

**THE ENGLISH CLOWN:
PRINT IN PERFORMANCE
AND
PERFORMANCE IN PRINT**

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A thesis submitted to
The University of Birmingham
for the degree of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

The Shakespeare Institute
The Department of English
The University of Birmingham
January 2011

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines how and why the English clown emerged and declined by focusing on jest-books and comic actors such as Tarlton, Kemp and Armin. The jest-book, *Tarlton's Jests* is the key publication in the development of jester-clowns in Renaissance drama. This account traces the authoring, editing, and printing of jest-book publications, along with the transmission of their copy-texts to clarify the dissemination of theories of clownery. The thesis explores the English clown tradition based on the presences of Kemp and Armin, who in their writing practices link the development of clowning in print to the theatre stage. This study then offers a critical analysis of the influence of jesting heroes on comic characters in play-texts from Shakespeare to Dekker and Heywood. By considering the rich resources of jests appropriated by these playwrights, the various forms of the clowns' development are clarified. The tradition and characteristics of the English clown resulted from a unique cultural synergy: the connection between the stage clowning of the time and its underlying theories. This interaction between societal change and the resultant cultural products is considered as an achievement of the Early Modern interdependence between print and performance.

To the memory of my father,

Dr. Yoshioki Komachiya

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First and foremost, I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my supervisor, Prof. Kate McLuskie for her many years' constant supervision and academic support since my embarking on the thesis in 2006. I thank her for her sympathetic understanding of both my studying abroad and of my job circumstances in Japan. She gave me the opportunity to work in the fields of textual analysis, print culture, and theatre history, and provided me with constructive criticisms and suggestions that are everywhere in this study. Had any aspects of her practical advice and encouragement been missing, the thesis could not have been completed.

I would like to thank Dr. Martin Wiggins, my former supervisor during my M.Phil dissertation, for giving me the basis of my research area.

I appreciate Prof. John Jowett, my former internal examiner, who gave me useful comments on bibliographical studies at the final stages of the thesis.

To the staff at the Shakespeare Institute, I would like to show my appreciation. Ms. Karin Brown and Ms. Kate Welch at the Institute Library were highly supportive and understanding of my difficulties. I would also like to give special thanks to Ms. Juliet Creese and Ms. Rebecca White, who offered me support and strength during my long stay in Stratford-upon-Avon from April 2006 to March 2008 and subsequent short stays in the summers in 2008, 2009 and 2010. Without their assistance, I would have suffered more problems and difficulties than I did.

I would also like to thank my proofreader, Prof. Timothy J. Wright at Otsuma Women's University, who read this thesis as a scholar of applied linguistics and helped me with my academic English. Prof. Patrick McGuire at Seitoku University read one of the chapters to improve my English skills for which I am grateful.

To Prof. David Taylor at Tokyo University, I owe gratitude for the completion of this project in many ways. He read the final version of this dissertation, offered me many comments, much academic advice and support, and gave form and coherence to this thesis by making a number of verbal changes for stylistic improvement. I believe that my slow progress during the revision over an unusually long time must have required of him infinite patience. I am grateful for his invaluable help.

Finally, I would like to thank my family, who consistently encouraged me throughout this study.

CONTENTS

| | |
|---|-----|
| Introduction: ‘A fool i’ the forest’ | 1 |
| 1 Departure from the Clown Myth in Twentieth Century Criticism | 7 |
| 2 Visible Fool: Developing Print Culture | 9 |
| 3 Clowning in Print | 13 |
| Part 1: Jest as Book | 19 |
| Chapter 1: Jest-book Formation through the Early Modern Printing Industry: | |
| The Two Different Editions of <i>Scoggin’s Jests</i> | 20 |
| 1 The Enigmatic Identity of Scoggin | 27 |
| 2 The Print History of <i>Scoggin’s Jests</i> | 31 |
| 2.1 The 1626 Edition | 32 |
| 2.2 The 1613 Edition | 38 |
| 3 Conclusion | 49 |
| Chapter 2: Generic Material in Mother Jest-books, Biographical Jest-books, and Play-texts | 52 |
| 1 Laughter Is the Best Medicine: Jests as Therapy as Justified by Boorde, Joubert and Rabelais | 53 |
| 2 Generic Motifs in Mother Jest-books and Biographical Jest-books | 61 |
| 2.1 Scatological Differences: England and the Continent | 61 |
| 2.2 From Jest-book to Play-text: Recurrent and Changing Classical Motifs | 64 |
| 3 Play-text Sources: <i>Scoggin’s Jests</i> and <i>Tarlton’s Jests</i> | 69 |
| 3.1 The Hero’s Life: The Two Editions of <i>Scoggin’s Jests</i> | 70 |
| 3.2 Women and the Hero: The 1613 <i>Scoggin’s Jests</i> | 73 |
| 3.3 The Self-reflective Hero: The 1626 <i>Scoggin’s Jests</i> | 74 |
| 3.4 Licensed to Tell the Truth: The Fool’s Jest-book Origins | 77 |
| 4 The Fool’s Future: From <i>Tarlton’s Jests</i> to <i>A Banquet of Jests</i> | 81 |
| 5 Conclusion: The Fool’s Two Bodies: Shifting Generic Motifs | 86 |
| Chapter 3: Tarlton in Print: From Myth to History | 90 |
| 1 Tarlton in Early Allusions: The Marprelate Controversy and the Harvey-Nashe Pamphlet War | 95 |
| 1.1 Contemporary Allusions | 95 |
| 1.2 The Marprelate Controversy | 98 |
| 1.3 The Harvey-Nashe Quarrel | 104 |
| 1.4 Textual Tarlton: His Ghost in <i>Tarlton’s News out of Purgatory</i> and Henry Chettle’s <i>Kind-Hart’s Dream</i> | 107 |
| 2 ‘Tarlton’ Lives: The Transmission of Three Related Works | 111 |
| 3 Localising ‘Tarlton’: The Legend in Publishing History | 121 |
| 4 Conclusion | 126 |
| Chapter 4: Memorialising Tarlton: Text and Theatre | 128 |
| 1 Parallel Texts: Exemplar of Extempore Wit / Renowned Comic Actor | 130 |

| | | |
|---|--|-----|
| 1.1 | Allusions to ‘simplicity’ in Historical Accounts, Epigrams, and Books on Decorum | 131 |
| 1.2 | An Aesthetic of Clowning: Tarlton and the Dramatists | 144 |
| 2 | Tarlton Onstage: Later Allusions in the Play-texts | 148 |
| 3 | Conclusion | 152 |
| Part II: Jest as Performance | | 154 |
| Chapter 5: Kemp: Print and Stage | | 155 |
| 1 | Welcoming a King: Kemp and the ‘Madmen of Gotham’ and <i>A Knack to Know a Knave</i> | 158 |
| 2 | Kemp’s <i>Nine Days’ Wonder</i> : Print in Action and the Jig to Norwich | 161 |
| 3 | Clowns for Play-texts: Kemp and Italian Tradition | 167 |
| 4 | Kemp in Shakespeare: Two New Strands of Clowning | 174 |
| 5 | Conclusion | 182 |
| Chapter 6: Armin’s Comic Genius: Theory in Practice | | 184 |
| 1 | Armin as Pamphleteer | 185 |
| 1.1 | <i>Quips upon Questions</i> | 188 |
| 1.2 | The Three Published Versions of <i>Fool upon Fool</i> | 194 |
| 1.3 | Diverging Fools: Simplicity, Natural Fools and the Clown Tradition | 201 |
| 2 | <i>The Two Maids of More-Clack</i> : The Fusion of Tutch and Blue John | 212 |
| 3 | Conclusion | 218 |
| Chapter 7: Eclectic Shakespeare: Touchstone, Feste, Lear’s Fool, and Autolycus | | 220 |
| 1 | Touchstone and Feste: Reflecting the Jest-book Tradition | 221 |
| 1.1 | Touchstone | 222 |
| 1.2 | Feste | 228 |
| 1.2.1 | Sir Topaz, a Native of the Old Comic Tales | 228 |
| 1.2.2 | ‘Wisely play the fool’ | 232 |
| 2 | All Licensed: Lear’s Fool | 236 |
| 3 | Transformation into Narrative: Autolycus | 243 |
| 4 | Conclusion | 247 |
| Chapter 8: Narrative and Verbal Clowning in Dekker and Heywood | | 249 |
| 1 | Unnamed Clowns: Transitions in Generic and Topical Forms | 249 |
| 2 | Commentary and Agency: The Integrated Clown | 258 |
| 3 | Conclusion | 265 |
| Conclusion: Clowning Reworked in Print and Onstage | | 267 |
| Appendices | | 281 |
| Appendix A: Tables | | 282 |
| Table 1 | The Transmission of the Two Editions of <i>Scoggin’s Jests</i> | 283 |
| Table 2 | Andrew Boorde’s Printers till 1626 | 284 |
| Table 3 | The 1613 <i>Scoggin’s Jests</i> | 285 |

| | | |
|------------------------------|---|-----|
| Table 4 | The 1626 <i>Scoggin's Jests</i> | 287 |
| Table 5 | <i>A Hundred Merry Tales</i> | 289 |
| Table 6 | <i>Howleglas</i> | 292 |
| Table 7 | <i>The Merry Tales of Skelton</i> | 294 |
| Table 8 | Tarlton's Name in Paratexts | 295 |
| Table 9 | The Transmission of <i>Tarlton's Jests</i> | 296 |
| Table 10 | The Transmission of <i>Tarlton's News out of Purgatory</i> | 297 |
| Table 11 | The Transmission of <i>The Cobbler of Canterbury</i> | 298 |
| Table 12 | <i>Tarlton's Jests</i> | 299 |
| Appendix B: Figures | | 301 |
| Figure 1 | The Title Page of <i>Tarlton's Jests</i> (1613) | 302 |
| Figure 2 | The Title Page of <i>Tarlton's Jests</i> (1638) | 303 |
| Figure 3 | The Title Page of <i>A Banquet of Jests</i> (1640) | 304 |
| Figure 4 | The Title Page of Kemp's <i>Nine Days' Wonder</i> | 305 |
| Figure 5 | The Title Page of the 1600 Edition of <i>Fool upon Fool</i> | 306 |
| Figure 6 | The Title Page of the 1605 Edition of <i>Fool upon Fool</i> | 307 |
| Figure 7 | The Title Page of <i>The Two Maids of More-Clack</i> | 308 |
| Bibliography | | 309 |
| Primary Sources | | 309 |
| Early Printed Materials | | 309 |
| Critical and Modern Editions | | 336 |
| Secondary Sources | | 340 |

Notes on the Texts and the Online Sources

References to early modern English books are to Early English Books Online and to the English Short Title Catalogue. All titles of early modern English books are modernised and shortened, and the names of printers-publishers in the publication data are standardized throughout this thesis, including in the footnotes, while under the entries of Works Cited, original full titles on the title page are given.

Spellings in quotations from Works Cited are given in the original spellings, except when I have silently expanded common abbreviations such as the tilde, and transcribed the long 's' as a short 's'.

Entries for online sources such as the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (ODNB) in the Works Cited give both the exact electronic address and the date of access, while in footnotes the basic information, such as author and title, are given for the reader to refer to the works-cited list.

A List of Abbreviations

| | |
|-------------------|---|
| BBTI | <i>The British Book Trade Index</i> < http://www.bbti.bham.ac.uk > |
| DNB | <i>The Dictionary of National Biography</i> |
| ODNB | <i>The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i> < http://www.oxforddnb.com > |
| EEBO | <i>Early English Books Online</i> < http://eebo.chadwyck.com > |
| ELH | <i>English Literary History</i> |
| ESTC | <i>The English Short Title Catalogue</i> < http://estc.bl.uk > |
| OED | <i>The Oxford English Dictionary</i> < http://www.oed.com > |
| PMLA | <i>Publications of the Modern Language Association</i> |
| REED | <i>The Records of Early English Drama</i> |
| STC or <i>STC</i> | Alfred William Pollard and G. R. Redgrave, <i>A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, & Ireland and of English Books Printed Abroad 1475-1640</i> , 2nd edn. revised and enlarged, 3 vols (London: The Bibliographical Society, Vol. I: 1986, Vol. II: 1976, Vol. III: 1991) |
| TLS | <i>The Times Literary Supplement</i> |
| WING | Donald Wing, <i>Short-title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, and British America and of English Books Printed in Other Countries 1641-1700</i> , 2nd edn, 3 vols (New York: The Modern Language Association of America, Vol. I: 1994, Vol. II: 1982, Vol. III: 1988) |

Introduction

‘A fool i’ the forest’

We have multiple forms of clowning today. There is no single format of clowning used in any contemporary comedy. Clowns attract us with their skills of acrobatic movement, facial expression, voice, gesture, mime, and costume. They provoke laughter with physical acts and verbal expression: satire, puns, parody, and wit combat. Combining different attributes in varying proportions, clowns display their individuality and independence to meet the requirements of modern theatre. In performing the drama of Shakespeare and his contemporaries, they manage to continue the early modern clowning traditions, though some are not always accessible to us. Our question concerning the English clown is borne out of the fact that the past qualities of clowns are isolated and often completely cut from present stage productions.

Modern Shakespeare scholarship conflates both actual and fictitious jesters when it debates the influence of the jest-book on the early modern playwright’s creation of comic personae. This crisis is caused by critics’ scant regard for the confluence of literary, social, and commercial groupings in the London book trade and theatre business. Without seeing the formative process of the theory and practice of the jester, critics have remained dependent on the anthropological origin-pursuing and genealogy-identifying accounts of jesters with a list of supposed antecedents’ traits. Or they accept theatre historians’ conceptualisation of the jester based on early modern allusions to stage clowns.¹ In particular, play-text and dramaturgically oriented scholars have focused on early modern clowning’s departure from its ancestry, eventually rushing into generalisations on the comments of jesters and clowns as reflecting contemporary taste. Such an underlying misconception also fuels the myth that

¹ Classical studies of this sort are Enid Welsford’s *The Fool: His Social and Literary History* (London: Faber and Faber, 1935), and David Wiles’s *Shakespeare’s Clown: Actor and Text in the Elizabethan Playhouse* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987).

stage clowns developed from actual court jesters and their counterpart figures in literary works, despite the fact that the Elizabethan Court had no jester like Henry VIII's Will Summers.

Clowns and fools in Renaissance drama made an evolutionary development of fifty years' duration from 1590-1640. Their presence has been highlighted from anthropological and thematic viewpoints often limited to creating a sense of continuity from one bearer of clowning to another. This enduring influence on the study of clowns and fools originates from Enid Welsford, who traced their predecessors back to secular ceremonies. From an anthropological perspective, she examined how the fool was transmitted and transfigured into Lear's fool as clowning's culmination.² Without querying her conception of the fool's privilege of inhabiting separate social and literary realms, later critics such as William Willeford defined the fool as a figure segregated from society, functioning as a bringer of society to reason and 'normality'.³ Prior to Welsford in the early nineteenth century, Francis Douce listed the variety of fools and clowns, and Nathan Drake defined their traits in his archaeological survey. Though it is difficult to point to a singular tradition, both scholars abstracted a typical model for the fool from observed collections of merry tales and their heroes.⁴ Douce catalogued fool-type figures and their attributes, ranging from clothing and dancing to language; Drake studied the fool with reference to urban practices and rural folk customs. As a result, they gave the earliest indication that the fool was a phenomenon of his time. Similar ideas were put forward as recently as the 1960s, when Jan Kott asserted that

² Welsford, pp. 257-70.

³ William Willeford, *The Fool and His Scepter: A Study in Clowns and Jesters and Their Audience* (Chicago: Northwestern University Press, 1969).

⁴ Francis Douce, 'On the clowns and fools of Shakespeare', in *Illustrations of Shakespeare and of Ancient Manners: with Dissertations on the clowns and fools of Shakespeare; on the collection of popular tales entitled Gesta Romanorum; and on the English Morris Dance*, A New Edition (London: Thomas Tegg, 1839), pp. 497-518. Nathan Drake, *Shakespeare and His Times: including the Biography of the Poet; Criticisms on His Genius and Writings; a New Chronology of His Plays; a Disquisition on the Object of His Sonnets; and a History of the Manners, Customs, Amusements, Superstitions, Poetry, and Elegant Literature of His Age* (Paris: Baudry's European Library, 1838).

harlequin was the ‘original clown’, and he identified an English folkloric counterpart, Robin Goodfellow in Puck, as a harlequin that ‘knows all the gestures’, and has ‘the intelligence of a devil’.⁵ Sandra Billington ascribed a deeper meaning to fools in communities: they served ritualistically with restorative powers.⁶ Scholars of previous centuries considered fools by referring to folk customs: the clowning traditions observed in the Mysteries, the Moralities, and the *commedia dell’arte* flowed into the emerging figure of the clown and the fool. Their research was sustained by anthropological approaches, objectifying comic universalities from local detail.

Attention has been given not only to the interpretation of the role and meaning of clowns in play-texts, but also on how to revive the portrait of the comic actor through the analyses of performance. David Wiles has examined inheritances in performance between the two historical clown actors, Tarlton and Kemp. Tracking their techniques, as recorded in Elizabethan writings, Wiles considers the two actors in detailed relation to each other, and as key indices to Elizabethan clowning. Wiles suggests that Armin was a different kind of clown, who left theatrical clowning to theorise the form. The most basic question, how clown actors developed clowning in the Elizabethan period, remains obscure.

Most recently, Robert Hornback has provided an overview of clown traditions, examining clowns’ roles in delivering religious and political satire. He surveys English clowns in their consistent role of commentator, and focuses on how the fools of different genres and periods crossed the boundaries to be integrated finally into one English clown type.⁷ Hornback includes religious, political, and ideological elements as ‘an animating spark

⁵ Jan Kott, *Shakespeare Our Contemporary*, trans. by Boleslaw Taborski (London: Methuen, 1964), pp. 132-33, and pp. 71-72.

⁶ Sandra Billington, *A Social History of the Fool* (Brighton: Harvester, 1984); Also see Sandra Billington, *Mock Kings in Medieval Society and Renaissance Drama* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1991).

⁷ Robert Hornback, *The English Clown Tradition from the Middle Ages to Shakespeare* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2009).

in the comic repertoire of much Renaissance clowning'.⁸ He argues that the men in religious and festive cycle plays and interludes from Medieval to Tudor comic set pieces, who emphasised folly rather than evil, were due to become official clowns. Compounding the difficulty of medieval clowning figures in the Renaissance clown tradition cannot be entirely settled in the ideological arena. For example, the distinction between the reception of the medieval Vice between court and rural communities is historically complex.

The chief problem common to scholars of both the anthropological and the theatrical positions is that the idiosyncratic nature of English clowning and its development has never been singled out. Criticism has ignored the difference between the theatrical and the textualised clown. In other words, the difference between concept and performance has become confused. To avoid reaching the same broad conclusion — that the clown figure is a universal cultural asset of humanity — we need to clarify the object of study. Moreover, the clown's emergence and decline have not been discussed as a swift and powerful progress toward becoming indispensable in early modern drama. Printing as a material manifestation of the fool has been equally ignored, yet print, with its social impact, was instrumental in changing the nature of reproducing the clown both on and off stage.

Theatre historians rely on a textualised image of Tarlton in print, not a theatrical representation. They reconstructed Tarlton based on references to him as a member of the Queen's Men and to the description in Richard Brome and Ben Jonson.⁹ The image of Tarlton in *Tarlton's Jestes* (and even on the jacket of Welsford's book), repeatedly reproduced in later publications, forms a preconception that confuses modern scholarship. Projected onto the biographical record or the London stage circumstances, these documents are bound to his

⁸ Ibid., p. 5.

⁹ For the study of Tarlton in the Queen's Men, see Scott McMillin, and Sally-Beth MacLean, *The Queen's Men and Their Plays* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998). Allusions to Tarlton in the play-text are found in Richard Brome's *The Antipodes* (II. 2) and Ben Jonson's *Bartholomew Fair* (Induction). See Chapter 4, Section 2 for details.

personal career. Theatre historians take up references to Tarlton from satiric writing and episodes from jest-books. The evidence from printed material was, however, posthumous, exaggerated and inaccurate. It should be questioned in what way Tarlton was profiled, as long as the effect of conflating allusions to him from the theatre and in print prevails.

Tarlton's Jests, a biographical jest-book, complicates our understanding of English clowns at the outset. Critics equate the practical jokes presented in the jest-book with stage clowning. Pamela Allen Brown, for example, in her discussion of *The Taming of the Shrew*, sees Petruchio's grotesque disturbing playfulness as coming from 'native clowns and jesters, such as Tarlton and Scogan', and argues that some of the misogynistic jests have scatological and obscene aspects in common with the jest-book, citing an example from *Tarlton's Jests*.¹⁰ Linda Woodbridge emphasises that Shakespeare's jesters and the jest-book heroes are common in their ambiguous origin, roots and background.¹¹ Without giving conclusive support to her own analysis, S. P. Cerasano states the jest-books which include anecdotes attributed to Tarlton bear witness to 'his legendary wit'.¹² Thus, scholars ignore a functional and interactive link between the stage and the page. They privilege jest-book heroes to transcend the differences of class, vocation, and community, and end up in using the jesters' social mobility for the purpose of explaining the clown figure in drama as a ubiquitous presence.

Likewise, images gathered through jest-books are superimposed upon the critics' interpretation of the clown/fool in the play. In his survey of the theatrical history of clowns and fools, Peter Thomson defines the clown as a rustic, witty character, who largely

¹⁰ Pamela Allen Brown, "'Fie, what a foolish duty call you this?'" *The Taming of the Shrew*, Women's Jest, and the Divided Audience', in *A Companion to Shakespeare's Works, Volume III: The Comedies*, ed. by Richard Dutton and Jean E. Howard (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2003), pp. 289-306 (p. 294).

