose protestations were true to a proverb.

JOHNSON.

<sup>9</sup> — crown up the verfe,] i.e. conclude it. Finis coronat opus. So, in Chapman's version of the second Iliad:

"We flie, not putting on the crowne of our fo long-held warre." Steevens.

warre. STEEVENS.

And blind oblivion fwallow'd cities up,] So, in King Richard III. quarto, 1598:

"And almost shoulder'd in this fwallowing gulph "Of blind forgetfulness and dark oblivion." MALONE.

Vol. XV. A a

Upbraid my falsehood! when they have faid—as false

As air, as water, wind, or fandy earth,
As fox to lamb, as wolf to heifer's calf,
Pard to the hind, or fiepdame to her fon;
Yea, let them fay, to flick the heart of falsehood,
As false as Creffid.<sup>2</sup>

PAN. Go to, a bargain made: feal it, feal it; I'll be the witnefs.—Here I hold your hand; here, my coufin's. If ever you prove false one to another, since I have taken such pains to bring you together, let all pitiful goers-between be called to the world's end after my name, call them all—Pandars; let all constant men<sup>3</sup> be Troiluses, all false

<sup>2</sup> Tro. — when their rhymes,
Want similes —
As true as Troilus shall crown up the verse—
Cres. — Yea, let them say—

As false as Cressia.] This antithesis of praise and censure appears to have found an imitator in Edmund Smith, the author of Phadra and Hippolytus:

"Thefeus. ----

"And when afpiring bards, in daring ftrains,
"Shall raife fome matron to the heavenly powers,

"They'll fay, the's great, the's true, the's chafte as Phædra.

" Phædra. ----

"And when th' avenging muse with pointed rage, "Would fink some impious woman down to hell,

"They'll fay, fhe's falfe, fhe's base, fhe's foul as Phædra."
Act V. STEEVENS.

conftant men—] Though Sir T. Hanmer's emendation [inconfiant] be plaufible, I believe Shakspeare wrote—confiant. He seems to have been less attentive to make Pandar talk consequentially, than to account for the ideas actually annexed to the three names. Now it is certain that, in his time, a Troilus was as clear an expression for a constant lover, as a Cressida and a Pandar were for a jilt and a pimp.

Tyrwhitt.

women Creffids, and all brokers-between Pandars! fay, amen.

I entirely agree with Mr. Tyrwhitt, and am happy to have his opinion in support of the reading of the old copy, from which, in my apprehension, we ought not to deviate, except in cases of extreme necessity. Of the affertion in the latter part of his note, relative to the constancy of Troilus, various proofs are furnished by our old poets. So, in A gorgeous Gallery of gallant Inventions, &c. 4to. 1578:

"But if thou me forfake,

"As Creflid that forgot

"True Troilus, her make," &c.

Again, ibid:

"As Troilus' truth fhall be my fhield, "To kepe my pen from blame,

"So Creffid's crafte shall kepe the field,

" For to refound thy shame."

Mr. M. Mason objects, that constant cannot be the true reading, because Pandarus has already supposed that they should both prove false to each other, and it would therefore be absurd for him to say that Troilus should be quoted as an example of constancy. But to this the answer is, that Shakspeare himself knew what the event of the story was, and who the person was that did prove false; that many expressions in his plays have dropped from him, in consequence of that knowledge, that are improper in the mouth of the speaker; and that, in his licentious mode of writing, the words, "if ever you prove false to one another," may mean, not, if you both prove false, but, if it should happen that any falshood or breach of faith should distinite you, who are now thus attached to each other. This might and did happen, by one of the parties proving salse, and breaking her engagement.

The modern editions read—if ever you prove false to one another; but the reading of the text is that of the quarto and folio, and was the phraseology of Shakspeare's age. Malone.

It is clearly the intention of the poet that this imprecation should be such a one as was verified by the event, as it is in part to this very day. But neither was Troilus ever used to denote an *inconstant* lover, nor, if we believe the story, did he ever deserve the character, as both the others did in truth deserve that shame here imprecated upon them. Besides, Pandarus seems to adjust his imprecation to those of the other two preserves.

TRO. Amen.

Cres. Amen.

PAN. Amen. Whereupon I will show you a chamber and a bed,4 which bed, because it shall not speak of your pretty encounters, press it to death: away.

And Cupid grant all tongue-tied maidens here, Bed, chamber, Pandar to provide this geer!

[Exeunt.

#### SCENE III.

# The Grecian Camp.

Enter AGAMEMNON, ULYSSES, DIOMEDES, NES-TOR, AJAX, MENELAUS, and CALCHAS.

CAL. Now, princes, for the fervice I have done you,

The advantage of the time prompts me aloud To call for recompense. Appear it to your mind,5

ceding, just as they dropped from their lips; as false as Creffid, and, consequently, as true (or as constant) as Troilus.

4 — and a bed, These words are not in the old copy, but what follows flows that they were inadvertently omitted.

This deficiency was fupplied by Sir Thomas Hannier. He reads, however, "—a chamber with a bed; which bed, because" &c. Steevens.

Appear it to you, -. STEEVENS.

<sup>5 ——</sup> Appear it to your mind,] Sir Thomas Hanmer, very properly in my opinion, reduces this line to measure, by reading:

That, through the fight I bear in things, to Jove 6 I have abandon'd Troy,7 left my possession,

6 — through the fight I bear in things, to Jove &c.] This paffage, in all the modern editions, is filently deprayed, and printed thus:

——through the fight I lear in things to come,—. The word is fo printed that nothing but the fense can determine whether it be love or Jove. I believe that the editors read it as love, and therefore made the alteration to obtain some meaning.

JOHNSON.

I do not perceive why love, the clear and evident reading of both the quartos and folios, should be passed over without some attempt to explain it. In my opinion it may signify—"No longer assisting Troy with my advice, I have left it to the dominion of love, to the consequences of the amour of Paris and Helen." Steevens.

7 That, through the fight I bear in things, to Jove

I have alandon'd Troy, &c.] This reasoning perplexes Mr. Theobald: "He forefaw his country was undone; he ran over to the Greeks; and this he makes a merit of (fays the editor). I own (continues he) the motives of his oratory feem to be fomewhat perverse and unnatural. Nor do I know how to reconcile it, unless our poet purposely intended to make Calchas act the part of a true priest, and so from motives of self-interest infinuate the merit of fervice." The editor did not know how to reconcile this. Nor I neither. For I do not know what he means by "the motives of his oratory," or, "from motives of felf-interest to infinuate merit." But if he would infinuate, that it was the poet's defign to make his priest felf-interested, and to represent to the Greeks that what he did for his own preservation, was done for their fervice, he is mistaken. Shakspeare thought of nothing so filly, as it would be to draw his priest a knave, in order to make him talk like a fool. Though that be the fate which generally attends their abusers. But Shakspeare was no fuch; and confequently wanted not this cover for dulnefs. The perverfeness is all the editor's own, who interprets,

- through the fight I have in things to come,

I have abandon'd Troy,-

to fignify, "by my power of prescience finding my country must be ruined, I have therefore abandoned it to seek refuge with you;" whereas the true sense is, "Be it known unto you, that on account of a gift or faculty I have of seeing things to

Incurr'd a traitor's name; expos'd myfelf, From certain and poffefs'd conveniences,

come, which faculty I suppose would be esteemed by you as acceptable and useful, I have abandoned Troy my native country." That he could not mean what the editor supposes, appears from these considerations: First, if he had represented himself as running from a falling city, he could never have said:

"I have—expos'd myself,

"From certain and posses'd conveniencies,

"To doubtful fortunes; ---."

Secondly, the absolute knowledge of the fall of Troy was a fecret hid from the inferior gods themselves; as appears from the poetical hiftory of that war. It depended on many contingencies, whose existence they did not foresee. All that they knew was, that if fuch and fuch things happened, Troy would fall. And this fecret they communicated to Caffandra only, but along with it, the fate not to be believed. Several others knew each a feveral part of the fecret; one, that Troy could not be taken unless Achilles went to the war; another, that it could not fall while it had the palladium; and fo on. But the fecret, that it was absolutely to fall, was known to none.—The sense here given will admit of no dispute among those who know how acceptable a feer was amongst the Greeks. So that this Calchas, like a true priest, if it needs must be so, went where he could exercife his profession with most advantage. For it being much lefs common amongit the Greeks than the Afiaticks, there would be a greater demand for it. WARBURTON.

I am afraid, that after all the learned commentator's efforts to clear the argument of Calchas, it will ftill appear liable to objection; nor do I discover more to be urged in his defence, than that though his skill in divination determined him to leave Troy, yet that he joined himself to Agamemnon and his army by unconstrained good-will; and though he came as a fugitive escaping from destruction, yet his services after his reception, being voluntary and important, deserved reward. This argument is not regularly and distinctly deduced, but this is, I think, the best explication that it will yet admit. Johnson.

In p. 239, n. 4, an account has been given of the motives which induced Chaichas to abandon Troy. The fervices to which he aliudes, a fhort quotation from Lydgate will fufficiently explain. Auncient Hift. &c. 1555:

To doubtful fortunes; féquest'ring from me all That time, acquaintance, custom, and condition,

"He entred into the oratorye,-

"And befily gan to knele and praye, "And his things devoutly for to faye,

- "And to the god crye and call full ftronge; "And for Apollo would not the prolonge,
- "Sodaynly his answere gan attame,
- "And tayd Calchas twies by his name; "Be right well 'ware thou ne tourne agayne
- "To Troy towne, for that were but in vayne,
- "For finally lerne this thynge of me, "In shorte tyme it shall destroyed be:
- "This is in footh, whych may not be denied.
- "Wherefore I will that thou be alyed
- "With the Greekes, and with Achilles go "To them anone; my will is, it be fo:—
- "For thou to them shall be necessary, "In counseling and in giving rede,

" And be right helping to their good spede."

Mr. Theobald thinks it strange that Calchas should claim any merit for having joined the Greeks after he had said that he knew his country was undone; but there is no inconsistency: he had left, from whatever cause, what was dear to him, his country, friends, children, &c. and, having joined and Jerved the Greeks, was entitled to protection and reward.

On the phrase—As new into the world, (for so the old copy reads,) I must observe, that it appears from a great number of passages in our old writers, the word into was formerly often used in the sense of unto, as it evidently is here. In proof of this affertion the following passages may be adduced:

"It was a pretty part in the old church-playes when the

nimble Vice would tkip up nimbly like a jackanapes into the devil's necke, and ride the devil a course." Harsnet's Declaration of Popish Imposiures, 4to. 1602.

Again, in a letter written by J. Paston, July 8, 1468; Paston Letters, Vol. II. p. 5: "—and they that have justed with him into this day, have been as richly befeen," &c.

Again, in Lancham's Account of the Entertainment at Kenel-worth, 1575: "—what time it pleased her to ryde forth into the chase, to hunt the hart of fors; which found, auon," &c.

Chase, indeed, may mean here, the place in which the Queen hunted; but I believe it is employed in the more ordinary fense.

Made tame and most familiar to my nature;
And here, to do you service, am become
As new into the world, strange, unacquainted:
I do beseech you, as in way of taste,
To give me now a little benefit,
Out of those many register'd in promise,
Which, you say, live to come in my behalf.

AGAM. What would'ft thou of us, Trojan? make demand.

CAL. You have a Trojan prisoner, call'd Antenor,8

Again, in Daniel's Civil Warres, B. IV. st. 72, edit. 1602:

"She doth confpire to have him made away,—
"Thrust thereinto not only with her pride,

"But by her father's counfell and confent."
Again, in our author's All's well that ends well:

"--- I'll flay at home,

"And pray God's bleffing into thy attempt." MALONE.

The folio reads—

which appears to me to have no meaning, unless we adopt the explanation of Mr. Steevens, which would make fense of it. The present reading, though supported by Johnson and Malone, is little better than nonsense, and there is this objection to it, that it was Juno, not Jove, that perfected the Trojans. Jove wished them well; and though we may abandon a man to his enemies, we cannot, with propriety, say, that we abandon him to his friends. Let me add, that the speech of Chalcas would have been incomplete, if he had said that he abandoned Troy, from the sight he bore of things, without explaining it by adding the words—to come. I should, therefore, adhere to that reading, which I consider as one of those happy amendments which do not require any authority to support them.

The merit of Chalcas did not merely confift in his having come over to the Greeks; he also revealed to them the fate of Troy, which depended on their conveying away the palladium, and the horses of Rhesus, before they should drink of the river

Xanthus. M. Mason.

<sup>8</sup> ——Antenor,] Very few particulars respecting this Trojan are preserved by Homer. But as Professor Heyne, in his seventh Excursus to the first Æneid, observes, "Fuit Antenor inter

Yesterday took; Troy holds him very dear. Oft have you, (often have you thanks therefore,) Desir'd my Cressid in right great exchange, Whom Troy hath still denied: But this Antenor, I know, is such a wrest in their affairs,9

cos, in quorum rebus ornandis ii maxime feriptores laborarunt, qui narrationes Homericas novis commentis de fuo onerarunt; non aliter ac fi delectatio a mere fabulofis & temore effufis figmentis proficifeeretur." Steevens.

9—fuch a wrest in their assairs.] According to Dr. Johnson, who quotes this line in his Dictionary, the meaning is, that the loss of Antenor is such a violent distortion of their assairs, &c. But as in a former scene [p. 273—see n. 2,] we had o'er-rested for o'er-wrested, so here I strongly suspect wrest has been printed instead of rest. Antenor is such a stay or support of their assairs, &c. All the ancient English markets had rests by which they were supported. The subsequent words—wanting his manage—appear to me to confirm the emendation. To say that Antenor himself (for so the passage runs, not the loss of Antenor,) is a violent distortion of the Trojan negociations, is little better than nonsense. Malone.

I have been informed that a wrest anciently fignified a fort of tuning-hammer, by which the strings of some musical instruments were screwed or wrested up to their proper degree of tension. Antenor's advice might be supposed to produce a congenial effect on the Trojan councils, which otherwise

" \_\_\_\_ must flack,

"Wanting his manage; ---. "STEEVENS.

Wrest is not misprinted for rest, as Mr. Malone supposes, in his correction of Dr. Johnson, who has certainly mistaken the sense of this word. It means an instrument for tuning the harp by drawing up the strings. Laneham, in his Letter from Kenilworth, p. 50, describing a minstrel, says, "his harp in good grace dependaunt before him; his wreast tyed to a green lace and hanging by." And again, in Wynne's History of the Gwedir Family: "And setting forth very early before day, unwittingly carried upon his singer the wrest of his cosen's harpe." To wrest may be seen in some of the illuminated service books, wherein David is represented playing on his harp; in the second part of Mersenna's Harmonics, p. 69; and in the Syntagmata of Prætorius, Vol. II. Fig. xix. Douce.

That their negotiations all must flack,
Wanting his manage; and they will almost
Give us a prince of blood, a son of Priam,
In change of him: let him be sent, great princes,
And he shall buy my daughter; and her presence
Shall quite strike off all service I have done,
In most accepted pain.

AGAM. Let Diomedes bear him, And bring us Creffid hither; Calchas shall have What he requests of us.—Good Diomed, Furnish you fairly for this interchange: Withal, bring word—if Hector will to-morrow Be answer'd in his challenge: Ajax is ready.

Dio. This shall I undertake; and 'tis a burden Which I am proud to bear.

Exeunt DIOMEDES and CALCHAS.

Enter Achilles and Patroclus, before their Tent.

ULYSS. Achilles stands i'the entrance of his tent:—Please it our general to pass strangely by him, As if he were forgot; and, princes all, Lay negligent and loose regard upon him:

I will come last: 'Tis like, he'll question me, Why such unplausive eyes are bent, why turn'd on him:<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In most accepted pain.] Sir T. Hanmer, and Dr. Warburton after him, read:

In most accepted pay.

They do not seem to understand the construction of the passage. Her presence, says Calchas, shall sirike off, or recompense the service I have done, even in those labours which were most accepted. Johnson.

<sup>2</sup> Why fuch unplaufive eyes are bent, why turn'd on him:] If the eyes were bent on him, they were turn'd on him. This

If fo, I have derifion med'cinable,
To use between your strangeness and his pride,
Which his own will shall have desire to drink;
It may do good: pride hath no other glass
To show itself, but pride; for supple knees
Feed arrogance, and are the proud man's fees.

AGAM. We'll execute your purpose, and put on A form of strangeness as we pass along;—So do each lord; and either greet him not, Or else disdainfully, which shall shake him more Than if not look'd on. I will lead the way.

ACHIL. What, comes the general to speak with me?

You know my mind, I'll fight no more 'gainst Troy.

AGAM. What fays Achilles? would he aught with us?

Nest. Would you, my lord, aught with the general?

ACHIL. No.

NEST. Nothing, my lord.

AGAM. The better.

[Exeunt Agamemnon and Nestor.

Achil. Good day, good day.

MEN. How do you? how do you?

Exit Menelaus.

ACHIL. What, does the cuckold fcorn me?

AJAX. How now, Patroclus?

Achil. Good morrow, Ajax.

 $A_{\mathcal{I}AX}$ .

tautology, therefore, together with the redundancy of the line, plainly thow that we ought to read, with Sir Thomas Hanmer:

Why fuch unplaufive eyes are bent on him:——

STEEVENS.

ACHIL. Good morrow.3

Ayax. Ay, and good next day too.  $[Exit A_{JAX}]$ .

Achiles? Know they

PATR. They pass by strangely: they were us'd to bend,

To fend their fmiles before them to Achilles; To come as humbly, as they us'd to creep To holy altars.

What, am I poor of late? ACHIL. 'Tis certain, greatness, once fallen out with fortune. Must fall out with men too: What the declin'd is, He shall as foon read in the eyes of others, As feel in his own fall: for men, like butterflies, Show not their mealy wings, but to the fummer; And not a man, for being fimply man, Hath any honour; but honour4 for those honours That are without him, as place, riches, favour, Prizes of accident as oft as merit: Which when they fall, as being flippery flanders, The love that lean'd on them as flippery too, Do one pluck down another, and together Die in the fall. But 'tis not fo with me: Fortune and I are friends; I do enjoy At ample point all that I did posses, Save these men's looks; who do, methinks, find out Something not worth in me fuch rich beholding As they have often given. Here is Ulyffes;

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Good morrow.] Perhaps, in this repetition of the falute, we should read, as in the preceding instance,—Good morrow, Ajax; or, with more colloquial spirit,—I fay, good morrow. Otherwise the metre is defective. Steevens.

<sup>4 ——</sup> lut honour—] Thus the quarto. The folio reads—but honour'd. MALONE,

I'll interrupt his reading.— How now, Ulysses?

> Now, great Thetis' fon? ULYSS.

ACHIL. What are you reading?

A strange fellow here ULYSS. Writes me, That man-how dearly ever parted,5 How much in having, or without, or in, Cannot make boast to have that which he hath, Nor feels not what he owes, but by reflection; As when his virtues thining upon others Heat them, and they retort that heat again To the first giver.

This is not strange, Ulysses. ACHIL. The beauty that is borne here in the face The bearer knows not, but commends itself To others' eyes: nor doth the eye itself6 That most pure spirit 7 of sense,) behold itself,

5 ---- how dearly ever parted, However excellently endowed, with however dear or precious parts enriched or adorned.

JOHNSON.

Johnson's explanation of the word parted is just. So, in Ben Jonfon's Every Man out of his Humour, he describes Macilente as a man well parted; and in Massinger's Great Duke of Florence, Sanazarro fays of Lydia:

"And I, my lord, chose rather

"To deliver her better parted than she is, "Than to take from her." M. MASON.

So, in a subsequent passage:

"-- no man is the lord of any thing,

" (Though in and of him there is much confifting,) "Till he communicate his parts to others." MALONE.

o \_\_\_\_ nor doth the eye itself &c.] So, in Julius Cafar: " No, Cashius; for the eye fees not itself,

"But by reflexion, by fome other things." STEEVENS.

7 To others' eyes: ---(That most pure spirit &c.] These two lines are totally omitted in all the editions but the first quarto. Pope.

Not going from itself; but eye to eye oppos'd Salutes each other with each other's form. For speculation turns not to itself, Till it hath travell'd, and is married there Where it may see itself: this is not strange at all.

ULYSS. I do not firain at the position,
It is familiar; but at the author's drift:
Who, in his circumstance, expressly proves—
That no man is the lord of any thing,
(Though in and of him there be much consisting,)
Till he communicate his parts to others:
Nor doth he of himself know them for aught
Till he behold them form'd in the applause
Where they are extended; which, like an arch
reverberates

The voice again; or like a gate of fteel Fronting the fun,<sup>2</sup> receives and renders back His figure and his heat. I was much rapt in this; And apprehended here immediately The unknown Ajax.<sup>3</sup> Heavens, what a man is there! a very horse;

Heavens, what a man is there! a very horse;
That has he knows not what. Nature, what things
there are,

"Thou hast no fpeculation in those eyes "Which thou dost glare with." MALONE.

2 \_\_\_ a gate of steel

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> For speculation turns not &c.] Speculation has here the fame meaning as in Macleth:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> — in his circumftance,] In the detail or circumduction of his argument. Johnson.

which, like—] Old copies—who, like—. Corrected by Mr. Rowe. Malone.

Fronting the fun, This idea appears to have been caught from some of our ancient romances, which often describe gates of similar materials and effulgence. Stevens.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> The unknown Ajax.] Ajax, who has abilities, which were never brought into view or use. Johnson.

Most abject in regard, and dear in use!
What things again most dear in the esteem,
And poor in worth! Now shall we see to-morrow,
An act that very chance doth throw upon him,
Ajax renown'd. O heavens, what some men do,
While some men leave to do!
How some men creep in skittish fortune's hall,
Whiles others play the idiots in her eyes!
How one man eats into another's pride,
While pride is fasting in his wantonness!
To see these Grecian lords!—why, even already
They clap the lubber Ajax on the shoulder;

\* — Now Shall we see to-morrow,
An act that very chance doth throw upon him,
Ajax renown'd.] I once thought that we ought to read
renown. But by considering the middle line as parenthetical,
the passage is sufficiently clear. Malone.

By placing a break after him, the conftruction will be:—Now we shall see to-morrow an act that very chance doth throw upon him—[we shall see] Ajax renown'd. Henley.

5 How some men creep in skittish fortune's hall, To creep is to keep out of sight from whatever motive. Some men keep out of notice in the hall of fortune, while others, though they but play the idiot, are always in her eye, in the way of distinction. Johnson.

I cannot think that creep, used without any explanatory word, can mean to keep out of fight. While some men, says Ulysses, remain tamely inactive in fortune's hall, without any effort to excite her attention, others, &c. Such, I think, is the meaning.

MALONE.

6 —— fasting—] Quarto. The folio has feasting. Either word may bear a good fense. Johnson.

I have preferred fasting, the reading of the quarto, to feasting, which we find in the folio, not only because the quarto copies are in general preferable to the folio, but because the original reading furnishes that kind of antithesis of which our poet was so fond. One man eats, while another fasts. Achilles is he who fasts; who capriciously abstains from those active exertions which would furnish new food for his pride. Malone.

As if his foot were on brave Hector's breaft, And great Troy shrinking.<sup>7</sup>

Achil. I do believe it: for they pass'd by me, As misers do by beggars: neither gave to me Good word, nor look: What, are my deeds forgot?

ULYSS. Time hath, my lord, a wallet at his back,<sup>3</sup> Wherein he puts alms for oblivion,
A great-fized monster of ingratitudes:
Those scraps are good deeds past: which are devour'd As fast as they are made, forgot as soon
As done: Perséverance, dear my lord,
Keeps honour bright: To have done, is to hang
Quite out of sashion, like a rusty mail
In monumental mockery. Take the instant way;
For honour travels in a strait so narrow,
Where one but goes abreast: keep then the path;
For emulation hath a thousand sons,

<sup>7</sup> And great Troy fhrinking.] The quarto—fhrieking. The folio has, less poetically,—fhrinking. The following passage in the subsequent scene supports the reading of the quarto:

"Hark, how Troy roars; how Hecuba cries out; "How poor Andromache shrills her dolours forth; "And all cry—Hector, Hector's dead." MALONE.

I prefer the reading of the folio. That the collective body of martial Trojans should *shrink* at fight of their hero's danger, is furely more natural to be supposed, than that, like frighted women, they would unite in a general *shriek*.

As to what Castandra fays, in the preceding note,—it is the fate of that lady's evidence—never to be received. Steevens.

<sup>8</sup> Time hath, my lord, a wallet at his back,] This fpeech is printed in all the modern editions with fuch deviations from the old copy, as exceed the lawful power of an editor. Johnson.

This image is literally from Spenfer:

"And eeke this wallet at your backe arreare -

"And in this bag, which I behinde me don,
"I put repentaunce for things past and gone."
Fairy Queen, B. VI. c. viii. st. 24. BOADEN.

That one by one pursue: If you give way,
Or hedge aside from the direct forthright,
Like to an enter'd tide, they all rush by,
And leave you hindmost;—
Or, like a gallant horse fallen in first rank,
Lie there for pavement to the abject rear,
O'er-run¹ and trampled on: Then what they do in
present,
Though less than yours in past, must o'ertop yours:

For time is like a fashionable host,
That slightly shakes his parting guest by the hand;
And with his arms out-stretch'd, as he would fly,
Grasps-in the comer: Welcome ever smiles,<sup>2</sup>
And farewell goes out sighing. O, let not virtue seek
Remuneration for the thing it was;
For beauty, wit,<sup>3</sup>

9 — to the alject rear,] So Hanmer. All the editors before him read—to the abject, near. Johnson.

O'er-run &c.] The quarto wholly omits the fimile of the horfe, and reads thus:

And leave you hindmost, then what they do at present—. The folio feems to have some omission, for the simile begins, Or, like a gallant horse——. Johnson.