¹¹ Linda Woodbridge, *Vagrancy, Homelessness, and English Renaissance Literature* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2001), pp. 143-44.

¹² S. P. Cerasano, 'Must the Devil Appear?: Audiences, Actors, Stage Business', in *A Companion to Renaissance Drama*, ed. by Arthur Kinney (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2002), pp. 193-211 (p. 206).

developed from the description of the legendary Tarlton in performance in *Tarlton's Jests*.¹³ He then observes that Kemp created in the audience's mind the image of 'the clever actor behind the character of a simpleton'.¹⁴ Thomson never clarifies the traffic between the jest-book and playwrights' creations of the clown and the fool.

One remaining problem is textuality. Speculating that theatrical knavish characters were developed for boy actors, Thomson states, 'Unlike the clown and the fool, the knave is fully engaged in the plot, and that engagement limits the range of his comedy'. To reason this, Thomson proposes 'a downgrading of the philosophical significance of folly in Stuart London'.¹⁵ His speculation cannot be applied to knavish Autolycus, who as a rogue consistently creates chaos with his laughter-making performance throughout the play. It is indeed a central question how changes in clowning developed. It is also essential to consider whether the clown, the fool, and the knave are related in one single genealogy, and may be recapitulated as a 'text' literarily, or theatrically. The evolution of clowns and fools runs across the progress of culturally multi-factorial — printing-based and performative — relationships. The problem of differentiation may be solved when the origin of the clown and the fool is identified: divergence is a result of application and adaptation from the source material.

An understanding of the frequency of printing and the economic mobility of jest-book texts among the printers' network eliminates the confusion of the character in the play-text, the actor on stage, and printed and theatrical evidence. To examine the complexity of the print history of jest-books, the present study emphasises the limitation of the existing all-inclusive criticism which creates the myth of the clown. It is axiomatic that the clowns and fools alike

¹³ Peter Thomson, 'Clowns, fools and knaves: stages in the evolution of acting', in *The Cambridge History of British Theater, Volume 1: Origins to 1660*, ed. by Jane Milling and Peter Thomson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 407-23.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 411-14. Peter Thomson owed his interpretation much to David Wiles's speculation.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 423.

studied here are mainly Shakespeare's because their notable contemporary development was marked in relation to the actual clown actors and the jest-book printing which prospered during the period.

1 Departure from the Clown Myth in Twentieth Century Criticism

Mikhail Bakhtin's *Rabelais and His World: Carnival and Grotesque* focuses on the ideological significance of carnival, and the carnivalesque in western history.¹⁶ Through his study of laughter, festive forms and imagery, violence and the grotesque body, he presents carnival images as associated with the idea of the world turned upside down and the concept of renewal. His carnival theory was and has still been applied to the drama of Shakespeare and his contemporaries. Because of its interest in folk and festive customs, the Bakhtinian reading of Shakespeare also attracts cultural historians and historicists. These scholars conceptualise the plays' political aspects with close examination of ideologies and symbolic elements; as a result, they suppose that the fool's function in the play is to destabilise society and then reaffirm its norms such as order and established hierarchies. Thus, his notion is now generally accepted and some scholars show a variety of possible ways of reading derived from the Bakhtinian approach.

But paradoxically, it resulted in narrowing the scope of literary criticism when Bakhtin's ideas were incorporated into the theories of their own specialised work. In the beginning of the second half of the twentieth century, a substantial amount of anthropological study was brought to light showing that Shakespearean fools and clowns had access to folkloric materials and customs together with the tradition of carnival. Later, they emphasised the fool as a universal figure in the carnival, adapting cultural historians' approach to the

¹⁶ Mikhail Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World*, trans. by Helene Iswolsky (Cambridge, Mass.: M. I. T. Press, 1968).

drama. Confining the clown and the fool in one single mould, they minimised their significance in drama, contrary to their original aim of giving them more significance.

Bakhtin's study, on the other hand, directed scholars' interests to popular culture. This was endorsed by Robert Weimann and Michael Bristol. Rather than focusing on historicist background conceptualising, Weimann sees Shakespeare's plays as interrelating with the tradition of the theatre and reflecting the popular culture of the time. Not only stressing the links between the fool's function in the play, and the meaning of his transgression and inversion, but also confirming the fool's ritual dimension and his wide circulation in the play-text as a representative of the plebeians, he insists that the fool is a theatrical product and the functional agent representing the existing situations of Elizabethan England.¹⁷ Bristol recognises the importance of Bakhtinian carnival theory, viewing 'Carnival as a concrete social reality in the context of early modern Europe' and proposes that 'Carnival can be interpreted in the light of [...] reconciliatory functions'.¹⁸

In the last quarter of the twentieth century, as David Scott Kastan argues, there have been many different critical approaches, creating a pluralism of critical methodology in Shakespeare studies.¹⁹ Scholars brought together various and diversified approaches under a large umbrella of theoretical backing, but unfortunately some resulted in the mere refashioning of previously existing work. Reinforcing the symbolic nature of the fool, they ended in interpreting his functional role as that of the stereotypical fool figure, a trickster or a personification of Vice. Other studies of the fool came down to a similar conclusion as carnival theory: that the fool is a vent for anomalies to turn a disorderly society or community

¹⁷ Robert Weimann, *Shakespeare and the Popular Tradition in the Theater: Studies in the Social Dimension of Dramatic Form and Function*, trans. by Robert Schwartz (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978).

¹⁸ Michael D. Bristol, *Carnival and Theatre: Plebeian Culture and the Structure of Authority in Renaissance England* (New York: Methuen, 1985), p. 25.

¹⁹ David Scott Kastan, 'Shakespeare after Theory', *Textus*, 9 (1996), 357-74.

back to normal.

The history of studying the fool reflects a wide spectrum of interests, with varying degrees of interdisciplinary approach. Any study of stage clowns and fools must take into account Keith Thomas's 'The Place of Laughter in Tudor and Stuart England'.²⁰ He long ago pointed out the influence of jest-books on the comic figures on the stage and in the literary sector. His insight into the parallel development of comic figures and jest-book heroes gives reason to examine the nature of laughter presented in jest-books in relation to the change of merry-making in the later literary works. The study of print culture, especially including the circulation of cheap printed broadside ballads, inevitably incorporates the reception of printed documents among the common people. Historians in this field have examined how the works reached print and how far they were circulated in print to show the demand of the people of the time, and the supply of the publisher, as well as contemporary literacy. The heroes in the jest-book and the merry tales such as Tarlton and Scoggin are plausibly favourite clown figures for the unlearned audience from medieval times, and the circulation of mirthful tales seems to demonstrate the peculiar role of the jester.²¹ The exceptional evidence drawn from print culture studies contributes to our revision of the fool character and the culture which accepted him.

2 Visible Fools: Developing Print Culture

Many literary critics have macroscopically deployed the Bakhtinian practice of analysis as an interpretative tool for demystifying the fool and the clown, and explained the fool as a functionary figure at work in the drama. New Historicism examines fools and clowns as

²⁰ Keith Thomas, 'The place of laughter in Tudor and Stuart England', *TLS*, January 21, 1977, pp. 77-81.

²¹ Stanley J. Kahrl, 'The Medieval Origins of the Sixteenth-century English Jest-books', *Studies in the Renaissance*, 13 (1966), 166-83; Tessa Watt, 'Introduction', in *Cheap Print and Popular Piety 1550-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 1-8.

counter-norms of power, representations of subversion, which in turn enforce the structures of power in the society from which they are marginalised. They place their non-normative presence into a dominant discourse that seeks to control all. In this account, the fool and the clown are regarded as operational models of ideological control, social movement and practice, or a political cause, and thereby they are often named as tricksters for the existent culture.²²

However, the outcome of such a reading is not genuinely rooted in nor produced upon English soil. The limits of the application of anthropological reading are often trans-historical, trans-cultural, and cross-cultural. They raise the question of what constitutes history, and by what process dynamics and national histories are made and sustained. Approving the expansion given by Clifford Geertz's claim that 'progress' lies in the 'accouplement' in the two combined study fields, Catherine Gallagher and Stephen Greenblatt take up the importance of anecdotes, for they reassure 'the touch of the real' or the factual writing in everyday life.²³ Rather than being constrained by disciplinary divisions between history and literary studies, or conceptualising the dominant public narrative, or master narrative, they admit that a counter-history gives voice to the people of the domestic sphere. They focus on what effect and what function the ideas in the anecdotes have conveyed when they discuss the anecdotes as the founding narratives of the citizenry and the townspeople.²⁴ Realising the

²² As Gallagher and Greenblatt acknowledge, their appropriative readings of Clifford Geertz's anthropological achievement have advanced New Historicist practice. Stephen Greenblatt, 'The Touch of the Real', *Representations*, 59, Special Issue: The Fate of "Culture": Geertz and Beyond (1997), 14-29 (repr. in Catherine Gallagher and Stephen Greenblatt, *Practicing New Historicism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), pp. 20-48); Catherine Gallagher, 'Counterhistory and the Anecdote', in *Practicing New Historicism*, ed. by Catherine Gallagher and Stephen Greenblatt (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), pp. 49-74.

²³ Gallagher, pp. 49-74 (p. 49). Greenblatt and Gallagher, in explaining the significance of studying anecdotes, point out that 'at the very least, "history" could be imagined as part of their contingency, a component of their time-bound materiality, and element of their unpredictability'.

²⁴ Gallagher furthers the idea that the use of anecdotes 'has [...] been counterpoised against more ambitiously comprehensive historical narratives' (p. 54).

significance of anecdotes, which convey clowning in life in the literary form of social understanding, they miss how and why the transmission of ideas through print was achieved.

One indication by Peter Burke might be an answer: the introduction of a micro and macro historical perspective to the study of folklore. He explains that a turning point for historians was their 'increasing interest in the history of material culture as part of the history of everyday life'.²⁵ Such revision by historians creates a springboard for re-examining the mythic history of the fool. Situating fools and clowns as historical occurrences, who often inhabit society with the monarch and noble households as well as appearing onstage as an embodied state of innocence and wisdom, we can reveal the process of mythologizing the history of the fool in the narrative of English national identity. The engine that gives the study of folklore power to generate cooperation and conjunction with other disciplinary studies, and give meanings to such a collaboration, does not have merely a short-span and short-ranged scope. When it is applied to the study of the fool, its viewpoint and application to material culture invites an independent conclusion apart from a macro-historical or anthropological approach, which locates a trans-ethnic appropriation of diverse cultures as the universal recognition of the collective imagination.

The fool and the clown need to be explored from macro-historical and micro-historical perspectives. Placing clowns in a longer continuum of change, we can explore the interactive relationship between the environment, the context and the system around the changes of the clowning figure; conversely, questioning the mythic representation of clowning, we can examine the clown and the fool as cultural and historical embodiments of the cultures of both print and the theatre.

The long-lived fashion of the publication of jest-books did much to popularise the

²⁵ Peter Burke, 'History and Folklore: A Historiographical Survey', *Folklore*, 115 (2004), 133-39 (p. 137).

clowning character. The definition of the 'jests' book complicates the articulation of the idea of jester. The word 'jest-book' appeared in the eighteenth century, and prior to that 'merry tales' was the general term for the collection of jests in the sixteenth century.²⁶ From the fact that some of the anecdotes were transposed from the merry tales to the jest-books, a clear distinction should be made between the merry tales, which predated the jest-books, in order to discuss the development of these jest-books, and especially their transition from and transaction with the merry tales. It is worthwhile to note that the jest-books which pass under the name of clowns are the epitome of a transition to a new phase because they differ strikingly from the merry tales in their formation: composition, compilation, transmission, and contents. Despite the posthumous publication and the scant bibliographical information and records to locate them historically, these early modern jest-books with the name of specific clowns established a literary genre. Below the surface of this historical construction, the jest-book is a process by which the fashion of jesting was refined.

Some scholars have examined the jest-book within a relatively short span like the Tudor and the Stuart ages, or have used the popular memory presented in the jest-book as an instrument of examining the relationship with specific drama. However, the overall examination of this type of literature, especially its unique and recurring motifs in association with comic figures in the play-texts, has not been fully taken up. From the fact that the contents of the eighteenth century jest-books became different from those of previous times, viewing a cross-section of the jest-books of the specific times obscures the aim of their publication. The study of the clown/fool functions as a lever for the destruction of the

²⁶ Kahrl explains his use of 'jest book' in the discussion, noticing that the convenience of distinguishing 'jest book' from 'merry tales' (Kahrl, pp. 166-67, note 3). Jest-books are a collection of comic tales, which existed from middle ages in and outside England. Derek Brewer points out that their importance should be known in their own light to study how later authors depended on them and change and use them for their works. Derek Brewer, 'Introduction', in *Medieval Comic Tales*, 2nd edn, ed. by Derek Brewer (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1996), pp. xi-xxxiv.

monolithic rigid and long-standing view of clown/fool, and the fictions revolving around these figures.

To begin with, the representation of the clown and the fool in printed documents is a vital area for analysis. Marking how the fool and the clown appear in history through their figures as literary tropes, is fundamental to clarifying their presence. In particular, the jesters in the jest-book present different forms of figure from time to time in terms of their vocabulary, the subject matter of jesting, and their relationships with others. Some traits are deeply re-inscribed in contemporary pamphlets or prose documents. Taking the example of Tarlton, Alexandra Halasz, in her examination of print culture as a focus of anxieties of the time, states that ‘Tarlton’ becomes a generic name, the signifier of a generalised pleasure available in a variety of commodity forms and retail venues’ and argues that ‘Tarlton’s [authorial name] creates a fiction of individual production’. Indeed, with Halasz, Tarlton’s name works ‘metaphorically as well as metonymically’.²⁷ Tarlton himself is a kind of trope, a familiar and repeated symbol permeating written literature. The figure of Tarlton was reworked and networked in early modern literature to great effect. The linkage between the circulated figure as an intelligible body inhabiting the people’s shared interest in various printed materials relativises the historical reality of actual stage fools.

Once the printed literary body of the clown becomes visible, it also becomes clear that there is a crossover where the clown’s private body and the cultural body come together. This phenomenon can be traced back to its origins, and from varying micro-historical perspectives account for the fool’s final disappearance.

3 Clowning in Print

²⁷ Alexandra Halasz, *The Marketplace of Print: Pamphlets and the Public Sphere in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 65-70 (pp. 68-69).

The trend of the use of fools and clowns in early modern drama from the late sixteenth century to the interregnum is clear. The period begins with a flux of printed jest-books in which the jesting hero provokes laughter and confusion, and invites satiric views in readers' apprehension. These texts, whose hero is mainly modelled on a jester or a clown actor, are useful to the historians in that they reveal that foundation of clowning which is so entrenched as to be considered universal and ubiquitous.

The actual clown actor, Tarlton, was frequently referred to in many written works. Of these, *Tarlton's Jests* give reports of the clown in performance and print. The reports in the book, however, are mixed up with popular legendary tales or fables. At this distance of time and without firm evidence, we cannot prove that the published document is loyal to the authentic jests of Tarlton. However, it certainly clarifies that clowning of the late Elizabethan age meant a form of entertainment using an improvised, witty reply. Its publication in later times also proved that the stories about Tarlton attracted the people of the Jacobean age as well, even though Tarlton was a figure from the previous reign. In her discussion of the importance of Tarlton-related publications in the book trade, Alexandra Halasz defines that Tarlton 'becomes a celebrity image [...] by the work of others who make the representation of that speech performance simultaneously an icon of the pleasures available in the marketplace, particularly the marketplace of print, and a generally accessible repertoire of jokes and witty ripostes'.²⁸ She observes, based on the frequency of posthumous references to Tarlton, that writers used Tarlton's name for writing their own jokes and witticisms. It does not explore how his reception in posthumous writings occurred. Most importantly to be argued for the importance of the actor and *Tarlton's Jests*, the anecdotes about Tarlton in the jest-book not only provide the figure of a legendary clown to be preserved throughout the period when

²⁸ Alexandra Halasz, "'So beloved that men use his picture for their signs'": Richard Tarlton and the Uses of Sixteenth-Century Celebrity', *Shakespeare Studies*, 23 (1995), 19-38 (p. 32).

dramatists wrote roles for clowns, but also show how its publication supported clowns in performance.

After Tarlton, Shakespeare's contemporary actors Kemp and Armin complicated the clown myth. Shakespeare's clowns are visible in his company in terms of the developing role and language for the clown. Shakespeare is indebted to the existing early modern clown tradition. This indebtedness does not limit the creative ingenuity and invention of both the playwright and his actors. When these two actors developed a new form of clowning, Shakespeare advanced the clown figure beyond the stereotypical jesting in the source material. This goes to show that the Elizabethan and Jacobean stage clown tradition then marked a departure from the earlier matrix of clowning. This intertextuality between writing and acting was further processed by the two clowns' writing down of their own conceptions of clowning.

It is important to say at this juncture that the intangible nature of performance allows speculation about clowns and fools that has reinforced the myth of clowning. This inherent problem in the transcription of acting is dismissed when the clown idiom constituted in print is examined. The studies of Zachary Lesser and Lukas Erne associate printed materials with theatrical presentations in a critical move that centralises examination of the print industry. With 'the politics of publication' as Erne calls it, their approaches provide a theoretical basis for this study of the phenomenon of the growth of the clown, both on and offstage. Rather than embracing sentimental and nostalgic myths about early modern drama, they engage with how the play was immortalised in theatrical and printing practice, not with the institutionalised myth that Shakespeare wrote his plays for stage performance.²⁹ In the same vein, Tiffany Stern points out in her exploration of clowns that 'questions need to be raised about classifying surviving playbooks as showing or hiding signs of stage practices — or

²⁹ Lukas Erne, *Shakespeare as Literary Dramatist* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003); Zachary Lesser, *Renaissance Drama and the Politics of Publication: Readings in the English Book Trade* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

showing or hiding ‘literary’ features’.³⁰ Ian Munro clearly articulates in his essay on *Much Ado about Nothing*: ‘the early modern idea of wit, despite its inherently oral, theatrical, and impromptu character — and despite its apparent opposition to printed humor in *Much Ado* — is something that is always subtended by print and print culture’.³¹ This platform provides a new scope for approaches to redefine fools and clowns as literary material as well as theatrical entertainers.

This study will clarify how the unified identity which many critics give clowns and fools in the existing criticism hardly applies to every comic character. Bridging the divide between theatre historians and literary critics, this study takes up the print industry as the agent of tracing clowns and fools in Renaissance drama. The first half of this study will examine how the clowning figure passed into the dramatic texts from the literary texts, especially through jest-book printing. Chapter 1 provides a concise history of the printed jest-book, tracing the development of the English book industry and focusing on particular presses. *Scoggin’s Jests*, has a familiar jester as its hero. It was republished in 1626, 60 years after the first publication of 1566. The record of reprinting this old-dated jest-book includes the extension from the first clown actor Tarlton to Armin. When this publication history is read back onto the emergence and development of early modern clowns and fools, it will confirm Keith Thomas’s insight that the clown and the jest-book had a parallel development during the early modern period.

The second chapter examines common or recurring motifs in jest-books and how the jest-book materials were made to fit into the particular contexts of the plays. As long as the jest-book is a source of clowning in plays, its appeal promises comical repertoires. This examination foregrounds the significance of jests responsible for specific comic scenes. It locates the primary text for the legitimation of clowns and fools and the emergence of their

³⁰ Tiffany Stern, *Documents of Performance in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), p. 252.

³¹ Ian Munro, ‘Shakespeare’s Jestbook: Wit, Print, Performance’, *ELH*, 71 (2004), 89-113.

role in plays. It also examines the relationship between the clown in the play-text and the jest-book anecdotes in order to expose the clown role often mystified in modern interpretation. In addition, by following the changes in jest-books, the way in which the fool departed from early modern theatre in the late seventeenth century will be considered. With the shift in the characterisation of a clownish figure on the stage, the later clowns tend to undergo emotional change or growth, and have a greater influence on other characters who encounter conflict and are changed by it.

The examination of jest-book motifs is followed by consideration of actual actors' names in the growth of the clown. Taking up *Tarlton's Jests*, the third and fourth chapters will discuss the influence of Richard Tarlton: firstly, he was historically accepted as a brand or influential name in literary texts relating to contemporary religious controversy and pamphlet writing; and secondly he became a model of the clown actor, admired in literary texts such as epigrams and play-texts. The existing myth of Tarlton will be deciphered to explain the evolution of the English clown through this recognisable, immortalised clown. Textualised, Tarlton was endowed with a material identity, which completes the coming-into-being of clowns and fools in early modern play-texts.

The second half of this study relates to performative clowning and the fools printed in the play-texts. The two chapters respectively focus on Kemp and Armin. Unlike Tarlton, a literary figure mentioned mainly in the jest-book and in the pamphlet, Kemp and Armin are physically more explicable because of their own writings and their actual acting preserved in play-texts. Kemp's morris dancing will be viewed as theatrical and topical. In addition, Kemp's *Nine Days' Wonder* can be read as a commentary on contemporary jesting in performance. This section demonstrates that these aspects in Kemp resonated in Elizabethan clowning and its reception. But Armin also promotes the model of the natural fool in his

jest-book, which echoes throughout Shakespeare's writing. His written contribution to the creation of *King Lear*'s great fool comes to be perceived as a marriage of both an artificial and a natural fool. This chapter demonstrates how this strategy threatened to end the role of conventional clowns and fools in theatrical repertoires.

In the seventh chapter, where the two strands from the jest-book and the actors as primary agencies are combined in discussion, I consider how Shakespeare's major fools took key roles in the growth of the English clown tradition. After the boom in jest-book publication, the clown actors' activities, and the retirement and death of Shakespeare, marked a watershed for the creation of clowning in theatrical practice. The last chapter turns to Heywood and Dekker, who invented new possibilities for clowning. Establishing clowning figures' generic affiliation with the jest-book material, the chapter aims at analysing how the jest-book complements the dramatists' attraction to its contents, and what was finally brought to drama by the jest-book oriented clowns.