The conftruction is, Or, like a gallant horse, &c. you lie there for pavement—; the personal pronoun of a preceding line being understood here. There are many other passages in these plays in which a similar ellipsis is found. So, in this play, p. 365: "—but commends itself—," instead of "—but it commends itself." Malone.

<sup>2</sup> — Welcome ever fmiles,] The compositor inadvertently repeated the word the, which has just occurred, and printed—the welcome, &c. The emendation was made by Mr. Pope.

<sup>3</sup> For beauty, wit, &c.] The modern editors read:

For beauty, wit, high birth, defert in fervice, &c.

I do not deny but the changes produce a more eafy lapfe of numbers, but they do not exhibit the work of Shakspeare.

Dr. Johnson might have faid,—the work of Shakspeare, as Vol. XV. Bb

High birth, vigour of bone, defert in fervice, Love, friendship, charity, are subjects all To envious and calumniating time.
One touch of nature makes the whole world kin,—That all, with one consent, praise new-born gawds, Though they are made and moulded of things past; And give to dust, that is a little gilt, More laud than gilt o'er-dusted.4

mangled by theatres, ignorant transcribers, and unskilful printers. He has somewhere else observed, that perhaps we have not received one of our author's plays as it was originally written.

STEEVENS.

<sup>4</sup> And give to dust, that is a little gilt,
More laud than gilt o'er-dusted.] [The old copies—goe to
dust.] In this mangled condition do we find this truly fine
observation transmitted. Mr. Pope saw it was corrupt, and
therefore, as I presume, threw it out of the text; because he
would not indulge his private sense in attempting to make sense
of it. I owe the foundation of the amendment, which I have
given in the text, to the sagacity of the ingenious Dr. Thirlby.
I read:

And give to duft, that is a little gilt, More land than they will give to gold, o'er-dufted.

THEOBALD.

This emendation has been adopted by the fucceeding editors, but recedes too far from the copy. There is no other corruption than fuch as Shakfpeare's incorrectness often refembles. He has omitted the article—to in the fecond line: he fhould have written:

More laud than to gilt o'er-dufted. Johnson.

Gilt, in the second line, is a substantive. See Coriolanus, Act 1. se. iii.

Dust a little gilt means, ordinary performances oftentationsly displayed and magnified by the favour of friends and that admiration of novelty which prefers "new-born gawds" to "things past." Gilt o'er-dusted means, splendid actions of preceding ages, the remembrance of which is weakened by time.

The poet feems to have been thinking either of those monuments which he has mentioned in All's well that ends well:

"Where dust and damn'd oblivion is the tomb

"Of honour'd bones indeed;——." or of the gilded armour, trophies, banners, &c. often hung up in churches in "monumental mockery." MALONE.

The present eye praises the present object:
Then marvel not, thou great and complete man,
That all the Greeks begin to worship Ajax;
Since things in motion sooner catch the eye,
Than what not stirs. The cry went once on thee,
And still it might; and yet it may again,
If thou would'st not entomb thyself alive,
And case thy reputation in thy tent;
Whose glorious deeds, but in these fields of late,
Made emulous missions mongs the gods themselves,
And drave great Mars to faction.

ACHIL. Of this my privacy I have ftrong reasons.

ULYSS. But 'gainst your privacy
The reasons are more potent and heroical:
'Tis known, Achilles, that you are in love
With one of Priam's daughters.'

ACHIL. Ha! known?8

ULYSS. Is that a wonder? The providence that's in a watchful state,

<sup>5 —</sup> went once on thee,] So the quarto. The folio—went out on thee. MALONE.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Made enulous missions—] The meaning of mission seems to be dispatches of the gods from heaven about mortal business, such as often happened at the siege of Troy. Johnson.

It means the descent of deities to combat on either side; an idea which Shakspeare very probably adopted from Chapman's translation of Homer. In the sifth Book, Diomed wounds Mars, who on his return to heaven is rated by Jupiter for having interfered in the battle. This disobedience is the faction which I suppose Ulysses would describe. Steevens.

<sup>7 —</sup> one of Priam's daughters.] Polyxena, in the act of marrying whom, he was afterwards killed by Paris.

STEEVENS.

8 Ha! known?] I must suppose that, in the present instance, fome word, wanting to the metre, has been omitted. Perhaps the poet wrote—Ha! is't known? STEEVENS.

Knows almost every grain of Plutus' gold;<sup>9</sup>
Finds bottom in the uncomprehensive deeps;
Keeps place with thought,<sup>1</sup> and almost, like the gods,

Does thoughts unveil in their dumb cradles.2

<sup>9</sup> Knows almost every grain of Plutus' gold;] For this elegant line the quarto has only:

Knows almost every thing. Johnson.

The old copy has—*Pluto's* gold; but, I think, we fhould read—of *Plutus'* gold. So, in Beaumont and Fletcher's *Philafter*, Act IV:

"Tis not the wealth of *Plutus*, nor the gold "Lock'd in the heart of earth ——." STEEVENS.

The correction of this obvious error of the prefs, needs no justification, though it was not admitted by Mr. Steevens in his own edition The same error is found in *Julius Cæfar*, A&IV. sc. iii. where it has been properly corrected:

" ---- within, a heart,

"Dearer than Pluto's mine, richer than gold."

So, in this play, Act IV. fc. i. we find in the quarto—to Calcho's house, instead of—to Calchas' house. MALONE.

Keeps place with thought, i.e. there is in the providence of a flate, as in the providence of the universe, a kind of ubiquity. The expression is exquisitely fine; yet the Oxford editor alters it to—Keeps pace, and so destroys all its beauty.

WARBURTON.
Is there not here fome allusion to that fublime description of the Divine Omnipresence in the 139th Pfalm? Henley.

<sup>2</sup> Does thoughts unveil in their dumb cradles.] It is clear, from the defect of the metre, that fome word of two fyllables was omitted by the carelessness of the transcriber or compositor. Shakspeare perhaps wrote:

Does thoughts themselves unveil in their dumb cradles.

Or,

Does infant thoughts unveil in their dumb cradles.

So, in King Richard III:

"And turn his *infant* morn to aged night." In *Timon of Athens*, we have the fame allufion:
"Joy had the like *conception* in my *brain*,

"And at that inftant, like a babe sprung up."

MALONE.

Sir Thomas Hanmer reads:

Does even our thoughts &c. Steevens.

There is a mystery (with whom relation Durst never meddle<sup>3</sup>) in the soul of state; Which hath an operation more divine, Than breath, or pen, can give expressure to: All the commerce<sup>4</sup> that you have had with Troy, As perfectly is ours, as yours, my lord; And better would it sit Achilles much, To throw down Hector, than Polyxena: But it must grieve young Pyrrhus now at home, When same shall in our islands sound her trump; And all the Greekish girls shall tripping sing,—

Great Hector's sister did Achilles win;

But our great Ajax bravely beat down him.

Farewell, my lord: I as your lover speak;
The fool slides o'er the ice that you should break.

PATR. To this effect, Achilles, have I mov'd you: A woman impudent and mannish grown Is not more loath'd than an effeminate man In time of action. I stand condemn'd for this; They think, my little stomach to the war, And your great love to me, restrains you thus: Sweet, rouse yourself; and the weak wanton Cupid Shall from your neck unloose his amorous fold, And, like a dew-drop from the lion's mane, Be shook to air.5

Achil. Shall Ajax fight with Hector?

 <sup>3 —— (</sup>with whom relation
 Durft never meddle)—] There is a fecret administration of
 affairs, which no history was ever able to discover. Johnson.

<sup>4</sup> All the commérce—] Thus also is the word accented by Chapman, in his version of the fourth Book of Homer's Odyffey: "To labour's tafte, nor the commérce of men."

Steevens.

5 — to air.] So the quarto. The folio—ayrie air.

JOHNSON.

PATR. Ay; and, perhaps, receive much honour by him.

ACHIL. I fee, my reputation is at stake; My fame is shrewdly gor'd.6

 $P_{ATR}$ . O, then beware: Those wounds heal ill, that men do give themselves: Omiffion to do what is necessary 7 Seals a commiffion to a blank of danger; And danger, like an ague, fubtly taints Even then when we fit idly in the fun.

ACHIL. Go call Therfites hither, fweet Patroclus: I'll fend the fool to Ajax, and defire him To invite the Trojan lords after the combat, To fee us here unarm'd: I have a woman's longing, An appetite that I am fick withal, To fee great Hector in his weeds of peace; To talk with him, and to behold his vifage, Even to my full of view. A labour fav'd!

#### Enter THERSITES.

THER. A wonder!

ACHIL. What?

THER. Ajax goes up and down the field, asking for himfelf.

ACHIL. How fo?

<sup>6</sup> My fame is shrewdly gor'd.] So, in our author's 110th Sonnet:

<sup>&</sup>quot;Alas, 'tis true; I have gone here and there,-"Gor'd mine own thoughts, ...... MALONE.

<sup>7</sup> Omission to do &c.] By neglecting our duty we commission or enable that danger of dishonour, which could not reach us before, to lay hold upon us. Johnson.

THER. He must fight fingly to-morrow with Hector; and is so prophetically proud of an heroical cudgelling, that he raves in saying nothing.

ACHIL. How can that be?

THER. Why, he stalks up and down like a peacock, a ftride, and a ftand: ruminates, like an hosters, that hath no arithmetick but her brain to fet down her reckoning: bites his lip with a politick regard,8 as who should say—there were wit in this head, an 'twould out; and fo there is: but it lies as coldly in him as fire in a flint, which will not show without knocking.9 The man's undone for ever; for if Hector break not his neck i'the combat, he'll break it himfelf in vain-glory. He knows not me: I faid, Good-morrow, Ajax; and he replies, Thanks, Agamemnon. What think you of this man, that takes me for the general? He is grown a very land-fifh, languageless, a monster. A plague of opinion! a man may wear it on both fides, like a leather jerkin.

ACHIL. Thou must be my embassador to him, Thersites.

THER. Who, I? why, he'll answer nobody; he professes not answering; speaking is for beggars; he wears his tongue in his arms. I will put on his presence; let Patroclus make demands to me, you shall see the pageant of Ajax.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> — with a politick regard,] With a fly look. Johnson.

of the second of

<sup>&</sup>quot;That carries anger, as the flint bears fire; "Who, much enforced, shows a hafty spark, "And straight is cold again." Steevens.

he wears his tongue in his arms.] So, in Macbeth:
"My voice is in my fword." STELVENS.

Achil. To him, Patroclus: Tell him,—I humbly defire the valiant Ajax, to invite the most valorous Hector to come unarmed to my tent; and to procure safe conduct for his person, of the magnanimous, and most illustrious, fix-or-seven-times-honoured captain-general of the Grecian army, Agamemnon. Do this.

PATR. Jove blefs great Ajax.

THER. Humph!

PATR. I come from the worthy Achilles,——

THER. Ha!

PATR. Who most humbly desires you, to invite Hector to his tent!——

THER. Humph!

PATR. And to procure fafe conduct from Agamemnon.

THER. Agamemnon?

PATR. Ay, my lord.

THER. Ha!

PATR. What fay you to't?

THER. God be wi' you, with all my heart.

PATR. Your answer, fir.

THER. If to-morrow be a fair day, by eleven o'clock it will go one way or other; howfoever, he shall pay for me ere he has me.

PATR. Your answer, fir.

THER. Fare you well, with all my heart.

Acuil. Why, but he is not in this tune, is he?

THER. No, but he's out o'tune thus. What mufick will be in him when Hector has knocked out his brains, I know not: But, I am fure, none;

unless the fiddler Apollo get his finews to make catlings on.2

Acuil. Come, thou shalt bear a letter to him firaight.

 $T_{HER}$ . Let me bear another to his horse; for that's the more capable creature.<sup>3</sup>

ACHIL. My mind is troubled, like a fountain flirr'd;

And I myself see not the bottom of it.4

[Exeunt Achilles and Patroclus.

THER. 'Would the fountain of your mind were clear again, that I might water an ass at it! I had rather be a tick in a sheep, than such a valiant ignorance.

[Exit.

"Bold, forward, quick, ingenious, capable." See also Vol. XV. p. 187, n. 2. MALONE.

<sup>2—</sup>to make catlings on.] It has been already observed that a catling fignifies a small lute-firing made of catgut. One of the musicians in Romeo and Juliet is called Simon Catling.

<sup>3 —</sup> the more capable creature.] The more intelligent creature. So, in King Richard III:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> And I myself see not the bottom of it.] This is an image frequently introduced by our author. So, in King Henry IV. Part II: "I see the bottom of Justice Shallow." Again, in King Henry VI. Part II:

<sup>&</sup>quot; — we then should fee the bottom of all our fortunes." Steevens.

## ACT IV. SCENE I.

# Troy. A Street.

Enter, at one fide, ÆNEAS and Servant, with a Torch; at the other, Paris, Deiphobus, Antenor, Diomedes, and Others, with Torches.

PAR. See, ho! who's that there?

DEI. 'Tis the lord Æneas.

*ÆNE*. Is the prince there in person?—
Had I so good occasion to lie long,
As you, prince Paris, nothing but heavenly business
Should rob my bed-mate of my company.

Dio. That's my mind too.—Good morrow, lord Æneas.

PAR. A valiant Greek, Æneas; take his hand: Witness the process of your speech, wherein You told—how Diomed, a whole week by days, Did haunt you in the field.

ÆNE. Health to you, valiant fir,<sup>5</sup> During all question of the gentle truce:<sup>6</sup>

During all quiet of the gentle truce:
But I think question means intercourse, interchange of converfation. Johnson.

See Vol. VII. p. 349, n. 9. Question of the gentle truce is, conversation while the gentle truce lasts. Malone.

<sup>5 —</sup> valiant fir,] The epithet—valiant, appears to have been caught by the compositor from the preceding speech, and is introduced here only to spoil the metre. Steevens.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> During all question of the gentle truce:] I once thought to read:

But when I meet you arm'd, as black defiance, As heart can think, or courage execute.

Dto. The one and other Diomed embraces.

Our bloods are now in calm; and, fo long, health:
But when contention and occasion meet,
By Jove, I'll play the hunter for thy life,
With all my force, pursuit, and policy.

ÆNE. And thou fhalt hunt a lion, that will fly With his face backward.—In humane gentlenefs, Welcome to Troy! now, by Anchifes' life, Welcome, indeed! By Venus' hand I fwear, No man alive can love, in fuch a fort, The thing he means to kill, more excellently.

Dro. We fympathize:—Jove, let Æneas live, If to my fword his fate be not the glory, A thousand complete courses of the sun! But, in mine emulous honour, let him die, With every joint a wound; and that to-morrow!

ÆNE. We know each other well.

Dio. We do; and long to know each other worfe.

PAR. This is the most despiteful gentle greeting,
The noblest hateful love, that e'er I heard of.—
What business, lord, so early?

ÆNE. I was fent for to the king; but why, I know not.

PAR. His purpose meets you; 8 'Twas to bring this Greek

<sup>7</sup>—By Venus' hand I fwear, This oath was used to infinuate his refentment for Diomedes' wounding his mother in the hand. Warburton.

I believe Shakspeare had no such allusion in his thoughts. He would hardly have made Æneas civil and uncivil in the same breath. Steevens.

<sup>8</sup> His purpose meets you; I bring you his meaning and his orders. Johnson.

To Calchas' house; and there to render him, For the enfreed Antenor, the fair Cressid:
Let's have your company; or, if you please,
Haste there before us: I constantly do think,
(Or, rather, call my thought a certain knowledge,)
My brother Troilus lodges there to-night;
Rouse him, and give him note of our approach,
With the whole quality wherefore: I fear,
We shall be much unwelcome.

 $\mathcal{E}_{NE}$ . That I affure you; Troilus had rather Troy were borne to Greece, Than Creffid borne from Troy.

PAR. There is no help; The bitter disposition of the time Will have it so. On, lord; we'll follow you.

 $\mathscr{E}_{NE}$ . Good morrow, all. [Exit.

 $P_{AR}$ . And tell me, noble Diomed; 'faith, tell me true,

Even in the foul of found good-fellowship,— Who, in your thoughts, merits fair Helen best, Myself, or Menelaus?

Dto. Both alike:
He merits well to have her, that doth feek her (Not making any fcruple of her foilure,)
With fuch a hell of pain, and world of charge;
And you as well to keep her, that defend her
(Not palating the tafte of her dishonour,)
With fuch a costly loss of wealth and friends:
He, like a puling cuckold, would drink up
The lees and dregs of a flat tamed piece;

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> — a flat tamed piece;] i.e. a piece of wine out of which the fpirit is all flown. WARBURTON.

This word, with a fomewhat fimilar fense, occurs in Coriolanus:

<sup>&</sup>quot;His remedies are tame i'the present peace \_\_\_."
Steevens.

You, like a lecher, out of whorish loins Are pleas'd to breed out your inheritors: Both merits pois'd, each weighs nor less nor more; But he as he, the heavier for a whore.

 $P_{AR}$ . You are too bitter to your countrywoman.

Dio. She's bitter to her country: Hear me, Paris,—

For every false drop in her bawdy veins A Grecian's life hath sunk; for every scruple Of her contaminated carrion weight, A Trojan hath-been slain: since she could speak, She hath not given so many good words breath, As for her Greeks and Trojans suffer'd death.

PAR. Fair Diòmed, you do as chapmen do, Dispraise the thing that you defire to buy:

Both merits pois'd, each weighs nor lefs nor more;
But he as he, the heavier for a whore.] I read:

But he as he, each heavier for a whore?

Heavy is taken both for weighty, and for sad, or miserable.

The quarto reads:

But he as he, the heavier for a whore.

I know not whether the thought is not that of a wager. It must then be read thus:

But he as he. Which heavier, for a whore? That is, for a whore flaked down, which is the heavier?

JOHNSON.

As the quarto reads,

the heavier for a whore,

I think all new pointing or alteration unneceffary. The fense appears to be this: the merits of either are funk in value, because the contest between them is only for a strumpet.

STEEVENS.

The merits of each, whatever they may be, being weighed one against the other, are exactly equal; in each of the scales, however, in which their merits are to be weighed, a harlot must be placed, since each of them has been equally attached to one. This is the reading of the quarto. The solio reads,

- which heavier for a whore. MALONE.

But we in filence hold this virtue well.— We'll not commend what we intend to fell.2 Here lies our way. Exeunt

2 We'll not commend what we intend to fell. I believe the meaning is only this: though you practice the buyer's art, we will not practife the feller's. We intend to fell Helen dear, yet will not commend her. Johnson.

Dr. Warburton would read—not fell. Steevens.

The fense, I think, requires we should read—condemn.

TYRWHITT.

When Dr. Johnson fays, they meant to fell Helen dear, he evidently does not mean that they really intended to fell her at all, (as he has been understood,) but that the Greeks should pay very dear for her, if they had her. We'll not commend what we intend to make you pay very dear for, if you have her. So Ajax fays, in a former fcene: "however, he shall pay for me, ere he has me."

Commend is, I think, the true reading, our author having introduced a fimilar fentiment in two other places. In Love's

Labour's Loft, we have—

"To things of fale a feller's praise belongs."

Again, in his 21st Sonnet:

"I will not praise that purpose not to sell."

This paffage favours Dr. Warburton's emendation; but intend not fell founds very harsh. However, many very harsh combinations may be found in these plays, where rhymes are introduced. MALONE.

Surely Dr. Warburton's reading is the true one. We'll not commend what we intend not fell,

is evidently opposed to—

" Dispraise the thing that you defire to buy:"

in the fame speech.

Of fuch elliptical phraseology as is introduced by Dr. Warburton's emendation, our author's plays will afford numerous examples. Steevens.

#### SCENE II.

The same. Court before the House of Pandarus.

Enter TROILUS and CRESSIDA.

Tro. Dear, trouble not yourfelf; the morn is cold. Cres. Then, fweet my lord, I'll call mine uncle down;

He shall unbolt the gates.

Trouble him not; To bed, to bed: Sleep kill 3 those pretty eyes, And give as soft attachment to thy senses, As infants' empty of all thought! 4

Cres. Good morrow then.

Tro. 'Pr'ythee now, to bed.

Cres. Are you aweary of me?

Tro. O Creffida! but that the bufy day, Wak'd by the lark, hath rous'd the ribald crows, And dreaming night will hide our joys no longer, I would not from thee.

CRES.

Night hath been too brief.

3 — Sleep kill —] So the old copies. The moderns have—Sleep feal. Johnson.

Seal was one of the numerous innovations introduced by Mr. Pope. Malone.

4 And give as foft attachment to thy fenfes,

As infants' empty of all thought!] So, in The Merry Wives of Windfor:

"Sleep the as found as careless infancy." Steevens.

5 — ribald crows,] See note on Antony and Cleopatra, A& III. fc. viii, HARRIS.

6 — hide our joys —] Thus the quarto. The folio has — hide our eyes. MALONE.

TRO. Beforew the witch! with venomous wights fine stays,

As tedioufly 7 as hell; but flies the grasps of love, With wings more momentary-swift than thought. You will catch cold, and curse me.

You men will never tarry.—
O foolish Creffid!—I might have still held off,
And then you would have tarried. Hark! there's
one up.

PAN. [Within.] What, are all the doors open here?

Tro. It is your uncle.

#### Enter Pandarus.8

Cres. A peftilence on him! now will he be mocking:

I shall have such a life,—

- 6 venomous wights —] i. e. venifici; those who practise nocturnal forcery. Steevens.
  - 7 As tedioufly—] The folio has: As hideoufly as hell. Johnson.

Sir T. Hanmer, for the fake of metre, with great probability, reads:

Tedious as hell &c. STEEVENS.

- <sup>8</sup> Enter Pandarus.] The hint for the following flort conversation between Pandarus and Cressida is taken from Chaucer's Troilus and Cresside, Book III. v. 1561:
  - "Pandare, a morowe which that commen was
    "Unto his nece, gan her faire to grete,
    "And faied all this night fo rained it alas!
    - "That all my drede is, that ye, necè fwete,
      "Have little leifir had to flepe and mete,
      "All night (quod he) hath rain fo do me wa
    - "All night (quod he) hath rain fo do me wake, "That fome of us I trowe their heddis ake.

PAN. How now, how now? how go maidenheads?
—Here, you maid! where's my coufin Creffid?

Cres. Go hang yourfelf, you naughty mocking uncle!

You bring me to do,9 and then you flout me too.

PAN. To do what? to do what?—let her fay what: what have I brought you to do?

Cres. Come, come; beshrew your heart! you'll ne'er be good,

Nor fuffer others.

PAN. Ha, ha! Alas, poor wretch! a poor capocchia! —hast not slept to-night? would he not, a naughty man, let it sleep? a bugbear take him! [Knocking.

Cres. Did I not tell you?—'would he were knock'd o'the head!—

"Creffeide answerde, nevir the bet for you,

"Foxe that ye ben, God yeve your hertè care, "God help me fo, ye causid all this fare," &c.

STEEVENS.

<sup>9</sup>—to do,] To do is here used in a wanton sense. So, in The Taming of the Shrew, Petruchio says: "I would sain be doing."

Again, in All's well that ends well, Lafeu declares that he is

" paft doing." Collins.

These appellations are very well answered by the Italian word capocchio: for capocchio signifies the thick head of a club; and thence metaphorically, a head of not much brain, a fot, dullard, heavy gull. Theobald.

The word in the old copy is chipochia, for which Mr. Theobald fubfituted capocchio, which he has rightly explained. Capochia may perhaps be used with propriety in the same sense, when applied to a female; but the word has also an entirely different meaning, not reconcilable to the context here, for which I choose to refer the reader to Florio's Italian Distinuary, 1598. Malone.

VOL. XV.

Who's that at door? good uncle, go and fee.— My lord, come you again into my chamber: You fmile, and mock me, as if 2 I meant naughtily.

TRO. Ha, ha!

Cres. Come, you are deceiv'd, I think of no fuch thing.— [Knocking.

How earnefily they knock!—pray you, come in; I would not for half Troy have you feen here.

[Exeunt Troilus and Cressida.

PAN. [Going to the door.] Who's there? what's the matter? will you beat down the door? How now? what's the matter?

#### Enter ÆNEAS.

ÆNE. Good morrow, lord, good morrow.

 $P_{AN}$ . Who's there? my lord Æneas? By my troth, I knew you not: what news with you fo early?

 $\mathcal{E}_{NE}$ . Is not prince Troilus here?

PAN. Here! what should he do here?

ÆNE. Come, he is here, my lord, do not deny him;

It doth import him much, to speak with me.

PAN. Is he here, fay you? 'tis more than I know, I'll be fworn:—For my own part, I came in late: What should he do here?

"That with the noise it shook as it would fall."

as if—] Here, I believe, a common ellipfis has been deftroyed by a playhouse interpolation: As, in ancient language, has frequently the power of—as if. I would therefore omit the latter conjunction, which encumbers the line without enforcing the sense. Thus, in Spenser's Fairy Queen:

ÆNE. Who!—nay, then:— Come, come, you'll do him wrong ere you are 'ware: You'll be fo true to him, to be false to him: Do not you know of him, yet go fetch<sup>3</sup> him hither; Go.

As PANDARUS is going out, enter Troilus.

 $T_{RO}$ . How now? what's the matter?

ÆNE. My lord, I scarce have leifure to falute you, My matter is to rash: 4 There is at hand Paris your brother, and Deiphobus, The Grecian Diomed, and our Antenor Deliver'd to us; 5 and for him forthwith, Ere the first facrifice, within this hour, We must give up to Diomedes' hand The lady Creffida.

TRO. Is it fo concluded?

ÆNE. By Priam, and the general flate of Troy: They are at hand, and ready to effect it.

 $T_{RO}$ . How my achievements mock me!

<sup>3</sup> — yet go fetch &c.] Old copy, redundantly—but yet &c.

4 --- matter is fo rash: My business is so hasty and so abrupt. Johnson.

So, in King Henry IV. Part II:

"--- aconitum, or rash gunpowder." Steevens.

Again, in Romeo and Juliet:
"It is too rash, too unadvis'd, too fudden; "Too like the lightning," &c. MALONE.

5 Deliver'd to us; &c.] So the folio. The quarto thus: Delivered to him, and forthwith. Johnson.

6 How my achievements mock me!] So, in Antony and Cléopaira:

"And mock our eyes with air." STEEVENS.

I will go meet them: and, my lord Æneas, We met by chance; you did not find me here.<sup>7</sup>

ÆNE. Good, good, my lord; the fecrets of nature Have not more gift in taciturnity.8

Exeunt Troilus and ÆNEAS.

PAN. Is't poffible? no fooner got, but loft? The devil take Antenor! the young prince will go mad. A plague upon Antenor! I would, they had broke's neck!

<sup>7</sup> We met by chance; you did not find me here.] So, in Antony and Cleopatra:

"See where he is, who's with him, what he does:

" I did not fend you." MALONE.

s — the fecrets of nature

Have not more gift in taciturnity.] This is the reading of both the elder folios; but the first verse manifestly halts, and betrays its being desective. Mr. Pope substitutes:

--- the fecrets of neighbour Pandar.

If this be a reading ex fide codicum (as he professes all his various readings to be) it is founded on the credit of such copies as it has not been my fortune to meet with. I have ventured to make out the verse thus:

The fecret's things of nature, &c. i.e. the arcana naturæ, the mysteries of nature, of occult philosophy, or of religious ceremonies. Our poet has allusions of this fort in several other passages. Theobald.

Mr. Pope's reading is in the old quarto. So great is the necessity of collation. Johnson.

I suppose the editor of the folio meant—the fecretest of nature, and that fecrets was an error of the press. So, in Macheth:

"The fecret'st man of blood." MALONE.

I fuppose our author to have written—fecrecies. A fimilar thought occurs in Intony and Cleopatra:

"In nature's infinite book of fecrecy——."

Wherever there is redundant metre, as in the reading of the quarto, corruption may always be suspected. Steevens.

#### Enter CRESSIDA.

Cres. How now? What is the matter? Who was here?

PAN. Ah, ah!

Cres. Why figh you fo profoundly? where's my lord gone?

Tell me, fweet uncle, what's the matter?

 $P_{AN}$ . 'Would I were as deep under the earth as I am above!

CRES. O the gods!—what's the matter?

PAN. Pr'ythee, get thee in; 'Would thou had'st ne'er been born! I knew, thou would'st be his death:—O poor gentleman!—A plague upon Antenor!

CRES. Good uncle, I befeech you on my knees, I befeech you, what's the matter?

PAN. Thou must be gone, wench, thou must be gone; thou art changed for Antenor: thou must to thy father, and be gone from Troilus; 'twill be his death; 'twill be his bane; he cannot bear it.

CRES. O you immortal gods!—I will not go.

PAN. Thou must.

CRES. I will not, uncle: I have forgot my father; I know no touch of confanguinity; No kin, no love, no blood, no foul fo near me, As the fweet Troilus.—O you gods divine!

<sup>9</sup> I know no touch of confanguinity;] So, in Macbeth:
"He wants the natural touch."
Touch of confanguinity is fense or feeling of relationship.
MALONE.

Make Creffid's name the very crown of falsehood, If ever the leave Troilus! Time, force, and death, Do to this body what extremes you can; But the strong base and building of my love2 Is as the very center of the earth, Drawing all things to it.—I'll go in, and weep;—  $P_{AN}$ . Do, do.

Cres. Tear my bright hair, and feratch my praifed

Crack my clear voice with fobs, and break my heart With founding Troilus. I will not go from Troy.3

the very crown of falsehood,] So, in Cymbeline: "- my fupreme crown of grief."

Again, in The Winter's Tale:

"- the crown and comfort of my life." MALONE.

See page 353, note 9. Steevens.

cheeks:

- 2 --- the strong tase and building of my love-] So, in our author's 119th Sonnet:
  - "And ruin'd love, when it is built anew,——."

Again, in Antony and Cleopatra:

"Let not the piece of virtue, which is fet "Betwixt us as the cement of our love, "To keep it builded, be the ram to batter

"The fortress of it." MALONE.

<sup>3</sup> — I will not go from Troy.] I believe the verb—go (which roughens this line) should be left out, in conformity to the ancient elliptical mode of writing, which, in like inflances, omits it as unnecessary to sense. Thus, in p. 383, we find-

"I would not from thee;" i. e. I would not go from thee. Steevens.

#### SCENE III.

The fame. Before Pandarus' House.

Enter Paris, Troilus, Æneas, Deiphobus, Antenor, and Diomedes.

PAR. It is great morning; 4 and the hour prefix'd Of her delivery to this valiant Greek Comes fast upon: 5—Good my brother Troilus, Tell you the lady what she is to do, And haste her to the purpose.

Tro. Walk in to her house; 6 I'll bring her to the Grecian presently:
And to his hand when I deliver her,
Think it an altar; and thy brother Troilus
A priest, there offering to it his own heart. [Exit.

PAR. I know what 'tis to love; And 'would, as I shall pity, I could help!—
Please you, walk in, my lords.

[Exeunt.

4 —— great morning;] Grand jour; a Gallicism.

STEEVENS.

5 Comes fast upon:] Though fast upon, only fignifies—fast on, I must suppose, with Sir T. Hanmer, we ought to read: Comes fast upon us:——

The metre, as it flands at prefent, is obviously defective.

STEEVENS.

<sup>6</sup> Walk in to her house;] Here, I believe, we have an interpolation fimilar to those in p. 386 and in the preceding page. In elliptical language the word—walk (which in the present instance destroys the measure) is frequently omitted. So, in King Henry IV. Part I:

" I'll in and hafte the writer."

i. e. I'll walk, or go in. Again, in The Merry Wives of Windfor: "I'll in, I'll in: follow your friend's advice; I'll in." In, therefore, in the speech of Troilus, will signify walk or go in, the omitted verb being understood. Steevens.

### SCENE IV.

The same. A Room in Pandarus' House.

Enter PANDARUS and CRESSIDA.

 $P_{AN}$ . Be moderate, be moderate.

CRES. Why tell you me of moderation?
The grief is fine, full, perfect, that I taste,
And violenteth in a sense as strong
As that which causeth it: 7 How can I moderate it?
If I could temporize with my affection,
Or brew it to a weak and colder palate,
The like allayment could I give my grief:

<sup>7</sup> The grief &c.] The folio reads: The grief is fine, full, perfect, that I tafte, And no less in a fense as strong As that which causeth it.—

The quarto otherwise:

The grief is fine, full, perfect, that I tafte, And violenteth in a fense as strong As that which causeth it.—

Violenteth is a word with which I am not acquainted, yet perhaps it may be right. The reading of the text is without authority. Johnson.

I have followed the quarto. Violenceth is used by Ben Jonson, in The Devil is an Ass:

"Nor nature violenceth in both these."

And Mr. Tollet has fince furnished me with this verb as spelt in the play of Shakspeare: "His former adversaries violented any thing against him." Fuller's Worthics in Anglesea.

Dr. Farmer likewife adds the following inflance from Latimer, p. 71: "Maifter Pole violentes the text for the maintenance of

the bishop of Rome."

The modern and unauthorized reading was:

And in its fense is no less strong, than that

Which causeth it.—— STEEVENS.

My love admits no qualifying dross: No more my grief, in such a precious loss.

## Enter Troilus.

PAN. Here, here, here he comes.—Ah fweet ducks!

CRES. O Troilus! Troilus! [Embracing him.

PAN. What a pair of spectacles is here! Let me embrace too: O heart,—as the goodly saying is,—

Why jigh's thou without breaking? where he answers again,

Because thou canst not ease thy smart, By friendship, nor by speaking.

There never was a truer rhyme. Let us cast away nothing, for we may live to have need of such a verse; we see it, we see it.—How now, lambs?

Tro. Creffid, I love thee in fo ftrain'd a purity, That the bleft gods—as angry with my fancy, More bright in zeal than the devotion which Cold lips blow to their deities,—take thee from me.

CRES. Have the gods envy?

PAN. Ay, ay, ay, ay; 'tis too plain a cafe.

CRES. And is it true, that I must go from Troy?

 $T_{Ro}$ . A hateful truth.

Cres. What, and from Troilus too?

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> — o heavy heart,] O, which is not in the old copy, was added, for the fake of the metre, by Mr. Pope. Malone.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup>——firain'd—] So the quarto. The folio and all the moderns have—firange. Johnson.

Tro. From Troy, and Troilus.

Cres. Is it possible?

Tro. And fuddenly; where injury of chance Puts back leave-taking, justles roughly by All time of pause, rudely beguiles our lips Of all rejoindure, forcibly prevents Our lock'd embrasures, strangles our dear vows Even in the birth of our own labouring breath: We two, that with fo many thousand fighs Did buy each other, must poorly sell ourselves With the rude brevity and discharge of one. Injurious time now, with a robber's hafte, Crams his rich thievery up, he knows not how: As many farewells as be flars in heaven, With diffinct breath and confign'd kiffes to them,2 He fumbles up into a loose adieu; And fcants us with a fingle famish'd kifs, Diffafted with the falt of broken tears.3

"A thousand kiffes buys my heart from me,

MALONE.

Diffasted with the fult of broken tears.] i.e. of tears to which we are not permitted to give full vent, being interrupted and suddenly torn from each other. The poet was probably thinking of troken sobs, or troken slumbers. This is the reading of the quarto. The folio has—distasting. Malone.

Did buy each other,] So, in our author's Venus and Adonis:

<sup>&</sup>quot;And pay them at thy leifure, one by one." MALONE.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> With diffinct breath and confign'd kiffes to them, Confign'd means fealed; from configno, Lat. So, in King Henry V: "It were, my lord, a hard condition for a maid to confign to." Our author has the fame image in many other places. So, in Measure for Measure:

<sup>&</sup>quot;But my kiffes bring again,

<sup>&</sup>quot;Seals of love, but feal'd in vain." Again, in his Venus and Adonis:

<sup>&</sup>quot;Pure lips, fweet feals in my foft lips imprinted."

ÆNE. [Within.] My lord! is the lady ready?

Tro. Hark! you are call'd: Some fay, the Genius fo

Cries, Come! to him that infantly must die.4—Bid them have patience; she shall come anon.

PAN. Where are my tears? rain, to lay this wind,5 or my heart will be blown up by the root!6

[Exit PANDARUS.

 $C_{RES}$ . I must then to the Greeks?

No remedy.

Broken tears is fufficiently explained by—interrupted tears. So, in King Henry VIII: "You have now a broken banquet;" i. e. an interrupted one. Steevens.

4 Hark! you are call'd: Some fay, the Genius fo Cries, Come! to him that infiantly must die.] An obscure poet (Flatman) has borrowed this thought:

" My foul just now about to take her flight,

"Into the regions of eternal night,
"Methinks I hear fome gentle *spirit* fay,

"Be not fearful, come away!"

After whom, Pope:

"Hark! they whifper; angels fay "Sifter fpirit, come away." MALONE.

Again, in Eloifa to Abelard:

" Come, fister, come! (it said, or seem'd to say,)

"Thy place is here, fad fifter, come away!"

S Where are my tears? rain, to lay this wind,] So, in Macbeth:

"That tears will drown the wind."

Perhaps, rain, to lay this wind! is an optative, and as if he had faid—O for tears &c.! and fo I have pointed it.

Steevens.

So, in The Rape of Lucrece:

"This windy tempest, till it blow up rain,

"Holds back his forrow's tide, to make it more;
"At last it rains, and busy winds give o'er." MALONE.

6 — by the root!] So the folio. Quarto—by my throat.

MALONE.

Cres. A woeful Creffid 'mongst the merry Greeks 17

When shall we see again?

TRO. Hear me, my love: Be thou but true of heart.——

CRES. I true! how now? what wicked deem is this 28

 $T_{RO}$ . Nay, we must use expostulation kindly, For it is parting from us: I speak not, be thou true, as fearing thee; For I will throw my glove to death9 himself, That there's no maculation in thy heart: But, be thou true, fay I, to fashion in My fequent protestation; be thou true, And I will fee thee.

Cres. O, you shall be expos'd, my lord, to dan-

As infinite as imminent! but, I'll be true.

Tro. And I'll grow friend with danger. Wear this fleeve.

Cres. And you this glove. When shall I see you?

 $T_{RO}$ . I will corrupt the Grecian fentinels, To give thee nightly vifitation. But yet, be true.

CRES.

O heavens!—be true, again?

<sup>7</sup> A woeful Creffid 'mongst the merry Greeks!] So, in A mad World my Masters, 1608, a man gives the watchmen some money, and when they have received it he fays: "the merry Greeks understand me." Steevens.

See p. 248, n. 3. MALONE.

8 --- what wicked deem is this?] Deem (a word now obsolete) fignifies, opinion, furmise. Steevens.

9 For I will throw my glove to death-] That is, I will challenge death himself in defence of thy sidelity. Johnson.

Tro. Hear why I fpeak it, love;
The Grecian youths are full of quality;
They're loving, well compos'd, with gifts of nature flowing,

And fwelling o'er with arts and exercife; How novelty may move, and parts with perfon,<sup>2</sup> Alas, a kind of godly jealoufy (Which, I befeech you, call a virtuous fin,) Makes me afeard.

Cres. O heavens! you love me not.

Tro. Die I a villain then!
In this I do not call your faith in question,
So mainly as my merit: I cannot fing,
Nor heel the high lavolt,<sup>3</sup> nor sweeten talk,
Nor play at subtle games; fair virtues all,

They're loving, &c.] This line is not in the quarto. The folio reads—Their loving. This flight correction I proposed fome time ago, and I have lately perceived it was made by Mr. Pope. It also has gift of nature. That emendation is Sir T. Hanmer's. In the preceding line "full of quality," means, I think, absolute, perfect, in their dispositions. So, in Pericles, Prince of Tyre:

"So buxom, blithe, and full of face,

" As heaven had lent her all his grace." MALONE.

The irregularity of metre in this speech, (unless the epithet—loving be considered as an interpolation,) together with the obscure phrase—full of quality, induce me to suspect the loss of some words which are now irretrievable. Full of quality, however, may mean highly accomplished. So, in Chapman's version of the fourteenth liad:

"——Befides all this, he was well qualitied." The confiruction, indeed, may be—of full quality. Thus, in the fame translator's version of the third Iliad, "full of fize" is apparently used for—of full fize. Steevens.

with portion. Steevens.

The lavolta was a dance. See Vol. XII, p. 387, n. 9. Steevens.

To which the Grecians are most prompt and pregnant:

But I can tell, that in each grace of these There lurks a still and dumb-discoursive devil, That tempts most cunningly: 4 but be not tempted.

CRES. Do you think, I will?

TRO. No.

But fomething may be done, that we will not: And fometimes we are devils to ourfelves, When we will tempt the frailty of our powers, Prefuming on their changeful potency.

PAR. [Within.] Brother Troilus!

 $T_{RO}$ . Good brother, come you hither; And bring Æneas, and the Grecian, with you.

CRES. My lord, will you be true?

TRO. Who I? alas, it is my vice, my fault: While others fish with craft for great opinion, I with great truth catch mere fimplicity; 5 Whilst some with cunning gild their copper crowns, With truth and plainness I do wear mine bare. Fear not my truth; the moral of my wit Is—plain, and true, 6—there's all the reach of it.

"For here's a young and fweating devil here, "That commonly rebels." Steevens.

<sup>4</sup> There lurks a fill and dumb-difcourfive devil,

That tempts most cunningly: This passage may chance to
remind the reader of another in Othello:

<sup>5 —</sup> catch mere fimplicity; The meaning, I think, is, while others, by their art, gain high estimation, I, by honesty, obtain a plain simple approbation. Johnson.

<sup>6—</sup>the moral of my wit
Is—plain, and true, Moral, in this inflance, has the fame
meaning as in Much Ado about Nothing, A& III. fc. iv:

Enter ÆNEAS, PARIS, ANTENOR, DEIPHOBUS, and DIOMEDES.

Welcome, fir Diomed! here is the lady, Which for Antenor we deliver you: At the port,<sup>7</sup> lord, I'll give her to thy hand; And, by the way, possess thee what she is.<sup>8</sup> Entreat her fair; and, by my foul, fair Greek, If e'er thou stand at mercy of my sword, Name Cressid, and thy life shall be as safe As Priam is in Ilion.

Dio. Fair lady Creffid,
So please you, save the thanks this prince expects:
The lustre in your eye, heaven in your cheek,
Pleads your fair usage; and to Diomed
You shall be mistress, and command him wholly.

 $T_{RO}$ . Grecian, thou dost not use me courteously, To shame the zeal of my petition to thee,

"Benedictus! why Benedictus? you have fome moral in this Benedictus."

Again, in The Taming of the Shrew, Act IV. fc. iv:

"—— he has left me here behind to expound the meaning or moral of his figns and tokens." Tollet.

<sup>7</sup> At the port,] The port is the gate. So, in King Henry IV. Part II:

"That keeps the ports of flumber open wide."

STEEVENS.

B — posses thee what she is.] I will make thee fully understand. This sense of the word posses is frequent in our author. Johnson.

So, in The Merchant of Venice:

" \_\_\_ Is he yet posses'd

"How much you would?" STEEVENS.

In praifing her: 9 I tell thee, lord of Greece, She is as far high-foaring o'er thy praifes, 1 As thou unworthy to be call'd her fervant. I charge thee, use her well, even for my charge; For, by the dreadful Pluto, if thou dost not, Though the great bulk Achilles be thy guard, I'll cut thy throat.

Dto. O, be not mov'd, prince Troilus: Let me be privileg'd by my place, and meffage, To be a fpeaker free; when I am hence, I'll answer to my lust: And know you, lord,

9 To shame the zeal of my petition to thee, In praising her:] [Old copies—the seal.] To shame the seal of a petition is nonlense. Shakspeare wrote:

To shame the zeal—— and the fense is this: Grecian, you use me discourteously; you see I am a passionate lover by my petition to you; and therefore you should not shame the zeal of it, by promising to do what I require of you, for the sake of her beauty: when, if you had good manners, or a sense of a lover's delicacy, you would have promised to do it in compassion to his pangs and sufferings.

WARBURTON.
Troilus, I suppose, means to say, that Diomede does not use him courteously by addressing himself to Cressida, and assuring her that she shall be well treated for her own sake, and on account of her singular beauty, instead of making a direct answer to that warm request which Troilus had just made to him to "entreat her fair." The subsequent words fully support this interpretation:

"I charge thee, use her well, even for my charge."

MALONE.

Tempest:

"—— fhe will outstrip all praise—." Steevens.

 $^2$  — my luft:] Li/l, I think, is right, though both the old copies read lu/l. Johnson.

Lust is inclination, will. Henley.

So, in Exodus, xv. 9: "I will divide the spoil; my lust shall be satisfied upon them."

I'll nothing do on charge: To her own worth She shall be priz'd; but that you fay-be't fo, I'll speak it in my spirit and honour,—no.

Tro. Come, to the port.—I'll tell thee,3 Diomed, This brave shall oft make thee to hide thy head.— Lady, give me your hand; and, as we walk, To our own felves bend we our needful talk.

> [Exeunt Troilus, Cressida, and Diomed. [Trumpet heard.

PAR. Hark! Hector's trumpet.

ÆNE. How have we fpent this morning! The prince must think me tardy and remiss, That fwore to ride before him to the field.

PAR. 'Tis Troilus' fault: Come, come, to field with him.

In many of our ancient writers, lust and list are fynonymously employed. So, in Chapman's verifon of the feventeenth *Iliad*:

"——Sarpedon, gueft and friend

"To thee, (and most deservedly) thou flew'st from in his end,

" And left'ft to all the lust of Greece."

I'll answer to my lust, means—I'll follow my inclination.

STEEVENS.

Lust was used formerly as synonymous to pleasure. So, in The Rupe of Lucrece:

"-- the eyes of men through loopholes thrust,

"Gazing upon the Greeks with little luft." MALONE.

3 —— I'll tell thee,] This phraseology (instead of—" I tell thee") occurs almost too frequently in our author to need exemplification. One inftance of it, however, shall be given from King John, Act V. fc. vi:

"I'll tell thee, Hubert, half my power this night

" Passing these flats are taken by the tide."

Again, in the first line of King Henry V:

"My lord, I'll tell you, that felf bill is urg'd -."

Mr. Malone, conceiving this mode of speech to be merely a printer's error, reads, in the former inftance—"I tell thee," though, in the two passages just cited, he retains the ancient, and perhaps the true reading. STEEVENS.

Vol. XV.

DEI. Let us make ready straight.4

ENE. Yea, with a bridegroom's fresh alacrity, Let us address to tend on Hector's heels:
The glory of our Troy doth this day lie
On his fair worth, and fingle chivalry. [Exeunt.

<sup>4</sup> Dei. Let us make ready firaight. &c.] These five lines are not in the quarto, being probably added at the revision.

Johnson.

But why should Diomed say—Let us make ready fireight? Was he to tend with them on Hector's heels? Certainly not. Dio. has therefore crept in by mistake; the line either is part of Paris's speech, or belongs to Deiphobus, who is in company. As to Diomed, he neither goes along with them, nor has any thing to get ready:—he is now walking with Troilus and Cressida, towards the gate, on his way to the Grecian camp.

RITSON.

This last speech cannot possibly belong to Diomede, who was a Grecian, and could not have addressed Paris and Æneas, as if they were going on the same party. This is, in truth, a continuation of the speech of Paris, and the preceding stage direction should run thus: "Exeunt Troilus, Cressida, and Diomed who had the charge of Cressida." M. Mason.

To the first of these lines, "Let us make ready straight," is prefixed in the solio, where alone the passage is found, Dio.

I suspect these five lines were an injudicious addition by the actors, for the sake of concluding the scene with a couplet; to which (if there be no corruption) they were more attentive than to the country of Diomed, or the particular commission he was entrusted with by the Greeks. The line in question, however, as has been suggested, may belong to Deipholus. From Eneas's second speech, in p. 387, and the stage-direction in the quarto and folio presixed to the third scene of this Act, Deiphobus appears to be now on the stage; and Dio. and Dei. might have been easily consounded. As this slight change removes the absurdity, I have adopted it. It was undoubtedly intended by Shakspeare that Diomed should make his exit with Troilus and Cressida. Malone.

#### SCENE V.

The Grecian Camp. Lists fet out.

Enter AJAX, armed; AGAMEMNON, ACHILLES, PATROCLUS, MENELAUS, ULYSSES, NESTOR, and Others.

Agam. Here art thou in appointment fresh and fair,5

Anticipating time with flarting courage. Give with thy trumpet a loud note to Troy, Thou dreadful Ajax; that the appalled air May pierce the head of the great combatant, And hale him hither.

Agax. Thou, trumpet, there's my purfe. Now crack thy lungs, and fplit thy brazen pipe: Blow, villain, till thy fphered bias cheek 6 Out-fwell the colick of puff'd Aquilon:

5 — in appointment fresh and fair,] Appointment is preparation. So, in Measure for Measure:

"Therefore your best appointment make with speed."

Again, in King Henry V. Part I:

"What well-appointed leader fronts us here?"
i. e. what leader well prepared with arms and accourrements?

Steevens.

On the other hand, in *Hamlet*:
"Unhousell'd, disappointed, unanneal'd." MALONE.

6 —— bias cheek —] Swelling out like the bias of a bowl.

Johnson

So, in Vittoria Corombona, or the White Devil, 1612:

"---"Faith his cheek

" Has a most excellent bias -."

The idea is taken from the puffy cheeks of the winds, as represented in ancient prints, maps, &c. Steevens.

Come, firetch thy cheft, and let thy eyes fpout blood;

Thou blow'st for Hector. [Trumpet founds.

ULYSS. No trumpet answers.

Achil. 'Tis but early days.

AGAM. Is not you Diomed, with Calchas' daughter?

ULYSS. 'Tis he, I ken the manner of his gait; He rifes on the toe: that spirit of his In aspiration lifts him from the earth.

# Enter DIOMED, with CRESSIDA.

AGAM. Is this the lady Creffid?

Dio. Even she.

AGAM. Most dearly welcome to the Greeks, sweet lady.

NEST. Our general doth falute you with a kifs.

*ULYSS*. Yet is the kindness but particular; 'Twere better, she were kiss'd in general.

NEST. And very courtly counsel: I'll begin.—So much for Nestor.

Achil. I'll take that winter from your lips, fair lady:

Achilles bids you welcome.

MEN. I had good argument for kiffing once.

PATR. But that's no argument for kiffing now: For thus popp'd Paris in his hardiment; And parted thus you and your argument.

*Ulrss.* O deadly gall, and theme of all our fcorns! For which we lofe our heads, to gild his horns.

PATR. The first was Menelaus' kifs;—this, mine: Patroclus kiffes you.

O, this is trim!  $M_{EN}$ .

 $P_{ATR}$ . Paris, and I, kifs evermore for him.

MEN. I'll have my kifs, fir :—Lady, by your leave.

CRES. In kiffing, do you render or receive?

 $P_{ATR}$ . Both take and give.<sup>8</sup>

I'll make my match to live,9 The kifs you take is better than you give; Therefore no kifs.

MEN. I'll give you boot, I'll give you three for one.

CRES. You're an odd man; give even, or give none.

MEN. An odd man, lady? every man is odd.