Part I: Jest as Book

Chapter 1

Jest-book Formation through the Early Modern Printing Industry:

The Two Different Editions of *Scoggin's Jests*

The confusion and conflation of differently originated jester figures date back to Shakespeare's time. *Scoggin's Jests* is often seen as the primary source of jesting material along with *Tarlton's Jests*. The apparent identity of these jests with named figures somewhat obscured the true identity of jesters.¹ Modern editors identify the socially ambiguous jester Scoggin in Shallow's episodic recollection of Falstaff, who breaks 'Scoggin's head at the court gate' in *Henry IV, Part 2* (III. 2. 28-29), as the jester to Edward IV. René Weis, in explaining that Scoggin's name was 'synonymous with "buffoon" in Shakespeare's day through a mid sixteenth-century jestbook, *Scoggin, his iestes*', comments that the reference demonstrates that 'even the young Falstaff was always brawling with various buffoons'.² Weis and other editors simply deduce that Shakespeare's misunderstanding resulted from the circulated name of Scoggin, and they do not show any evidence how the conflation occurred. Nonetheless, Shakespeare's reference to Scoggin admits his familiarity in the late sixteenth century, for the jest-book printing went along with the development of theatrical clowns over a 50 year time span from 1590 to 1640. The jest-book was a social product of the printing

¹ R. W. Maslen defines 'biographical jest-books' as 'story-collections centred round the exploits of a single comic figure', following on Margaret Schlaugh's discussion on 'enchained anecdotes in biographical form', gives the stories of the jesting hero who is given a biographical sequence and form. See R. W. Maslen, *Shakespeare and Comedy* (London: Thomson Learning, 2006), pp. 24-44 (p. 28); and see also Margaret Schlaugh, *Antecedents of the English Novel 1400-1600* (London: Oxford University Press, 1963), pp. 90-99. By contrast, Derek Brewer points out that the jest-book heroes such as Scoggin and Skelton are not real jesters but rather fictitious jesters created in the jest-book. He results in minimising his scope for the Elizabethan clowning when he mixes up real and fictitious jester/clown figures. Derek Brewer, 'Elizabethan Merry Tales and *The Merry Wives of Windsor*: Shakespeare and "popular" literature', in *Chaucer to Shakespeare: Essays in Honour of Shinsuke Ando*, ed. by Toshiyuki Takamiya and Richard Beadle (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1992), pp. 145-59.

² René Weis, ed., *Henry IV, Part 2*, The Oxford World's Classics (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997); A. R. Humphreys also notes that 'Shakespeare's audience would probably associate Scoggin rather with John Scoggin', and attributes the confusion to the circulated name of Scoggin as a buffoon due to the jest book with his name in its title (A. R. Humphreys, ed., *The Second Part of King Henry IV*, The Arden Shakespeare [London: Methuen, 1966], p. 97).

industry and was influential when it had a renowned figure in its title. The print history of the jest-book is rather complex, but the case of *Scoggin's Jests*, is a good example of clarifying the process of generating the jest-book during the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and it will help illustrate the way it was familiarised with the publisher and the reader, and accordingly, the literary writer.

The use of Scoggin's name indicating his status as a high-profile jester involved his appearance beyond literary genres, such as in an influential guidebook to herbal medicines and their application, jest-books, pamphlet books and play-texts. Credited with the same distant roots in the fifteenth century jester in the court of Edward IV, Scoggin appeared differently in the two separate editions of the so-called *Scoggin's Jests*. As has been well-documented, the publication and reception history of the content of the two editions is complex due to the discrepancy of chronology. The 1626 edition, which was published fifty years after its entry to the Stationers' Register is, in fact, the first version of the text, and shows Scoggin's various tendencies and his engagement in wide-ranging comic action narratives. Despite the fact that there were no perfect editions published in the sixteenth century, the fundamental contents of the sixteenth century edition are preserved in the contents of the 1626 edition. The later contents though published earlier in 1613, are derived from the 1626 edition, and narrow Scoggin's interests and pleasures down to ridiculing clerical or self-important figures during his knavish adventures in Rome. The differences in the representation of the two Scoggins show how the figure developed, and reveal the willful intentions of literary agents in the printing industry as well as in pamphlet writing, and, accordingly, in the later stage performances. Of the two editions, the 1626 provides folkloric elements more noticeably, and its naïvete of clowning was reflected in early modern drama. Therefore, referring back to the original Scoggin in the 1626 edition demonstrates how and

why emerging laughing materials were conserved in the history of clowning. Subsequent examinations of the 1613 edition then clarify the correlation between shifting jesting styles and the development of theatrical clowning during the seventeenth century. Both texts of *Scoggin's Jests* are particularly useful in testifying to the rest of the jest-books a pathway between the writers who used the jester's name and traits and their readers and audience. As a typical example of the 'biographical jest-book' in early modern England, *Scoggin's Jests* brings us a vivid picture of the relationship between the cultural construction and the cultural reproduction of jesting and jesters. In order to demonstrate the emerging jester figure in the presentational text of jesters of early modern England, this chapter will see what the name of Scoggin conveyed, how the jest-book compilers utilised the name of a famous clown figure, how and for what purpose the biographical jest-book was created, and what elements of the jest-book merged into the idea of clowning.

In the nineteenth century, William Carew Hazlitt, the editor of *Shakespeare Jest-books* (1864) included *Scoggin's Jests* in the list of the source jest-books for Shakespeare. He highlighted the importance of *Scoggin's Jests*, with reference to its publication history and the later allusions to the work. At the same time, he questioned the establishment of Scoggin's status as its jesting hero:

It would be a curious point to ascertain whether the anecdotes common to these collections and to "Scoggin's Jests," do not refer to the same person; and whether Scoggin is not in fact the hero of many of the pranks attributed to the "Scholars of Oxford," the "Youngman," the "Gentleman," &c. in the following pages [of *A Hundred Merry Tales* and *Merry Tales and Quick Answers*] which were in existence many years before the first publication of *Scoggins Jests*.³

³ W. Carew Hazlitt, 'Introduction.', in *Shakespeare Jest-books; Reprints of the Early and Very Rare Jest-books Supposed to Have Been Used by Shakespeare*, ed. by W. Carew Hazlitt, 3 vols (London: Willis & Sotheran, 1864), I, i-x (p. vii). *A Hundred Merry Tales* was published in 1526, and *Merry Tales and Quick Answers* in around 1532: Anon, *A Hundred Merry Tales* ([London: J. Rastell, 1526?]); Anon, *The Merry Tales of Skelton* (London: Imprinted [...] by Thomas Colwell, [1567]). *Scoggin's Jests*, here taken up by Hazlitt, was entered into the Stationers' Register in 1565-66, was published at least 30 years after the publications of the above listed merry tales. For a full discussion, see his introduction to *Scoggin's Jests* in *Shakespeare Jest-books*, II, 38-45 (pp. 38-40).

His suggestive remarks have not been contested until today, but unfortunately have also not been ‘ascertained’. Hazlitt, by tracing back the printing history to its ascribed author, Andrew Boorde, also presumed that the 1626 edition of *Scoggin’s Jests* was the later edition of the one which had been licensed to Thomas Colwell, a successor to Robert Wyer, one of Boorde’s printers. As for the authorship of these old jest-books, he noted that they were ‘the composition of hack-writers’.⁴ It is for the most part true that hack-writers, exploiting famous jesters’ name for the market, anonymously created their own writings.⁵ However, the problem of the jest-book formation requires more extensive elucidation. If we turn to the dissemination of the jest-book through compiling, editing, printing, transmission and reprinting, we have access to the root of Shakespeare’s idea of clowning, which resides in it.⁶

Taking up the two editions of *Scoggin’s Jests*, I propose to discuss some aspects of Scoggin as an icon for the process of generating the jest-book. I also propose to discuss what I view as a major role of the printers-publishers of jest-books in the transmission of licences to print, namely, the question of how it is related to the early modern formation of the jest-book. An individual name on the jest-book title, such as *Tarlton’s Jests* and *Peele’s Jests*, established itself in jest-book printing and became part of the advertising and commercial techniques.

Regarding the first issue, it is argued that the making of *Scoggin’s Jests* is tangible. Although it was popular with writers and readers of Elizabethan England, Scoggin’s character has been largely ignored in the study of jest-book tradition. Through a review of relevant

⁴ Hazlitt, ‘Introductory Notice’, in *Shakespeare Jest-books*, II, v-xi (pp. vi-viii).

⁵ Halasz, describing another famous clown actor Tarlton as one of the celebrities of the time, observes that the early modern writers, printers or publishers used a big name as a convenient tool for sales promotion (Halasz, “‘So beloved that men use his picture for their signs’”, pp. 19-38).

⁶ Hazlitt conjectured in his discussion of Shallow’s reference to Scoggin in *2 Henry IV*, ‘What Shakespeare’s idea of Scoggin was, it is not very easy to determine; but there can be little doubt that the pranks and drolleries of the latter [Scoggin] were the only qualities which carried his name down to posterity, even if Holinshed be correct in his intimation that he was not quite so much of a black guard and buffoon as the Jests represent him to have been’ (Hazlitt, II, 41-42).

contemporary literature, such as Holinshed's *Chronicles*, this chapter will first determine what Scoggin is and what 'Scoggin' means. Several vague explanations celebrated the character of Scoggin in combining accounts of 'a poet', 'a scholar', and 'a jester', but they contradict each other. Such multi-identification is also found in *Peele's Jests*: the title reads '*Merrie conceited iests of George Peele Gentleman, sometimes a student in Oxford. VWherein is shewed the course of his life how he liued: a man very well knowne in the Citie of London and elsewhere*'.⁷ Therefore, this paper will give an explicit definition to 'Scoggin' in order to clarify the nature of the character as a purposely created icon for profit.

A second contentious issue is the matter of trademark-trade symbol. An effective personality fostered in Scoggin's name was an advantage for tradespeople of the early modern print industry, whether the character was real or fictitious. Though the jest-book formation lies in an as yet underdeveloped concept of copyright in the modern sense,⁸ early modern printers-publishers, especially the jest-book printers-publishers needed to be able to act as compatible agents in the field of editors-compilers, in order to confer autonomy and conformity on their products. In the process, the editors-compilers consolidate the existing repertoire and prefigure as a new one, presenting the whole as unified and coherent from the outset. Such strategies are found in different titles but substantially the same texts, i.e. 'renamed' works such as *The Cobbler of Canterbury* in 1590 (reprinted with another title, *The*

⁷ Anon, *Peele's Jests* (London: Printed by Nicholas Okes for Francis Faulkner and Henry Bell [etc.], 1607).

⁸ The legal copyright as the right to an intellectual property was enacted in the eighteenth century, but prior to the Copyright Act of 1709, the idea of copyright claimed from the writers' side existed. Lukas Erne quotes George Wither's claim of the stationers' usurpation of the writers' rights — the stationers 'take vppon them to publish bookes contriued, althered, and mangled at their owne pleasures, without consent of the writhers' — and concludes 'the *idea* of copyright as the right of the author was not absent from Renaissance England' (Erne, pp. 8-10). George Wither, *The Scholar's Purgatory* ([London]: Imprinted [by G. Wood] for the honest Stationers, 1624), sig. A5^v. Once the author gave his manuscript to a printer, he no longer had control over it. And it was occasionally approved that more than two printers printed different editions under the consent of the same bookseller who held 'the right to a copy'. I will use, therefore, 'licence' for the permission of printing, publishing, using an elusive term, avoiding the confusion between 'copyright' — the legal right of both the author's and the publisher's — in a modern sense, and the early modern printer's-publisher's licence to use the original text.

Merry Tales of the Cobbler of Canterbury in 1614 and *The Tinker of Turvey* in 1630), or in the present example of *Scoggin's Jest*s.⁹ The printers-compilers' choice of framework and style is one of the secondary elements that Gérard Genette calls the paratext of a printed book.¹⁰ The title and the expository subtitle precede the text, and are presented in isolation on the title page. Set differently in each design and description, the title pages of the two Scoggin books affect the information the reader receives. The printers-publishers implemented the subtitles as a measure to give freshness to the book published more than 50 years after its first entry to the Stationers' Register. While the 1613 edition by an anonymous author reads '*Scoggins iests. Wherein is declared his pleasant pastimes in France, and of his merriments among the fryers: full of delight and honest mirth*', the 1626 edition reads '*The first and best part of Scoggins iests: full of witty mirth and pleasant shift done by him in France, and other places: being a preseruatiue against melancholy, Gathered by Andrew Boord, Doctor of Physicke*'.¹¹

The scope for the printing circumstances seems to be limited to a conceptual framework for examining the cultural values of the printed materials. Revolving around the question of cultural values, this discourse fails to exceed the limits of the same reductive conception of high literature in the sense of a better understanding of select artefacts as refined trade materials. The prevailing notion, that low literature such as ballads and broadsides of topical, ephemeral, and local interest, jest-books, and chapbooks was less important in the literary genre notwithstanding, the discourse helps to confer power to the printers-publishers and

⁹ Anon, *The Tinker of Turvey* (London: Printed for Nathaniel Butter [etc.], 1630); Anon, *The Cobbler of Canterbury* (London: Printed by Robert Robinson, 1590); Anon, *The Cobbler of Canterbury (The Merry Tales of the Cobbler of Canterbury)* (London: Printed [by Thomas Snodham] for Nathaniel Butter [etc.], 1614).

¹⁰ Quoting Philippe Lejeune's word, Genette defines the paratext as 'the fringe of the printed text which, in reality, controls the whole reading.' Gérard Genette, 'Introduction to the Paratext', *New Literary History*, 22 (1991), 261-72 (p. 1).

¹¹ Anon, *The 1613 Scoggin's Jest*s (London: Printed by Ralph Blower [etc.], 1613); Andrew Boorde, *Scoggin's Jest*s (London: Printed [by Miles Flesher] for Francis Williams, 1626). Other than the 1613 and 1626 editions, there is the fragment published by Thomas Colwell around 1570 (STC 21850.3).

consolidate and enlarge it.¹² This discourse also fails to deal with the publishing process as a mechanism, indispensable for the organisation and evolution of active literary circles. The printer's-publisher's commitment to the components of a printed book was made on an individual judgment, but when it was demonstrated, the printer-publisher took the advantage of holding 'the right to copy', i.e. the licence, and/or the copy-text.¹³ Possessing and controlling the copy, the printer-publisher played a pivotal role in establishing foundations for a flourishing printing industry. As the product of this process, *Scoggin's Jestes* can be seen as the logical outcome of marketing activities by those involved in the business of writing and publishing.

The 1613 edition and the 1626 edition are each independent and unique, between whose licences the stationers seemed to make no attempt to distinguish: despite the differences in its contents from the 1626 edition, the 1613 edition had no record of its first entry. Furthermore, its licence was not discriminated from that of the 1626 edition; and it was printed with the same description 'Scoggin's Jestes' in the Stationers' Register. The difference which lies

¹² Watt, taking up cheap print, argues for its role as a tool to enlighten the unlearned with the effect of attached illustrations, and then she concludes that it was a form of religious literature exploited by the protestant (Tessa Watt, 'A godly ballad to a godly tune', in *Cheap Print and Popular Piety 1550-1640* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991], pp. 39-73). Annabel Patterson, by contrast, focusing on the middle class reader in her discussion on Holinshed's *Chronicles*, argues that the customary practice of writing chronicles was supported by the syndicate of printers-publishers who worked on the principles of populism. She identifies anecdotes as a relaying tool from the state and the individual which supplies historical perspectives and defined that they serve as one of the 'protocols' for chronicles (Annabel Patterson, *Reading Holinshed's "Chronicles"* [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994]). Both concern the cultural values of printed books and further their discussion to explore their political and religious objectives.

¹³ Throughout this essay I will use 'copy' in a limited sense, to refer to the manuscript submitted to the Stationers' Company to be printed, and 'copy-text' as the printer's copy. The term 'copy-text' was McKerrow's to give the authority to the original printer's edition (*The Works of Thomas Nashe*, ed. by Ronald B. McKerrow, 2nd edn, rev. by F. P. Wilson, 5 vols [Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1958], I, p. xi). Later, W. W. Greg set forth his own copy-text theory, and distinguished an authoritative text in which the printer could have corrected some accidental mechanical — punctuational and orthographical — mistakes, from ones with substantive editorial emendations — the replacement of words or phrases (W. W. Greg, 'The Rationale of Copy-Test', *Studies in Bibliography*, 3 [1950-51], 20-37). As Peter Blayney explains, the ownership of a copy was not a legalised right, and the Stationers' Company had no jurisdiction over the copy. Peter Blayney, 'The Publication of Playbooks', in *A New History of Early English Drama*, ed. by John D. Cox and David Scott Kastan (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), pp. 383-422 (pp. 398-99).

behind their ostensible resemblance in shaping the hero's adventure hides the collaborative authorship-editorship among those who could hold the manuscript or copy-text. In addition, viewing one as the continuation of the other underestimates the specific weight of two separate jest-books as accumulative reservoirs which contain tales of the same kind. The formation of the jest-books is a compound product of both a long-term process and the short-term process of shifting trends. In the entire creation of *Scoggin's Jestes*, the printers-publishers combined the editing practices with marketing strategies. Rather than locating their intervention to the normative process of publishing — the transference of the manuscript-copy directly from the writer to the printer —, it is more significant to configure how the printer-publisher of each jest-book contributed to the formation of the early modern jest-book.

1 The Enigmatic Identity of Scoggin

Scoggin's name supplied in the attributions of both the jest-books was used to great effect to certify the reading enjoyment, and the device was very effective in giving credence to jests. Douglas Gray defines John Scoggin [Scogan, Scogin, Skogyn] as 'an entirely fictitious character' and 'the "author" of a jest book', known as *The iestes of Skogyn*.¹⁴ In his explanation of another Scogan, he clearly distinguishes Henry Scogan [Scoggin] who is Chaucer's friend and a poet from the jester-author Scoggin. Gray concludes that the previous edition of *DNB* mixed up the two Scoggins because the legends of both Scoggins were associated with Oxford.¹⁵ Indeed, the previous *DNB* description depends on Holinshed's statement 'Skogan, a learnd gentleman, and student of for a time at Oxfordes, of a pleasaunte witte, and bente to mery devises'. Holinshed's remark on Scoggin's manner of speech, 'not in

¹⁴ Douglas Gray, 'Scoggin [Scogan, Scogin, Skogyn], John (*supp. fl.* 1480), *supposed court jester and author*', in *ODNB*.

¹⁵ Douglas Gray, 'Scogan [Scoggin], Henry (c.1361-1407), *poet*', in *ODNB*.

such uncivil manner as hath been of him reported' has already shown the disparity between the two portraits of Scoggin.¹⁶ The ambiguity of Holinshed's passage is made in the context of both his dependency on a jest-book and his praise of Scoggin's contribution to the establishment of English language:

[...] by diligent trauell of *Geoffray Chaucer*, and *Iohn Gowre*, in the time of Richard the second, and after them of *Iohn Scogan*, and *Iohn Lydgate* monke of Berrie, our said toong was brought to an excellent passé, notwithstanding that it neuer came vnto the type of perfection, vntill the time of Quéene Elizabeth [...].¹⁷

Holinshed does not separate the famous buffoon Scoggin from famous writers, though he writes about Scoggin's position as the foolish entertainer at Edward IV's court in his subsequent volume of the *Chronicles*. The confusion caused by Holinshed's ambiguous description lasts until the proposed definition by Gray. But according to the confused history, Scoggin's name always relates to the literary tradition and the comic court entertainment.

In the jest-book, Scoggin engages in a wide range of activities: as a scholar-jester, Scoggin lives in both the country and the city of Oxford, becomes a resident of London, and visits both the English and French courts. At all of these places, he plays tricks, mocks and deceives others, shows wit, and then ends up being buried at Westminster Abbey (the burial site for English monarchs) after his death.¹⁸ Is Scoggin more of a poet than a jester? Or is the praise of his presence drawn solely for amusement?

The source for the explanation that Henry Scogan is a poet is actually found not only in his friend Chaucer's writing, but also in his own writings. Earlier in the twentieth century, opposing Skeat's and others' view that Scogan was a respectable man, William Edward

¹⁶ Sidney Lee, 'Scogan or SCOGGIN, Henry (1361?-1407), *poet*', in the *DNB* archive in *ODNB*. Raphael Holinshed, *The Chronicles* (London: Printed [by Henry Denham] [etc.], [1587]), p. 710.

¹⁷ Holinshed, p. 14.

¹⁸ Likewise, George Peele in *Peele's Jests* is described as a gentleman and a student at Oxford. The posthumous jest-book (published in 1607 a decade after his death in 1597) gives his profile and continuing fame among Londoners. The relation between the jest-book and the London theatre business can be inferred from these biographical jest-books' titles.

Farnham finds Chaucer's *Envoy* has 'affectionate banter', and goes on to suggest that 'the poem rings truest as amicable raillery sent from one poet who knew fun when he saw it to another who did not always hold fast to wisdom of speech and who had that rarest gift of being able to find himself funny'.¹⁹ As in Farnham's suggestion, Chaucer admonishes Scogan, though he never forgets his respect for Scogan's talent of using his tongue, entertainingly creating a parallel between the outcome of his unfaithful affair and the revenge by Cupid for Venus' suffering from disappointment in love.²⁰ As a result of the image of Scoggin stretching to cover celebrated Oxford scholars and even the jester of Edward IV, the fifteenth century personage of a renowned poet was remodelled in the shape of a jester, and assumed the personage of jester Scoggin rather than poet Scoggin.

Furthermore, the allusions and references establish the cultural and political relevance of applying Scoggin's name to late sixteenth century literature. Scoggin's name was frequently evoked throughout the era and absorbed into English vocabulary: the name has variables, such as 'scogginism', 'scogginist', and 'scogginly'. The earliest Scoggin-related words — 'Scogginism' and 'Scogginist' — were used in 1593 by Gabriel Harvey in *Pierce's Supererogation*, presenting his coined words twice: 'The Ciceronian may sleepe, til the Scogginist hath plaid his part: One sure Conny-catcher, woorth twenty Philosophers', and 'They that haue leysure, [...] may peruse his guegawes with indifferency: and finde no Art, but Euphuisme; no witt, but Tarletonisme; no honesty, but pure Scogginisme; no Religion, but precise Marlowisme'.²¹ Harvey parallels Ciceronian and Scogginist, and presents Scoggin's name as a 'conny-catcher', a person of differently intellectual and sophisticated quality, but

¹⁹ William Edward Farnham, 'John (Henry) Scogan', *Modern Language Review*, 16 (1921), 120-28 (pp. 127-28).

²⁰ 'Alas Scogan of olde folke ne yong, / Was neuer erst Scogan blamed for his tong' (ll. 20-21). Geoffrey Chaucer, *The Works of Our Ancient, Learned, and Excellent English Poet, Jeffrey Chaucer* (London: [s.n.], 1687), p. 568.

²¹ Gabriel Harvey, *Pierce's Supererogation* (London: Imprinted by John Wolfe, 1593), p. 17 and p. 149.

interestingly in the latter example, Harvey lists ‘Tarltonisme’ and ‘Scogginisme’, and associates Tarlton with ‘wit’ and Scoggin with ‘honesty’. And with the references to such prominent authors as John Lyly and Christopher Marlowe, these parallel allusions to a clown figure explain that the writers relied on their influential figures as vehicles for explaining their ideas. In either case, Scoggin is praised for his quick and sharp wit. On the other hand, prior to his use of these coined words, Harvey had already quoted Scoggin’s name in his much earlier work coauthored with Edmund Spenser, *Three Proper, and Witty, Familiar Letters* in 1580, 14 years after Colwell’s entry of *Scoggin’s Jestes* in the Stationers’ Register in 1566. In the account of prosody, the authors cite an example of ‘air’ / ‘heir’ from Scoggin’s jests to explain the corruption and absurdities caused by confusions in pronunciation: ‘we say not *Heire*, but plaine *Aire* for him to (or else *Scoggins Aier* were a poore iest) whiche are commonly, and maye indifferently be vsed eyther wayes’.²² Though the two authors evaluate Scoggin’s jests as rather low, their reference to the vulgar joke in the jest-book accordingly demonstrates familiarity with their contemporaries.

Another example of Scoggin’s fame is found in a popular illustrated guide-book to plants. John Gerard in his herbal book of 1597 refers to Scoggin in his description of a plant which gives out an offensive smell:

[STinking Orach] is a most loathsome sauour or smel; vpon which plant if any should chance to rest and sleepe, he might very well report to his friends, that he had reposed himselfe among the chiefe of Scoggins heire.²³

Whether or not Gerard is punning mischievously on ‘heir’ and ‘air’, implying the jester’s own bodily odours, he is certainly reiterating that Scoggin’s name is ubiquitous, in this case well-known enough to become a useful and easily understandable tool for explaining an

²² Edmund Spenser (and Gabriel Harvey), *Three Proper, and Witty, Familiar Letters* (London: Imprinted by H. Bynneman [etc.], 1580), p. 55.

²³ John Gerard, *The Herbal* (London: Imprinted by [Edmund Bollifant for [Bonham Norton and] John Norton, 1597), p. 258 (sig. R1^v).

unfamiliar plant. Thus, whether or not an actual presence, Scoggin was regenerated by association and reiteration as a court fool famous for his scurrilous jesting.

2 The Print History of *Scoggin's Jests*

The conglomerate personality of Scoggin with the general associations of his wit and mobility in different vocations was an asset to the writing of the jest-book with his name on it. Scoggin's name on both the two extant texts of *Scoggin's Jests* — the 1613 edition and the 1626 edition — functions as an effective trade character. This characterisation of the collection by an individual name is complicated by a confusing print history: two editions in 1613 and 1626. The importance of the 1626 edition of *Scoggin's Jests* is that the text becomes a model of regular practice for people in the printing business to refurbish an anachronistic jest-book.

The 1613 edition assumes the role of sequel, all copies of which are unfortunately lost, to that which was reprinted in 1626. Thus, though the 1626 edition is of a later date, its content predates the 1613 edition as their print histories endorse. While both the jest-books promise that the hero is Scoggin, the texts are, however, different in the way they came into the world and what reception they sought among readers. The original text of *Scoggin's Jests* has a longer path that led to the publication of the 1626 edition than its spin-off edition in 1613. The records of the Stationers' Register provide identify the editions *Scoggin's Jests* as published trade items. The 1626 edition of *Scoggin's Jests* forged a link between the book and the image of the famous scholar-jester in the minds of readers. Moreover, the title became the focus of efforts by publishers to differentiate their books from competition. The attribution 'the first and best' on the 1626 title page was used to help highlight the differences from the 1613 edition. Readers who remembered the reputation of Scoggin could ask for the specific

jest-book branded with his name.

2.1 The 1626 Edition

The first record of *Scoggin's Jests* tells us that Thomas Colwell (td 1561-1575)²⁴ made an entry of the book to the Stationers' Register in 1565/66:

Recevyd of Thomas colwell for his lycense for pryntinge of *the geystes of SKOGGON gathered to gether in this volume*.²⁵

Colwell's business included a variety of different publications. Almost a hundred out of his 132 works registered in the Stationers' Register are ballads.²⁶ In addition to the ephemeral literature, however, Colwell printed other types of publications. The traits of his publications in the records of the Stationers' Register entered in 1565-66 demonstrate his variety of interests. For example, a play, a tale, a fable or a ballad entitled with 'merry' or 'pleasant' appears in the transcriptions of his different entries: 'a play intituled *a merye playe bothe pythy and pleasanut of ALBYON knyghte*', '*a mery ieste made of the alphabett &c*', 'a ballett intituled *the Cater bralles bothe Wytty and mery*', '*the pleasaunte fable of OVIDE intituled HERMAPHRODITUS and SALMACES*' and so on.²⁷ In addition, he also entered tragedies such as '*the eighte Tragide of SENYCA*' and '*the tragedy of SENECA[,] MEDIA* by JOHN STUDLEY of Trenety Colledge in Cambryge'.²⁸ Around 1565-66, he published two collections of jests: *The Merry Tales of Skelton* and *The Mad Men of Gotham*.²⁹

²⁴ Trade dates are abbreviated below to td. Unless otherwise noted, the trade dates are given based on *Dictionaries of the Printers and Booksellers Who Were at Work in England, Scotland, and Ireland, 1557-1775*, ed. by H. R. Plomer and others (London: The Bibliographical Society, 1977), and *The British Book Trade Index* (BBTI).

²⁵ Edward Arber, ed., *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London 1554-1640 A.D.*, 5 vols (London, 1875; reprinted N. Y: Peter Smith, 1950), I, 299.

²⁶ David G. Hale, 'Thomas Colwell: Elizabethan Printer', *Library*, Series 5, 19 (1964), 223-26 (p. 223).

²⁷ Arber, I, 295, 298, and 301.

²⁸ Arber, I, 304 and 312.

²⁹ Anon, *The Merry Tales of Skelton*; Anon, *The Mad Men of Gotham* ([London]: Imprinted [...] by Thomas Colwell, [1565]).

Besides their values as the guarantee for licence holders, the transcripts of these copies help us to review the tracing of Colwell's entry of *Scoggin's Jestes* (Table 1). In 1578, Hugh Jackson (td 1576-1616) married Colwell's widow.³⁰ When Jackson died, his copies were transferred to Master Roger Jackson (td 1601-1625) on 22 July 1616, one of the ten listed items being described as '*Scoggins Jestes*'.³¹ Then Francis Williams (td 1626-1630) obtained Roger Jackson's licences on 16 January, 1626, with which Williams published *Scoggin's Jestes*.³² Though the record of Hugh Jackson's succession from Colwell is missing, probably due to the lack of the Company's documents, the other items registered by Roger Jackson as inherited from Hugh Jackson qualify the latter's heritage from Colwell. In the 1616 entries by Hugh Jackson, *Scoggin's Jestes* was listed as item 5 in the Stationers' Register, and then in 1626, as item 6, *Scoggin's Jestes* was coupled with *The Merry Tales of Skelton*. Both the texts of *Scoggin's Jestes* and *The Merry Tales of Skelton*, which were listed separately in the 1616 transcript, hereafter appeared together as a paired item in the entries of the Stationers' Register. Moreover, not only the copies of these collections of tales, but also those of other books, which had appeared in the former entries in 1616 by Roger Jackson, were transferred in 1626 from Jackson to Francis Williams.³³ When Williams's licences to these copies were finally yielded to John Harrison IV on 29th June, 1630, the entries still included seven out of ten items from the 1616 list of Hugh Jackson.³⁴ Though the titles are differently itemised (either paired or separated), they substantiate the point that the one authorised edition of *Scoggin's Jestes*, later published in 1626, has the clear tracings of the licence transmission from Colwell. After transmitting the licences from Colwell to Harrison, many of the items in the list at the time of Hugh Jackson's death reached John Harrison IV, this transfer of rights consequently

³⁰ Arber, II, 676.

³¹ Arber, III, 593.

³² Boorde, *Scoggin's Jestes*.

³³ Arber, III, 593 and Arber, IV, 149.

³⁴ Arber, IV, 237.

justifies one transmission process as most probable and faithful: the licence of the original text of the 1626 edition of *Scoggin's Jestes* descended from Colwell.

The complexity of the transmission of the 1626 edition is presented in the business relationship between the author and the printer. The attributed author of the 1626 edition of *Scoggin's Jestes* is Andrew Boorde, physician and travel guide writer who died in 1549. Boorde's life as a physician-writer tells of his interest in a wide variety of things, ranging from health to merry tales, and, most commonly, the medicinal effects of mirth.³⁵ In the late seventeenth century, the biographer Anthony à Wood defended Boorde's writing of merry tales, but in the eighteenth century Thomas Hearne questioned Wood's biography of Boorde, and described *Scoggin's Jestes* as 'an idle thing (and therefore *unjustly* fathered upon Dr. Borde)'. Instead, he attributed Boorde to another jest-book, *The Mad Men of Gotham*.³⁶ Since then Boorde's editorship of *Scoggin's Jestes* has been questioned, denied, and even neglected until recently, apart from tentative approval by John Wardroper in 1970.³⁷ R. W. Maslen restores Boorde's authorship as a jest-book writer, firstly, in his objection to F. J. Furnivall's account of the denial of Boorde's authorship, secondly, in his examination of Boorde's works to bring to light his purpose of compiling merry tales, and thirdly in his extensive research on the Montpellier medical tradition, which Boorde shared with Rabelais.³⁸ Having recourse to the same biographical records and the echoes in the writing style of Boorde, which Furnivall used in his discussion, Maslen reaches a different conclusion: Boorde is the authentic author of *Scoggin's Jestes*. Not only does Boorde's background of having medical knowledge and clerical experience endorse Boorde's authorship of *Scoggin's Jestes*, but it also presents a

³⁵ Elizabeth Lane Furdell, 'Boorde, Andrew (c.1490-1549), physician and author', in *ODNB*.

³⁶ Quoted in Hazlitt, II, 39. Hazlitt mistook Hearne for Wood.

³⁷ John Wardroper, 'Appendix: Boorde and Scoggin', in *Jest upon Jest: A Selection from the Jestbooks and Collections of Merry Tales published from the Reign of Richard III to George III* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1970), pp. 198-99. Despite the long-established view on Boorde's doubtful editorship, he suggested that Boorde would write about the story of the jesting hero based on his interest in jests.

³⁸ R. W. Maslen, 'The Afterlife of Andrew Borde', *Studies in Philology*, 100 (2003), 463-92.

convincing explanation that the printer's securing of diverse texts written by Boorde was dealt with as a cluster without being separated by category. It further explains that Boorde transcended the limits of the category, and subsequently endorses his authorship of the jest-book.

In addition, Colwell's other jest-book publication of *The Mad Men of Gotham* always appeared in the subsequent records of the transmission from Colwell.³⁹ As the attribution in its title 'gathered to gether by A.B. phisike doctour' corresponds to that of *Scoggin's Jests*, it is reasonable that the National Union Catalog of Pre-1956 Imprints attributed the authorship of *The Mad Men of Gotham* to Andrew Boorde.⁴⁰ Hugh Jackson, Colwell's successor held both the copies of *Scoggin's Jests* and *The Mad Men of Gotham*, and passed over his rights of these copies to Roger Jackson. The rights eventually came to John Harrison IV in 1630 through Francis Williams. Though Boorde's authorship was questioned, Maslen proposes that along with *Scoggin's Jests*, Boorde is the author of both *The Mad Men of Gotham* and *The Merry Tales of Skelton*. From Colwell's succession from Robert Wyer, publisher of Boorde's health books (td 1530-1561), Maslen concludes that Colwell inherited the right to the former text from Wyer, and he deduces that 'a striking echo of Borde's *Dyetary [of Health]*' and Boorde's admiration for Skelton explain Boorde's authorship of *The Merry Tales of Skelton*.⁴¹ Indeed, Boorde stated his purpose of writing in *A Dietary of Health*: 'I do wryte wordes of myrth, truly it is for no other intencyon, but to make your grace mery, for myrth is one of the chefest thynges of physycke the which doth aduertise euery man to be mery, and to be beware of pentyfulnes'.⁴²

³⁹ As for the transmission of its licence, Hazlitt was not aware that the licence of *The Mad Men of Gotham* was passed down to Colwell's successors with that of *Scoggin's Jests*.

⁴⁰ See the record of *The Mad Men of Gotham* in the ESTC.

⁴¹ Maslen, 'The Afterlife of Andrew Borde', p. 473.

⁴² Andrew Boorde, *A Dietary of Health* (London: Imprinted by me Robert Wyer [etc.] for John Gowghe, 1542), sig. A3. For a detailed discussion of the relationship between the jest-book content and the author's

Maslen's focus on the effects of 'mirth' clarifies Boorde's purpose of writing as common to both health books and jest-books. Supplementary to his observation, Maslen admits that the transmission of licences for these three collections establishes Boorde as author. These jest-books printed by Colwell and ascribed to Boorde retrospectively confirm the direct transmission of *Scoggin's Jests* from the first Colwell edition to the 1626 edition.

Likewise, the practice of transcending category and genre represented by Boorde's ability to write intellectual medical literature alongside entertaining jest-books was adopted by Boorde's printer, Thomas Colwell. Boorde published an encyclopaedic reference book of health for his contemporaries, which was repeatedly published by earlier printers as *A Dietary of Health* (Table 2). It was first published by Robert Wyer, another of Boorde's printers in 1542 and 1554, by Colwell in 1562, and by Hugh Jackson, Colwell's successor in 1576. It should be noted that Colwell, along with Hugh Jackson, was apprenticed to William Powell, one of Boorde's printers, and then became a successor to Wyer. From their printing houses, Boorde's *A Dietary of Health* came out at least four times. Though the genealogy from Wyer to Colwell is now lost, Colwell's printing of another edition of the same title verifies his printing of Boorde's *Scoggin's Jests* during his trade dates. Because the Stationers' Company started their business in late 1554, there was no record of Boorde's lifetime publication in the Register. However, the fact that Colwell reprinted Boorde's *A Dietary of Health* posthumously, lends the strong probability that Colwell held other of Boorde's manuscripts transferred to him at his succession of Wyer's business. While William Copland and Thomas East, Boorde's other printers only published his medical literature, Colwell published Boorde's jest-books as well. Thus, the internal evidence points to the printer of the earliest edition of Boorde's *Scoggin's Jests* as Colwell.

purpose of writing, see Chapter 2.

Meanwhile, given that the 1626 edition is pledged to be ‘the first and best’, the title confirms the publisher-printer’s priority as the original text holder. As the succession of the licence from Colwell agrees with the claim, the 1626 edition was reproduced from the original Colwell edition. Although a date for the earliest publication cannot be definitively established, the contemporary allusions to the Scoggin book confirm that the original jest-book must have been published and circulated before the appearance of the 1613 edition, whose supposed composition date is between the 1590s and the early 1600s as discussed below.

Both internal and external allusions to Scoggin establish the authenticity of the 1626 *Scoggin’s Jestes* as an edition precedent to the 1613 edition. *The Merry Tales of Skelton* gives us one of the earliest allusions to the hero of this jest-book as a jester: ‘Skelton was an Englyshe man borne as Skogyn was’.⁴³ And the episode of Scoggin and his wife’s making an ‘heir’ (‘air’), which Harvey and Spenser criticised as derogatory in 1580, along with John Gerard’s description of a plant’s unpleasant smell compared to Scoggin’s appeared only in the 1626 edition, not in the 1613 edition.⁴⁴ Another allusion to the 1626 *Scoggin’s Jestes* is found in one anti-Martinist pamphlet, *A Whip for an Ape*: ‘The sacred sect and perfect pure precise, / Whose cause must be by *Scoggins* iests maintaine, / Ye shewe although that purple Apes disguise, / Yet Apes are still, and so must be disdaigne’.⁴⁵ These allusions before 1590 refer to the Colwell edition, i.e., the original 1626 edition, and thereby put the earlier edition on the jest-book genealogy. The application continued down to the early seventeenth century. In 1607 the author of *Dobson’s Dry Bobs*, in his preface to the reader, places his hero George Dobson in the genealogy of jesting heroes: ‘hee is George Dobson, whose pleasant meriments are worthy to be registred among the famous Recordes of the ieasting Worthies: yea hee hath

⁴³ Anon, *The Merry Tales of Skelton*, Tale 1 (sig. A2).

⁴⁴ For details of Gerard’s description, see above pp. 30-31.

⁴⁵ Anon, *A Whip for an Ape* (London?: Printed by T. Orwin?, 1589?), p. 4. This tract has been attributed to John Lyly.

proceeded farther in degree than Garagantua, Howleglasse, Tiell, Skoggin, olde Hobson, or Cocle'.⁴⁶ Moreover, *Dobson's Dry Bobs* follows the 1626 edition of *Scoggin's Jests* in its presentation: it has the author's preface to the reader as well as the list of tales. As it is authenticated in the previously published works, the 1626 edition clearly demonstrates that it declares itself to be the originator, which suggests that the 1613 edition is not the first published jests of Scoggin. Though the predated book is not extant except a fragment, the publisher of the 1626 edition reprinted his copy-text, which came down from Colwell; as a result, the printer of the 1626 edition presented the book as the source for all the publicity of Scoggin and Boorde, which lasted for more than 50 years.

The acceptance that Scoggin was a familiar figure, and had free access to any class of people, was reiterated in the various sections where Scoggin adopts his deceptive tricks in the jest-book. *Scoggin's Jests* reflects the conflict in social attitudes to Scoggin among the early moderns. Born as a work of Boorde, transmitted as a form of biographical jest-book rather than as a product of a patchwork of merry tales, the 1626 *Scoggin's Jests* integrates both the hero's legendary traits and the compiler's aim of writing and printing practices to prove itself a highly mediated text generated in the process of publishing as an established edition.

2.2 The 1613 Edition

As regards the bibliographic entries of *Scoggin's Jests* in the Stationers' Register, one strain of transmission originated from Colwell; but there is another important strain of transmission. *STC* defines the 1613 *Scoggin's Jests* as 'a different text, continuing Scoggin's adventures'.⁴⁷ Though it has been regarded as derivative of the original edition, namely

⁴⁶ Anon, *Dobson's Dry Bobs* (London: Printed by Valentine Simmes, 1607), sigs. A3-A3^v.

⁴⁷ Alfred William Pollard and G. R. Redgrave, *A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, & Ireland and of English Books Printed Abroad 1475-1640*, 2nd edn, revised and enlarged, 3 vols (London: The Bibliographical Society, Vol. I: 1986, Vol. II: 1976, Vol. III: 1991), II, 309.

Colwell's edition,⁴⁸ its importance to the history of the jest-book formation is evident in its genealogical traces of the licence, the collaboration among its original author-compiler, and the printer. The records of the 1613 edition of *Scoggin's Jests* revolve around Thomas Pavier (td 1600-1625), a draper and bookseller in London, famous for Shakespearean publications (Table 1). Pavier was also an extensive publisher of ballads, news-books, and jest-books in conjunction with many printers. Consequently he became one of the most active booksellers of his day. Pavier's involvement in the production of the jest-book secured its printing in the seventeenth-century up until around 1640. In fact, in partnership with Pavier, Ralph Blower (td 1597-1615) printed the 1613 Scoggin text. Blower's publications included travel books, history books, and several other works on contemporary wonders. The alliance between Pavier and Blower explains that the syndicate of printers and publishers promoted a common interest in a network. Two years later in 1615, the right to publish the Scoggin book was assigned to Edward Wright as part of Pavier's rights on 10 February with Blower's consent.⁴⁹ Edward Wright was a brother to John (td 1602-1646) and Cuthbert (td 1610-1638), who married Pavier's daughter. Not only Pavier, but also Edward, together with his brothers, was a member of the so-called 'ballad partners'.⁵⁰ Again, the rights to *Scoggin's Jests* were circulated within an organised economic activity performed by the members of the same group, with Pavier as the central figure. Lastly in 1626, because of Pavier's death, his widow transferred his copyrights to Edward Brewster (td 1610-1647) and Robert Bird (td 1621-1638),

⁴⁸ Hazlitt had a bibliographic confusion: he identified the edition stored in the Harleian Collection (items 210, 328, 331-2, Harl. 5995) British Library as the 1613 edition (Hazlitt, I, 39). On the other hand, Wardroper identified the Harleian copy as one printed by Thomas Colwell, the antecedent edition of the 1626 edition, based on his examination of its wording (Wardroper, p. 198). *STC* notes that this fragment copy was printed in around 1570 (*STC* 21850.3): *STC*, II, 308. As Hazlitt found that the reference to the jest-book in *A Whip for an Ape*, the jest-book with the name of Scoggin was doubtlessly circulated before this Martin Marprelate pamphlet. Judging from the formation of the 1613 *Scoggin's Jests* as stated below, this *Scoggin's Jests* referred to in *A Whip for an Ape* is the antecedent of the 1626 edition.