CRES. No, Paris is not; for, you know, 'tis true, That you are odd, and he is even with you.

MEN. You fillip me o'the head.

No, I'll be fworn. CRES.

ULYSS. It were no match, your nail against his horn ---

May I, fweet lady, beg a kifs of you?

<sup>7</sup> In kiffing, do you render, or receive?] Thus, Baffanio, in The Merchant of Venice, when he kiffes Portia: "——Fair lady, by your leave,

"I come by note, to give, and to receive." STEEVENS.

<sup>8</sup> Patr. Both take and give.] This speech should rather be given to Menelaus. Tyrwhitt.

9 I'll make my match to live,] I will make fuch largains as I may live by, fuch as may bring me profit, therefore will not take a worse kiss than I give. Johnson.

I believe this only means—I'll lay my life. TYRWHITT.

CRES. You may.

ULYSS. I do defire it.

Cres. Why, beg then.

ULYSS. Why then, for Venus fake, give me a kifs, When Helen is a maid again, and his.

CRES. I am your debtor, claim it when 'tis due.

ULYSS. Never's my day, and then a kifs of you.2

Dio. Lady, a word;—I'll bring you to your father. [Diomed leads out Cressida.

NEST. A woman of quick fense.

ULTSS. Fye, fye upon her! There's language in her eye, her cheek, her lip, Nay, her foot speaks; her wanton spirits look out

Why, leg then.] For the fake of rhyme we should read:

If you think kiffes worth begging, beg more than one.

Johnson.

<sup>2</sup> Never's my day, and then a kiss of you.] I once gave both these lines to Cressida. She bids Ulysses beg a kiss; he atks that he may have it,

"When Helen is a maid again,—." She tells him that then he shall have it,—When Helen is a maid

again:

"Cref. I am your debtor, claim it when 'tis due.
"Uluf. Never's my day, and then a kifs for you."
But I rather think Ulyffes means to flight her, and that the prefent reading is right. Johnson.

3 There's language in her eye, her cheek, her lip,

Nay, her foot speaks; &c.] One would almost think that Shakspeare had, on this occasion, been reading St. Chrysostom, who says—"Non loquuta es lingua, sed loquuta es gresu; non loquuta es voce, sed oculis loquuta es clarius quam voce;" i.e.—"They say nothing with their mouthes, they speake in their gate, they speake with their eyes, they speake in the carriage of their bodies." I have borrowed this invective against a wanton, as well as the translation of it, from Burton's Anatomy of Melancholy, Part III. Sect. ii. Memb. 2. Subs. 3. Steevens.

At every joint and motive of her body.<sup>4</sup> O, these encounterers, so glib of tongue, That give a coasting welcome ere it comes,<sup>5</sup>

4 — motive of her lody.] Motive, for part that contributes to motion. Johnson.

This word is also employed, with some singularity, in All's well that ends well:

"As it hath fated her to be my motive" And helper to a hufband." STERVENS.

5 O, these encounterers, so glib of tougue,

That give a coasting welcome ere it comes,] Ere what comes? As this passage stands, the pronoun it has no antecedent. Johnson says, a coasting means an amorous address, courtship, but he has given no example to prove it, or shown how the word can possibly bear that meaning. I have no doubt but we should read:

And give accosting welcome ere it come. M. MASON.

Mr. M. Mason's conjecture is plausible and ingenious; and yet, without some hesitation, it cannot be admitted into the text.

A consisting welcome may mean a side-long glance of invitation. Ere it comes, may fignity, before such an overture has reached her. Perhaps, therefore, the plain fense of the passage may be, that Cressida is one of those semales who throw out their lure, before any like signal has been made to them by our fer.

I always advance with reluctance what I cannot prove by examples; and yet, perhaps, I may be allowed to add, that in fome old book of voyages which I have formerly read, I remember that the phrase, a coasting salute, was used to express a salute of guns from a thip passing by a fortified place at which the navigator did not design to stop, though the salute was instantly returned. So, in Othello:

"They do discharge their shot of courtesy;

"Our friends, at least."

Again:

"They give this greeting to the citadel:

"This likewife is a friend."

Creffida may therefore refemble a fortress which falutes before it has been faluted. Steevens.

A coasting welcome is a conciliatory welcome; that makes

And wide unclasp the tables of their thoughts
To every ticklish reader! set them down
For fluttish spoils of opportunity,<sup>5</sup>
And daughters of the game. [Trumpet within.

and daughters of the game. [1 rumpet within

ALL. The Trojans' trumpet.

AGAM. Yonder comes the troop.

Enter Hector, armed; Æneas, Troilus, and other Trojans, with Attendants.

ÆNE. Hail, all the state of Greece! what shall be done

To him that victory commands? Or do you purpose, A victor shall be known? will you, the knights Shall to the edge of all extremity? Pursue each other; or shall they be divided By any voice or order of the field? Hector bade ask.

ACAM. Which way would Hector have it?

ÆNE. He cares not, he'll obey conditions.

filent advances before the tongue has uttered a word. So, in our author's Venus and Adonis:

"Anon she hears them chaunt it lustily,

"And all in hafte the coafteth to the cry." MALONE.

s——fluttish spoils of opportunity,] Corrupt wenches, of whose chastity every opportunity may make a prey. Johnson.

6 - what shall be done

\* To him that victory commands?] This phrase is scriptural, and signifies—what honour shall he receive? So, in Samuel I. xvii. 26: "What shall be done to the man that killeth this Philistine?" Steevens.

7 — to the edge of all extremity—] So, in All's well that ends well: "To the extreme edge of hazard."

Steevens.

# Асни. 'Tis done like Hector; but fecurely done,8

\* 'Tis done like Hector, but securely done,] This speech, in the old copies, is given to Agamemnon. MALONE.

It feems abfurd to me, that Agamemnon should make a remark to the disparagement of Hector for pride, and that Æneas should immediately say—

Ir not Achilles, fir, what is your name?"

To Achilles I have ventured to place it; and confulting Mr. Dryden's alteration of this play, I was not a little pleafed to find, that I had but feconded the opinion of that great man in this point. Theobald.

Though all the old copies agree in giving this speech to Agamemnon, I have no doubt but Theobald is right in restoring it to Achilles. It is this very speech, so much in character, that makes Æneas immediately recognize Achilles, and say in reply—

"If not Achilles, fir, what is your name?"

And it is to Achilles he afterwards addresses himself in reply to this speech; on which he answers the observation it contains on Hector's conduct, by giving his just character, and clearing himself from the charge of pride.—I have already observed that the copies of this play are uncommonly faulty with respect to the distribution of the speeches to the proper persons. M. Mason.

—— fecurely done,] In the feufe of the Latin, fecurus—fecurus admodum de bello, animi fecuri homo. A negligent fecurity arifing from a contempt of the object opposed.

WARBURTON.

Dr. Warburton truly observes, that the word fecurely is here used in the Latin sense; and Mr. Warner, in his ingenious letter to Mr. Garrick, thinks the sense peculiar to Shakspeare; "for (says he) I have not been able to trace it elsewhere." This gentleman has treated me with so much civility, that I am bound in honour to remove his difficulty.

It is to be found in the last act of The Spanish Tragedy:

"O damned devil, how fecure he is."

In my Lord Bacon's Essay on Tumults, "—neither let any prince or state be secure concerning discontents." And besides these, in Drayton, Fletcher, and the vulgar translation of the Bible.

Mr. Warner had as little fuccefs in his refearches for the word religion in its Latin acceptation. I meet with it however in Hoby's translation of Castilio, 1561: "Some be so scrupulous, as it were, with a religion of this their Tuscane tung."

A little proudly, and great deal mifprizing The knight oppos'd.

 $\cancel{E}_{NE}$ . If not Achilles, fir, What is your name?

ACHIL. If not Achilles, nothing.

ÆNE. Therefore Achilles: But, whate'er, know this;—

In the extremity of great and little, Valour and pride excel themselves in Hector; <sup>9</sup> The one almost as infinite as all, The other blank as nothing. Weigh him well, And that, which looks like pride, is courtefy. This Ajax is half made of Hector's blood: <sup>1</sup> In love whereof, half Hector stays at home; Half heart, half hand, half Hector comes to seek This blended knight, half Trojan, and half Greek.<sup>2</sup>

Achil. A maiden battle then?—O, I perceive you.

Ren Jonfon more than once uses both the *fulftantive* and the

adjective in this fense.

As to the word *Cavalero*, with the Spanish termination, it is to be found in Heywood, Withers, Davies, Taylor, and many other writers. Farmer.

- <sup>9</sup> Valour and pride excel themfelves in Hector;] Shakipeare's thought is not exactly deduced. Nicety of expression is not his character. The meaning is plain: "Valour (fays Æneas, is in Hector greater than valour in other men, and pride in Hector is less than pride in other men. So that Hector is diffinguished by the excellence of having pride less than other pride, and valour more than other valour." Johnson.
- This Ajax is half made of Hector's blood: Ajax and Hector were confin-germans. Malone.
- <sup>2</sup> half Trojan, and half Greek.] Hence Therfites, in a former fcene, called Ajax a mongrel. See p. 291, n. 8.

  MALONE.

#### Re-enter DIOMED.

AGAM. Here is fir Diomed:—Go, gentle knight, Stand by our Ajax: as you and lord Æneas Confent upon the order of their fight, So be it; either to the uttermoft, Or else a breath: 3 the combatants being kin, Half stints 4 their strife before their strokes begin.

[AJAX and HECTOR enter the lists.]

ULYSS. They are oppos'd already.

AGAM. What Trojan is that fame that looks fo heavy?

ULYSS. The youngest son of Priam, a true knight; Not yet mature, yet matchless; firm of word; Speaking in deeds, and deedless in his tongue; 5 Not soon provok'd, nor, being provok'd, soon calm'd:

His heart and hand both open, and both free; For what he has, he gives, what thinks, he shows; Yet gives he not till judgment guide his bounty, Nor dignifies an impair thought<sup>6</sup> with breath: Manly as Hector, but more dangerous;

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> — a breath:] i.e. a breathing, a flight exercise of arms. See p. 319, n. 7. Steevens.

<sup>4 —</sup> fints—] i.e. flops. So, in Timon of Athens:
"—make peace, fint war—." Steevens.

<sup>5 ——</sup> deedless in his tongue; ] i.e. no boaster of his own deeds. Steevens.

<sup>. 6 —</sup> an impair thought—] A thought unfuitable to the dignity of his character. This word I should have changed to impure, were I not overpowered by the unanimity of the editors, and concurrence of the old copies. Johnson.

So, in Chapman's preface to his translation of the Shield of Homer, 1598: "—nor is it more impaire to an honest and absolute man" &c. Steevens.

For Hector, in his blaze of wrath, fubscribes To tender objects; but he, in heat of action, Is more vindicative than jealous love: They call him Troilus; and on him erect A fecond hope, as fairly built as Hector. Thus fays Æneas; one that knows the youth Even to his inches, and, with private foul, Did in great Ilion thus translate him to me.8

[Alarum. HECTOR and AJAX fight.

AGAM. They are in action.

NEST. Now, Ajax, hold thine own!

Hector, thou fleep'ft; TRO.

Awake thee!

AGAM. His blows are well dispos'd:—there, Ajax! Trumpets cease. Dio. You must no more. Princes, enough, fo please you. ÆNE.  $A_{7AX}$ . I am not warm yet, let us fight again. Dio. As Hector pleases.

Why then, will I no more:-HECT. Thou art, great lord, my father's fifter's fon, A coufin-german to great Priam's feed; The obligation of our blood forbids A gory emulation 'twixt us twain: Were thy commixtion Greek and Trojan fo, That thou could'st fay-This hand is Grecian all,

<sup>7 —</sup> Hector,—fubscribes To tender objects;] That is, yields, gives way. Johnson. So, in King Lear: "-fulfcrib'd his power;" i.e. fubmitted. STEEVENS.

<sup>5 —</sup> thus translate him to me.] Thus explain his character. JOHNSON.

So, in Hamlet: "There's matter in these fighs, these profound heaves; "You must translate." STEEVENS.

And this is Trojan; the finews of this leg
All Greek, and this all Troy; my mother's blood
Runs on the dexter cheek, and this finifier
Bounds-in my father's; by Jove multipotent,
Thou fhould'ft not bear from me a Greekish member
Wherein my sword had not impressure made
Of our rank feud: But the just gods gainfay,
That any drop thou borrow'st from thy mother,
My sacred aunt,9 should by my mortal sword
Be drain'd! Let me embrace thee, Ajax:
By him that thunders, thou hast lusty arms;
Hector would have them fall upon him thus:
Cousin, all honour to thee!

Agax. I thank thee, Hector: Thou art too gentle, and too free a man: I came to kill thee, coufin, and bear hence A great addition are earned in thy death.

HECT. Not Neoptolemus fo mirable (On whose bright crest Fame with her loud'st O yes Cries, This is he,) could promise to himself? A thought of added honour torn from Hector.

 $^9$  My facred aunt, It is remarkable that the Greeks give to the uncle the title of Sacred, Selos. Patruus avunculus  $^6$   $\pi \delta ^5 \epsilon s$   $\pi \pi d \epsilon ^5 s$   $\pi \pi d \epsilon ^5 s$   $\pi \pi d \epsilon ^5 s$  Gaz. de Senec. patruus  $^6$   $\pi \pi \delta ^5 \epsilon s$   $\pi \pi d \epsilon ^5 s$   $\pi \pi d \epsilon ^5 s$  Gaz. de Senec. patruus  $^6$   $\pi \pi \delta ^5 \epsilon s$   $\pi \pi d \epsilon ^5 s$  Gaz. de Senec. patruus  $^6$   $\pi \pi \delta ^5 s$   $\pi \pi d \epsilon ^5 s$  Gaz. de Senec. patruus  $^6$   $\pi \pi d \epsilon ^5 s$  Gaz.  $^6$   $\pi \pi d \epsilon ^5 s$  Gaz.  $^6$   $\pi \pi d \epsilon ^5 s$  Gaz.  $^6$   $\pi d \epsilon ^5 s$   $\pi d \epsilon ^5 s$  Gaz.  $^6$   $\pi d \epsilon ^5 s$   $\pi$ 

" Τφι. "Η που νοσουνίας δείος "υξεισεν δόμους." And Xenoph. Κυρου παλδ. Lib. I. passim. Valleant.

This circumstance may tend to establish an opinion I have elsewhere expressed, that this play was not the entire composition of Shakspeare, to whom the Greeism before us was probably unknown. Steevens.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> A great addition—] i. e. denomination. See p. 244, n. 5.
Steevens.

Not Neoptolemus fo mirable (On whose bright crest Fame with her loud'st O yes, Cries, This is he,) could promise to himself &c.] Dr. War-

#### 414 TROILUS AND CRESSIDA.

ÆNE. There is expectance here from both the fides,

What further you will do.

burton observes, that "the sense and spirit of Hector's speech requires that the most celebrated of his adversaries should be picked out to be defied, and this was Achilles himself, not his son Neoptolemus, who was yet but an apprentice in warfare." In the rage of correction therefore he reads:

Not Neoptolemus's fire irafcible.

Such a licentious conjecture deserves no attention. MALONE.

My opinion is, that by Neoptolemus the author meant Achilles himfelf; and remembering that the fon was Pyrrhus Neoptolemus, confidered Neoptolemus as the *nomen gentilitium*, and thought the father was likewife Achilles Neoptolemus.

JOHNSON.

Shakspeare might have used Neoptolemus for Achilles. Wilfride Holme, the author of a poem called *The Fall and evil Successe of Rebellion*, &c. 1537, had made the same mistake before him, as the following stanza will show:

"Also the triumphant Troyans victorious, "By Anthenor and Æneas false confederacie,

"Sending Polidamus to Neoptolemus,

"Who was vanquished and subdued by their conspiracie.

"O dolorous fortune, and fatal miferie!
"For multitude of people was there mortificate
"With condigue Priamus and all his progenie,

"And flagrant Polixene, that lady delicate."

In Lydgate, however, Achilles, Neoptolemus, and Pyrrhus, are diffined characters. Neoptolemus is enumerated among the Grecian princes who first embarked to revenge the rape of Helen:

"The valiant Grecian called Neoptolemus,

"That had his haire as blacke as any jet," &c. p. 102. and Pyrrhus, very properly, is not heard of till after the death of his father:

"Sith that Achilles in fuch traiterous wife "Is flaine, that we a meffenger fhould fend "To fetch his fon yong Pyrrhus, to the end

"He may revenge his father's death," &c. p. 237.

STEEVENS.

I agree with Dr. Johnson and Mr. Steevens, in thinking that Shakspeare supposed Neoptolemus was the nomen gentilitium: an error into which he might have been led by some book of the

HECT. We'll answer it; 3 The iffue is embracement:—Ajax, farewell.

AFAX. If I might in entreaties find fuccess. (As feld I have the chance,) I would defire My famous coufin to our Grecian tents.

Dio. 'Tis Agamemnon's wifh: and great Achilles Doth long to fee unarm'd the valiant Hector.

HECT. Æneas, call my brother Troilus to me: And fignify this loving interview
To the expecters of our Trojan part;
Defire them home.—Give me thy hand, my coufin;
I will go eat with thee, and fee your knights.4

Agax. Great Agamemnon comes to meet us here. Hecr. The worthieft of them tell me name by name;

But for Achilles, my own fearching eyes Shall find him by his large and portly fize.

time. That by Neeptolemus he meant Achilles, and not Pyrrhus, may be inferred from a former paffage in p. 373, by which it appears that he knew Pyrrhus had not yet engaged in the fiege of Troy:

"But it must grieve young Pyrrhus, now at home," &c.

3 We'll answer it;] That is, answer the expectance.

JOHNSON.

4—your knights.] The word knight, as often as it occurs, is fure to bring with it the idea of chivalry, and revives the memory of Amadis and his fantastick followers, rather than that of the mighty confederates who fought on either side in the Trojan war. I with that eques and armiger could have been rendered by any other words than knight and 'fquire. Mr. Pope, in his translation of the Iliad, is very liberal of the latter. Steevens.

These knights, to the amount of about two hundred thousand, (for there were not less in both armies,) Shakspeare found, with all the appendages of chivalry, in The Three Destructions of Troy. MALONE.

AGAM. Worthy of arms! 5 as welcome as to one That would be rid of fuch an enemy; But that's no welcome: Understand more clear, What's past, and what's to come, is strew'd with

And formless ruin of oblivion; But in this extant moment, faith and troth, Strain'd purely from all hollow bias-drawing, Bids thee, with most divine integrity,<sup>6</sup> From heart of very heart,<sup>7</sup> great Hector, welcome.

HECT. I thank thee, most imperious Agamemnon.8

AGAM. My well-fam'd lord of Troy, no less to you. [To Troilus.

MEN. Let me confirm my princely brother's greeting;—

You brace of warlike brothers, welcome hither.

HECT. Whom must we answer?  $M_{EN}$ . The noble Menelaus.

- 5 Worthy of arms!] Folio. Worthy all arms! Quarto. The quarto has only the first, second, and the last line of this salutation; the intermediate verses seem added on a revision.
  - 6 divine integrity,] i. e. integrity like that of heaven.

    Steevens.
  - heart of very heart,] So, in Hamlet:
     "In my heart's core, ay in my heart of heart."

8 — most imperious Agamemnon.] Imperious and imperial had formerly the same signification. So, in our author's Venus and Adonis:

" Imperious supreme of all mortal things." MALONE.

Again, in Titus Andronicus:
"King be thy thoughts imperious, like

"King, be thy thoughts imperious, like thy name." STEEVENS.

9 Men. The noble Menelaus.] Mr. Ritson supposes this speech to belong to Æneas. Reed.

HECT. O you, my lord? by Mars his gauntlet, thanks!

Mock not, that I affect the untraded oath: Your quondam wife fwears fill by Venus' glove: She's well, but bade me not commend her to you.

MEN. Name her not now, fir; she's a deadly theme.

HECT. O, pardon; I offend.

Nest. I have, thou gallant Trojan, feen thee oft, Labouring for deftiny, make cruel way Through ranks of Greekish youth: 2 and I have feen thee.

As I cannot suppose, that Menelaus would style himself "the noble Menelans," I think Ritson right in giving this speech to Æneas. M. MASON.

Mock not, &c. The quarto has here a ftrange corruption: Mock not thy affect, the untreaded earth. Johnson.

- the untraded oath;] A fingular oath, not in common So, in King Richard II:

"---fome way of common trade."

Under the lady's oath perhaps more is meant than meets the ear; unless the poet caught his idea from Grange's Golden Aphroditis, 4to. 1577, fign. M ij: "At this upper borde next unto Jupiter on the right hande fat Juno, that honourable and gracious goddeffe his wyfe: Nexte unto hyr fatte Venus, the goddesse of love, with a GLOVE made of floures sticking in hyr l'osome." MALONE.

Glove, in the preceding extract, must be a corruption of fome other word, perhaps of Globe. A flowery globe might have been worn by Venus as an emblem of the influence of Love, which, by adding graces and pleasures to the world, may, poetically, be faid to cover it with flowers.

Our ancient nofegays also (as may be known from several old engravings) were nearly globular. But what idea can be communicated by a glove made of flowers? or how could any form

refembling a glove, be produced out of fuch materials?

<sup>2</sup> Labouring for defiiny, &c.] The vicegerent of Fate. So, in Coriolanus:

Еe Vol. XV.

As hot as Perseus, spur 3 thy Phrygian steed, Despising many forfeits and subduements,4 When thou hast hung thy advanced sword i'the air, Not letting it decline on the declin'd;5 That I have said to some my standers-by, Lo, Jupiter is yonder, dealing life! And I have seen thee pause, and take thy breath, When that a ring of Greeks have hemm'd thee in, Like an Olympian wrestling: This have I seen; But this thy countenance, still lock'd in steel, I never saw till now. I knew thy grandsire,6 And once sought with him: he was a soldier good;

"--- His fword, death's stamp,

- "Where it did mark, it took; from face to foot He was a thing of blood, whose every motion
- "Was tim'd with dying cries: alone he enter'd "The mortal gate of the city, which he painted

"With shunless desliny." MALONE.

- <sup>3</sup> As hot as Perseus, spur—] As the equestrian same of Perseus, on the present occasion, must be alluded to, this simile will serve to countenance my opinion, that in a former instance his horse was meant for a real one, and not, allegorically, for a ship. See p. 261, n. 4. Steevens.
- <sup>4</sup> Despiting many forfeits and subduements,] Thus the quarto. The folio reads:
  - "And feen thee fcorning forfeits and fubduements.

JOHNSON.

When thou hast hung thy advanced sword i'the air,
Not letting it decline on the declin'd;] Dr. Young appears
to have imitated this passage in the second Act of his Busines:

" \_\_\_\_ my rais'd arm

" Has hung in air, forgetful to descend,

"And for a moment spar'd the prostrate foe."

STEEVEN'S

So, in King Henry IV. Part II:

"And hangs refolv'd correction in the air,

"That was uprear'd to execution."

The declin'd is the fallen. So, in Timon of Athens:

"Not one accompanying his declining foot." MALONE.

• — thy grandsire,] Laomedon. Steevens.

But, by great Mars, the captain of us all, Never like thee: Let an old man embrace thee; And, worthy warrior, welcome to our tents.

ÆNE. 'Tis the old Neftor.7

HECT. Let me embrace thee, good old chronicle, That haft fo long walk'd hand in hand with time:— Most reverend Nestor, I am glad to class thee.

NEST. I would, my arms could match thee in contention,

As they contend 8 with thee in courtefy.

HECT. I would they could.

NEST. Ha!

By this white beard, I'd fight with thee to-morrow. Well, welcome, welcome! I have feen the time—

ULYSS. I wonder now how yonder city flands, When we have here her base and pillar by us.

Hecr. I know your favour, lord Ulyffes, well. Ah, fir, there's many a Greek and Trojan dead, Since first I saw yourself and Diomed In Ilion, on your Greekish embassy.

Uluss. Sir, I foretold you then what would ensue: My prophecy is but half his journey yet;

7 'Tis the old Neftor.] So, in Julius Cæfar: "Old Cassius still."

If the poet had the same idea in both passages, Æneas means, "Nestor is still the same talkative old man, we have long known him to be." He may, however, only mean to inform Hector that Nestor is the person who has addressed him.

MALONE.

I believe, that Æneas, who acts as mafter of the ceremonics, is now merely announcing Neftor to Hector, as he had before announced Menelaus to him; for, as Mr. Ritfon has observed, the last speech in p. 416, most evidently belongs to Æneas.

STEEVEN

\* As they contend—] This line is not in the quarto.

JOHNSON.

For yonder walls, that pertly front your town, Yon towers, whose wanton tops do but the clouds, Must kis their own seet.

Hect. I must not believe you: There they fixed yet; and modestly I think, The fall of every Phrygian stone will cost A drop of Grecian blood: The end crowns all; And that old common arbitrator, time, Will one day end it.

ULTSS. So to him we leave it.
Most gentle, and most valiant Hector, welcome:
After the general, I beseeh you next
To feast with me, and see me at my tent.

ACHIL. I shall forestall thee, lord Ulysses, thou! --

<sup>9</sup> Yon towers, whose wanton tops do buss the clouds,] So, in our author's Rape of Lucrece:

"Threatening cloud kiffing Ilion with annoy."

Again, in Pericles, Prince of Tyre, 1609:

"Whose towers bore heads so high, they kis'd the

Ilion, according to Shakspeare's authority, was the name of Priam's palace, "that was one of the richest and strongest that ever was in all the world. And it was of height five hundred paces, besides the height of the towers, whereof there was great plenty, and so high as that it seemed to them that saw them from farre, they raught up unto the heaven." The Desiruction of Troy, Book II. p. 478.