⁴⁹ Arber, III, 563.

⁵⁰ Watt, 'A godly ballad to a godly tune', pp. 39-73 (p. 45).

booksellers of theological literature. Neither the subsequent ownership nor reprinted editions of the 1613 edition have been identified so far. The history of the 1613 edition is short, but the list of the transcripts, in which *Scoggin's Jestes* was included, illustrates that the book trade on a large scale was promoted on the basis of matrimonial relationship as well as that of a trade partnership.

Before Pavier, however, we can only speculate about the possible process of publishing *Scoggin's Jestes* from the succession of the printing house. Again, the right to the copy was passed through the network of ballad printers. A record in the Stationers' Register suggests that Pavier took over the business of other ballad and play printers, from Richard Jones (td 1564-1602) via William White (td 1597-1615). In 1598, White purchased the business of Richard Jones and William Hill, Jones's partner.⁵¹ Two years later in 1600 on 14 August, shortly after Pavier made his first entry to the Stationers' Company on 4 August,⁵² Pavier entered his copies of 'beinge thinges formerlye printed' with other copies which he had obtained from White.⁵³ Despite that, there remains still another possibility that Pavier obtained the rights to the copy or copy-text of the 1613 edition from his partner Blower; at least the transference of licence to and from Pavier points to Pavier as its early owner. Thus, the publication of the jest-book, linked with the ballad printers, suggests an institutional relationship formed in the landscape of the printing industry at that time. The 1613 edition was realised in the shorter lineage of transmission across printers and booksellers, while the 1626 edition derived from the assumed author Boorde and his printers. The later printers clearly recognised the appropriateness of re-publishing the early text after decades later.

Though both the texts of *Scoggin's Jestes* were published within 16 years of one another,

⁵¹ Arber, III, 702.

⁵² Interestingly it was when Pavier celebrated his first trade in business with the entry of the second part of *Tarlton's Jestes*. For the discussion, see Chapter 3, Section 2 on the transmission of *Tarlton's Jestes*.

⁵³ Arber, III, 168-70.

the 1613 edition diverges from the 1626 edition. Words used in both texts conclusively point first to evidence of their separate origins, and second to extensive changes in the surrounding contemporary circumstances of jest-book writing. The composition dates of these texts in reverse order indicate that the two texts were written in different time periods. The 1613 edition has a later vocabulary than the 1626 edition. Especially, the particularity of words used in the books differentiates one composition date from that of the other. Words like ‘waghalter’, ‘coxcomb’, ‘couson’ the variant spelling of ‘cozen’, and ‘burgomaster’ whose first entries in the *OED* are respectively 1570, 1573, 1573 and 1592, appear in the 1613 edition, and do not belong to the English vocabulary of the lifetime of Boorde who died in 1549, and who is the ascribed author of the 1626 edition. As shown in the examples extant in EEBO, the traces of these words show that they belonged to later sixteenth century vocabulary. For example, ‘Waghalter’ in the *OED* is defined as a newly coined word from ‘wag’ and ‘halter’, meaning ‘one who is to swing in a halter, or to be hanged’; and the word often appears in early modern clowns’ vocabulary.⁵⁴ ‘Coxcomb’, whose original form is ‘cockscorn’ to mean a cap worn by a professional fool, was applied figuratively to a fool or a simpleton, and soon became a favourite word for early modern dramatists such as Shakespeare, Ford, and Massinger.⁵⁵ Likewise, the first entry of the verb ‘cozen’ meaning ‘to cheat’ or ‘to deceive’ can be traced to the late sixteenth century.⁵⁶ The verb became

⁵⁴ See ‘waghalter’ in *OED*. Coincidentally, synonymous words such as ‘crackrope’ and ‘crackhalter’ appeared and were prevalent in its contemporary. While the earliest trace of the word was an attributive adjective preceding the word ‘slip-string’ by John Heywood in 1546, its use as a noun was associated with a rogue, and predominated in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century. The playwrights’ use of its synonyms such as ‘gallowes’ and ‘wag-halter’ are discussed in Chapter 5, Sections 3 and 4, Chapter 7, Section 2, and Chapter 8, Section 1.

⁵⁵ See ‘coxcomb’ in *OED*. This derivative spelling of the word, ‘cockscorn’ first appeared in both meanings in Tusser’s *Five Hundred Points of Good Husbandry* in 1573; then, with another sense as a derogatory name for the head (Thomas Tusser, *Five Hundred Points of Good Husbandry* [London: Imprinted by Richard Tottell, 1573]). See also Chapter 2, Section 3.2.

⁵⁶ See ‘cozen’ in *OED*. The first entry of ‘cozen’ meaning ‘to cheat’ is Tusser’s *Five Hundred Points of Good Husbandry*, and another sense ‘to deceive’ is traced in Philip Stubbes’ *The Anatomy of Abuses* in 1583. According to the *OED*’s explanation of its etymology, the verb had derivative endings -on, and -en,

frequently used by the early modern writers, and reflects contemporary trends and new coinages. Above all, the early uses of ‘Burgomaster’, which means ‘mayor’ having Dutch origins, are recorded in Holinshed’s *Chronicles* in 1586, in Robert Greene’s *Greene’s Never Too Late* in 1590, and in Thomas Nashe’s *Pierce Penniless* in 1592.⁵⁷ With the success of *Pierce Penniless* recorded in the subsequent editions — three times in 1592, the fourth in 1593 and the fifth in 1595, the word ‘burgomaster’ became settled in the English vocabulary, and its sense was generally accepted in the 1590s, and seemed to be inevitably taken into the 1613 *Scoggin’s Jest* as an inviting topical word.⁵⁸ In addition, the first citation of the phrasal expression ‘to leave in the lurch’, which appears in the 1613 edition in the *OED*, was Thomas

the latter of which became prevalent in the seventeenth century. In the above listed examples of Stubbes, the verb appeared with the ending -on. Phillip Stubbes, *The Anatomy of Abuses* (London: Printed by R. W[ard] for William Wright [etc.], [1583]).

⁵⁷ See ‘burgomaster’, in *OED*. While the first entry of the ‘burgomaster’ in *OED* is 1592, there are other earlier uses: in Holinshed’s *Chronicles*, ‘the lord lieutenant with three hundred horssees in their furniture entred Leiden, where he was receiued of the burgomasters, burgesses, and others’ (Holinshed, p. 1419); and in Robert Greene, ‘her friendes sorrowing suspected the cankered mind of the Burgomaster’ (Robert Greene, *Greene’s Never Too Late* [London: Printed by Thomas Orwin for N[icholas] L[ing] and John Busby, 1590], sig. E2). In making a satire against the sin of hypocrisy in the government, Nashe features the word ‘burgomaster’ to topicalise the late sixteenth century political body. By connecting two familiar animal fables, Nashe criticises the knavery of political authority: ‘The Beare on a time beeing chiefe Burgomaster of all the Beasts vnder the Lyon, gan thinke with himselfe how hee might surfet in pleasure, or best husband his Authoritie to enlarge his delight and contentment.’ (Thomas Nashe, *Pierce Penniless* [London: Printed by Abel Jeffes, for J. B[usby], 1592], sig. G3).

⁵⁸ Dutch ‘burger’ which means citizen of a burg was assimilated into English ‘burgh’ as is ‘burgomaster’. The ‘burgomaster’ and ‘burgher’ are used in place of borough-master and ‘borough’ by Nashe’s contemporary writers: ‘I am ioyned with [...] Burgomasters and great Oneyres, such as can hold in’, in William Shakespeare, *Henry IV, Part 1* (London: Printed by P[eter] S[hort] for Andrew Wise [etc.], 1598), sig. C3; ‘Oh Maister Burgomaster see heres your wife come to welcome you home from war...’, in George Chapman, *The Blind Beggar of Alexandria* (London: Imprinted [by J. Roberts] for William Jones [etc.], 1598), sig. F3; ‘Goe now and bind the Burghers hand and foot’, in Christopher Marlowe, *Tamburlaine* (London: Printed by Richard Jhones [etc.], 1590), sig. K4^v; ‘your Argosies with portlie sayle / Like Signiors and rich Burgars on the flood’, in William Shakespeare, *The Merchant of Venice* (London: Printed by J[ames]. R[oberts]. for Thomas Heyes [etc.], 1600), sig. A2. Interestingly, ‘burgomaster’ appeared in the Bad Quarto edition of *Romeo and Juliet* printed by John Danter in 1597, but it was soon replaced with the synonymous ‘alderman’ in the edition by Thomas Creede in 1599. William Shakespeare, *Romeo and Juliet* (London: Printed by John Danter [and Edward Allde], 1597), sig. C1^v; William Shakespeare, *Romeo and Julie* (London: Printed by Thomas Creede, for Cuthbert Burby [etc.], 1599), sig. C2. Since then, Shakespeare’s use of ‘burgomaster’ has remained only in *Henry IV, Part 1*. By contrast, Ben Jonson, Thomas Dekker, and Thomas Middleton used the word even after 1600. There are scarce records of the use of ‘burgomaster’ after the eighteenth century.

Nashe's use in *Have with You to Saffron-Walden* in 1596.⁵⁹ The vocabulary post Boorde's death, which appears in the late 1590s, contradicts an attribution of the authorship of the 1613 edition to Boorde, and also denies that the book was the same as the one entered into the Stationers' Register by Colwell in 1565-66. Instead, it not only explains the 1613 edition's autonomy as a different text, but also separates the date of the composition of the 1613 edition from that of the original compilation of the 1626 text which provided the 1613 edition with a framework for the hero's characterisation and adventure.⁶⁰ It is certain at least that the linguistic differences between the two texts, as shown in such a short-lived word as 'burgomaster', whose use thrived in the seventeenth century, narrow down the composition date of the 1613 edition to a shorter period of time, and place the 1613 edition around from 1590 to 1613, more specifically in the late 1590s, as the use of topical words confirm.

Along with specific vocabulary, negative representations of clerical figures in the text support the aforesaid evidence for a date of composition around the 1590s. The 1613 edition, as the title declares, contains many of Scoggin's mockery of friars: Rome or Venice-based stories are mostly related to clerical figures, and supply an ideal setting for Scoggin's jesting about them. Three middle episodes from 31 to 32 about Scoggin and a Jesuit, demonstrate comic hostility toward clerical figures (Table 3).⁶¹ In tale 31, a Jesuit affirms Scoggin is 'a Protestant worse then a Diuell' who 'will flie vpon' him without awe.⁶² This episode ushers in its sequels, tales 32 and 33, where Scoggin retaliates against the Jesuit, and in order to expose the poverty of his intellect and make him seem foolish, questions him on the young Christ's subtle religious knowledge and apparent blasphemy in the presence of Joseph.

⁵⁹ 'Whom [...] he also procured to be equally bound with him for his new cousens apparance to the law, which he neuer did, but left both of them in the lurch for him'. Thomas Nashe, *Have with You to Saffron-Walden* (London: Printed by John Danter, 1596), sig. Q1. See the use of 'to leave in the lurch' in 'lurch' in *OED*.

⁶⁰ For full discussion of the characterisation of the two Scoggin books see Chapter 2, Section 3.

⁶¹ The contents and tale numbers of the 1613 edition are given in Table 3.

⁶² Anon, *The 1613 Scoggin's Jestes*, Tale 31 (sig. C8^v).

Similarly, in the sequence of tales 31-33, the Jesuit falls victim to Scoggin's scorn in the wake of denunciations of protestantism. Then in tale 51, when Scoggin wants money to go back to Rome, he deceives an inn-holder, pretending to be 'a Iesuit or Athiest'.⁶³ Taken as an atheist to a Cardinal in Rome, he reveals his true identity as the Cardinals' acquaintance, and the inn-holder finds that he has been cheated into bringing Scoggin to Rome. Beneath Scoggin's successful trick, there is anti-clerical perspective, which is pertinent to the question of what function this jest-book was intended to fulfil.

The phrase 'a Iesuit or athiest', repeated three times in this episode, echoes the author's hatred for Catholic clerics inherent in the 1613 *Scoggin's Jestes*.⁶⁴ Earlier in 1583 Philip Stubbes had already attacked the then growing sect of Jesuits in his *The Anatomy of Abuses*: explaining 'the diuels agents, [...] are called [...] by the name of Iesuites, seminarie préests, and catholides, vsurpting to themselues a name neuer heard of till of late daies, being indeed a name verie blasphemously deriued from the name of Iesus, and improperly alluded and attributed to themselues'.⁶⁵ The comments on Jesuits in *The Anatomy of Abuses* and *Scoggin's Jestes* are basically the same in tenor. Embedded in the framework of Scoggin's journey to Rome, is a strong satirical urgency, caricaturing Catholicism. Unlike the 1626 edition referred to in the Marprelate pamphlet in the 1590s as discussed above, the 1613 edition clearly contains within it criticism of the other faction of Christianity. This indicates that the 1613 text was apparently written after the Jesuits became active in England in 1580, thereby certifying the text's late sixteenth-century provenance. The two texts of *Scoggin's*

⁶³ Anon, The 1613 *Scoggin's Jestes*, Tale 51 (sig. E4).

⁶⁴ The society of Jesuits, formed in 1540, established the English College in Rome in 1580 for purposes of education and training. As one of counter-reformers' movements, it achieved rapid growth by targeting the heathen, but it invited the protestants' accusation. The topicality of describing the conflict between Jesuits and protestants is a solid measure of the religious milieu of the time, and the images which make commonsense beliefs on protestants' side a perception. In writing an idyllic adventure of Scoggin outside England, the author of the book launched a campaign against Jesuits' emerging clout and existing religious powers in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

⁶⁵ Stubbes, sig. B6.

Jests propagate allegiances which were at opposite poles of the religious spectrum of Elizabethan and Stuart England. In particular, the 1613 edition assumes a sarcastic tone by centralising the episodes which ludicrously mock clerics, and this discloses hidden social criticism against clerics, reflecting the late sixteenth century's religious circumstances, where the escalation of Jesuits was a major concern for protestants.

What can account for the thirteen-year lapse between Pavier's opening of business in 1600 and the publication of the 1613 *Scoggin's Jests*? Why did Pavier delay publication? What scenarios can be proposed to account for this? The following three propositions are uncomplicated, and fit all the evidence that the manuscript of the 1613 edition was composed between the end of the sixteenth century and the beginning of the seventeenth century, and seems not to have been licensed before its publication. Possibly, when Pavier obtained the copy of the 1613 edition, he did not realise that the copy had not been yet registered. Or, Pavier mistook the copy for the previously registered Boorde-Colwell edition. Another possible proposition lies in the active collaboration between its anonymous author and Pavier. The last possible proposition is that Pavier obtained the manuscript shortly before its publication. In any case, the 1613 edition reflects the interest, alliance and transmission in the jest-book circulation of the early Stuart period.

The mystery of the 1613 edition is related to the question of whether or not the unnamed 1613 edition became an incentive for the 1626 edition to claim its originality and validity. The questions of anonymity or pseudonymity no doubt deserve attention as they distinguish the jest-books. The anonymity of the 1613 edition enigmatises the purpose of its publication. Instead, the edition withholding the name of the author-compiler, enables the anonymous writer to compile stories from diverse sources within his own framework.⁶⁶ The

⁶⁶ Anon, *Howleglas* (London: W. Copland, 1555?); Anon, *Till Eulenspiegel* ([Antwerp] J. van Doesborch?, ca. 1510?). For detailed discussion of motifs, see Chapter 2.

jest-book's borrowing of episodes from collections of merry tales provides conclusive evidence that the 1613 edition was written after 1555, and accordingly denies Boorde's authorship of the 1613 edition, though the manner of writing in both Scoggin books is very similar. The two Scoggin books draw on different source tales from the 'mother jest-books', or the preceding jest-books, though the narrative mode is similar in each. The 1613 edition absorbs a number of tales from *Howleglas*, an English version of *Tyl Eurenspiegel*, which was printed between 1555 and 1560, while the 1626 edition borrows tales from *A Hundred Merry Tales* published in 1526, much earlier than *Howleglas*. Thus, in the process of forming a new series by a break from the original, the printer-compiler uses the strategy of branding the volume with the name of the hero to make it an independent book.

Such skills in advertising a product were common among early printers. Richard Jones, like another balladmonger, Thomas Colwell, published William Elderton's ballads, which were a staple for Colwell in his later business, and also published a jest-book attributed to Boorde, *The Milner of Abington*.⁶⁷ These correspondences concerning the publication items between the two contemporary printers imply that the printers and publishers had common generic preferences for their publications. Jest-book publishing resulted from interests shared among these printers, and consequently was localised in the same network. Moreover, Jones published a few books with Colwell: for Jones, Colwell printed Robert Burdet's *The Refuge of a Sinner*,⁶⁸ and both Jones and Colwell jointly printed John Patridge's *The End and*

⁶⁷ Anon, *The Milner of Abington* (London: [J. Charlewood for] By Richard Jhones, [c. 1576]). Kirk Melnikoff's 'Richard Jones (fl. 1564-1613): Elizabethan Printer, Bookseller and Publisher', provides an extensive account of Jones' career (Kirk Melnikoff, 'Richard Jones [fl. 1564-1613]: Elizabethan Printer, Bookseller and Publisher', *Analytical & Enumerative Bibliography*, New Series, 12 [2001], 153-84). Jones's diverse dealing includes 'curious literature most of it of a popular character' (Plomer, *Dictionarie*, p. 159) and some plays of his contemporary. For a chronological list of Richard Jones' publication, see Kirk Melnikoff, 'Appendix: A Chronological Index of Extant Editions of Published and/or Printed by Jones', in 'Richard Jones', pp. 177-84.

⁶⁸ Robert Burdet, *The Refuge of a Sinner* (London: Imprinted by [T. Colwell for] Richard Johnes [etc.], 1565. April 14).

Confession of John Felton.⁶⁹

Not only did Jones concentrate exclusively on publishing ballads and curious literature, but he undertook the editing and compiling practices as an active entrepreneur: he is now generally accepted as the compiler of Clement Robinson's *A Handful of Pleasant Delights*, Thomas Proctor's *A Gorgious Gallery, of Gallant Inventions*, and his *The Book of Honor and Arms*.⁷⁰ Jones's involvement in editing and compiling suggests that jest-books as compilations were prone to be altered by the publisher. The question of the compilership of *A Bower of Delights* provides a typical example.⁷¹ Although the title declares the author is Nicholas Breton, the work contains only some of his verses. Breton later claimed, in *The Pilgrimage to Paradise*, that the work was falsely assigned to him, complaining 'it was donne altogether without my consent or knowledge', and it consisted of 'many thinges of other mens mingled with few of mine'.⁷² Arthur Marotti points out that Jones's practice of altering texts went beyond compiling and editing. He notes that to 'compile verse' in the Renaissance means either to 'compose verse' or to 'collect and edit it'. Marotti then justifies Jones's pseudonymous application of Breton's name for advertising *A Bower of Delights*.⁷³ Furthermore, Kirk Melnikoff identifies the author of *A Handful of Pleasant Delights* as Jones, denying the view that Clement Robinson was the compiler, which was proposed by Hyder Rollins, the editor of the collected poems by Robinson in 1936. With his examination of the prefatory material and the collection's inclusion of two ballads previously registered by Jones, Melnikoff contests Rollins's view of Robinson's single authorship, and instead demonstrates

⁶⁹ John Partridge, *The End and Confession of John Felton* (London: Imprinted by Richard Johnes, and Thomas Colwell, [1570]).

⁷⁰ Clement Robinson, *A Handful of Pleasant Delights* (London: Imprinted [by W. How] for Richard Jones, 1578); Richard Jones, *The Book of Honor and Arms* (London: Printed by [Thomas Orwin for] Richard Jhones [etc.], 1590).

⁷¹ Nicholas Breton, *A Bower of Delights* (London: Imprinted by Richard Jhones [etc.], 1591).

⁷² Nicholas Breton, *The Pilgrimage to Paradise* (Oxford: Printed, by Joseph Barnes [etc.], 1592), sig. [3].

⁷³ Arthur Marotti, 'Chapter Four: Print and the Lyric', in *Manuscript, Print, and the English Lyric* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995), pp. 209-90 (pp. 217-18).

Jones's contribution as the compiler of the work. The conflict between authorial right and editing practice that Melnikoff attempts to resolve is mediated in his view by examining the exemplary career of Jones, who is notorious for his editorship of Christopher Marlowe's *Tamburlaine*.⁷⁴ Drawing on Marotti's discussion of Jones as both an editor and a compiler, Melnikoff highlights Jones's importance and quality as a publisher-compiler of both poetry and plays in the history of the book trade. On the threshold of a developing monopoly of copies and authorship, Jones occupied the role of editor to accommodate his printership.

Conversely, in her discussion of the usefulness of anonymity and name suppression for the Renaissance author, Marcy North points out that the manipulative power of a literary anonymity continued despite a growing interest in authorial names emerging in the late sixteenth century. She concludes:

The authors, printers, and publishers [...] garnered the advantages of both naming and anonymity by manipulating print conventions such as the preface, title page, dedication, and signature. In doing so, they participated in the authoring of texts, an act which was more dependent on a group of book producers than modern ideas of authorship allow.⁷⁵

As in the example of the 1613 *Scoggin's Jestes*, whose author did not appear in the frontispiece, literary anonymity employed as a commercialised technique facilitated the transfer of the branding of the book from the original to a derived edition, benefiting printing competition and the print economy.

Late Elizabethan printing seems better understood as an outlet for the printer's business practice. The view of early modern printers' political, private, and institutional practices

⁷⁴ In his preface to *Tamburlaine*, Jones writes 'I haue (purposely) omitted and left out some fond and friuolous Iestures, disgressing (and in my poore opinion) far vnmeet for the matter'. Marlowe, *Tamburlaine*, sig. A2. Melnikoff claims that Richard Tottel's *Songes and Sonnetes* motivated Jones to produce the poetry compilation. For full discussion, Kirk Melnikoff, 'Jones's Pen and Marlowe's Socks: Richard Jones, Print Culture, and the Beginnings of English Dramatic Literature', *Studies in Philology*, 102 (2005), 184-209; for more extensive discussion on Jones's involvement in and contribution to the compiling and editing, see Robert Weimann, *Author's Pen and Actor's Voice: Playing and Writing in Shakespeare's Theatre* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 56-62 (pp. 59-60), and Marotti, pp. 209-90.

⁷⁵ Marcy North, 'Ignoto in the Age of Print: The Manipulation of Anonymity in Early Modern England', *Studies in Philology*, 91 (1994), 390-416 (p. 416).

validates the use of pseudonyms and anonymity for their jest-book compositions. And taken together with Melnikoff's and Marotti's argument on ambitious rival printers' competing in compiling practices, a candidate of the author/compiler of the 1613 *Scoggin's Jests* can be nominated: it is conceivable that the edition might be attributable to an ambitious person who enjoyed anonymous compiling practices and concealing his message. Jones's involvement in the 1613 text of *Scoggin's Jests* before it reached Pavier is conceivable because of the following three conditions: Jones had a connection with the original text holder; he compiled with a command of late sixteenth vocabulary; and his authorial role in the work he published remained anonymous.

3 Conclusion

The transmission of these two important jest-books, thus forges relationships between those involved between the two different fields of printing and writing, establishing the jest-book as one of the most important literary and trade items of the time. Both the 1626 and 1613 editions of *Scoggin's Jests* contributed to implanting the jester figure in literary works in a unique and innovative way. The 1626 edition celebrates the jester's trickery and its effect of mitigating melancholy, reinforced with the name of its author, Boorde. And by contrast, the printer of the 1613 edition exploited the anonymity of the writer as well as the advantage of Scoggin's publicity. Unlike the 1626 edition, the 1613 edition lacks a prologue or preface, and only provides a short preliminary explanation directly before the first story — that it is a translation from French. With the suppression of its purpose of writing, the edition does not confirm any anticipation or expectation that a medicinal effect is supplied. The attribution in the title, offers its readers merry and pleasant jests in the prospect of the hero's experiences. Both the 1626 and the 1613 edition's practice of giving a long attribution was typical of late

sixteenth and early seventeenth century publications, whereas the title was short and simple before then. Both editions of *Scoggin's Jests* copied the manner of contemporary printing customs, but it deserves attention that the prefatory matters of both editions differ in their roles as well as in their presentations.

The prefatory matters in the 1626 edition of *Scoggin's Jests* produce two primary effects. Firstly, the title page advertises and promotes the jest-book, announcing that it is the original; secondly, the prefatory matter renders the experience of reading the jest-book more prestigious than that of the 1613 edition, with the emphasis on the purpose of promoting health. The prefatory matters in the 1613 edition, by contrast, present another effect: it takes advantage of the existing *Scoggin's Jests*, i.e., the Colwell edition, and enhances its attractive features, focusing on the single issue of the hero's continuing adventures, especially in his episodes with clerics. The compiler of the 1613 edition apparently knew Nashe's application of new vocabulary, and perceived that his new words conformed to the writing of a jest-book for his contemporaries as sequels, which differentiates the 1613 text from that of 1626. Moreover, the paratextual front matters, such as the title and the expository subtitles of both of the Scoggin books, or the supplementary and rather exceptional explanation slipped before the body text of the 1613 edition, serve as external evidence to the identities of both books. The two texts of *Scoggin's Jests* demonstrate the separate figure of the hero and the early modern writers' exploitation of the hero's and the jest-book's name in its formation: the 1626 edition supplies the ideal ground for curing and nursing both the reader and the society in which the puritans were feared, and the 1613 edition conversely constructed a comically offensive attitude against the Jesuit enemy. With the compiler and the publisher as its catalysts, the 1613 edition emerges as a compromised text in that it was clearly harnessed as propaganda for the anti-Jesuit movement. In the process of generation, construction, and

transmission, they reveal both affinities and disparities. When they were passed between the printers-publishers, they mediated differently to accommodate their printer-publisher's taste and the changes in religious and political allegiances.

The jest-books were revaluated, regenerated, and reproduced as the by-products of a refined and burgeoning printing business. The same amplification applied to the complex combination of the jester and the idea of the early modern critical background. The appearance of *Tarlton's Jests* was benefited by the boost of the publication of *Tarlton's News out of Purgatory*, which inaugurates the mythologizing of a famous clown as a piece of literary history.⁷⁶ Rather than functioning as a neutral channel through which the author solely published works as printed materials, the print industry served as an industrial infrastructure for literary circles, the boundaries of genre and literary hierarchy.

⁷⁶ For full discussion, see Chapter 3, Section 3 on jest-books around Tarlton.

Chapter 2

Generic Material in Mother Jest-books, Biographical Jest-books, and Play-texts

The merry tales and jest-books circulating in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries were selected by the compiler, who adapted numerous relevant episodes. The examination of the jest-books with the jester's name on the title — the two *Scoggin's Jests* — in Chapter 1 shows that people who were engaged in the printing industry launched this boom and expanded the enterprise by printing biographical jest-books. The jest-books, even when they were identified with particular individuals often contained very similar forms of material. These repeated jokes and anecdotes are central to the development of the jest-book genre and also provide the material for much of the texts reproduced in the speeches of theatrical clowns. *A Hundred Merry Tales* and *Howleglas* provide both the 1613 and 1626 editions of *Scoggin's Jests* with source material. In the case of both the versions of *Scoggin's Jests*, this generic material from the mother jest-books varied over time and reflected the changing sources of laughter in period.

The examination of mother jest-books, such as *Howleglas* and *A Hundred Merry Tales* as sources for the two Scoggin books, clarifies the imperatives inherent in jest-books: the subjects, the targets, and subsequently, the narrative style of both *Scoggin's Jests* and *Tarlton's Jests*, which informed the movement towards the jest-books of the next generation. The factors taken up for the generic jest material will be compared highlighting the following four perspectives: firstly, the increasing concern about medicine demonstrating laughter as therapy in the sixteenth century, and growing strategies for wit combat among gentlemen in the seventeenth century, centralised jesting as a means to success; secondly, less scatological references are a hallmark of early modern English jests, and growing religious contention

over life of a middling existence created anti-clerical and anti-pseudo-scholarly attitudes; thirdly, the jest-book compilers-authors complicated their presentation of jests by giving a consistent hero to their products; and lastly, the diversification of the clown in the play-text in the early seventeenth century had consequences resultant from the unique complexity of the jest-books in characterising the hero, altering the text, and categorising episodes for different purposes and occasions. Examining these areas, this study will suggest the progress towards early modern stage clowning, detecting the interrelationship between stage performance and familiar jests in the jest-book as an early modern model of laughter.

1 Laughter Is the Best Medicine: Jests as Therapy as Justified by Boorde, Joubert and Rabelais

Andrew Boorde, attributed author of the 1626 version of *Scoggin's Jests*, declares his purpose of writing and publishing the jest-book in his prologue. The book serves as 'a preseruatiue against melancholy' and goes onto explain it as 'the Directions for health' in his biographical introduction to the hero.¹ For Boorde, melancholy is the human state generally applied to mental breakdown, and it can be cured by merriment.² He defines the generic nature of jests as 'mirth vsed at dinner and supper, and mirth toward bed' as a part of everyday routine practice. He then explains the function of mirth: 'mirth is so necessary a thing for man [...] to make men merrie'. Presenting measures for keeping good health, he advises people about 'auoiding pensiuenesse, or too much study or melancholie, to be merrie with honesty in God, and for God'. Boorde insists that ill health is not only a biological condition. Jests in Boorde's understanding are also social, following the contours of psychological conditions in

¹ Boorde, *Scoggin's Jests*, sig. A1^v. Boorde's editorship, authenticated by his wide-ranging interest due to his career at Montpellier, is discussed in the previous chapter. See also Furdell's account on Andrew Boorde in *ODNB*.

² For the definition in psychological terms, and the application of 'melancholy', see *OED*.

the family and community. In his justification of jest-book compilation, he lastly introduces Scoggin as ‘an honest stocke of kindred’ and ‘Master of Art’ to authorise the hero as an appropriate usher and guide to health.

Boorde’s initial illustration of the nature of Scoggin’s jests is associated with a physical phenomenon to present populist commentary against learned people in a mocking tone:

A Master of Art is not worth a fart,
Except he be in Schooles,
A bachelor of Law is not worth a straw,
Except he be among fooles.

The verse conveys public denunciation of learned people through the usual platitudes, but it also summarises Boorde’s idea of laughter: laughter consists of purgatorial effects and is found in daily, trifling matters.

Boorde studied medicine at the University of Montpellier during 1537 and 1538 when François Rabelais was a student there. Maslen, emphasising the significance of Rabelais, ‘whose *Gargantua and Pantagruel* are filled with references to the therapeutic value of mirth as understood by the early modern art of physic’, observes that ‘both men seem to have profited from the atmosphere of the place’.³ *Gargantua*, alternatively referred to by its author’s name, Rabelais, appeared in the books where Boorde’s *Scoggin’s Jestes* was introduced. *Gargantua* was assimilated into the jest-book tradition, which validates the significance of Boorde’s *Scoggin’s Jestes* in the overall history of the jest-book.

The reception of the jest-book during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries was both favourable and unfavourable. Among the extant references to *Gargantua* in the early books in England, where Thomas Wilson referred to ‘Garganteo’ in his mocking description of Hercules in *The Art of Rhetoric* in 1553,⁴ Edward Dering, clergyman and preacher with a puritanical background, positioned *Gargantua* as one of the harmful books:

³ Maslen, ‘The Afterlife of Andrew Borde’, pp. 481-82.

⁴ Thomas Wilson, *The Art of Rhetoric* ([London]: Richard Grafton [etc.], [1553]), p. 105.

For in these daies in which there is so great licentiousnes of printyng bookes, as in déede it maketh vs all the worse, who can blame it that hath any taste or sauer of goodnes, be it neuer so simple, if it had no other fruite, yet this is great and plentyfull, that in reading it we shoulde keepe our eyes from much godles and childish vanitie, that hath now blotted so many papers. [...] They had their spiritual enchauntmentes, in which they were bewytched, *Beuis* of Hampton, *Guy* of Warwike, *Arthur* of the round table, *Huon* of Burdeaux, *Oliuer* of the Castle, the foure sonnes of *Amond*, and a great many other of such childish follye. And yet more vanitie then these, the witles deuices of *Gargantua*, *Howleglas*, *Esop*, *Robyn Hoode*, *Adam Bel*, *Frier Rushe*, the Fooles of *Gotham*, and a thousand such other. [...] And we as men that can not learne wisdom by anye examples to kéepe our selues from harme, but as though the wickednes of our forefathers were not yet full, we wyll make vp their measure, and set vp Shrines to the woord of God, and the wrytinges of all hys Saintes, which our forefathers had cast out of all honor, that their own dreames and illusions might be had in price.⁵

Dering included *Gargantua* in a list of ‘witles’ books for the reason that they do not provide the reader with ‘wisdom’. In spite of such a hostile view, *Gargantua* still gained approval. In a letter to his friend and fellow mercer, Master Humfrey Martin, William Patten under the name of mercer Robert Laneham gave an alternative definition to *Gargantua* in his catalogue of the books circulated to Martin. Prior to giving the list of ‘The wydo Edith, [...] Fryar Rous, Howleglas, Gargantua, Robin hood’, some of which overlap Dering’s listing items, Patten admitted the books of mirth as valuable:

And for bicauz the matter mencioneth how valiauntly oour english wée men for looue of theyr cuntrée behaued themseluez: expressed in actionz & rymez after their maner, they thought it moought mooue sum myrth too her Maiesty the rather.⁶

The letter was written in 1575 as a record of entertaining the Queen at Kenilworth, which is in itself equivalent to the topicality and the relevance of the listed books. In a similar fashion to listing the group of books enjoyed, supported, or admired by the people of the time, the author of *Dobson’s Dry Bobs* demonstrates that the book is equated with *Scoggin’s Jests* as shown in its subtitle ‘*Sonne and heire to Skoggin*’. In the preface, he explains the value of his

⁵ Edward Dering, *A Brief & Necessary Instruction* ([London]: J. Awdely, 1572), sigs. A2-A3. For Dering’s biographical information, see Patrick Collinson’s account in *ODNB*: Patrick Collinson, ‘Dering, Edward (c.1540-1576), Church of England clergyman and evangelical preacher’, in *ODNB*.

⁶ Robert Laneham, *A Letter* (London: s.n., 1575), pp. 33-34.

publication of the book as one linked to the establishment of jest-books, as well as endorsing the existence, circulation, and lasting reputation of these books in the first decade of the seventeenth century.⁷ Whether harmful or valuable, these writers took up the books of anecdotal stories now known as merry tales or jest-books as a recognised vehicle for laughter. Their contrasting attitudes towards the jest-books expanded the scope of the early reception of this type of book.

Boorde, compiler of *Scoggin's Jestes* was known as the author of many guidebooks about health, and some of his health books were reprinted several times.⁸ As discussed in the first chapter, Boorde is an important figure in linking the nature of the jest-book with health and medicine, and his printers Thomas Colwell and others published both his medical books and the jest-book. The printing history of Boorde's jest-book exemplifies the intended therapeutic aspect of the jest-book boom around the middle of the sixteenth century.

Howleglas, a classic biographical jest-book, is another example of the therapeutic jest-book in its comic attacks on the hero's evils and stupidity.⁹ According to *STC*, printed first in Antwerp around 1519, and then later printed in London in 1555, 1560 and 1565 by William Copland (td 1561-1568) one of the earliest jest-book printers, *Howleglas* was ingrained in English culture.¹⁰ Because of being naturalised early, *Howleglas* was included alongside Rabelais's *Gargantua* in a list of early jest-books. Moreover, the book has another feature of early jest-books. Like Boorde, the author of *Howleglas* gives the purpose of presenting jests in his preface:

⁷ Anon, *Dobson's Dry Bobs*, sig. A3^v. For the genealogy of jest-books, see Chapters 1 and 3.

⁸ See note 1. For a full discussion, see Chapter 1. According to *OED*, references to Boorde's health books count to 894. 879 entries of 'A. Borde' in the advanced search by quotation author in *OED*; 15 entries of 'A. Boorde' in the advanced search by quotation author in *OED* [accessed 28 December 2010].

⁹ *Howleglas* is a collection of German roguish jester stories, and the title literally takes the German name, replacing 'Eule' with 'owl' and 'Spiegel' with 'mirror'.

¹⁰ There are five surviving editions: STC 10563, STC10563.5 identified as STC 10565, STC 10564, STC 10565.5, and a fragment suggested to be STC 10563.5.

This fable is not but only to renew the minds of men or women of all degrees from the use of sadness, to pass the time with laughter or mirth. And for because that simple knowing persons should beware if folks can see, methinks it is better to pass the time with such a merry jest and laugh thereat and do no sin, than for to weep and do sin.¹¹

Apparently, the author aims first at enlightening readers' minds through laughter, and then at introducing the life and sentiment of 'folks' or 'men or women of all degrees'. The writer attempts to make people happy in disappointment or grief by correcting the transgression and violation embodied by Howleglas, who has his role reversed: with 'a merry jest', a tormentor becomes the tormented. Though he is revenged with biting wit and ridicule, his correction still gains sympathy. The early sixteenth century jest-book writers-compilers existed in a literary tradition of calming excessive emotion, and softening the bitterness of life, by matching laughter against seriousness. Acknowledging the therapeutic function of laughter, they exposed follies to be corrected by humour.

The promotion of treating melancholy with laughter, was certainly detected early on from an English contemporary medicinal perspective. The interest in the therapeutic function of laughter was buoyed up by other contemporary writers. Timothie Bright, physician and writer, described laughter in a similar way in *A Treatise of Melancholy* in 1586.¹² More clearly, dubbing Democritus a laughing philosopher, 'Doctor Merry-man' in his jest-book, Samuel Rowlands claims 'men of wit will vnto him resort: / To driue away dull melancholy mind, / Which to a madding frenzy is inclynd'.¹³ Laughter as therapy becomes the key concept over time, giving continuity to the first jest-book printing boom. Here, the effect and

¹¹ P. M. Zall, ed., *A Hundred Merry Tales and Other English Jestbooks of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1963), p. 156. Hereafter, all references to 'Howleglas' are to this edition (pp. 151-237).

¹² Timothie Bright, *A Treatise of Melancholy* (London: Imprinted by Thomas Vautrollier [etc.], 1586).

¹³ Samuel Rowlands, The Epistle 'Honest Gentle-men', in *Democritus, or Doctor Merry-man* ([London]: Printed [by William Jaggard] for John Deane [etc.], [1607]), sig. A3^v. The allusion to Democritus as a laughing philosopher was acquired and received widely in the Renaissance. The list of references is too extensive to be comprehensively dealt with here.

function of laughter in purging melancholy coincide with Thomas Heywood's neo-classical commonplace but relevant remarks from the playwright's point of view in the proposition for clowning in *An Apology for Actors*, 'to moderate the cares and heauinesse of the minde'.¹⁴ This coincidence confirms the cultural prominences shared among Elizabethan writers of medical and literary fields that laughter had a restorative power.

Laurent Joubert was a physician-teacher during Rabelais' and Boorde's stay at Montpellier, whose treatise on laughter, *Traité du Ris* written in 1560 and translated from Latin into French in 1579, is another of the influential figures in the theory of creating laughter.¹⁵ Michael Bristol argues for the important influence of Joubert's treatise on laughter in the mind. He discerns the "most scientific" [quality] of Renaissance theories of laughter' in Joubert's treatise, and discusses the lower body material as the laughing matter, as he summarises the idea of laughter: 'Renaissance theories of laughter all posit a human collective as the precondition for laughter'.¹⁶ Gregory David de Rocher, translator of the treatise, explains Joubert's theory about 'hearty laughter' with anatomical observations about the human body.¹⁷ However, Barbara C. Bowen refutes de Rocher for the reason that he does not see Rabelais's laughter and Joubert's treatise from a wider scope which focuses on the medical theories of the sixteenth century.¹⁸ These critics share the common problem of being

¹⁴ Thomas Heywood, *An Apology for Actors* (London: Printed by Nicholas Okes, 1612), sig. F4.

¹⁵ Further to Bakhtin's remarks on the 'therapeutic power of laughter' found in Rabelais, and claiming similarity between Rabelais's *Tiers Livre* and *Scoggin's Jests*, Maslen takes up Joubert as the leading figure of Montpellier, who established the tradition of valuing the medicinal effect of laughter (Maslen, 'The Afterlife of Andrew Borde', pp. 481-86).

¹⁶ Bristol, pp. 133-37. Through a Bakhtinian reading, Bristol follows continental laughter theory asserting theory of theatre as Carnival.

¹⁷ Laurent Joubert, *Treatise on Laughter*, trans. by Gregory David De Rocher (Alabama: University of Alabama Press, 1980), pp. ix-xv (pp. xii-xiii). He traces Joubert's theory back to Aristotle, and laughable occasions into the five types based on chance, and categorises two purposeful types: 'catching sight of the shameful parts, seeing the human bottom, seeing a comic fall, noting error in one or more of the five senses, and finally witnessing inconsequential loss' as a chance type; 'imitation' and 'practical jokes' are purposeful types (p. xi).

¹⁸ Barbara C. Bowen, *Enter Rabelais, Laughing* (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1998), p. 27. For her discussion on the medical value of laughter, see her Chapter V: The Comic Doctor (pp. 129-59). She

dependent on the continental theory of laughter and its medical values, rather than seeking documentary evidence from the contemporary writing of England.

Laurent Joubert was already recognised as a physician-writer in the works of late sixteenth century English intellectuals: Misodiaboles's *Ulysses upon Ajax* (1596), Simon Goulart's *Admirable and Memorable Histories* (1607), and Helkiah Crooke's *Mikrokosmographia* (1615).¹⁹ While the later writer, Helkiah Crooke, took up Joubert's anatomical and scientific analysis of the human body, the first two authors, Misodiaboles, and Goulart quoted Joubert as the writer of a major treatise on laughter. Compared to another physician-writer Boorde, whose main concern was mostly about maintaining in good health, these scientific writers advocated the pragmatic pursuit of laughter based on Joubert's principles. *Ulysses upon Ajax*, where the author refers to Tarlton as a jester, also reinforces the people's growing interest in laughter as dating from the late 1590s. There is little doubt that these learned authors valued the function of laughter highly, sharing an enthusiasm with the development of medical practice in England. This is significant because the medical effect created by laughter was bound up with the jest-book purpose, and subsequently to the clowning figure, who developed together with the resurgence of jest-book printing.

The therapeutic function and educational purpose in merry tales were acknowledged by other writers. Equating *Scoggin's Jests* with *Bevis of Southampton*, William Perkins addressed the principles 'To all ignorant people that desire to be instructed': 'That merrie ballads and books, as *Scogin*, *Bevis of Southampton*, &c. are good to driue away time, and to remooue

analyses Rabelais's four aspects as the comic humanist, the comic orator, the comic doctor, and the comic lawyer.