So also Lydgate, fign. F8, verso:

"And whan he gan to his worke approche,
"He made it builde hye upon a roche,

"It for to affure in his foundation, "And called it the noble Ylion."

Shakspeare was thinking of this circumstance when he wrote, in the first Ast, these lines. Troilus is the speaker:

"Between our Ilium, and where the refides, [i.e. Troy]

"Let it be call'd the wild and wand'ring flood."

MALONE.

I should we not read—though? Notwithstanding you have invited Hector to

Now, Hector, I have fed mine eyes on thee; <sup>2</sup> I have with exact view perus'd thee, Hector, And quoted joint by joint.<sup>3</sup>

HECT. Is this Achilles?

ACHIL. I am Achilles.

HECT. Stand fair, I pray thee: let me look on thee.

your tent, I shall draw him first into mine. So, in Beaumont and Fletcher's Cupid's Revenge, A& III. sc. i:

" --- O dissembling woman,

"Whom I must reverence though -. " TYRWHITT.

The repetition of thou! was anciently used by one who meant to insult another. So, in Twelfth-Night: "—if thou thou'st him some thrice, it shall not be amis."

Again, in The Tempest:

"Thou ly'ft, thou fefting monkey, thou!"
Again, in the first scene of the fifth A&t of this play: "—thou tassel of a prodigal's purse, thou!" Stevens.

Steevens's observations on the use of the word thou are perfectly just, and therefore I agree with Tyrwhitt that we ought to read: "—lord Ulysses, though!" as it could not be the intention of Achilles to affront Ulysses, but merely to inform him, that he expected to entertain Hector before he did.

M. Mason.

Mr. Steevens's remark is incontrovertibly true; but Ulyffes had not faid any thing to excite fuch contempt. MALONE.

Perhaps the fcorn of Achilles arose from a supposition that Ulysses, by inviting Hector immediately after his visit to Agamemnon, designed to represent himself as the person next in rank and consequence to the general of the Grecian forces.

STEEVENS.

- <sup>2</sup> Now, Hector, I have fed mine eyes on thee;] The hint for this feene of altercation between Achilles and Hector is taken from Lydgate. See p. 178. Steevens.
- <sup>3</sup> And quoted joint by joint.] To quote is to observe. So, in Hamlet:

" I'm forry that with better heed and judgment

"I had not quoted him."

Again, in The Two Gentlemen of Verona: "Thu. And how quote you my folly?

" Val. I quote it in your jerkin." STEEVENS.

ACHIL. Behold thy fill.

HECT. Nay, I have done already.

Achil. Thou art too brief; I will the fecond time, As I would buy thee, view thee limb by limb.

HECT. O, like a book of fport thou'lt read me

But there's more in me than thou 'understand'st. Why dost thou so oppress me with thine eye?

Achil. Tell me, you heavens, in which part of his body

Shall I defroy him? whether there, there, or there? That I may give the local wound a name; And make diffinct the very breach, whereout Hector's great fpirit flew: Answer me, heavens!

HECT. It would discredit the bless'd gods, proud man,

To answer such a question: Stand again: Think'st thou to catch my life so pleasantly, As to prenominate in nice conjecture, Where thou wilt hit me dead?

Achil. I tell thee, yea.

HECT. Wert thou an oracle to tell me fo,—
I'd not believe thee. Henceforth guard thee well;
For I'll not kill thee there, nor there, nor there;
But, by the forge that fiithied Mars his helm,4
I'll kill thee every where, yea, o'er and o'er.—
You wifest Grecians, pardon me this brag,
His infolence draws folly from my lips;

The word is still used in Yorkshire. MALONE.

A fiith is an anvil, a fiithy a fmith's fhop. See Hamlet, Act III. fc. ii. Vol. XVIII. Steevens.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> But, by the forge that stithied Mars his helm,] A stithy is an anvil, and from hence the verb stithied is formed.

M. MASON.

But I'll endeavour deeds to match these words, Or may I never—

Afax. Do not chafe thee, coufin;—And you Achilles, let these threats alone, Till accident, or purpose, bring you to't:
You may have every day enough of Hector,—If you have stomach; the general state, I fear, Can scarce entreat you to be odd with him.5

HECT. I pray you, let us fee you in the field; We have had pelting wars, fince you refus'd The Grecians' cause.

Achil. Dost thou entreat me, Hector? To-morrow, do I meet thee, fell as death; To-night, all friends.

HECT. Thy hand upon that match.

AGAM. First, all you peers of Greece, go to my - tent;

There in the full convive? we: afterwards, As Hector's leifure and your bounties shall Concur together, severally entreat him.—

5 — the general flate, I fear,

Can fearce entreat you to be odd with him.] Ajax treats Achilles with contempt, and means to infinuate that he was afraid of fighting with Hector. "You may every day (fays he) have enough of Hector, if you choose it; but I believe the whole state of Greece will scarcely prevail on you to engage with him."

To have a *flomach* to any thing is, to have an inclination to it. M. Mason.

6 — pelting wars,] i.e. petty, inconfiderable ones. So, in A Midfummer-Night's Dream:

"Have every pelting river made fo proud," &c.

See Vol. IV. p. 357, n. 5. STEEVENS.

7 — convive—] To convive is to feeft. This word is not peculiar to Shakfbeare. I find it feveral times used in The Hydory of Helyas Knight of the Swanne, bl.l. no date.

STEEVENS.

Beat loud the tabourines, 8 let the trumpets blow, That this great foldier may his welcome know.9 Exeunt all but Troilus and Ulysses.

Tro. My lord Ulysses, tell me, I beseech you, In what place of the field doth Calchas keep?

ULYSS. At Menelaus' tent, most princely Troilus: There Diomed doth feaft with him to-night; Who neither looks upon the heaven, nor earth, But gives all gaze and bent of amorous view On the fair Creffid.

Tro. Shall I, fweet lord, be bound to you fo much.

After we part from Agamemnon's tent, To bring me thither?

You shall command me, fir. ULYSS. As gentle tell me, of what honour was This Creffida in Troy? Had she no lover there That wails her absence?

Tro. O, fir, to fuch as boafting flow their fears, A mock is due. Will you walk on, my lord? She was belov'd, fhe lov'd; fhe is, and doth: But, still, sweet love is food for fortune's tooth.

Exeunt.

8 Beat loud the tabourines, For this the quarto and the latter editions have—

To taste your bounties. The reading which I have given from the folio feems chosen at the revision, to avoid the repetition of the word bounties.

JOHNSON. Talourines are fmall drums. The word occurs again in Antony and Cleopatra. Steevens.

<sup>9</sup> That this great foldier may his welcome know.] So, in Macbeth:

"That this great king may kindly fay, "Our duties did his welcome pay." STEEVENS.

## ACT V. SCENE I.

The Grecian Camp. Before Achilles' Tent.

Enter Achilles and Patroclus.

ACHIL. I'll heat his blood with Greekish wine to-night,

Which with my scimitar I'll cool to-morrow. —Patroclus, let us feast him to the height.<sup>2</sup>

PATR. Here comes Therfites.

#### Enter THERSITES.

ACHIL. How now, thou core of envy? Thou crufty batch of nature,3 what's the news?

\* I'll heat his blood with Greekish wine to-night,
Which with my scimitar I'll cool to-morrow.] Grammar requires us to read—

With Greekish wine to-night I'll heat his blood,

Which &c.
Otherwife, Achilles threatens to cool the wine, inftead of Hector's blood. Steevens.

<sup>2</sup> — to the height.] The same phrase occurs in King Henry VIII:

"He's traitor to the height." STEEVENS.

<sup>3</sup> Thou crufty batch of nature,] Batch is changed by Theobald to botch, and the change is justified by a pompous note, which discovers that he did not know the word batch. What is more strange, Hanmer has followed him. Batch is any thing baked. Johnson.

Batch does not fignify any thing baked, but all that is baked at one time, without heating the oven afresh. So, Ben Jonson, in his Catiline:

"Except he were of the fame meal and batch."

#### 426 TROILUS AND CRESSIDA.

THER. Why, thou picture of what thou feemeft, and idol of idiot-worshippers, here's a letter for thee.

ACHIL. From whence, fragment?

THER. Why, thou full dish of fool, from Troy.

 $P_{ATR}$ . Who keeps the tent now?

THER. The furgeon's box,4 or the patient's wound.

PATR. Well faid, Adverfity! 5 and what need these tricks?

THER. Pr'ythee be filent, boy; I profit not by thy talk: thou art thought to be Achilles' male varlet.

PATR. Male varlet,6 you rogue! what's that?

Again, in Decker's If this le not a good Play the Devil is in it, 1612: "The best is, there are but two batches of people moulded in this world."

Again, in Summer's Last Will and Testament, 1600: "Hast thou made a good batch? I pray thee give me a new loas."

Again, in Every Mun in his Humour: "Is all the rest of this batch?"

Therfites had already been called cobloaf. Steevens.

4 The furgeon's low, In this answer Thersites only quibbles upon the word tent. HANNER.

<sup>3</sup> Well faid, Adversity!] Adversity, I believe, in this inflance, fignifies contrariety. The reply of Thersites has been studiously adverse to the drift of the question urged by Patroclus. So, in Love's Labour's Lest, the Princess, addressing Boyet, (who had been capriciously employing himself to perplex the dialogue,) says—" avaunt, Perplexity!" Steevens.

<sup>6</sup> Male varlet,] Sir T Hanmer reads—Male harlot, plaufibly enough, except that it feems too plain to require the explanation which Patroclus demands. Johnson.

This expression is met with in Decker's Honest Whore: "-'tis a male varlet, fure, my lord!" FARMER.

The perfon fpoken of in Decker's play is Bellafronte, a harlot, who is introduced in boy's clothes. I have no doubt that the text is right. Malone.

THER. Why, his masculine whore. Now the rotten diseases of the south, the guts-griping, ruptures, catarrhs, loads o'gravel i'the back, lethargies, cold palsies, raw eyes, dirt-rotten livers, wheezing lungs, bladders full of imposshume, sciaticas, limekilns i'the palm, incurable bone-ach, and the rivelled fee-simple of the tetter, take and take again such preposterous discoveries!

PATR. Why thou damnable box of envy, thou, what meanest thou to curse thus?

THER. Do I curse thee?

PATR. Why, no, you ruinous butt; 8 you whorefon indiffinguishable cur, 9 no.

THER. No? why art thou then exasperate, thou

There is nothing either criminal or extraordinary in a male varlet. The word prepofierous is well adapted to express the idea of Thersites. The fense therefore requires that we should adopt Hanner's amendment. M. Mason.

Man-missiress is a term of reproach thrown out by Dorax, in Dryden's Don Selastian, King of Portugal. See, however, Professor Heyne's 17th Eccursus on the first Book of the Æneid, edit. 1787, p. 161. Steevens.

7—cold palfies,] This catalogue of loathfome maladies ends in the folio at cold palfies. This palfage, as it flands, is in the quarto: the retrenchment was, in my opinion, judicious. It may be remarked, though it proves nothing, that, of the few alterations made by Milton in the fecond edition of his wonderful poem, one was, an enlargement of the enumeration of difeases. Johnson.

\* — you ruinous butt; &c.] Patroclus reproaches Therfites with deformity, with having one part crouded into another.

The fame idea occurs in *The Second Part of King Henry IV:*" Croud us and cruth us to this monftrous form."

STEEVENS.

o indistinguishable cur, i.e. thou cur of an undeterminate shape. Steevens.

idle immaterial skein of sleive filk, thou green farcenet flap for a fore eye, thou tassel of a prodigal's purse, thou? Ah, how the poor world is pestered with such water-slies; diminutives of nature!

PATR. Out, gall!4

THER. Finch egg! 5

Achil. My fweet Patroclus, I am thwarted quite From my great purpose in to-morrow's battle. Here is a letter from queen Hecuba; A token from her daughter, my fair love; 6 Both taxing me, and gaging me to keep

thou idle immaterial skein of fleive filk.] All the terms used by Thersites of Patroclus, are emblematically expressive of flexibility, compliance, and mean officiousness.

Johnson.

Sleive filk has been already explained. See Vol. X. p. 112, n. 9. MALONE.

- fuch water-flies; So, Hamlet, speaking of Ofrick: "Dost know this water-fly?" Steevens.
- 3 diminutives of nature!] So, in Antony and Cleopatra:

" ----- be shown

- " For poor'st diminutives, for dolts, -. " STEEVENS.
- <sup>4</sup> Out, gall!] Sir T. Hanmer reads—nut-gall, which anfwers well enough to finch-egg; it has already appeared, that our author thought the nut-gall the bitter gall. He is called nut, from the conglobation of his form; but both the copies read—Out gall! Johnson.
- <sup>5</sup> Finch egg!] Of this reproach I do not know the exact meaning. I suppose he means to call him finging bird, as implying an useless favourite, and yet more, something more worthless, a singing bird in the egg, or generally, a slight thing easily crushed. Johnson.

A finch's egg is remarkably gaudy; but of fuch terms of reproach it is difficult to pronounce the true fignification.

STEEVENS.

6 A token from her daughter, &c.] This is a circumftance taken from the flory book of The Three Definitions of Troy.

HANMER.

An oath that I have fworn. I will not break it: Fall, Greeks; fail, fame; honour, or go, or flay; My major vow lies here, this I'll obey.—
Come, come, Therfites, help to trim my tent; This night in banqueting must all be spent.—
Away, Patroclus.

Exeunt Achilles and Patroclus.

THER. With too much blood, and too little brain, these two may run mad; but if with too much brain, and too little blood, they do, I'll be a curer of madmen. Here's Agamemnon,—an honest sellow enough, and one that loves quails; but he has not so much brain as ear-wax: And the goodly transformation of Jupiter there, his brother, the bull,—the primitive statue, and oblique memorial of cuckolds; a thristy shoeing-horn in a chain, hanging at his brother's leg,—to what form, but that he is, should wit larded with malice, and malice forced with wit, turn him to? To an as, were

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> And the goodly transformation of Jupiter there, his trother, the bull,—the primitive statue, and oblique memorial of cuckolds;] He calls Menelaus the transformation of Jupiter, that is, as himself explains it, the bull, on account of his horns, which he had as a cuckold. This cuckold he calls the primitive statue of cuckolds; i.e. his story had made him so famous, that he stood as the great archetype of his character. Warburton.

Mr. Heath observes, that "the memorial is called *oblique*, because it was only indirectly such, upon the common supposition, that both bulls and cuckolds were furnished with horns."

Perhaps Shakspeare meant nothing more by this epithet than horned, the bull's horns being crooked or oblique. Dr. Warburton, I think, mistakes. It is the bull, not Menelaus, that is the primitive statue, &c. Malone.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> — forced with wit,] Stuffed with wit. A term of cookery. In this fpeech I do not well understand what is meant by loving quails. Johnson.

By loving quails the poet may mean loving the company of

nothing: he is both ass and ox: to an ox were nothing; he is both ox and ass. To be a dog, a mule, a cat, a fitchew,2 a toad, a lizard, an owl, a puttock, or a herring without a roc, I would not care: but to be Menelaus,—I would conspire against destiny. Ask me not what I would be, if I were not Therfites: for I care not to be the loufe of a lazar, fo I were not Menelaus.—Hey-day! fpirits and fires ! 1

Enter HECTOR, TROILUS, AJAX, AGAMEMNON, ULYSSES, NESTOR, MENELAUS, and DIOMED, with Lights.

AGAM. We go wrong, we go wrong.

No, yonder 'tis; ATAX. There, where we fee the lights.

harlots. A quail is remarkably falacious. Mr. Upton fays that Xenophon, in his memoirs of Socrates, has taken notice of this quality in the bird. A fimilar allufion occurs in The Hollander, a comedy, by Glapthorne, 1640:

"To yours is modest appetite." STEEVENS.

In old French, caille was fynonymous to fille de joie. In the Dict. Comique par le Roux, under the article caille, are these words:

" Chaud comme une caille.-

" Caille coeffée,-Sobriquet qu'on donne aux femmes. Sig-

nifie femme eveillée, amoureuse."

So, in Rabelais: - "Cailles coiffées mignonnement chantans;" which Motteux has thus rendered (probably from the old translation): "coated quails and laced mutton, waggifuly finging."

9 — a fitchew, i.e. a polecat. So, in Othello: "'Tis fuch another fitchew, marry a perfum'd one—." STEEVENS.

I --- Spirits and fires! This Thersites speaks upon the first fight of the distant lights. Johnson.

HECT. I trouble you.

AJAX. No, not a whit.

ULYSS. Here comes himself to guide you.

## Enter Achilles.

ACHIL. Welcome, brave Hector; welcome, princes all.

AGAM. So now, fair prince of Troy, I bid good night.

Ajax commands the guard to tend on you.

HECT. Thanks, and good night, to the Greeks' general.

MEN. Good night, my lord.

HECT. Good night, fweet Menelaus.2

THER. Sweet draught: 3 Sweet, quoth 'a! fweet fink, fweet fewer.

ACHIL. Good night,

And welcome, both to those that go, or tarry.

AGAM. Good night.

Exeunt Agamemnon and Menelaus.

ACHIL. Old Nestor tarries; and you too, Diomed, Keep Hector company an hour or two.

Dio. I cannot, lord; I have important bufiness, The tide whereof is now.—Good night, great Hector.

HECT. Give me your hand.

<sup>2 —</sup> fweet Menelaus.] Old copy, redundantly,—fweet lord Menelaus. Steevens.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Sweet draught:] Draught is the old word for forica. It is used in the vulgar translation of the Bible. MALONE.

So, in Holinshed, and a thousand other places. Steevens.

Ultrss. Follow his torch, he goes To Calchas' tent; I'll keep you company.

[Afide to Troilus.

Tro. Sweet fir, you honour me.

HECT. And fo good night. [Exit DIOMED; ULYSSES and TROILUS following.

Achil. Come, come, enter my tent.

[Exeunt Achilles, Hector, Ajax, and Nestor.

THER. That same Diomed's a false-hearted rogue, a most unjust knave; I will no more trust him when he leers, than I will a serpent when he hisses: he will spend his mouth, and promise, like Brabler the hound; but when he performs, astronomers fore-tell it; it is prodigious, there will come some change; the sun borrows of the moon, when Diomed keeps his word. I will rather leave to see Hestor, than not to dog him: they say, he keeps a Trojan drab, and uses the traitor Calchas' tent: I'll after.—Nothing but lechery! all incontinent varlets!

Exit.

he will fpend his mouth, and promife, like Brabler the hound; If a hound gives his mouth, and is not upon the fcent of the game, he is by fportsmen called a babler or brabler. The proverb says—"Brabling curs never want fore ears."

Anonymous.

5 — prodigious,] i.e. portentous, ominous. So, in King Richard III:

<sup>&</sup>quot; Prodigious, and untimely brought to light."

Steevens.

6 — they fay, he keeps a Trojan drab, This character of Diomed is likewife taken from Lydgate. Steevens.

### SCENE II.

The same. Before Calchas' Tent.

#### Enter DIOMEDES.

Dio. What are you up here, ho? fpeak.

CAL. [Within.] Who calls?

Dio. Diomed.—Calchas, I think.—Where's your daughter?

CAL. [Within.] She comes to you.

Enter Troilus and Ulysses, at a distance; after them Thersites.

ULYSS. Stand where the torch may not discover us.

#### Enter CRESSIDA.

 $T_{RO}$ . Creffid come forth to him!

Dio. How now, my charge?

Cres. Now, my fweet guardian!—Hark! a word with you. [Whispers.

TRO. Yea, fo familiar!

ULYSS. She will fing any man at first fight.9

THER. And any man may fing her, if he can take her cliff; 8 fhe's noted.

JOHNSON.

<sup>7</sup> She will fing any man at first fight, We now fay—fing at fight. The meaning is the same. MALONE.

<sup>8 ---</sup> her cliff;] That is, her key. Clef, French.

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Dio. Will you remember?

 $C_{RES}$ . Remember? yes.

Dio. Nay, but do then; 9 And let your mind be coupled with your words.

 $T_{R0}$ . What should she remember?

ULYSS. Lift!

Cres. Sweet honey Greek, tempt me no more to folly.

THER. Roguery!

Dio. Nay, then,-

CRES. I'll tell you what:

Dio. Pho! pho! come, tell a pin: You are forfworn.—

CRES. In faith, I cannot: What would you have me do?

THER. A juggling trick, to be-fecretly open.

Dio. What did you fwear you would bestow on me?

Cres. I pr'ythee, do not hold me to mine oath; Bid me do any thing but that, sweet Greek.

Cliff, i. e. a mark in musick at the beginning of the lines of a fong; and is the indication of the pitch, and bespeaks what kind of voice—as base, tenour, or treble, it is proper for.

Sir J. Hawkins. So, in *The Chances*, by Beaumont and Fletcher, where An-

tonio, employing mufical terms, fays:

" Will none but my C. cliff ferve your turn?" Again, in The Lover's Melancholy, 1629:

" \_\_\_\_\_ that's a bird

"Whom art had never taught cliff's, moods, or notes."

<sup>9</sup> Nay, but do then; I suppose, for the sake of metre, the word—Nay, should be omitted. Yet such is the irregularity or mutilation of this dialogue, that it is not always easy to determine how much of it was meant for prose or verse. Steevens.

Dro. Good night.

Tro. Hold, patience!

ULYSS. How now, Trojan?

Cres. Diomed,—

Dio. No, no, good night: I'll be your fool no more.

 $T_{Ro}$ . Thy better must.

Cres. Hark! one word in your ear.

Tro. O plague and madness!

ULTSS. You are mov'd, prince; let us depart, I pray you,

Left your displeasure should enlarge itself To wrathful terms: this place is dangerous; The time right deadly; I beseech you, go.

Tro. Behold, I pray you!

ULYSS. Now, good my lord, go off: You flow to great deftruction; come, my lord.

Tro. I pr'ythee, flay.

ULYSS. You have not patience; come.

You flow to great defiruction; Means, I think, your impetuofity is fuch as must necessarily expose you to imminent danger. Malone.

The folio has:

You flow to great distraction; ----

The quarto:

You flow to great destruction; ---. Johnson.

I would adhere to the old reading: You flow to great destruction, or distraction, means the tide of your imagination will hurry you either to noble death from the hand of Diomedes, or to the height of madness from the predominance of your own passions. Steevens.

Poffibly we ought to read destruction, as Ulysses has told Troilus just before:

"--- this place is dangerous;

"The time right deadly." M. MASON.

Tro. I pray you, ftay; by hell, and all hell's torments.

I will not speak a word.

Dio. And fo, good night.

Cres. Nay, but you part in anger.

 $T_{RO}$ . Doth that grieve thee?

O wither'd truth!

ULYSS. Why, how now, lord?

TRO. By Jove,

I will be patient.

Cres. Guardian!—why, Greek!

Dio. Pho, pho! adieu; you palter.2

Cres. In faith, I do not; come hither once again.

ULYSS. You shake, my lord, at something; will you go?

You will break out.

Tro. She firokes his cheek!

ULYSS. Come, come.

Tro. Nay, stay; by Jove, I will not speak a word: There is between my will and all offences A guard of patience:—stay a little while.

THER. How the devil luxury, with his fat rump, and potatoe finger, tickles these together! Fry, lechery, fry!

Dio. But will you then?

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> — palter.] i. e. shuffle, behave with duplicity. So, in, Antony and Cleopatra:

<sup>&</sup>quot;And palter in the shifts of lowness." Steevens.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> How the devil luxury, with his fat rump, and potatoe finger, tickles these together!] Potatoes were anciently regarded as provocatives. See Mr. Collins's note, which, on account of its length, is given at the end of the play. Steevens.

Cres. In faith, I will, la; never trust me else.

Dio. Give me some token for the surety of it.

Cres. I'll fetch you one.

[Exit.

Ulits. You have sworn patience.

Tro. Fear me not, my lord; I will not be myfelf, nor have cognition Of what I feel; I am all patience.

#### Re-enter Cressida.

THER. Now the pledge; now, now, now! Cres. Here, Diomed, keep this fleeve.4

\* — keep this fleeve.] The cuftom of wearing a lady's fleeve for a favour, is mentioned in Hall's Chronicle, fol. 12: "—One ware on his head-piece his lady's fleeve, and another bare on his helme the glove of his deareling."

Again, in the fecond canto of The Barons' Wars, by Drayton:

"A lady's fleeve high-spirited Hastings wore."

Again, in the Morte Arthur, p. 3, ch. 110: "When Queen Genever wift that Sir Launcelot beare the red fleeve of the faire maide of Astolat, the was nigh out of her minde for anger." Holinshed, p. 884, says, King Henry VIII. "had on his head a ladies fleeve full of diamonds." The circumstance, however, was adopted by Shakspeare from Chaucer. T. and C. 1. 5. 1040: "She made him were a pencell of her fleeve." A pencell is a small pennon or streamer. Steevens.

In an old play, (in fix acts,) called Histiriomastix, 1610, this incident feems to be burlesqued. Troilus and Cressida are introduced by way of interlude; and Cressida breaks out:

"O Knight, with valour in thy face,
"Here take my skreene, wear it for grace;
"Within thy helmet put the same,

"Therewith to make thine enemies lame."

A little old book, The Hundred Hustoryes of Troye, tells us, "Bryfeyde whom mafter Chaucer calleth Creffeyde, was a damofell of great beaute; and yet was more quaynte, mutable, and full of vagaunt condyfions." FARMER.

Tro. O beauty! where's thy faith?

ULYSS. My lord,—

Tro. I will be patient; outwardly I will.

Cres. You look upon that fleeve; Behold it well.—He loved me—O false wench!—Give't me again.

Dio. Who was't?

Cres. No matter, now I have't again. I will not meet with you to-morrow night:
I pr'ythee, Diomed, vifit me no more.