¹⁹ Misodiaboles, *Ulysses upon Ajax* (London: [by R. Robinson?] for Thomas Gubbins, 1596). The author refers to Tarlton at sigs. D, E7, and F3^v, and to Joubert at sig. D4^v. Simon Goulart, *Admirable and Memorable Histories* (London: Imprinted by George Eld, 1607). He refers to Joubert three times as a master of laughter (p. 449 and p. 500) and nine times as an author of *Popular Errors* (*Erreurs populaires*). Helkiah Crooke, *Mikrokosmographia* (London: Printed by William Jaggard [etc.], 1615), p. 88.

heart-quames’.²⁰ Until around the turn of the century, the use of merry tales is aimed at awakening them to the needs of easing the heart.

The purpose of jests was, however, preserved in a different way in the early seventeenth century. In 1607, Thomas Dekker defines a jest at the beginning of *Jests to Make You Merry*:

A Iest is the bubling vp of wit. It is a Bavin which beeing well kindled maintaines for a short time the heate of Laughter. It is a weapon wherewith a foole does oftentimes fight, and a wise man defends himselfe by. It is the foode of good companie. if it bee seasoned with iudgement: but if with too much tartnesse, it is hardly digested but turne to quarrel. A jest is tried as powder is, the most sudden is the best. It is a merrie Gentleman and hath a brother to like him, that many take them for Twins: For the one is a Iest spoken the other is a Iest done.²¹

For Dekker, a jest serves as kindling and fuel for laughter, and the aim of jesting is to amuse both the jester and the jested. A jest in Dekker’s view functions either as a weapon or as a protector, according to its user. In a transition from the early writers, Dekker extends the use of jests to a countermeasure against anything excessive, not only melancholy.

The wider application of jests leads to a new richness in the *variety* of jests. Along with quick-wittedness as the accomplishment of a gentleman, deploying jests means possessing the social skills to survive in the city, such as directing and changing the theme of others’ remarks, avoiding becoming a target of personal or public criticism, and adjusting to changes in social life. In 1606 Dekker published *News from Hell*, and its enlarged version, *A Knight’s Conjuring*, appeared in the following year when *Jests to Make You Merry* was published.²² These consecutive publications illustrate Dekker’s concern for the contemporary manners of his witty wise men, and prefigure Dekker’s creation of clowning figures in his play-texts

²⁰ William Perkins, *A Golden Chain* ([Cambridge]: Printed by John Legatt [etc.], 1600), p. 1027.

²¹ Thomas Dekker, *Jests to Make You Merry* (London: Imprinted by N[icholas] O[kes] for Nathaniel Butter [etc.], 1607), p. 1 (sig. B1).

²² Thomas Dekker, *News from Hell* (London: Printed by R. B[lower, S. Stafford, and Valentine Simmes] for W. Ferbrand [etc.], 1606); Thomas Dekker, *A Knight’s Conjuring* (London: Printed by T[homas] C[reede] for William Barley [etc.], 1607).

throughout his career.²³

2 Generic Motifs in Mother Jest-books and Biographical Jest-books

The two different editions of *Scoggin's Jests* and the surviving editions of *Tarlton's Jests* published both have the jester as their main character but in the early seventeenth century show a great deal of difference in their motifs. These biographical jest-books played a significant role in historicising the manner, style, and contents of jesting in that they borrow many episodes from preceding jest-books such as *A Hundred Merry Tales* and *Howleglas*, both of which were published around 1560. The 1626 edition of *Scoggin's Jests* owes much to *A Hundred Merry Tales*, the 1613 edition to *Howleglas*; and *Tarlton's Jests* also borrowed some of the episodes from its earlier source books. Such borrowed jests from the 'mother jest-books', were given a new focus, and were rehashed independently of their original context.²⁴ The recurring motifs in professional performing jesters' stories illustrate how these jest genealogies were formed and subsumed in the other literary fields which evolved the idea of laughter; they suggest how the heroes were finally transformed into clowns onstage, and what inherited jests were designed for clown scenes.

2.1 Scatological Differences: England and the Continent

Howleglas and *A Hundred Merry Tales* were both published and circulated before 1565 when the original edition of *Scoggin's Jests* was entered in the Stationers' Register, and probably issued immediately after the entry. They differ from each other in their

²³ Dekker's non-dramatic works have been underestimated, but they should be examined for the origins of Babulo in *Patient Grissil* and the comic pieces in *The Roaring Girl*. See Chapter 8 for the clowns and jest material in Dekker.

²⁴ By contrast, *A Banquet of Jests*, though it is attributed to Archy Armstrong, a jester to James I and Charles I, showed a deviation from the course of the jest biographies of *Scoggin's Jests* and *Tarlton's Jests*: it does not have a consistent hero and the new fashion of jests is presented in the heterogeneous compilation of jests unrelated to each other.

presentational style and in the tone of their stories. *Howleglas* has one single hero, and depicts his whole life including his birth and burial. The episodes contain the cause, end and effect in a stylised narration. Howleglas's targets range from his parents and neighbourhood to people whom he encounters during his journeying. The subjects show theft, fraud and cuckoldry, and the problems of life including rumour, pains, illness, and death. The hero even threatens his own life by his own dangerous and immoral acts. The episodes are sometimes blended with each other, and the themes of scatology and revenge are added to many of the episodes to enhance Holweglas's abusive acts. By contrast, *A Hundred Merry Tales*, the first national jest-book, was published by John Rastell (td 1512-1536), brother-in-law of Sir Thomas More, in around 1526. There is no consistent hero such as Howleglas in this omnibus compilation of episodes; therefore, the main character's sphere of activities is not restricted, but widens considerably. The scene is set in markets, individual homes, religious places, and as a result, the problems of human relationships and behaviour such as lechery, cuckoldry, cowardice, betrayal, hypocrisy, shame, cunning, thrifty and prodigality become common themes. *A Hundred Merry Tales* is light-hearted in tone in its presentation of remedies to these problems, while *Howleglas* is considered to be a book with a dark, cynical, satiric tone, and preoccupied with appalling scatological references.

Both *Howleglas* and *Gargantua*, of continental origin, include scatological humour, but English literary allusions to them in the seventeenth century are intriguingly absent, suggesting that the English reception of scatology in literary works was short-lived. Recent critics take up scatology as an important issue for the examination of the Renaissance texts, and regard the idea of scatology common to the European countries, as phenomenal. Linda Woodbridge, for example, observes scatology as the feature of jest-books, and defines it as 'a signifier of intellectual skepticism', citing examples from Poggio's *Facetiae*, an Italian

jest-book.²⁵ More recently, Gail Kern Paster departs from her early remarks on scatology as a comic imperative, and instead discusses purging functions in scatological references in Hamlet's humiliation of Claudius on the basis of scatology as one of the literary models generally found in Europe.²⁶ Both Woodbridge and Paster claim that scatological stories reveal a hidden attempt to equate the relationship between the speaker and his opponent. It is true that scatological episodes are often grotesque and disturbing rather than alarming, but it is also true that continental episodes of scatology were never transmitted to the English in their original form. Though the episodes of scatology are related to the primitive five senses and organs, and the subjects of universal interest and natural impulses, they build comic intensity to unbearable levels, and often take action to surreal and absurd levels. As a result, grotesqueness and scatology, on becoming excessive, were expelled from the centre of Renaissance texts.

However, as Ian Munro points out, even in the early English jest-books, there is a significant absence of scatological imagery in comparison with continental jest-books.²⁷ In its indecency, comparable with Rabelais's *Gargantua, Howleglas* was regarded as a harmful book by Edward Dering.²⁸ As the choice of subject matter from the early jest-books anticipates, neither did the continental scatological episodes survive in their original forms in the English jest-books in the late sixteenth century, nor did the idea of scatology strike root in the mother jest-books.

Nevertheless, scatological topics such as excrement, urination or purgation is common

²⁵ Woodbridge, *Vagrancy*, pp. 130-31.

²⁶ Gail Kern Paster, *The Body Embarrassed: Drama and the Disciplines of Shame in Early Modern Drama* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1993), pp. 113-62. Gail Kern Paster, *Humoring the Body: Emotions and the Shakespearean Stage* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2004), pp. 50-51.

²⁷ Ian Munro, ed., *'A womans answer is neuer to seke': Early Modern Jestbooks, 1526-1635*, The Early Modern Englishwoman: A Facsimile Library of Essential Works, Vol. III, Essential Works for the Study of Early Modern Women: Part 2. Vol. 8 (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), p. xvii.

²⁸ See a discussion of Edward Dering in Section 1.

in the jest-books of the later generation such as *Scoggin's Jests* and *Tarlton's Jests*, though there is a significant difference in the degree of indignation, and the extent of causing dismay. In the 1626 *Scoggin's Jests*, farting in tale 27 with puns on 'air' and 'heir' is presented in praise of plain speech to avoid vulgar misunderstanding (Table 4).²⁹ Similarly, when Scoggin mocks the Queen's farting, he saves her honour and dignity by comically humiliating himself, saying that his fart costs double the queen's fart: Scoggin 'girt out a fart like a horse or mare, saying, if that fart be so deare of twenty pound, my fart is worth forty pounds'.³⁰ In spite of its scatological material, the tale directs the queen's and even the reader's attention more to daily life-giving relief, without leaving an unpleasant aftertaste in personal or gratuitous abuse. Less energetic in its scatological content, Boorde's *Scoggin's Jests* is realised in the comic style with an Anglicised tone. It became more distinctive as a main feature of later jest-books, especially in the 1630s when they were printed for topics for table talk; obscene or decent stories are relatively suppressed, and instead when the stories are localised in the city, they revolve around the human relationship between the husband and wife and the merchant and the citizen.

2.2 From Jest-book to Play-text: Recurrent and Shifting Classical Motifs

Although both the *Scoggin's Jests* texts collect and appropriate episodes from the preceding jest-books, they are different in many ways from their mother jest-books.³¹ The 1626 edition has its source mostly in *A Hundred Merry Tales*, taking material from tales 41,

²⁹ Boorde, *Scoggin's Jests*, Tale 27 (pp. 34-36). All quotations to The 1626 *Scoggin's Jests* are to Boorde's edition (published in 1626), and the list of tales is given in Table 4. See also Chapter 1, Section 1.1 (p. 30).

³⁰ Boorde, *Scoggin's Jests*, Tale 41 (p. 50).

³¹ Charles H. Herford long ago pointed out that the 1626 edition of *Scoggin's Jests* drew directly upon *Howleglas*, but he found only one episode — of the hero's flying from the high top — (Tale 10 in *Howleglas*, Tale 53 in *Scoggin's Jests*) as an example. Charles H. Herford, *Studies in the Literary Relations of England and Germany in the Sixteenth Century* (London: Frank Cass, 1966; first edition, 1886), p. 282. He discusses the influence of *Howleglas* on the literature of sixteenth century England. For Herford's full discussion of the English version of *Howleglas*, see his 'Chapter V: The Ulenspiegel Cycle' (pp. 242-322).

53, 55, 71, 83, and 84 (Table 5).³² The targets of these tales are a foolish scholar, a parson, people at court, a cowherd, and a bishop. Cleverly allocated in each sequence of the unified stories of *Scoggin's Jests*, these effectively rework to emphasise the hero's witticisms.

The 1613 edition, by contrast, finds its source from *Howleglas*, taking material from tales 8, 9, 19, 20, 29, 34, 35, and 39 (Table 6).³³ The continental origins of these stories are assimilated into the hero's adventures in Paris and Rome, with occasional changes such as the wolf replaced with the bear familiar to the English in the hero's revenge against the inn-holder with wild skin.³⁴ In another episode of deceiving a wine seller, the mitigation of harsh subjects is found: Scoggin cheats the seller by replacing a bottle of wine with one of water to give wine to his companions; but in its counterpart in *Howleglas*, the hero deceives the seller and causes him serious damage.³⁵ The difference between the mother stories and *Scoggin's Jests* lies in an aftereffect caused by a story about revenge and retaliation: the hero's roguery that predominates in *Howleglas* is lightened to create merriment and gaiety in the 1613 *Scoggin's Jests*.

Latin words or expressions are often jest-book topics satirising supposedly learned people, especially clerics and young scholars. Because of the usage of Latin, jests of this sort are made effectively by the learned hero: Skelton and Scoggin are ideal heroes for this purpose. In tale 41 of *A Hundred Merry Tales*, Skelton attempts to get into the bishop's house, falls into the moat, and then after he manages to see the bishop, mocks him by naming pheasants, which he brought as a present, and succeeds in being received favourably. In tale 6

³² All quotations to *A Hundred Merry Tales* are to P. M. Zall's *A Hundred Merry Tales and Other English Jestbooks of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1963). The tale list of this edition is transcribed in Table 5.

³³ The list of tales of *Howleglas* is given in Table 6, based on P. M. Zall's edition, *A Hundred Merry Tales and Other English Jestbooks of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1963). For the list of tales of the 1613 *Scoggin's Jests*, see Table 3.

³⁴ Anon, The 1613 *Scoggin's Jests*, Tale 13 (sigs. B5^v-B6^v), *Howleglas*, Tale 35.

³⁵ Anon, The 1613 *Scoggin's Jests*, Tale 10 (sigs. B2^v-B3), *Howleglas*, Tale 29.

of *The Merry Tales of Skelton*, Skelton leaves the bishop, saying that the gift birds were named alpha and omega mean the beginning and the end of his greeting (Table 7).³⁶ In a reworked story in the 1626 *Scoggin's Jests* (Tale 55), Scoggin's falling into the moat is likened to an act of christening, and Scoggin regains the bishop's favour. Taking Boorde's authorship of both books by Scoggin and Skelton into consideration, it is most probable that Boorde divided the one tale into two, and gave the main plot with the 'alpha-omega' witticism to Skelton, carefully recycling the theme of the hero's verbal wit in the display of his defiant entering of the bishop's house in the Scoggin episode.

In addition to the differing characterisation of the hero taken from the earlier sources — a single unified hero for the 1626 edition, and a knowledgeable professional for the 1613 edition — a shifting focus on the target informs each of the Scoggin books, though the heroes of both books is a learned Oxford graduate, who teaches Latin to a youth desperate to join the priesthood and who later proves himself a fool by his failure to memorise no more than three words. Scoggin in the 1626 edition teaches a young scholar, whereas in the 1613 edition he teaches a Frenchman.

The confusion caused by the mistranslation of Latin is another common jest-book subject. In an example about the mass, an unlearned parson sends an errand to a learned friar to bring back a hint for an appropriate sermon for Easter day, and mistakenly infers the title of the sermon from the foolish errand boy's memory of a sermon starting with 'R'. He addresses *Requiem eternam* to the congregation instead of *Requiem resurrexi*. In another example, *A Hundred Merry Tales* also has a tale of a priest performing the wrong mass for a requiem (Tale 83), adapted in the 1626 *Scoggin's Jests* (Tale 14). In these Latin-related tales repeated between the mother jest-books and the two Scoggin books, where the unlearned priest is

³⁶ The list of tales of *The Merry Tales of Skelton* is given in Table 7.

despised, the recurring motifs are emphasised differently.

Some jest materials have different contexts in the presentation of the hero's wisdom, as in the 'false flight' theme, where the hero promises to fly from a housetop or tower, and makes excuses for not flying. Tale 10 in *Howleglas* concludes, 'He is a shrewed fool, for he telleth us the truth'; tale 53 of the 1626 *Scoggin's Jests*, on the other hand, ends with an epigram, 'Here a man may see that one cannot haue a shrewd turne in playing the foole, but he shall haue a mocke of his labour'.³⁷ *A Hundred Merry Tales* and *The Mad Men of Gotham* give further examples: the third man, who watches his neighbours fight over which way back each would take, to prove his wit, pours the meal in his sack over the bridge. *A Hundred Merry Tales* concludes with 'This tale showeth you that some man taketh upon him to show other men wisdom when he is but a fool himself', and *The Mad Men of Gotham* ends with the third man's comment on the other two's quarrel and the author's questioning of the reader: 'euen as much wit is in your two heads, to striue for that thing you haue not. Which was the wised of all these three person, judge you?' The comic motifs are flexible in catering for the needs of the jest-book framework.

John Wardroper, classifying jests on the basis of common targets, discusses the similarities and differences between the earlier jest-books.³⁸ However, he does not fully analyse how and why each jest-book was transmitted from its antecedent, and the significance of some tales in the early jest-books brought into later plays emerges not from his categorisation or comparison, but from the alteration of the text — its process and effects.

Jest-book material was exported as a source for the anecdotal use of clowning in early

³⁷ Boorde, *Scoggin's Jests*, Tale 53 (p. 63).

³⁸ Wardroper classifies jests based on the kind of targets in the early publications 'Husbands, Wives and Wenches', 'Friars, Priests and Nuns', and on the jester in 'From Marcolf to Scoggin', and on the kind of jests in 'Quips, Retorts, Tricks and Blunders', and 'Men and Manners' (Wardroper, *Jest upon Jest*). Both Hazlitt and Wardroper explain the similarity of the trick between the jest-books, tracing the source back to the ancient story (Hazlitt, II, 144; Wardroper, p. 172).

modern play-texts. The theme of ‘A rich man and his three sons’, the third son of which Henry Peacham described as Tarlton’s role in the play, was one example, and is contained in *A Hundred Merry Tales*, as the fifth tale. The details of the story of the play which Peacham witnessed are not certain, but the theme is the generation gap between a father and his sons, between old wisdom and inexperienced youth, or between caring parenthood and youthful ardour.³⁹ Peacham’s account attests to the relocation of the jest-book motif as a single episode in the play.

Another example of transferring jest-book material into a play is the ‘false flight’ theme found in John Lyly’s *Campaspe*.⁴⁰ The theme previously appeared in *The Parson of Kalenborow*, *Howleglas*, and the 1626 edition of *Scoggin’s Jests*.⁴¹ The adaptation of the episode to the scene of a philosopher’s ridiculing the mob of people in *Campaspe* illustrates how the transfigured jest-book material is implanted in Renaissance drama. A short tale is modified into a comic anecdote to attract the audience, and this very application is the most probable cause of the whole scene often being cut as unconnected with and unnecessary for the development of the main plot.

Another example is an anonymous writer’s *A Knack to Know a Knave*: one episode came from *The Mad Men of Gotham*, as the subheading clearly states: ‘VVith Kemps applauded merrimentes of the men of Goteham, in receiuing the King into Goteham’.⁴² *The Mad Men of Gotham* was published around 1565, the attributed author being Andrew Boorde. The theme of Gotham village, famous for its foolish inhabitants, appeared earlier in *A Hundred Merry Tales*: the first tale of *The Mad Men of Gotham* came from tale 24 of *A*

³⁹ See also Chapter 4 for discussion about textualised Tarlton, below pp. 128-54.

⁴⁰ G. K. Hunter and David Bevington, eds. *Campaspe and Sappho and Phao*, The Revels Plays (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999). References to *Campaspe* are to this edition.

⁴¹ Anon, *The Parson of Kalenborow* (Antwerp: J. van Doesborch?, ca. 1520).

⁴² Anon, *A Knack to Know a Knave* (London: Imprinted by [i.e. for] Richard Jones [etc.], 1594). For further discussion of the relation between the play, the jest-book and the player, see Chapter 5 on Kemp, below pp. 155-83.

Hundred Merry Tales. These incidents demonstrate that the jest-book was the source of episodes inserted in plays, functioning as comic interludes, and forming comic echoes of the main plot.

However general or common they were, these motifs marked each of these jest-books, and the biographical jest-books are greatly indebted to the earlier sources. The characterisation of Scoggin as an Oxford graduate draws episodes related to intellectuals from earlier jest-books. Characters such as priests, maids, or merchants, are generic in both biographical and mother jest-books. Topics such as excrement and urination were naturalised, and became not so much residual of a repulsive grotesque in the continental stories as the reclamation of the comically exaggerated grotesque. In addition, the recycling of the one same jest in two different jest-books found in the ‘alpha-omega’ episode explains the extensive use of jest-material.⁴³ These became part of the basic dynamic of jesting, and served to generate events, and form an interrelated sequence.

3 Play-text Sources: *Scoggin’s Jests* and *Tarlton’s Jests*

Apart from the recurring motifs shared by the two editions of *Scoggin’s Jests* and their mother jest-books, the difference in both editions lies prominently in distinctions in life, adventure and journey — whether or not they are given continuity and consistency, and whether inside or outside England the adventure takes place. For all such differences, every episode develops in a similar way, and such a story-telling manner supports the shape of the biographical jest-book. In addition, illuminating the hero’s stormy life in the 1626 edition and the hero’s travels full of mischief and pranks in the 1613 edition, these jest-books offer vicarious adventures to the reader. However, close examination of the structure and the

⁴³ The adaptation of the story of the two gift birds is found in the clown scene in *Titus Andronicus* (Act IV, Scene 3): Eugene M. Waith, ed., *Titus Andronicus*, The Oxford World’s Classics (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).

subjects shows that the descriptive methods vary greatly: the 1626 edition focuses more on describing its hero's activities, while the 1613 edition devotes more detail to the victims of trickery. As such the *later* jest-books became more abridged and anecdotal, resulting in the compilation of short table-talk jokes of often situational and similar plots. Such a transition to table-talk matters in the choice and the presentation of jests is witnessed particularly in *Tarlton's Jests*; not all this in the book itself depart from narrative to joke and go back to narrative when fitted into play-texts.

3.1 The Hero's Life: The Two Editions of *Scoggin's Jests*

The 1626 edition of *Scoggin's Jests* has domestic place names like London, Oxford, Cambridge, and Newcastle, in addition to Paris, where Scoggin spends his time while being banished. The whole book is a biography of Scoggin, who first appears as a scholar at Oxford, and then a jester allowed into the English court; his double identity explains his episodes of mobility and promotion, without any contradiction. Though his adventure takes place in various locations, the characters involved in his jests around his dwelling are limited to engaging in common vocations of everyday life, belief, and livelihood. In the country, Scoggin forms a relationship with the people of a district — a skinner, a scholar, a priest, a tooth-drawer, all of them are ordinary community dwellers.