\*THER. Now she sharpens; -Well faid, whetstone.

Dio. I shall have it.6

CRES. What, this?

Dio. Ay, that.

CRES. O, all you gods!—O pretty pretty pledge! Thy mafter now lies thinking in his bed Of thee, and me; and fighs, and takes my glove,

This *fleeve* was given by Troilus to Creffida at their parting, and fhe gave him a glove in return. M. Mason.

What Mr. Steevens has observed on the subject of ladies' fleeves is certainly true; but the sleeve given in the present instance was the sleeve of Troilus. It may be supposed to be an ornamented cust, such perhaps as was worn by some of our

young nobility at a tilt, in Shakspeare's age.

On fecond confideration, I believe, the fleeve of Troilus, which is here given to Diomedes, was fuch a one as was formerly worn at tournaments. See Spenfer's View of Ireland, p. 43, edit. 1633: "Also the deepe smocke fleive, which the Irish women use, they say, was old Spanish, and is used yet in Barbary; and yet that should seeme rather to be an old English fashion, for in armory the fashion of the manche which is given in arms by many, being indeed nothing else but a sleive, is fashioned much like to that sleive." Malone.

- <sup>5</sup> No matter, now &c.] Old copies, redundantly,—It is no matter, &c. Steevens.
- 6 I fhall have it.] Some word or words, necessary to the metre, are here apparently omitted. Steevens.

And gives memorial dainty kiffes to it, As I kifs thee.<sup>7</sup>—Nay, do not fnatch it from me; He, that takes that, must take my heart withal.

Dio. I had your heart before, this follows it.

Tro. I did fwear patience.

Cres. You shall not have it, Diomed; 'faith you shall not;

I'll give you fomething else.

Dio. I will have this; Whose was it?

Cres. Tis.no matter.

Dio. Come, tell me whose it was.

Cres. 'Twas one's that loved me better than you will.

But, now you have it, take it.

Dio. Whose was it?

Cres. By all Diana's waiting-women yonder,<sup>8</sup> And by herfelf, I will not tell you whose.

<sup>7</sup> As I kiss thee. &c.] In old editions:
As I kiss thee.

Dio. Nay, do not fnatch it from me.

Cres. He, that takes that, must take my heart withal. Dr. Thirlby thinks this should be all placed to Cressida. She had the sleeve, and was kissing it rapturously; and Diomedes snatches it back from her. Theobald.

<sup>8</sup> By all Diana's waiting-women yonder,] i.e. the flars which she points to. WARBURTON.

So, in our author's Rape of Lucrece:

"The filver-shining queen he would distain;

"Her twinkling hand-maids too, by him defil'd,
"Through night's black boforn should not peep again."

MALONE

Milton, in his Elegy I. v. 77, has imitated Shakspeare:

"——cœlo fcintillant aftra fereno

" Endymioneæ turba ministra deæ." Steevens.

Dio. To-morrow will I wear it on my helm; And grieve his spirit, that dares not challenge it.

 $T_{RO}$ . Wert thou the devil, and wor'st it on thy horn,

It should be challeng'd.

Cres. Well, well, 'tis done, 'tis past;—And yet it is not;

I will not keep my word.

Dio. Why then, farewell; Thou never fhalt mock Diomed again.

Cres. You shall not go:—One cannot speak a word,

But it straight starts you.

Dio. I do not like this fooling.

THER. Nor I, by Pluto: 9 but that that likes not you, pleases me best.

Dio. What, shall I come? the hour?

Cres. Ay, come:—O Jove!—Do come:—I shall be plagu'd.

Dio. Farewell till then.

Cres. Good night. I pr'ythee, come.—
[Exit Diomedes.

Troilus, farewell! one eye yet looks on thee; But with my heart the other eye doth fee.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Ther. Nor I, by Pluto: &c.] Sir Thomas Hanmer gives this speech to Troilus. It does not very much resemble the language of Thersites. If indeed it belongs to the former character, it should assume a metrical form, though it is here given as it stands in the folio, and the quarto 1609, "imprinted by G. Eld, for R. Bonian and H. Walley." Steevens.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Troilus, farewell!] The characters of Creffida and Pandarus are more immediately formed from Chaucer than from Lydgate; for though the latter mentions them both characteriftically, he does not fufficiently dwell on either to have furnished

Ah! poor our fex! this fault in us I find,
The error of our eye directs our mind:
What error leads, must err; O then conclude,
Minds, sway'd by eyes, are full of turpitude.

[Exit CRESSIDA.

THER. A proof of strength she could not publish more,3

Unless she faid, My mind is now turn'd whore.

ULYSS. All's done, my lord.

 $T_{RO.}$ 

· It is.

 $U_{LYSS}$ .

Why stay we then?

Tro. To make a recordation to my foul Of every fyllable that here was spoke. But, if I tell how these two did co-act, Shall I not lie in publishing a truth? Sith yet there is a credence in my heart, An esperance so obstinately strong, That doth invert the attest of eyes and ears; 4

Shakfpeare with many circumftances to be found in this tragedy. Lydgate, fpeaking of Creffida, fays only:

"She gave her heart and love to Diomede," To fhew what trust there is in woman kind; "For she of her new love no sooner sped,

"But Troilus was cleane out of her mind,

"As if she never had him known or seen, "Wherein I cannot guess what she did mean."

STEEVENS.

<sup>2</sup> But with my heart &c.] I think it should be read thus:
But my heart with the other eye doth fee. Johnson.

Perhaps, rather:

But with the other eye my heart doth fee. TYRWHITT.

The prefent reading is right. She means to fay—" one eye yet looks on thee, Troilus, but the other corresponds with my heart, and looks after Diomedes." M. MASON.

3 A proof of firength fine could not publish more,] She could not publish a firenger proof. Johnson.

4 That doth invert the attest of eyes and cars;] i.e. that

As if those organs had deceptious functions, Created only to calumniate.

Was Cressid here?

ULYSS. I cannot conjure, Trojan.5

 $T_{Ro}$ . She was not fure.

ULYSS. Most fure she was.<sup>6</sup>

Tro. Why, my negation hath no taste of madness.

ULYSS. Nor mine, my lord: Creffid was here but now.

Tro. Let it not be believ'd for womanhood! Think, we had mothers; do not give advantage To stubborn criticks—apt, without a theme, For depravation, —to square the general sex By Cressid's rule: rather think this not Cressid.

ULYSS. What hath fhe done, prince, that can foil our mothers?

Tro. Nothing at all, unless that this were she.

THER. Will he fwagger himself out on's own eyes?

TRO. This she? no, this is Diomed's Cressida:

turns the very testimony of seeing and hearing against themselves. Theobald.

- <sup>5</sup> I cannot conjure, Trojan.] That is, I cannot raise spirits in the form of Cressida. Johnson.
- <sup>6</sup> Most fure she was.] The present deficiency in the measure induces me to suppose our author wrote:

  It is most fure she was. Steevens.
  - 7 ----- for womanhood!] i. e. for the fake of womanhood.

    Steevens.

To flubborn criticks—apt, without a theme,
For depravation, Critick has here, I think, the fignification of Cynick. So, in Love's Labour's Lost:

"And critick Timon laugh at idle toys." MALONE.

If beauty have a foul, this is not fhe; If fouls guide vows, if vows be fanctimony, If fanctimony be the gods' delight, If there be rule in unity itself,9 This was not she. O madness of discourse, That cause sets up with and against itself! Bi-fold authority ! where reason can revolt Without perdition, and loss assume all reason Without revolt; 3 this is, and is not, Creffid! Within my foul there doth commence a fight 4

9 If there be rule in unity itself, may mean—If there be certainty in unity, if there be a rule that one is one.

JOHNSON.

If it be true that one individual cannot be two diffinct perfons. M. Mason.

The rule alluded to is a very fimple one; that one cannot be two. This woman therefore, fays Troilus, this false one, cannot be that Creffida that formerly plighted her faith to me.

MALONE. r --- against itself!] Thus the quarto. The solio readsagainst thuself. In the preceding line also I have followed the quarto. The folio reads-This is not She. MALONE.

<sup>2</sup> Bi-fold authority! This is the reading of the quarto. The folio gives us:

By foul anthority! There is madness in that disquisition in which a man reasons at once for and against himself upon authority which he knows not to be valid. The quarto is right. Johnson.

This is one of the paffages in which the editor of the folio changed words that he found in the quartos, merely because he did not understand them. MALONE.

3 ---- where reason can revolt

Without perdition, and loss assume all reason
Without revolt; The words loss and perdition are used in their common fense, but they mean the loss or perdition of reason. Johnson.

4 Within my foul there doth commence a fight -] So, in Hamlet:

> "Sir, in my heart, there was a kind of fighting." MALONE.

Of this strange nature, that a thing inseparate 5 Divides more wider 6 than the fky and earth; And yet the spacious breadth of this division Admits no orifice for a point, as fubtle As is Arachne's broken woof, to enter.7

- 5 a thing inseparate— i. e. the plighted troth of lovers. Troilus confiders it inseparable, or at least that it ought never to be broken, though he has unfortunately found that it fometimes is. MALONE.
- 6 more wider—] Thus the old copies. The modern editions, following Mr. Pope, read—far wider; though we have a fimilar phraseology with the present in almost every one of theie plays. MALONE.

So, in Coriolanus:

"He bears himself more proudlier." See note on this passage. STEEVENS.

7 As is Arachne's broken woof, to enter.] Is,—the fyllable wanting in this verse, the modern editors have supplied. I hope the miftake was not originally the poet's own; yet one of the quartos read with the folio, Ariachna's broken woof, and the other Ariathna's. It is not impossible that Shakspeare might have written Ariadne's broken woof, having confounded the two names, or the stories, in his imagination; or alluding to the clue of thread, by the affittance of which Thefeus escaped from the Cretan labyrinth. I do not remember that Ariadne's loom is mentioned by any of the Greek or Roman poets, though I find an allufion to it in Humour out of Breath, a comedy, 1607:

" -- inftead of these poor weeds, in robes "Richer than that which Ariadne wrought,

"Or Cytherea's airy-moving vest."

Again, in The Spanish Tragedy:

" --- thy treffes, Ariadne's twines,

"Wherewith my liberty thou hast surpriz'd." Again, in Muleasses the Turk, 1610:

" Leads the despairing wretch into a maze;

"But not an Ariadne in the world "To lend a clew to lead us out of it,

"The very maze of horror."

Shakspeare, however, might have written-Arachnea; great liberties being taken in spelling proper names, and especially by ancient English writers. Thus we have both Alcmene and Alcumene, Alcmena and Alcumena. STEEVENS.

Inflance, O inflance! firong as Pluto's gates; Creffid is mine, tied with the bonds of heaven: Inflance, O inflance! firong as heaven itfelf; The bonds of heaven are flipp'd, diffolv'd, and loos'd;

And with another knot, five-finger-tied,<sup>8</sup>
The fractions of her faith, orts of her love,
The fragments, fcraps, the bits, and greafy reliques
Of her o'er-eaten faith, are bound to Diomed.<sup>9</sup>

My quarto, which is printed for R. Bonian, 1609, reads—Ariachna's broken woof; the other, which is faid to be undated, reads, as Mr. Steevens fays—Ariathna's. The folio—Ariachne's. Mr. Steevens hopes the mistake was not originally the author's, but I think it extremely probable that he pronounced the word as a word of four fyllables. MALONE.

<sup>8</sup> — knot, five-finger-tied,] A knot tied by giving her hand to Diomed. Johnson.

So, in The Fatal Dowry, by Maffinger, 1632:

"Your fingers tie my heart-strings with this touch, "In true-love knots, which nought but death shall loofe."

MALONE.

The fractions of her faith, orts of her love,
The fragments, fcraps, the bits, and greafy reliques
Of her o'er-eaten faith, are bound to Diomed.] Vows
which the has already fwallowed once over. We ftill fay of a
faithless man, that he has eaten his words. Johnson.

The image is not of the most delicate kind. "Her o'er-eaten faith" means, I think, her troth plighted to Troilus, of which she was furfeited, and, like one who has over-eaten himself, had thrown off. All the preceding words, the fragments, fcraps, &c. show that this was Shakspeare's meaning. So, in Twelfth-Night:

"Give me excess of it [musick]; that surfeiting

"The appetite may ficken, and so die." Again, more appositely, in King Henry IV. P. II:

"The commonwealth is fich of their own choice;

"Their over-greedy Love hath furfeited.—
"O thou fond many! with what loud applaufe

"Didft thou beat heaven with blefling Bolingbroke, "Before he was what thou would'ft have him be!

*ULYSS*. May worthy Troilus<sup>1</sup> be half attach'd With that which here his paffion doth express?

Tro. Ay, Greek; and that shall be divulged well In characters as red as Mars his heart Inflam'd with Venus: never did young man fancy With so eternal and so fix'd a soul.

Hark, Greek;—As much as I do Cressid love, So much by weight hate I her Diomed:

That sleeve is mine, that he'll bear on his helm; Were it a casque compos'd by Vulcan's skill, My sword should bite it: not the dreadful spout, Which shipmen do the hurricano call constring'd in mass by the almighty sun, Shall dizzy with more clamour Neptune's ear In his deteent, than shall my prompted sword Falling on Diomed.

" And being now trimm'd in thine own defires,

"Thou, beaftly feeder, art to full of him, "That thou provok'ft thyfelf to cast him up."

MALONE.

- <sup>1</sup> May worthy Troilus—] Can Troilus really feel, on this occasion, half of what he utters? A question suitable to the calm Ulysses. Johnson.
- <sup>2</sup> My fword fhould bite it:] So, in The Merry Wives of Windfor: "—I have a fword, and it fhall bite," &c. In King Lear we have also "biting faulchion." STEEVENS.

Which shipmen do the hurricano call, A particular account of "a fpout," is given in Captain John Smith's Sea Grammar, quarto, 1627: "A spout is, as it were a small river falling entirely from the clouds, like one of our water-spouts, which make the sea, where it falleth, to rebound in slashes exceeding high;" i. e. in the language of Shakspeare, to dizzy the ear of Neptune.

So also, Drayton:

"And down the flower impetuoufly doth fall "Like that which men the hurricano call." Steevens.

THER. He'll tickle it for his concupy.4

TRO. O Creffid! O false Creffid! false, false! Let all untruths stand by thy stained name, And they'll seem glorious.

ULYSS. O, contain yourfelf; Your passion draws ears hither.

## Enter ÆNEAS.

ÆNE. I have been feeking you this hour, my lord:

Hector, by this, is arming him in Troy; Ajax, your guard, stays to conduct you home.

Tro. Have with you, prince:—My courteous lord adieu:—

Farewell, revolted fair!—and, Diomed, Stand faft, and wear a cafile on thy head!

ULYSS. I'll bring you 6 to the gates.

<sup>4 —</sup> concupy.] A cant word, formed by our author from concupifcence. Steevens.

<sup>5 —</sup> and wear a castle on thy head ] i.e. defend thy head with armour of more than common security.

So, in The most ancient and famous History of the renowned Prince Arthur, &c. edit. 1634, ch. clviii: "Do thou thy best, faid Sir Gawaine, therefore hie thee fast that thou wert gene, and wit thou well we shall soone come after, and breake the strongest casile that thou hast upon thy head."—Wear a casile, therefore, seems to be a figurative expression, signifying, Keep a casile over your head; i.e. live within the walls of your casile. In Urry's Chaucer, Sir Thopas is represented with a casile by way of crest to his helmet. See, however, Titus Andronicus, Act III. sc. i. Steepens.

 $<sup>^6</sup>$   $I^\prime ll\ bring\ you\ \&c.]$  Perhaps this, and the following fhort speech, originally flood thus:

Ulyil. I'll bring you to the gates, my lord.
Tro.
Accept
Distracted thanks. Steevens.

Tro. Accept diffracted thanks.

[Exeunt Troilus, ÆNEAS, and ULYSSES.

THER. 'Would, I could meet that rogue Diomed! I would croak like a raven; I would bode, I would bode. Patroclus will give me any thing for the intelligence of this whore: the parrot will not do more for an almond, than he for a commodious drab. Lechery, lechery; still, wars and lechery; nothing else holds fashion: A burning devil take them!

#### SCENE III.

Troy. Before Priam's Palace.

Enter HECTOR and ANDROMACHE.

AND. When was my lord fo much ungently temper'd,

To stop his ears against admonishment? Unarm, unarm, and do not fight to-day.

HECT. You train me to offend you; get you in: By all the everlasting gods, I'll go.

AND. My dreams will, fure, prove ominous to the day.8

HECT. No more, I fay.

<sup>7</sup>—A burning devil take them!] Alluding to the venereal difeafe, formerly called the brenning or burning.

M. Mason. So, in *Ifaiah*, iii. 24: "—and turning instead of beauty."

Steffens.

<sup>8</sup> My dreams will, fure, prove ominous to the day.] The hint for this dream of Andromache might be either taken from Lydgate, or the following passage in Chaucer's Nonnes Presles Tale, Mr. Tyrwhitt's edit. v. 15,147:

#### Enter CASSANDRA.

Cas. Where is my brother Hector?

AND. Here, fifter; arm'd, and bloody in intent: Confort with me in loud and dear petition,<sup>9</sup>
Purfue we him on knees; for I have dream'd Of bloody turbulence, and this whole night Hath nothing been but shapes and forms of slaughter.

CAS. O, it is true.

Hect. Ho! bid my trumpet found!

Cas. No notes of fally, for the heavens, fweet brother.

"Lo hire Andromacha, Hectores wif,

- "That day that Hector shulde lese his lif, "She dremed on the same night beforne,
- "How that the lif of Hector shuld be lorne,

"If thilke day he went into battaile:

"She warned him, but it might not availle; "He went forth for to fighten natheles,

"And was yflain anon of Achilles." STEEVENS.

My dreams of last night will prove ominous to the day; forebode ill to it, and show that it will be a fatal day to Troy. So, in the seventh scene of this A&:

"—the quarrel's most ominous to us."

Again, in King Richard III:

" Fatal and ominous to noble peers!"

Mr. Pope, and all the fubsequent editors, read—will prove ominous to-day. Malone.

Do we gain any thing more than rough verification by reftoring the article—the? The meaning of Andromache (without it) is—My dreams will to-day be fatally verified. Steevens.

o dear petition, Dear, on this occasion, seems to mean important, consequential. So, in King Lear:

" \_\_\_\_\_ fome dear cause

"Will in concealment wrap me up awhile." Steeyens.

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HECT. Begone, I fay: the gods have heard me fivear.

CAS. The gods are deaf to hot and peevifh vows; They are polluted offerings, more abhorr'd Than spotted livers in the facrifice.

AND. O! be perfuaded: Do not count it holy To hurt by being just: it is as lawful, For we would give much, to use violent thefts,<sup>2</sup> And rob in the behalf of charity.

r \_\_\_\_ peevish \_\_] i. e. foolish. So, in King Henry VI. Part II:

" \_\_\_\_\_I will not fo prefume,

- "To fend fuch peevish tokens to a king." STEEVENS.
- <sup>2</sup> For we would give &c.] This is so oddly confused in the folio, that I transcribe it as a specimen of incorrectness:

" ---- do not count it holy,

"To hurt by being just; it is as lawful

"For we would count give much to as violent thefts, "And rob in the behalf of charity." Johnson.

I believe we should read:

For we would give much, to use violent thests, i. e. to use violent thests, because we would give much. The word count had crept in from the last line but one.

TYRWHITT.

I have adopted the emendation proposed by Mr. Tyrwhitt. Mr. Rowe cut the knot, instead of untying it, by reading:

For us to count we give what's gain'd by theft, and all the subsequent editors have copied him. The last three lines are not in the quarto, the compositor's eye having probably passed over them; in consequence of which the next speech of Cassandra is in that copy given to Andromache, and joined with the first line of this.

In the first part of Andromache's speech she alludes to a doctrine which Shakspeare has often enforced. "Do not you think you are acting virtuously by adhering to an oath, if you have fivern to do amiss." So, in King John:

" -----where doing tends to ill,

"The truth is then most done, not doing it." MALONE.

CAS. It is the purpose, 3 that makes strong the yow; But vows, to every purpose, must not hold: Unarm, fweet Hector.

Hold you fill, I fay; HECT. Mine honour keeps the weather of my fate:4 Life every man holds dear; but the dear man 5 Holds honour far more precious-dear than life.—

#### Enter Troilus.

How now, young man? mean'ft thou to fight today?

AND. Caffandra, call my father to perfuade. Exit CASSANDRA.

HECT. No, 'faith, young Troilus; doff thy harness, youth,

<sup>3</sup> It is the purpose, The mad prophetes speaks here with all the coolness and judgment of a skilful casuist. "The essence of a lawful vow, is a lawful purpose, and the vow of which the end is wrong must not be regarded as cogent." Johnson.

4 Mine honour keeps the weather of my fate: If this be not a nautical phrase, which I cannot well explain or apply, per-

haps we should read:

Mine honour keeps the weather off my fate: i. e. I am secured by the cause I am engaged in; mine honour will avert the florms of fate, will protect my life amidst the dangers of the field .- A fomewhat fimilar phrase occurs in The Tempest:

"In the lime grove that weather-fends our cell."

5 — dear man —] Valuable man. The modern editions read—brave man. The repetition of the word is in our author's manner. Johnson.

So, in Romeo and Juliet:

"This is dear mercy, and thou feeft it not."

STEEVENS,

Brave was substituted for dear by Mr. Pope. MALONE.

I am to-day i'the vein of chivalry: Let grow thy finews till their knots be ftrong, And tempt not yet the brushes of the war. Unarm thee, go; and doubt thou not, brave boy, I'll stand, to-day, for thee, and me, and Troy.

 $T_{RO}$ . Brother, you have a vice of mercy in you, Which better fits a lion,6 than a man.

HECT. What vice is that, good Troilus? chide me for it.

Tro. When many times the captive Grecians fall, Even in the fan and wind of your fair fword, You bid them rife, and live.7

HECT. O, 'tis fair play.

Fool's play, by heaven, Hector.  $T_{RO}$ .

6 Which better fits a lion, The traditions and stories of the darker ages abounded with examples of the lion's generofity. Upon the supposition that these acts of clemency were true, Troilus reasons not improperly, that to spare against reason, by mere instinct of pity, became rather a generous beast than a wife man. Johnson.

Thus, in Philemon Holland's translation of Pliny's Natural History, ch. 16: "The lion alone of all wild beafts is gentle to those that humble themselves before him, and will not touch any fuch upon their fubmission, but spareth what creature so ever lieth prostrate before him." STEEVENS.

Hence Spenfer's Una, attended by a lion. Fairy Queen, I. iii. 7. See also Sir Perceval's lion in Morte Arthur, B. XIV. T. WARTON.

7 When many times the captive Grecians fall,—

You bid them rife, and live.] Shakspeare seems not to have studied the Homeric character of Hector, whose disposition was by no means inclined to clemency, as we may learn from Andromache's speech in the 24th Iliad:

" Ου γάρ μέιλικος έσκε πατής τεὸς ἐν δαι λυγρη". "For thy stern father never spar'd a foe." Pope.

"Thy father, boy, bore never into fight "A milky mind, Cowper. STEEVENS.

HECT. How now? how now?

TRO. For the love of all the gods, Let's leave the hermit pity with our mother; And when we have our armours buckled on, The venom'd vengeance ride upon our fwords; Spur them to ruthful work, rein them from ruth.

HECT. Fye, favage, fye!

TRO. Hector, then 'tis wars.8

HECT. Troilus, I would not have you fight to-day.

Tro. Who should withhold me?

Not fate, obedience, nor the hand of Mars
Beckoning with fiery truncheon? my retire;

Not Priamus and Hecuba on knees,

Their eyes o'ergalled with recourse of tears;

Nor you, my brother, with your true sword drawn,

Why, Hector, then 'tis wars.

Shakspeare frequently uses this adverb emphatically, as in A Midsimmer-Night's Dream: "Ninus' tomb, man: Why, you must not speak that yet." Steevens.

In Elizabetha Triumphans, 1588, a poem, in blank verse, written by James Aike, on the defeat of the Spanish armada,

the Queen appears, indeed,

"Most brauely mounted on a stately steede, "With truncheon in her hand,—." Steevens.

So, in As you like it:

" — the big round tears

<sup>8</sup> Hector, then 'tis wars.] I suppose, for the sake of metre, we ought to read:

with recourse of tears; i.e. tears that continue to course one another down the face. WARBURTON.

<sup>&</sup>quot;Cours'd one another down his innocent nose \_\_\_\_."
STEEVENS.

Oppos'd to hinder me, should stop my way, But by my ruin.

Re-enter Cassandra, with Priam.

Cas. Lay hold upon him, Priam, hold him fast: He is thy crutch; now if thou lose thy stay, Thou on him leaning, and all Troy on thee, Fall all together.

PRI. Come, Hector, come, go back: Thy wife hath dream'd; thy mother hath had vifions; Caffandra doth foresee; and I myself Am like a prophet suddenly enrapt, To tell thee—that this day is ominous: Therefore, come back.

Hecr. Æneas is a-field; And I do fiand engag'd to many Greeks, Even in the faith of valour, to appear This morning to them.

 $P_{RI}$ . But thou fhalt not go.

HECT. I must not break my faith. You know me dutiful; therefore, dear fir, Let me not shame respect; but give me leave To take that course by your consent and voice, Which you do here forbid me, royal Priam.

CAS. O Priam, yield not to him.

AND. Do not, dear father.

HECT. Andromache, I am offended with you:
Upon the love you bear me, get you in.
[Exit Andromache.

<sup>2——</sup> Jhame respect;] i. e. disgrace the respect I owe you, by acting in opposition to your commands. Steevens.

 $T_{RO}$ . This foolish, dreaming, superstitious girl Makes all these bodements.

Cas. O farewell, dear Hector.<sup>3</sup> Look, how thou dieft! look, how thy eye turns pale! Look, how thy wounds do bleed at many vents! Hark, how Troy roars! how Hecuba cries out! How poor Andromache fhrills her dolours<sup>4</sup> forth! Behold, deftruction, frenzy, and amazement,<sup>5</sup> Like witles anticks, one another meet, And all cry—Hector! Hector's dead! O Hector!

Tro. Away! -- Away! --

CAS. Farewell.—Yet, fost:—Hector, I take my leave:

Thou dost thyself and all our Troy deceive. [Exit.

HECT. You are amaz'd, my liege, at her exclaim: Go in, and cheer the town: we'll forth, and fight; Do deeds worth praise, and tell you them at night.

Pri. Farewell: the gods with fafety ftand about thee!

[Exeunt Severally Priam and Hector. Alarums.

- <sup>3</sup> O farewell, dear Hector.] The interpolition and clamorous forrow of Caffandra were copied by our author from Lydgate.

  Steevens.
  - fhrills her dolours—] So, in Spenfer's Epithalamium: "Hark, how the minftrels gin to Jhrill aloud

"Their merry musick" &c. Again, in Heywood's Silver Age, 1613:

- "Through all th' abyss I have fhrill'd thy daughter's loss, "With my concave trump." Steevens.
- \* Behold, defiruction, frenzy, &c.] So the quarto. The editor of the folio, for defiruction substituted distraction. The original reading appears to me far preferable. Malone.

#### 456 TROILUS AND CRESSIDA.

TRO. They are at it; hark! Proud Diomed, be-

I come to lofe my arm, or win my fleeve.6

As TROILUS is going out, enter, from the other fide, PANDARUS.

PAN. Do you hear, my lord? do you hear?

 $T_{R0}$ . What now?

 $P_{AN}$ . Here's a letter from yon' poor girl.

<sup>6</sup> In the folios, and one of the quartos, this scene is continued by the following dialogue between Pandarus and Troilus, which the poet certainly meant to have been inferted at the end of the play, where the three concluding lines of it are repeated in the copies already mentioned. There can be no doubt but that the players shuffled the parts backward and forward, ad libitum; for the poet would hardly have given us an unnecessary repetition of the fame words, nor have difmiffed Pandarus twice in the fame manner. The conclusion of the piece will fully justify the liberty which any future commentator may take in omitting the fcene here and placing it at the end, where at prefent only the few lines already mentioned are to be found. Steevens.

I do not conceive that any editor has a right to make the transposition proposed, though it has been done by Mr. Capell. The three lines alluded to by Mr. Steevens, which are found in the folio at the end of this scene, as well as near the conclusion of the play, (with a very flight variation,) are thefe:

" Pand. Why but hear you ----

"Tro. Hence, broker lacquey! Ignomy and shame

"Purfue thy life, and live age with thy name!" But in the original copy in quarto there is no repetition (except of the words—But hear you); no abfurdity or impropriety. In that copy the following dialogue between Troilus and Pandarus is found in its prefent place, precifely as it is here given; but the three lines above quoted do not conftitute any part of the fcene. For the repetition of those three lines, the players, or the editor of the folio, alone are answerable. It never could have been intended by the poet. I have therefore followed the original copy. Malone.

 $T_{RO}$ . Let me read.

PAN. A whorefon ptifick, a whorefon rafcally ptifick fo troubles me, and the foolish fortune of this girl; and what one thing, what another, that I shall leave you one o'these days: And I have a rheum in mine eyes too; and such an ache in my bones, that, unless a man were cursed, I cannot tell what to think on't.—What says she there?

Tro. Words, words, mere words, no matter from the heart; [Tearing the letter.

The effect doth operate another way.—

Go, wind, to wind, there turn and change toge-

My love with words and errors fill fhe feeds; But edifies another with her deeds.

[Exeunt feverally.

#### SCENE IV.

Between Troy and the Grecian Camp.

Alarums: Excursions. Enter Thersites.

THER. Now they are clapper-clawing one another; I'll go look on. That diffembling abominable varlet, Diomed, has got that fame feurvy doting foolifh young knave's fleeve of Troy there, in his helm: I would fain fee them meet; that that fame young Trojan afs, that loves the whore there, might fend that Greekish whoremasterly villain, with the

<sup>7 ——</sup> curfed,] i.e. under the influence of a malediction, fuch as mischievous beings have been supposed to pronounce upon those who had offended them. Steevens.

fleeve, back to the diffembling luxurious drab, on a fleeveless errand. O' the other fide, The policy of those crafty swearing rascals, —that stale old mouse-eaten dry cheese, Nestor; and that same dog-fox, Ulysses,—is not proved worth a black-berry:—They set me up, in policy, that mongrel cur, Ajax, against that dog of as bad a kind, Achilles: and now is the cur Ajax prouder than the cur Achilles, and will not arm to-day; whereupon the Grecians begin to proclaim barbarism, and policy grows into an ill opinion. Soft! here come sleeve, and t'other.

# Enter DIOMEDES, TROILUS following.

Tro. Fly not; for, shouldst thou take the river Styx,

I would swim after.

Dio. Thou dost miscall retire: I do not fly; but advantageous care
Withdrew me from the odds of multitude:
Have at thee!

\* O' the other side, The policy of those crasty swearing rascals, &c.] But in what sense are Nestor and Ulysses accused of being swearing rascals? What, or to whom, did they swear? I am positive that sneering is the true reading. They had colloqued with Ajax, and trimmed him up with infincere praises, only in order to have stirred Achilles's emulation. In this, they were the true sneerers; betraying the first, to gain their ends on the latter by that artifice. Theobald.

Sneering was applicable to the characters of Neftor and Ulyffes, and to their conduct in this play; but fivearing was not. M. MASON.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> — to proclaim barbarifm,] To fet up the authority of ignorance, to declare that they will be governed by policy no longer. Johnson.

THER. Hold thy whore, Grecian!—now for thy whore, Trojan!—now the fleeve, now the fleeve!

[Exeunt Troilus and Diomedes, fighting.

#### Enter HECTOR.

HECT. What art thou, Greek? art thou for Hector's match?

Art thou of blood, and honour?

THER. No, no:—I am a rafcal; a feurvy railing knave; a very filthy rogue.

HECT. I do believe thee;—live. [Exit.

THER. God-a-mercy, that thou wilt believe me; But a plague break thy neck, for frighting me! What's become of the wenching rogues? I think, they have fwallowed one another: I would laugh at that miracle. Yet, in a fort, lechery eats ittelf. I'll feek them.

"And am her knight by proof." STEEVENS.

It appears from Segar on Honor, Military and Civil, folio, 1602, p. 122, that a person of superior birth might not be challenged by an inferior, or if challenged, might resuse the combat.

Alluding to this circumftance Cleopatra fays:

"These hands do lack nobility, that they firike

"A meaner than myfelf."

We learn from Melvil's *Memoirs*, p. 165, edit. 1735, that "the Laird of Grange offered to fight Bothwell, who answered, that he was neither Earl nor Lord, but a Baron; and so was not his equal. The like answer made he to Tullibardine. Then my Lord Lindsay offered to fight him, which he could not well refuse. But his heart failed him, and he grew cold on the business."

These punctilios are well ridiculed in Albumazar, Act IV. sc. vii. Reed.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Art thou of blood, and honour?] This is an idea taken from the ancient books of romantick chivalry, as is the following one in the fpeech of Diomedes:

### SCENE V.

## The same.

Enter Diomedes and a Servant.

Dio. Go, go, my fervant, take thou Troilus' horse; 2

Present the fair steed to my lady Cressid: Fellow, commend my service to her beauty; Tell her, I have chastis'd the amorous Trojan, And am her knight by proof.

SERV.

I go, my lord. [Exit Servant.

#### Enter AGAMEMNON.

AGAM. Renew, renew! The fierce Polydamus Hath beat down Menon: 3 baftard Margarelon4

- <sup>2</sup> take thou Troilus' horse;] So, in Lydgate:
  - "That Troilus by maine and mighty force
  - "At unawares, he cast down from his horse,
  - " And gave it to his squire for to beare
  - "To Creffida," &c. Steevens.
- <sup>3</sup> Hath leat down Menon:] So, in Caxton's Recuyl, &c.: "And by grete yre affayllid the kynge Menon, cofyn of Achilles, and gaf hym fo many strokes wyth his fword upon hys helme, that he flewe hym," &c. Steevens.
- \* baftard Margarelon—] The introduction of a baftard fon of Priam, under the name of Margarelon, is one of the circumftances taken from the thory book of The Three Destructions of Troy. Theobald.

The circumstance was taken from Lydgate, p. 194:

- "Which when the valiant knight, Margareton,
- "One of king Priam's baftard children," &c.

STEEVENS.

Hath Doreus prisoner;

And ftands coloffus-wife, waving his beam,<sup>5</sup>
Upon the pashed <sup>6</sup> corses of the kings
Epistrophus and Cedius: Polixenes is slain;
Amphimachus, and Thoas, deadly hurt;
Patroclus ta'en, or slain; and Palamedes
Sore hurt and bruis'd: the dreadful Sagittary
Appals our numbers; <sup>7</sup> haste we, Diomed,
To reinforcement, or we perish all.

5 — waving his beam,] i. e. his lance like a weaver's beam, as Goliath's fpear is defcribed. So, in Spenfer's Fairy Queen, B. III. vii. 40:

"All were the leame in bignes like a mast."

STEEVENS.

6 — pashed—] i. e. bruised, crushed. So, before, Ajax says:

"I'll pash him o'er the face." STEEVENS.

7 - the dreadful Sagittary

Appals our numbers; "Beyonde the royalme of Amasonne came an auncyent kynge, wyse and dyscreete, named Epystrophus, and brought a M. knyghtes, and a mervayllouse beste that was called SAGITTAYRE, that behynde the myddes was an horse, and to fore, a man: this beste was heery like an horse, and had his eyen rede as a cole, and shotte well with a bowe: this beste made the Grekes fore aferde, and slewe many of them with his lowe." The Three Destructions of Troy, printed by Caxton.

THEOBALD.

A more circumftantial account of this Sagittary is to be found in Lydgate's Auncient Historie, &c. 1555:

"And with hym Guydo fayth that he hadde "A wonder archer of fyght meruaylous,

"Of fourme and shap in maner monstruous:
"For lyke myne auctour as I reherse can,

"Fro the nauel vpwarde he was man,

"And lower downe lyke a horse yshaped:

"And thilke parte that after man was maked,
"Of tkinne was black and rough as any bere
"Couered with here fro colde him for to were.

" Paffyng foule and horrible of fyght,

"Whole eyen twain were sparkeling as bright

" As is a furneis with his rede leuene,

" Or the lyghtnyng that falleth from ye heauen;

#### Enter NESTOR.

NEST. Go, bear Patroclus' body to Achilles; And bid the fnail-pac'd Ajax arm for fhame.— There is a thousand Hectors in the field: Now here he fights on Galathe his horfe,8 And there lacks work; anon, he's there afoot, And there they fly, or die, like scaled sculls 9

- "Dredeful of loke, and rede as fyre of chere, "And, as I reade, he was a goode archer;
- "And with his bowe both at euen and morowe "Upon Grekes he wrought moche forrowe, "And gasted them with many hydous loke:
- "So sterne he was that many of them quoke," &c.

<sup>8</sup> — on Galathe his horse, From The Three Destructions of Troy is taken this name given to Hector's horfe.

> THEOBALD. " Cal'd Galathe (the which is faid to have been)

"The goodlieft horfe," &c. Lydgate, p. 142.

Again, p. 175:
"And fought, by all the means he could, to take

"Galathe, Hector's horfe," &c. Heywood, in his Iron Age, 1632, has likewife continued the fame appellation to Hector's horse:

"My armour, and my trufty Galatee."

Heywood has taken many circumstances in his play from Lydgate. John Stephens, the author of Cinthia's Revenge, 1613, (a play commended by Ben Jonson in some lines prefixed to it,) has mounted Hector on an elephant. STEEVENS.

9 —— scaled sculls—] Sculls are great numbers of fishes fwimming together. The modern editors, not being acquainted with the term, changed it into shoals. My knowledge of this word is derived from Bullokar's English Expositor, London, printed by John Legatt, 1616. The word likewise occurs in Lyly's Midas, 1592: "He hath, by this, started a covey of bucks, or roused a scull of pheasants." The humour of this fhort speech consists in a misapplication of the appropriate terms of one amusement to another. Again, in Milton's Paradise Lost, B. VII. v. 399, &c.:

# Before the belching whale; then is he yonder,

" -----each bay

"With fry innumerable fwarms, and shoals "Of fish, that with their fins and shining scales

"Glide under the green wave, in fculls that oft

"Bank the mid sea."

Again, in the 26th Song of Drayton's Polyolbion:

" My filver-scaled fculs about my streams do sweep."

STEEVENS.

Scaled means here dispersed, put to flight. See Vol. VI. p. 312, n. 5; and Vol. XVI. p. 9, n. 8. This is proved decifively by the original reading of the quarto, scaling, which was either changed by the poet himself to scaled, (with the same sense,) or by the editor of the folio. If the latter was the case, it is probable that not being sufficiently acquainted with our author's manner, who frequently uses the active for the passive participle, he supposed that the epithet was merely descriptive of some quality in the thing described.

The passage quoted above from Drayton does not militate against this interpretation. There the added epithet filver shows that the word fcaled is used in its common sense; as the context here (to say nothing of the evidence arising from the reading of the oldest copy) ascertains it to have been employed with the

less usual fignification already stated.

"The cod from the banks of Newfoundland (fays a late writer) purfues the whiting, which flies before it even to the fouthern shores of Spain. The cachalot, a species of whale, is said, in the same manner, to pursue a shoal of herrings, and to swallow hundreds in a mouthful." Knox's History of Fish, 8vo. 1787. The throat of the cachalot (the species of whale alluded to by Shakspeare) is so large, that, according to Goldsmith, he could with ease swallow an ox. Malone.

Sculls and shoals have not only one and the same meaning, but are actually, or at least originally, one and the same word. A scull of herrings (and it is to those fish that the speaker alludes) so termed on the coast of Norfolk and Suffolk, is elsewhere called a shoal. Ritson.

the belching whale; ] So, in Pericles:

" ---- the belching whale,

"And humming water, must o'erwhelm thy corse."
Homer also compares Achilles to a dolphin driving other fishes before him, Iliad XXI. v. 22:

" Ως δ' ύπὸ δελςῖνος μεγακήτεος ἰχθύες "αλλοι

" Φεύγοντες," &c. Steevens.

And there the strawy Greeks, ripe for his edge, Fall down before him, like the mower's fwath:3 Here, there, and every where, he leaves, and takes: Dexterity fo obeying appetite, That what he will, he does; and does fo much, That proof is call'd impossibility.

#### Enter ULYSSES.

ULYSS. O, courage, courage, princes! great Achilles

Is arming, weeping, curfing, vowing vengeance: Patroclus' wounds have rous'd his drowfy blood, Together with his mangled Myrmidons, That nofelefs, handlefs, hack'd and chipp'd, come to him,

Crying on Hector. Ajax hath loft a friend, And foams at mouth, and he is arm'd, and at it, Roaring for Troilus; who hath done to-day Mad and fantaftick execution: Engaging and redeeming of himfelf, With fuch a careless force, and forceless care, As if that luck, in very spite of cunning, Bade him win all.

STEEVENS.

<sup>2 —</sup> the strawy Greeks, In the folio it is—the straying Greeks. Johnson.

<sup>3 —</sup> the mower's fwath: ] Swath is the quantity of grafs cut down by a fingle stroke of the mower's scythe. So, Tuffer: "With toffing and raking, and fetting on cocks,

<sup>&</sup>quot;Grafs, lately in fwathes, is meat for an ox."

#### Enter AJAX.

AJAX. Troilus! thou coward Troilus! [Exit. Dio. Ay, there, there. Nest. So, fo, we draw together.4

### Enter Achilles.

Achil. Where is this Hector? Come, come, thou boy-queller,5 flow thy face; Know what it is to meet Achilles angry. Hector! where's Hector? I will none but Hector. [Exeunt.

## SCENE VI.

Another Part of the Field.

#### Enter AJAX.

AJAX. Troilus, thou coward Troilus, show thy head!

#### Enter DIOMEDES.

Dio. Troilus, I fay! where's Troilus?

Ajax. What would'ft thou?

4 —— we draw together.] This remark feems to be made by Nestor in consequence of the return of Ajax to the field, he having lately refused to co-operate or draw together with the Greeks, though at present he is roused from his sullen sit by the loss of a friend. So, in Cynthia's Revels, by Ben Jonson: "'Tis the swaggering coach-horse Anaides, that draws with him there." Steevens.

5 — boy-queller,] i.e. murderer of a boy. So, in King Henry IV. Part II: "—a man-queller and a woman-queller." See Vol. X. p. 91, n. 9. Steevens.

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Dio. I would correct him.

AJAX. Were I the general, thou should'st have my office.

Ere that correction: - Troilus, I fay! what, Troilus!

#### Enter Troilus.

Tro. O traitor Diomed!—turn thy false face, thou traitor,

And pay thy life thou ow'ft me for my horse!

Dio. Ha! art thou there?

AJAX. I'll fight with him alone: stand, Diomed.

Dio. He is my prize, I will not look upon.6

Tro. Come both, you cogging Greeks; have at you both. [Exeunt, fighting.

- o —— I will not look upon.] That is, (as we flould now fpeak,) I will not be a looker-on. So, in King Henry VI. Part III:
  - "Why stand we here—"Wailing our losses,—

" And look upon, as if the tragedy

- "Were play'd in jest by counterfeited actors?" These lines were written by Shakspeare. MALONE.
- <sup>7</sup> you cogging Greeks;] This epithet has no particular propriety in this place, but the author had heard of Græcia mendex. Johnson.

Surely the epithet had propriety, in respect of Diomedes at least, who had defrauded him of his mistres. Troilus bestows it on both, unius ob culpam. A fraudulent man, as I am told, is still called, in the North, a gainful Greek. Cicero bears witness to this character of the ancient Greeks: "Testimoniorum religionem & sidem nunquam ista natio coluit."

Again: "Græcorum ingenia ad fallendum parata funt."

STEEVENS.

#### Enter HECTOR.

HECT. Yea, Troilus? O, well fought, my youngest brother!

#### Enter Achilles.

ACHIL. Now do I fee thee: Ha!—Have at thee, Hector.

HECT. Pause, if thou wilt.

Achil. I do difdain thy courtefy, proud Trojan. Be happy, that my arms are out of use:
My rest and negligence befriend thee now,
But thou anon shalt hear of me again;
Till when, go seek thy fortune.

[Exit.

HECT. Fare thee well:—
I would have been much more a fresher man,
Had I expected thee.—How now, my brother?

#### Re-enter Troilus.

Tro. Ajax hath ta'en Æneas; Shall it be? No, by the flame of yonder glorious heaven, He fhall not carry him; I'll be taken too, Or bring him off:—Fate, hear me what I fay! I reck not though I end my life to-day.

[Exit.]

8 — ly the flame of yonder glorious heaven,] So, in King John:

"--- by the light that fhines above our heads."

STEEVENS.

9 — carry him;] i. e. prevail over him. So, in All's well that ends well:

" The count he wooes your daughter, Refolves to carry her; " STEEVENS.

Enter one in sumptuous Armour.

HECT. Stand, fiand, thou Greek; thou art a goodly mark:—
No? wilt thou not?—I like thy armour well;<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> — I like thy armour well;] This circumstance is taken from Lydgate's poem, p. 196:

" - Guido in his historie doth shew

"By worthy Hector's fall, who coveting
"To have the fumptuous armour of that king, &c.
"So greedy was thereof, that when he had

"The body up, and on his horse it bare,

"To have the spoil thereof such haste he made

"That he did hang his fhield without all care
"Behind him at his back, the easier
"To pull the armour off at his defire,

"And by that means his breaft clean open lay," &c.
This furnished Shakspeare with the hint for the following line:
"I am unarm'd; forego this vantage, Greek."

STEEVENS.

I quote from the original, 1555:

" --- in this while a Grekish king he mette,

"Were it of hap or of adventure,"

- "The which in fothe on his cote armoure "Embrouded had full many ryche ftone, "That gave a lyght, when the fonne shone,
- "Full bryght and cleare, that joye was to sene,

"For perles white and emerawdes grene Full many one were therein fette.—

"Of whose arraye when Hector taketh hede,

"Towardes him fast gan him drawe.

"And fyrft I fynde how he hath him flawe, "And after that by force of his manheade "He hent him up afore him on his flede,

"And fast gan wyth him for to ryde "From the wardes a lytell out of syde,

- "At good leyfer playnly, if he maye,
  "To fpoyle him of his rych arraye.—
  "On horfe-backe out whan he him ladde,
- "Recklefsly the florye maketh mynde "He cafte his thelde at his backe behynde,

"To weld him felfe at more libertye,-

"So that his breft difarmed was and bare." MALONE.

## I'll frush it,3 and unlock the rivets all,

<sup>3</sup> I'll frush it, The word frush I never found elsewhere, nor understand it. Sir T. Hanmer explains it, to break or truife. Johnson.

Mr. M. Mason observes, that "Hanmer's explanation appears to be right: and the word frush, in this fense, to be derived

from the verb froisser, to bruise, or break to pieces."

To frush a chicken, &c. is a term in carving, as ancient as Wynkyn de Worde's book on that fubject, 1508; and was fucceeded by another phrase, which we may suppose to have been fynonymous, viz.-to "break up a capon;" words that occur in Love's Labour's Loft.

Holinthed (as Mr. Tollet has observed) employs the verb-to frush, in his Description of Ireland, p. 29: "When they are fore frusht with fickness, or too farre withered with age."

The word feems to be fometimes used for any action of violence by which things are separated, disordered, or destroyed. So, in Hinde's Eliosto Libidinoso, 1606: "High cedars are frushed with tempests, when lower shrubs are not touched with the wind."

Again, in Hans Beer-pot's Invisible Comedy, &c. 1618: "And with mine arm to frush a sturdy lance."

Again, in The Hiftory of Helyas Knight of the Swan, bl. l. no date: " - fmote him to courageously with his fworde, that he frushed all his helm, wherewith the erle fell backward," &c.

Again, in Stanyhurst's translation of the first Book of Virgil's

Æneid, 1582:

"All the frushe and leavings of Greeks, of wrathful Achilles."

Again:

----yf that knight Antheus haplye

"Were frusht, or remanent," &c.

Again, in Sir John Mandevile's account of the magical entertainments exhibited before the Grete Chan, p. 285; "And then they make knyghts to jouften in armes full luffyly, &c.and they fruschen togidere full fiercely."

Again, in Fairfax's Taffo:

"Rinaldo's armour frush'd and hack'd they had."

STEEVENS.

The meaning of the word is afcertained by the following paffage in The Destruction of Troy, a book which Shakspeare certainly had before him when he wrote this play: "Saying these wordes, Hercules caught by the head poor Lychas,—and

But I'll be master of it:—Wilt thou not, beast, abide?
Why then, fly on, I'll hunt thee for thy hide.

[Exeunt.

#### SCENE VII.

The same.

Enter Achilles, with Myrmidons.

Achil. Come here about me, you my Myrmidons; Mark what I fay.—Attend me where I wheel: Strike not a firoke, but keep yourselves in breath; And when I have the bloody Hector found, Empale him with your weapons round about; In fellest manner execute your arms.<sup>4</sup> Follow me, firs, and my proceedings eye:— It is decreed—Hector the great must die. [Exeunt.

threw him against a rocke so fiercely that hee to-frushed and all to-burst his bones, and so slew him." MALONE.

4 — execute your arms.] To execute their arms is to employ them; to put them to use. A similar expression occurs in Othello, where Iago says:

"Witness that here Iago doth give up "The execution of his wit, hands, heart,

"To wrong'd Othello's fervice."

And in Love's Lakour's Loft, Rolaline fays to Biron:
"Full of comparisons and wounding flouts,

"Which you on all estates will execute." M. MASON.

A phrase nearly similar occurs in Froi fart's Chronicle, Vol. II. cap. lxxviii: "Then the nexte daye Syr John Holande and Syr Raynolde Roy were armed and mounted on theyr horses and soo came to a sayre place redy sanded where they sholde doo theyr armes." Fo. lxxxx. Steevens.

#### SCENE VIII.

## The same.

Enter Menelaus and Paris, fighting: then Thersites.

THER. The cuckold, and the cuckold-maker are at it: Now, bull! now, dog! 'Loo, Paris, 'loo! now my double-henned fparrow! 'loo, Paris, 'loo! The bull has the game:—'ware horns, ho!

[Exeunt Paris and Menelaus.

#### Enter MARGARELON.

MAR. Turn, flave, and fight.

THER. What art thou?

MAR. A baftard fon of Priam's.5

THER. I am a baftard too; I love baftards: I am a baftard begot, baftard inftructed, baftard in mind, baftard in valour, in every thing illegitimate. One bear will not bite another, and wherefore fhould one baftard? Take heed, the quarrel's most ominous to us: if the son of a whore fight for a whore, he tempts judgment: Farewell, baftard.

MAR. The devil take thee, coward! [Exeunt.

<sup>5</sup> A bastard fon of Priam's.] Bastard, in ancient times, was a reputable appellation. So, in King Henry VI. Part I:

"Baftard of Orleans, thrice welcome to us."
See note on this paffage, Vol. XIII. p. 21. See also Pope's note on v. 93, Iliad V. and on v. 343, Iliad VIII. STEEVENS.

#### SCENE IX.

## Another Part of the Field.

#### Enter HECTOR.

Hecr. Most putrified core, so fair without,
Thy goodly armour thus hath cost thy life.
Now is my day's work done; I'll take good breath:
Rest, sword; thou hast thy fill of blood and death!

[Puts off his Helmet, and hangs his Shield behind him.

## Enter Achilles and Myrmidons.

Achil. Look, Hector, how the fun begins to fet; How ugly night comes breathing at his heels: Even with the vail 6 and dark'ning of the fun, To close the day up, Hector's life is done.

# HECT. I am unarm'd; forego this vantage, Greek.

<sup>6</sup> Even with the vail—] The vail is, I think, the finking of the fun; not veil or cover. Johnson.

So, in Measure for Measure, "vail your regard upon," fignifies,—Let your notice descend upon &c. Steevens.

<sup>7</sup> I am unarm'd; forego this vantage, Greek.] Hector, in Lydgate's poem, falls by the hand of Achilles; but it is Troilus who, having been inclosed round by the Myrmidons, is killed after his armour had been hewn from his body, which was afterwards drawn through the field at the horse's tail. The Oxford editor, I believe, was misinformed; for in the old story-book of The Three Destructions of Troy, I find likewise the same account given of the death of Troilus. Heywood, in his Rape of Lucrece, 1638, seems to have been indebted to some such work as Sir T. Hanmer mentions:

Achil. Strike, fellows, firike; this is the man I feek. [Hector falls.]

So, Ilion, fall thou next! now, Troy, fink down; Here lies thy heart, thy finews, and thy bone.—
On, Myrmidons; and cry you all amain,
Achilles hath the mighty Hector flain.9

[A Retreat founded.

Hark! a retreat upon our Grecian part.

Mrr. The Trojan trumpets found the like, my lord.

Achil. The dragon wing of night o'erspreads the earth,

" Had puiffant Hector by Achilles' hand

"Dy'd in a fingle monomachie, Achilles

"Had been the worthy; but being flain by odds, "The poorest Myrmidon had as much honour

"As faint Achilles, in the Trojan's death."

It is not unpleasant to observe with what velemence Lydgate, who in the groffest manner has violated all the characters drawn by Homer, takes upon him to reprehend the Grecian poet as the original offender. Thus, in his fourth Book:

"Oh thou, Homer, for shame be now red,
"And thee amase that holdest thy selfe so wyse,

"On Achylles to fet fuche great a pryfe

"In thy bokes for his chivalrye,

"Above echone that doft hym magnyfye, "That was fo fleyghty and fo full of fraude,

"Why gevest thou hym so hye a prayse and laude?"

STEEVENS.

- <sup>8</sup> Strike, fellows, firike;] This particular of Achilles over-powering Hector by numbers, and without armour, is taken from the old flory-book. HANMER.
  - on, Myrmidons; and cry you all amain, Achilles hath the mighty Proctor flain.

''' Ήράμεθα μέγα κίδο Α΄ 'επέρνομεν ΄ Εκτορα δίον, ''' Ο Τρώες κατὰ ''αστυ, Θεώ ως, εὐχετόωνΙο.''

Iliad XXII. v. 393. MALONE.

\* The dragon wing of night—] See Vol. XIII. p. 309, n. 9.
MALONE.

And, flickler like,<sup>2</sup> the armies feparates.
My half-fupp'd fword,<sup>3</sup> that frankly would have fed,
Pleas'd with this dainty bit, thus goes to bed.—
[Sheaths his Sword.

<sup>2</sup> And, flickler-like,] A flickler was one who flood by to part the combatants when victory could be determined without bloodshed. They are often mentioned by Sidney. "Anthony (fays Sir Thomas North, in his translation of Plutarch,) was himself in person a flickler to part the young men when they had fought enough." They were called flicklers, from earrying flicks or staves in their hands, with which they interposed between the duellists. We now call these flickler's—fidesmen. So, again, in a comedy, called, Fortune by Land and Sea, by Heywood and Rowley: "—'tis not fit that every apprentice should with his shop-club play between us the stickler." Again, in the tragedy of Faire Mariam, 1613:

"And was the flickler 'twixt my heart and him."

Again, in Fuimus Troes, 1633:

" As flicklers in their nation's enmity." STEEVENS.

Minsheu gives the same etymology, in his Dictionary, 1617: "A flickler betweene two, so called as putting a flick or staffe betweene two sighting or fencing together." MALONE.

Sticklers are arbitrators, judges, or, as called in some places, sidesimen. At every wrestling in Cornwall, before the games begin, a certain number of fiicklers are chosen, who regulate the proceedings, and determine every dispute. The nature of the English language, as I conceive, does not allow the derivation of fiickler from flick, which, as a word, it has not the remotest connection with. Stickler (fiic-kle-er) is immediately from the verb flickle, to interfere, to take part with, to busy one's felf in any matter. Ritson.

<sup>3</sup> My half-fupp'd fword, &c.] These four despicable verses, as well as the rhyming fit with which "the blockish Ajax" is afterwards scized, could scarce have fallen from the pen of our author, in his most unlucky moments of composition.

STEEVENS.

Whatever may have been the remainder of this speech, as it came out of Shakspeare's hands, we may be confident that this bombast furst made no part of it. Our author's gold was stolen, and the thief's brass left in its place. Ritson.

Perhaps this play was haftily altered by Shakfpeare from an

Come, tie his body to my horse's tail; Along the field I will the Trojan trail.4 [Exeunt.

#### SCENE X.

## The same.

Enter Agamemnon, Ajax, Menelaus, Nestor, Diomedes, and Others, marching. Shouts within.

AGAM. Hark! hark! what shout is that?

Nest. Peace, drums.

[Within.] Achilles!

Achilles! Hector's flain! Achilles!

Dio. The bruit is-Hector's flain, and by Achilles.

AJAX. If it be fo, yet bragless let it be; Great Hector was as good a man as he.

AGAM. March patiently along:—Let one be fent To pray Achilles fee us at our tent.—
If in his death the gods have us befriended,
Great Troy is ours, and our fharp wars are ended.

[Exeunt, marching.

elder piece, which the reader will find mentioned in p. 223, n. 2. Some of the fcenes therefore he might have fertilized, and left others as barren as he found them. Steevens.

4 Along the field I will the Trojan trail.] Such almost (changing the name of Troilus for that of Hector) is the argument of Lydgate's 31st chapter, edit. 1555: "How Achilles slewe the worthy Troylus unknyghtly, and after trayled his body through the fyelde tyed to his horse." Steevens.

#### SCENE XI.

## Another Part of the Field.

## Enter ÆNEAS and Trojans.

ÆNE. Stand, ho! yet are we masters of the field: Never go home; here starve we out the night.5

#### Enter Troilus.

TRO. Hector is flain.

ALL. Hector?—The gods forbid!

Tro. He's dead; and at the murderer's horse's tail,

In beaftly fort, dragg'd through the shameful field.—Frown on, you heavens, effect your rage with speed! Sit, gods, upon your thrones, and smile at Troy!

I fay, at once! STEEVENS.

There can be no doubt but we should read—finite at, instead of fmile.—The following words, "I fay, at once," make that unquestionable. To call upon the heavens to frown, and on the Gods to fmile, at the self-same moment, would be too abfurd even for that violent agitation of mind with which Troilus is supposed to be actuated. M. Mason.

Smite was introduced into the text by Sir Thomas Hanmer, and adopted by Dr. Warburton. I believe the old reading is the true one.

Mr. Upton thinks that Shakspeare had the Psalmist in view. "He that dwelleth in heaven shall laugh them to scorn; the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Never go home; &c.] This line is in the quarto given to Troilus. Johnson.

<sup>6 ——</sup>finile at Troy!] Thus the ancient copies; but it would better agree with the reft of Troilus's wifh, were we to read, with a former editor:

I fay, at once let your brief plagues be mercy, And linger not our fure destructions on!

 $\pounds_{NE}$ . My lord, you do discomfort all the host.

Tro. You understand me not, that tell me so: I do not speak of slight, of sear, of death; But dare all imminence, that gods and men, Address their dangers in. Hector is gone! Who shall tell Priam so, or Hecuba? Let him, that will a screech-owl aye be call'd, Go in to Troy, and say there—Hector's dead: There is a word will Priam turn to stone; Make wells and Niobes of the maids and wives, Cold statues of the youth; and, in a word, Scare Troy out of itself. But, march, away: Hector is dead; there is no more to say. Stay yet;—You vile abominable tents, Thus proudly pight upon our Phrygian plains,

Lord shall have them in derision." Ps. ii. 4. "The Lord shall laugh him to scorn; for he hath seen that his day is coming." Ps. xxxvii. 13. In the passage before us, (he adds,) "the heavens are the ministers of the Gods to execute their vengeance, and they are bid to frown on; but the Gods themselves smile at Troy; they hold Troy in derision, for its day is coming."

MALONE.

7 Make wells and Niobes of the maids and wives,] I adopt the conjecture of a deceased friend, who would read—welland, i.e. weeping Niobes. The Saxon termination of the participle in and, for ing, is common in our old poets, and often corrupted at the press. So, in Spenser:

"His glitter and armour shined far away."
Where the common editions have—glitter and. WHALLEY.

There is furely no need of emendation. Steevens.

8 Cold - ] The old copy-Coole. STEEVENS.

• — pight —] i. e. pitched, fixed. The obsolete preterite and participle passive of to pitch. So, Spenser:

"Then brought fine me into this defert vaft,
"And by my wretched lover's fide me pight."

STEEVENS.

Let Titan rife as early as he dare,
I'll through and through you!—And thou, greatfiz'd coward!

No fpace of earth shall funder our two hates; I'll haunt thee like a wicked conscience still, That mouldeth goblins swift as frenzy thoughts.—Strike a free march to Troy!—with comfort go: Hope of revenge shall hide our inward woe. [Exeunt Æneas and Trojans.

As Troilus is going out, enter, from the other side, Pandarus.

PAN. But hear you, hear you!

Tro. Hence, broker lackey! ignomy and fhame? Purfue thy life, and live aye with thy name!

[Exit Troilus.

with comfort go:

Hope of revenge shall hide our inward woe.] This couplet affords a full and natural close of the play; and though I once thought differently, I must now declare my firm belief that Shakspeare designed it should end here, and that what follows is either a subsequent and injudicious restoration from the elder drama, mentioned in p. 223, or the nonsense of some wretched bussion, who represented Pandarus. When the hero of the scene was not only alive, but on the stage, our author would fearce have trusted the conclusion of his piece to a subordinate character, whom he had uniformly held up to detestation. It is still less probable that he should have wound up his story with a stupid outrage to decency, and a deliberate insult on his audience.—But in several other parts of this drama I cannot persuade myself that I have been reading Shakspeare.

As evident an interpolation is pointed out at the end of Twelfth-Night. See Vol. V. p. 419. Stevens.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Hence, broker lackey!] Thus the quarto and folio. For broker the editor of the fecond folio fubflituted brother, which, in the third, was changed to brothel.

PAN. A goodly med'cine for my aching bones!—O world! world! world! thus is the poor agent despised! O traitors and bawds, how earnestly are you set a' work, and how ill requited! Why should our endeavour be so loved,4 and the performance so loathed? what verse for it? what instance for it?—Let me see:—

Full merrily the humble-bee doth fing,
Till he hath loft his honey, and his fting:
And being once fubdued in armed tail,
Sweet honey and fweet notes together fail.—
Good traders in the flesh, set this in your painted cloths.5

As many as be here of pander's hall,
Your eyes, half out, weep out at Pandar's fall:
Or, if you cannot weep, yet give fome groans,
Though not for me, yet for your aching bones.
Brethren, and fifters, of the hold-door trade,
Some two months hence my will fhall here be made:
It should be now, but that my fear is this,—
Some galled goose of Winchester 6 would his:

Broker, in our author's time, fignified a bawd of either fex. So, in King John:

"This bawd, this broker, this all-changing word," &c.

See Vol. X. p. 408, n. 9. MALONE.

3 ——ignomy and fhame—] Ignomy was used, in our author's time, for ignominy. See Vol. XI. p. 426, n. 9.

MALONE.

4 —— loved,] Quarto; desir'd, folio. Johnson.

5 — fet this in your painted cloths.] i. e. the painted canvas with which your rooms are hung. See Vol. VIII. p. 103, n. 8.

Steevens.

<sup>6</sup> Some galled goose of Winchester —] The publick stews were anciently under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Winchester. POPE.

Till then I'll fweat,7 and feek about for eafes; And, at that time, bequeath you my difeafes.

Exit.8

Mr. Pope's explanation may be supported by the following passage in one of the old plays, of which my negligence has lost the title:

"Collier! how came the goofe to be put upon you?

"I'll tell thee: The term lying at Winchester in Henry the Third's days, and many French women coming out of the Isle of Wight thither, &c. there were many punks in the town," &c.

A particular fymptom in the lues venerea was called a Winchester goose. So, in Chapman's comedy of Monsteur D'Olive, 1606: "—the famous school of England call'd Winchester, famous I mean for the goose," &c.

Again, Ben Jonson, in his poem called An Execution on

Vulcan:

" —— this a sparkle of that fire let loose,

"That was lock'd up in the Winchestrian goose,

" Bred on the Bank in time of popery,

"When Venus there maintain'd her mystery."

In an ancient fatire, called *Cocke Lorelles Bote*, bl. l. printed by Wynkyn de Worde, no date, is the following lift of the different residences of harlots:

"There came fuch a wynd fro Winchester, "That blewe these women over the ryver,

"In wherye, as I wyll you tell:

"Some at faynt Kateryns stroke agrounde, "And many in Holborne were founde,

"Some at fainte Gyles I trowe:

"Also in Ave Maria Aly, and at Westmenster;

" And fome in Shoredyche drewe theder,

" With grete lamentacyon;

" And by cause they have lost that fayre place,

"They wyll bylde at Colman hedge in fpace," &c. Hence the old proverbial fimile—"As common as Coleman Hedge: now Coleman Street. Steevens.

As the publick flews were under the controul of the Bifhop of Winchefter, a flrumpet was called a Winchefter goofe, and a galled Winchefter goofe may mean, either a firumpet that had the venereal difease, or one that felt herself hurt by what Pandarus had said. It is probable that the word was purposely used to express both these senses. It does not appear to me, from

the passage cited by Steevens, that any symptom of the venereal disease was called a Winchester goose. M. Mason.

Cole, in his Latin Dict. 1669, renders a Winchester goose by pudendagra. MALONE.

There are more hard bombastical phrases in the serious part of this play, than, I believe, can be picked out of any other six plays of Shakspeare. Take the following specimens: Tortive,—persistive,—importless,—institute,—deracinate,—dividable. And in the next Act: Pass-proportion,—unrespective,—propugnation,—self-assimption,—self-admission,—assimption,—thingdom'd, &c. Tyrwhitt.

7—I'll fweat,] i. e. adopt the regimen then used for curing what Pittol calls "the malady of France." Thus, says the Bawd, in Measure for Measure: "—what with the sweat, &c. I am custom-shrunk." See note on Timon of Athens, Act IV. sc. iii. Steevens.

<sup>7</sup> This play is more correctly written than most of Shakfpeare's compositions, but it is not one of those in which either the extent of his views or elevation of his fancy is fully difplayed. As the flory abounded with materials, he has exerted little invention; but he has diverlified his characters with great variety, and preferved them with great exactness. His vicious characters difgust, but cannot corrupt, for both Cressida and Pandarus are detested and contemned. The comick characters feem to have been the favourites of the writer; they are of the Superficial kind, and exhibit more of manners than nature; but they are copiously filled and powerfully impressed. Shakspeare has in his ftory followed, for the greater part, the old book of Caxton, which was then very popular; but the character of Therfites, of which it makes no mention, is a proof that this play was written after Chapman had published his version of Homer. Johnson.

The first seven Books of Chapman's Homer were published in the year 1596, and again in 1598. They were dedicated as follows: To the most honoured now living instance of the Achilleian virtues eternized by divine Homere, the Earle of Essexe, Earl Marshall, &c. The whole twenty-four Books of the Iliad appeared in 1611. An anonymous interlude, called THERSYTES his Humours and Conceits, had been published in 1598. Puttenham also, in his Arte of English Poessie, 1589, p. 35, makes mention of "Thersites the glorious Noddie" &c.

STEEVENS.

The interlude of *Therfites* was, I believe, published long before 1598. That date was one of the numerous forgeries of

Chetwood the Prompter, as well as the addition to the title of the piece—"Therfites his Humours and Conceits;" for no fuch words are found in the catalogue published in 1671, by Kirkman, who appears to have feen it. Malone.

P. 436. How the devil luxury, with his fat rump, and potatoe finger, tickles these together.] Luxuria was the appropriate term used by the school divines, to express the sin of incontinence, which accordingly is called luxury in all our old English writers. In the Summæ Theologiæ Compendium of Thomas Aquinas, P. 2. II. Quæst. CLIV. is de Luxuriæ Partibus, which the author distributes under the heads of Simplex Fornicatio, Adulterium, Incessius, Stuprum, Raptus, &c. and Chaucer, in his Parson's Tale, descanting on the seven deadly fins, treats of this under the title De Luxuria. Hence, in King Lear, our author uses the word in this particular sense:

"To't, Luxury, pell-mell, for I want foldiers."

And Middleton, in his Game of Chefs:

" - in a room fill'd all with Arctine's pictures,

" (More than the twelve labours of Luxury,)
"Thou thalt not to much as the chafte pummel fee

"Of Lucrece' dagger."

But why is *luxury*, or lafciviousness, faid to have a *potatoe* finger?—This root, which was, in our author's time, but newly imported from America, was confidered as a rare exotick, and esteemed a very strong provocative. As the plant is so common now, it may entertain the reader to see how it is described by

Gerard, in his Herbal, 1597, p. 780:

"This plant, which is called of fome Skyrrits of Peru, is generally of us called *Potatus*, or *Potatoes*.—There is not any that hath written of this plant;—therefore, I refer the description thereof unto those that shall hereaster have further knowledge of the same. Yet I have had in my garden divers roots (that I bought at the Exchange in London) where they flourished until winter, at which time they perished and rotted. They are used to be eaten roasted in the assess. Some, when they be so roasted, insufe them and sop them in wine; and others, to give them the greater grace in eating, do boil them with prunes. Howsoever they be dressed, they comfort, nourish, and strengthen the bodie, procure bodily lust, and that with great greediness."

Drayton, in the 20th Song of his Polyolbion, introduces the

fame idea concerning the skirret:

"The skirret, which, fome fay, in fallets stirs the blood." Shakspeare alludes to this quality of potatoes in The Merry Wives of Windsor: "Let the 1ky rain potatoes, hail kissing comfits, and snow eringoes; let a tempest of provocation come."

Ben Jonson mentions potatoe pies in Every Man out of his Humour, among other good uncluous meats. So, T. Heywood, in The English Traveller, 1633:

"Caviare, sturgeon, anchovies, pickled oysters; yes

"And a potatoe pie: befides all thefe, "What thinkest rare and costly."

Again, in *The Dumb Knight*, 1633: "—truly I think a marrow-bone pye, candied eringoes, preferved dates, or marmalade of cantharides, were much better harbingers; cock-fparrows flew'd, dove's brains, or fwans' pizzles, are very provocative; ROASTED POTATOES, or boiled skirrets, are your only lofty dishes."

Again, in Decker's Honest Whore, 1635: "If she be a

woman, marrow-bones and potatoe-pies keep me," &c.

Again, in A Chaste Maid of Cheapside, by Middleton, 1620:

"You might have spar'd this banquet of eringoes, "Artichokes, potatoes, and your butter'd crab;

"They were fitter kept for your own wedding dinner." Again, in Chapman's May-Day, 1611: "—a banquet of oyfter-pies, ikirret-roots, potatoes, eringoes, and divers other whet-ftones of venery."

Again, in Decker's If this be not a good Play the Devil is in

it, 1612:

"Potatoes eke, if you shall lack

"To corroborate the back."

Again, in Jack Drum's Entertainment, 1601: "—by Gor, an me had known dis, me woode have eat fom potatos, or ringoe." Again, in Sir W. D'Avenant's Love and Honour, 1649:

"You shall find me a kind of sparrow, widow;

"A barley-corn goes as far as a potatoe."

Again, in The Ghost, 1640:

"Then, the fine broths I daily had fent to me,

" Potatoe pastics, lusty marrow-pies," &c. Again, in Histriomassius, or the Player whipt, 1610:

"Give your play-gull a stool, and your lady her fool,

" And her usher potatoes and marrow."

Nay, fo notorious were the virtues of this root, that W. W. the old translator of the Menæchmi of Plautus, 1595, has introduced them into that comedy. When Menæchmus goes to

the house of his mistress Erotium to bespeak a dinner, he adds, "Harke ye, some oysters, a mary-bone pie or two, some artichockes, and potato-roots; let our other dishes be as you

pleafe."

Again, in Greene's Diffutation between a Hee Coneycatcher and a Shee Coneycatcher, 1592: "I pray you, how many badde proffittes againe growes from whoores. Bridewell woulde have verie fewe tenants, the hospitall would wante patientes, and the furgians much woorke: the apothecaries would have furphaling water and potato-roots lye deade on their handes."

Again, in Cynthia's Revels, by Ben Jonson: "—'tis your only dish, above all your potatoes or oyster-pies in the world."

Again, in The Elder Brother, by Beaumont and Fletcher:

"A banquet—well, potatoes and eringoes,

"And as I take it, cantharides—Excellent!" Again, in *The Loyal Subject*, by the fame authors:

"Will your lordship please to taste a fine potato?

"'Twill advance your wither'd ftate,

"Fill your honour full of noble itches," &c.

Again, in *The Martial Maid*, by Beaumont and Fletcher: "Will your lady fhip have a *potatoe-pie?* 'tis a good ftirring difh for an old lady after a long lent."

Again, in The Sea Voyage, by the same authors:

Oh, for fome eringoes,

" Potatoes, or cantharides!"

Again :

" See provoking difhes, candied eringoes

" And potatoes."

Again, in The Picture, by Maffinger:

" he hath got a pye

"Of marrow-bones, potatioes and eringoes." Again, in Mashinger's New Way to pay old Debts:

"\_\_\_\_'tis the quinteffence

"Of five cocks of the game, ten dozen of sparrows,

"Knuckles of veal, potatoe-roots and marrow,

"Coral and ambergris," &c.

Again, in The Guardian, by the fame author:

" -----Potargo,

"Potatoes, marrow, caviare—." Again, in The City Madam, by the fame:

"—— prescribes my diet, and foretells

"My dreams when I eat potatoes."
Taylor the Water-poet likewife, in his character of a Bawd,

afcribes the fame qualities to this genial root.

Again, Decker, in his Gul's Hornbook, 1609: "Potato-pies and cuftards flood like the finful fuburbs of cookery," &c.

Again, in Marston's Satires, 1599;

" --- camphire and lettice chafte,

"Are now cashier'd-now Sophi 'ringoes eate,

"Candi'd potatoes are Athenians' meate."
Again, in Holinshed's Chronicle, Description of England, p. 167: "Of the potato and such venerous roots, &c. I speake not."

Lastly, in Sir John Harrington's Metamorphosis of Ajax, 1596: "Perhaps you have been used to your dainties of potatoes, of caveare, eringus, plums of Genowa, all which may well

encrease your appetite to severall evacuations."

In The good Huswives Jewell, a book of cookery published in 1596, I find the following receipt to make a tarte that is a courage to a man or woman: "Take two quinces, and twoo or three burre rootes, and a POTATON; and pare your POTATON and scrape your roots, and put them into a quarte of wine, and let them boyle till they bee tender, and put in an ounce of dates, and when they be boiled tender, drawe them through a strainer, wine and all, and then put in the yolkes of eight eggs, and the braynes of three or four cocke-sparrowes, and straine them into the other, and a little rose-water, and seeth them all with sugar, cinnamon, and ginger, and cloves, and mace; and put in a little sweet butter, and set it upon a chassing-dish of coles between two platters, to let it boyle till it be something bigge."

Gerard elsewhere observes, in his Herlal, that "potatoes may serve as a ground er soundation whereon the cunning confectioner or sugar-baker may worke and frame many comfort-

able conferves and restorative sweetmeats."

The fame venerable botanist likewise adds, that the flath of clotburre, "being eaten rawe with falt and pepper, or boiled in the broth of fat meat, is pleasant to be eaten, and firreth up venereal motions. It likewise strengtheneth the back," &c.

Speaking of dates, he fays, that "thereof be made divers excellent cordial comfortable and nourithing medicines, and that procure luft of the body very mightily." He also mentions

quinces as having the fame virtues.

We may likewife add, that Shakspeare's own authority for the efficacy of *quinces* and *dates* is not wanting. He has certainly introduced them both as proper to be employed in the wedding dinner of Paris and Juliet:

"They call for dates and quinces in the pastry."

It appears from Dr. Campbell's *Political Survey of Great Britain*, that *potatoes* were brought into Ireland about the year 1610, and that they came first from Ireland into Lancashire. It was, however, forty years before they were much cultivated

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about London. At this time they were diffinguished from the Spanish by the name of Virginia potatoes,—or battatas, which is the Indian denomination of the Spanish fort. The Indians in Virginia called them openank. Sir Walter Raleigh was the first who planted them in Ireland. Authors differ as to the nature of this vegetable, as well as in respect of the country from whence it originally came. Switzer calls it Sisarum Peruvianum, i.e. the skirret of Peru. Dr. Hill says it is a solanum; and another very respectable naturalist conceives it to be a native of Mexico.

The accumulation of inftances in this note is to be regarded as a proof how often dark allufions might be cleared up, if com-

mentators were diligent in their refearches. Collins.

END OF VOL. XV.

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