In the stories centred on the English court and the trade in the city, by contrast, Scoggin has a wider circle of acquaintances. Among his contacts, a shepherd, a tapster, a poulter, a draper, and a shoe-maker are related to the marketplace, where city dwellers and country people meet. When promoted into the court, Scoggin develops a master-servant relationship. It inevitably illuminates his social contacts and relationships with tradesmen, the king, the queen, the courtiers, and the people of both the city and the country, and eventually affirms

his presence of problematising the idea of trade, the social patterns of work life, and the relationship between a person in power and his or her subjects. The animals appearing in the 1626 edition are generically named without being given a sharp distinction or a specific description, such as a hare, a pickerel, a horse, a crow, a dog, a herring, and a sow. They appear usually as trade materials in episodes of everyday affairs.

This simple manner of description is applied to reports of people's behaviour; description is often factual: the episodes of 'leaping over the table', 'sweeping', and 'a wall eye' chronologically follow the action of the incident, without providing the writer's judgement or criticism.⁴⁴ It is the descriptive manner and the story-telling technique that deserves mention in comparison with the preceding jest-books, especially the mother jest-books such as *A Hundred Merry Tales* and *Howleglas*. Scoggin's self-reflective power of interpreting and understanding the very act of jesting minimises the efficacy of the closing moral lessons in *A Hundred Merry Tales*, and denies the patterns of causality underlying the didactic method of *Howleglas*. It relegates its source texts and its manner to secondary importance, and instead, guides the reader through a new fashion of harmonised but various episodes.

In the 1613 edition of *Scoggin's Jests*, Scoggin, an Oxford graduate, who was banished from England because he was accused of lust and wantonness against a goldsmith's daughter, sets out for Rome. His adventures are almost always limited to the routes to religious places, such as abbeys and Rome, as if he makes a pilgrimage or an expiatory trail. However, when Scoggin arrives at an abbey soon after his arrival in Normandy, aiming at deceiving a nun with lustful desire, Scoggin rubs ointment on her body. This strange mixture of the hero's lust and guile against clerics requires explanation. As the subheading promises to show 'his

⁴⁴ Boorde, *Scoggin's Jests*, Tales 33 (p. 44), 35 (p. 45), and 36 (pp. 45-46).

pleasant pastimes in France, and of his meriments among the Fryers', many of Scoggin's episodes in the 1613 text specialise in torturing persons in holy orders: the targets of his jests are the wider variety of clericals such as Jesuits, a grey friar, an abbot, a nun, cardinals, the Pope, and a Popish priest.⁴⁵

Moreover, as Scoggin's episodes take place abroad, he experiences the varieties of social life, and encounters people of many other occupations, nationalities, or unique circumstances typical of the time and the custom, for example, an inn-keeper, a fortune teller, a warrener, a merchant, a Chandler, a carter, a painter, a confessor, a constable, and a wag-halter boy. Some of these are not necessarily inevitable characters in everyday life, where they make few occasional appearances. As attractive as they are, these furnish topics of jest to amuse and entertain the reader. In the adventures away from England, with more scenes and activities and more varieties of social life than in the 1626 edition, Scoggin in the 1613 edition is given the opportunity to play more jests on various kinds of people and frequently step over the line. The 1613 edition is a collection of stories fit for the frame of the hero's journey, and its episodes and motifs are taken mainly from *Howleglas*, and are neither arranged nor organised with a unified theme.

Travel and adventure are passports to success in creating merry jests about issues related to the hero's quest. The various uses of society, work, life, and the encyclopaedic but sporadic descriptions of them obscure the theme of the book, while the advantages of a grand tour are emphasised exhaustively in the book. This fact demonstrates that the 1613 *Scoggin's Jestes* deals with ulterior issues to the biographical jest-book publication; it is rather an anthology, revolving around different disciplines, methods and assumptions, though it

⁴⁵ Since the Jesuit society became active in the late sixteenth century, and the 1626 edition originated from the Colwell text published around the middle of the sixteenth century, the Jesuits could not have been a subject of Scoggin's jesting. This proves that the original text of the 1626 edition preceded that of the 1613 edition, though its publication is chronologically behind the 1613 edition.

assumes Scoggin as its consistent jesting hero.

3.2 Women and the Hero: The 1613 *Scoggin's Jests*

One striking difference between the 1613 and the 1626 editions is the treatment of women. While in the 1626 edition Scoggin's wife, an old woman, the queen, gentlewoman and a poulter's wife occasionally make their appearance as victims of Scoggin, in the 1613 edition a country wench or woman, a goldsmith's daughter, an innkeeper's wife, a glover's wife, a squire's wife, friar Thomas's concubine, a widow, a gentleman's maid, a draper's maid, and a country milkmaid frequently appear in many of the episodes. The women remind us of the social relevance of the household, trade and the marketplace on the one hand, and of the jest-book's incursion on wifedom and wifehood on the other hand. Not only do they show every day life, but, more importantly, they are also cast for the revelation of Scoggin's lustful nature.

In the episode in which a country wench deceives Scoggin as he attempts to meet a maid in her house, she shuts him up in a room and compares Scoggin to a bull calf, claiming 'his hornes should neuer neuer graft his coxcombe'.⁴⁶ Here, a customary victim of Scoggin's jest retaliates against him. Further, this tale reveals to us why these women characters take part in jesting: the nascent topic of female empowerment in the context of publications on husbandry. The word 'coxcomb' for signifying a fool is contemporary to the 1613 edition, and its first entry in the *OED* is Thomas Tusser's *Five Hundred Points of Good Husbandry*, in 1573.⁴⁷ Another distinctive word 'cozen' used in the 1613 edition and not in

⁴⁶ Anon, The 1613 *Scoggin's Jests*, Tale 37 (sig. D3).

⁴⁷ 'coxcomb', in *OED*. This conduct book was published repeatedly during the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries: in 1557 (STC 24372), 1562 (STC 24372.5), 1570 (STC 24373), 1573 (STC 24376, 24377, 24375), 1574 (STC 24378), 1576 (STC 24378.5), 1577 (STC 24379) by Richard Tottell; in 1580 (STC 24380), 1585 (STC 24381), 1586 (STC 24382) by Henry Denham; in 1590 (STC 24383), 1593 (STC 24384), 1597 (STC 24385), 1599 (STC 24385.5), by Peter Short; in 1599 (STC 24386), 1604 (STC 24387)

the 1626 edition also first appeared in the same book. The new presence of these words common to both Tusser's *Five Hundred Points of Good Husbandry* and the 1613 *Scoggin's Jests* demonstrates that people were curious about and amused at cozenage in everyday incidents. Not only does the conduct book present various tasks, but it specifies demands for the people engaged in the tasks.

Indeed, one of the peculiar features of the 1613 *Scoggin's Jests* is its vulgarity and indecency, impudently and maliciously unmasking the personalities of women as well as the mock-priesthood of clerics. Scoggin's behaviour is a deviation from what is socially acceptable as the conduct book regulates. This coincides with the 1613 edition's shift in narrative style within the jest-book convention. Each variation in the episodes of the 1613 *Scoggin's Jests* marked a new phase for the jest-book. Rather than following the manner of the earlier edition, the 1613 edition was virtually a new book: Scoggin was recruited from the original 1626 edition, and trained into its semblance; he was provided with episodes from *Howleglas*, the more distant mother jest-book. This change with variants in jesting motifs will be more clearly witnessed in the shift in narrative style.

3.3 The Self-reflective Hero: The 1626 *Scoggin's Jests*

The 1626 *Scoggin's Jests* is distinguished from the mother jest-books in its set sequence of tales, narrative techniques and unified themes. There is a wide range of comic material: the episodes of Scoggin and his young servant Jack, the ridicule of priests, the mockery of arrogance, the queen and court, French experience, and so on. In the story about how Jack got a fish for his dinner, Jack's witty description that 'one [fish] doth fight with the other' invites Scoggin to put the other one into the pan with the result that Jack becomes glad to have a fish

by Robert Waldegrave; in 1610 (STC 24388), 1638 (STC 24392) by Nicholas Okes; in 1614 (STC 24389), 1620 (STC 24390), 1630 (STC 24391) by Thomas Purfoot. For the vocabulary of the two Scoggin books, see Chapter 1, Section 2.

for himself. And on another occasion, Jack plays a trick on Scoggin to make his master pay a penny for fish bones.⁴⁸ Then, in a sequel, when Jack convinces his master that two eggs are three by showing the first one as the third with a sophisticated reply, Scoggin appreciates Jack's witty riposte and gives him one of the eggs. Scoggin himself is a target of numerous butts, and even though the master-servant relationship is reversed, the subsequent story never involves punishing or tormenting the servant. Illuminating Scoggin's self-awareness of becoming the victim, it rather shows that reversal within a human relationship in itself can be subject material for comedy and be fully enjoyed as an insoluble contradiction inherent in humans, which provokes laughter rather than anger or sorrow. P. M. Zall, in his comparison of *Scoggin's Jests* with the classical jest-book, explains:

there was a strong tendency for the medieval and classical elements to blend, combining the exuberant story-telling quality of the one with the concise economy of the other, producing a hybrid with roots centuries deep.⁴⁹

The jest-book writers did not simply repeat anecdotes to fit in their compilations. The story-telling quality in *Scoggin's Jests* is, however, pictorial and descriptive, and creates self-reflecting moments for the hero.

Borrowing his materials from classical episodes, Boorde integrated them into the life of Scoggin, and in so doing supplied the hero with quick wit and the story with strong visual descriptions. The causes of laughter in these visually illustrated anecdotes are brought together not by the characters' speech, but by their deeds. Consequently, the main asset in these stories is something common in humans, namely physiological phenomena or physical weakness. The hero who laughs at and with the target occasionally becomes the victim or target of laughter, and when he becomes an object, he projects his understanding of what happens between himself and the jesting subject onto the beholder's or reader's

⁴⁸ The episode of the herring bones is of further importance, as discussed below pp. 79-80.

⁴⁹ P. M. Zall, ed., *A Nest of Ninnies and Other English Jestbooks of the Seventeenth Century* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1970), pp. ix-xviii (p. xii).

self-recognition.

Another side to self-reflective jesting heroes is their departure from didactic commentary. The episodes are listed without definition of the event or the moral feelings of the involved. In one tale, Scoggin gives a goose leg to a man and after checking he has eaten it, tells him that it contains a hundred lice. The comment explains the episode: 'Here it is good to mark that a man beleue not every word that another doth speake; for some doe lie, some do iest, some doe mock and some do scorn, and many men doe say the very truth'.⁵⁰ Apart from this more objective manner, the characters in the stories converge on subjects which mediate between them and the prominently foregrounded patterns of jokes and antics throughout. Even though the truth is conveyed in speech, whole episodes are relativised and presented in a detached descriptive way.

With realistic situations brought by visual effects, characters create more caricatural effects. People are not given detailed characterisation; they are usually uncultivated. This explains the retained similarities and overlapping between the stories and characters published during the height of jest-book publishing, in spite of being isolated from context or being unnamed. In the compilations of jests of the 1630s, in which any consistent hero is absent, the focus is more on the exchange of words, as the witticism developed formally as one of the accomplishments of a gentleman of the time. While the sequence concerning the master-servant relationship in the 1626 *Scoggin's Jests* affirms human existence and never casts aspersions on any of the deeds of the characters, the growth of detached pictorial description which accelerated the jest-book's departure from didactic purpose, introduces jests on human nature and its eccentricities. Consequently, jests were no longer the vessel of story-based merriment and jesters were not required to appear as narrators.

⁵⁰ Boorde, *Scoggin's Jests*, Tale 34 (p. 45).

3.4 Licensed to Tell the Truth: The Fool's Jest-book Origins

It became an imperative that laughter ran in tandem with the licence to speak the truth. This was maintained in the manner of objectifying both the subject and object of fooling. When scholars and critics have defined the nature of the clowns and fools in Renaissance drama, they have mingled the characters of both real and fictional fools. Robert Goldsmith has defined the fool's freedom to speak as the wise but innocent voice of the people 'with the mingled feelings of awe, amused contempt, and something like pity', and he concludes that 'The merging of the professional jester with the licensed fool gave rise to a new species — the artificial fool or court jester'.⁵¹ He then expands on this to see the tradition continued in Shakespeare's witty fool. In general, the consensus seems to be that dramatic fools are the descendants of the innocent-assuming fools who are allowed to criticize their masters and their keepers. In a more intensive study, Robert Hornback recently analysed the English clowning tradition as running from a truth-teller to a figure impersonating folly, which he contends is consistent in both clowns and fools.⁵² However, these views give stage clowns and fools the twin personalities of both jester and peripatetic truth-teller-philosopher, which obscure their aspects as comic characters.

Unlike the clowns and fools in play-texts, the biographical jest-book heroes do not live within any particular household, and appear ubiquitously, at court, the tavern in the city, and the country inn. They display their ability of answering back to others regardless of rank and vocation. In the 1626 edition, Scoggin appears as a master at one point, a servant at another, and even a masterless vagabond-rogue sometimes. He has no identity other than as a learned, witty Oxford graduate. Whether he performs or not, he still operates flexibly as a jester, given

⁵¹ Robert Hillis Goldsmith, *Wise Fools in Shakespeare* (East Lansing, Michigan; Michigan State University Press, 1955), p. 7.

⁵² Hornback, *The English Clown Tradition*.

the right to find, distinguish and define fools among the people, and including himself.

The ‘false flight’ episode in *The Parson of Kalenborow*, another of the mother jest-books, published in around 1520, also appears in *Howleglas* and in the 1626 Scoggin book, and is a tale which gives some of the clearest examples for detecting the origins of the early modern fool. In responding to the notice that the hero would fly from the high top, folks gather to watch the miracle. The hero does not fly and instead ridicules the spectators or mocks his rival’s reckless attempt. There are striking differences in the above narratives. In *The Parson of Kalenborow*, the parson aims to sell his inferior wine, and the deceived villagers become furious and pronounce a curse on him. This is followed in turn by the parson’s insensitivity to others’ anger. Then the parson of Kalenborow attracts the people by flapping false wings, resulting in their entertainment.⁵³ By contrast, *Howleglas*, on the top of the council building with nothing in his hands, mocks the gallery, laughing at them:

‘I thought there had been no more fools but myself, but I see well that here is a whole town full. For had ye altogether said that ye would have flied, yet I would not have believed you. And now ye believe one fool that sayeth that he will fly, which thing is impossible for I have no wings. And no man can fly without wings.’⁵⁴

When village folks find that *Howleglas* has deceived them, some of them praise him, because he tells the truth that no man can fly.

In the meantime, in *Scoggin’s Jests*, the episode ends with Scoggin’s mockery of a Frenchman who fails in his attempt to fly with false wings and falls into the moat. Scoggin then offers further raillery about the Frenchman’s flying into England, rather than his flying to Paris. He comments, ‘sir, you be welcome from Paris; I thinke you have beene in a great raine’ (Tale 53). Aware that he is the object at which the spectators laugh, he notes that flying like a bird is impossible even with the wings. In *Campaspe*, after the discussion whether

⁵³ ‘How the parson sold his wine’, in Wardroper, pp. 82-83 (the reproduction of the Bodleian copy).

⁵⁴ Anon, *Howleglas*, Tale 10.

Diogenes's promise of flying is realised or not, Diogenes delivers a long speech, and in the end denounces the people: 'Thus have I flown over your disordered lives, and if you will not amend your manners I will study to fly further from you that I may be nearer to honesty' (VI. 1. 57-60). He accuses the Athenian crowd of falseness, insisting that he would never fly without the proof of the people's honesty. In the heat of the Athenians' rage and indignation, the episode is concluded by Phyllus, apprentice to Apelles the painter: 'Come, let us go; and hereafter when I mean to rail upon anybody openly it shall be given out I will fly' (IV. 1. 88-89). The servants are pleased by Diogenes's trickery of the Athenians. The issues raised in the comparison of the different endings in these applications of the false flight episode are as follows: Who is fooling whom? What is fooled? How is foolery contextualised?

In the examples of cheating with money between *Howleglas* and the 1626 *Scoggin's Jest*s, the transition in the fooling manner from a simple form to a more complex double layered form can be detected. Asked by the hostess to pay for food and drink at the highest priced table, Howleglas answers and requires her to give the money contrariwise, cleverly using her own argument:

For you said to me that there came no manner of persons within your house but that they eat for money. And when you had told me that, I sat me down and said I would do the same. And I ate so much that I sweat again and therefore you give me money.⁵⁵

The point of money for food changes focus for that of money for labour. The solution to the quarrel is made when the hostess negotiates with Howleglas by convincing him of her refusal of his return. By contrast, Scoggin in the 1626 edition is fooled by his servant scholar Jack: Jack does not give Scoggin one of the three herrings which he bought for a penny, and rather requires his master to pay a penny for the one herring; then when Scoggin tries to escape from entertaining his fellow by showing the herring bones which Jack ate as an excuse for having

⁵⁵ Anon, *Howleglas*, Tale 21.

no food left, Jack again asks Scoggin to pay another penny for the bones.⁵⁶ Jack's trick of squeezing money out of Scoggin and Scoggin's eventual jest about the herring bones demonstrates a changing target of ridicule. Moreover, in this narrative, Scoggin admits that he is in the twofold position of being both a victim of Jack's jesting, and a mocking subject, when saying to his guest, 'If you had come sooner, you should have had fresh herrings to dinner'. The relativising of the hero and his actions, together with the manner of narration, features the most developed form of the biographical jest-book. The 1626 edition of *Scoggin's Jests* thus departs from the jesting style of earlier jest-books: the duplicity of the episode consists of two different relationships between the jester and the jested upon.

The figure of the jester-fool with licensed speeches emerges from Boorde-Colwell's 1626 *Scoggin's Jests*, though the presentation of the speeches is primitive in its style and propriety. For example, Scoggin's appraisal of his fart being higher than the queen's is concluded with the statement 'Here a man may see, that a knaue may doe that which an honest man may not speake'.⁵⁷

In his jest about the queen, Scoggin's excessive commenting endangers himself. He affirms that women are seduced by riches, saying that riches 'cause women to fall to lechery and folly'. To see if the queen's denial is true, Scoggin increases the amount of money to lure her reply: 'a woman would doe much for that'. At this critical moment, Scoggin outwits her, saying 'if a man had goods enough, he might haue a soueraigne Lady'. The comment added to the episode tells, 'Wherefore it doth appeare, that it is not good iesting with Lords or Ladies; for if a man be plaine, or doe tell the truth, hee shall be shent for his labour'.⁵⁸ There emerges here an early form of the convention that a jester can criticise his master or mistress through excessive humour. Indeed, this particular queen-jester nexus involves a power relationship

⁵⁶ Boorde, *Scoggin's Jests*, Tale 5 (pp. 9-10).

⁵⁷ Ibid., Tale 41 (p. 50).

⁵⁸ Ibid., Tale 49 (p. 57).

that was to be frequently reiterated in theatrical narratives, and offers one of the earliest comic examples of the fooling of a social superior. The jests by Scoggin demonstrate a prototype of the licensed fool that is approximated by later dramatic fools. Scoggin, as depicted in the jest-book, proves that he is a licensed fool of sorts, but he is only a precursor.

The instance of Scoggin discloses the attributes necessary to be a licensed fool: an outstanding wit, a good command of the language, and an observant and satiric attitude toward the societies where he resides. The jest-book heroes such as Scoggin, Skelton and Peele, are qualified as knowledgeable persons, and therefore, it seems that they are allowed to hold a licence to speak the truth. They are what might be called assigned jesters, not only by kings or their keepers, but by the plebeians. And because of this same appointment, they are accepted as laughter-makers, who have access to the people of the era at all levels of society. This loosely indicates the nature of the renegade comments of the court jester, but on the other, hand Scoggin's jests elsewhere bear some resemblance to the later form of the licensed speeches of the literary stage fools. Among the biographical jest-books, *Scoggin's Jestes* is predominant for the survival of its narrative style, which is later exploited and adopted into the presentation of the clown-fool figures in Renaissance drama.⁵⁹

4 The Fool's Future: From *Tarlton's Jestes* to *A Banquet of Jestes*

Tarlton, a later jest-book hero, seems to have undertaken similar jests to Scoggin. Tarlton, a member of the Queen's Men, becomes a free agent to show his property and express his views and comments about others. Like Scoggin, he challenges the socially advantaged people like a gentleman and a physician, and mocks their status and qualifications. But unlike *Scoggin's Jestes*, *Tarlton's Jestes* is given a coherent narrative for its presentation. Without an

⁵⁹ For full discussion see Chapter 8 below pp. 249-66.

explanatory notes to episodes, Tarlton often works his jests as speeches to bring about comical situations; he then directs and manipulates situations to be ludicrous. While *Tarlton's Jestes* retains some feature of the biographical jest-book, it foreshadows *A Banquet of Jestes*, which is distinguished from the book of a single jester's adventure.

Unlike the Scoggin books, *Tarlton's Jestes* consists of episodes gathered from circulated jest-books. It is divided into three parts: 'His court-witty iests'; 'His sound city iest'; and 'His countrey pretty iests'.⁶⁰ This categorisation is repeated later in *A Banquet of Jestes* with more subcategories. Because of the concatenation of episodes only based on the location where they take place, links between the tales are weakened, and without the narrative sequence each tale becomes independent. Another feature is the description of specific people and their habits in both court and city jests: a watch in Fleetstreet, a waterman, a barber-surgeon, Lord Chamberlaine's gallants, a rich Londoner, a Lord Mayor, a raker, a whore-master, a bailiffe, a keeper, a plough-jogger, a Justice, and Armin, whose appearance defines a genealogy of clowning style, as he is Tarlton's adopted son and his successor in clowning. Their stories associate with the specified place names of streets, taverns, and ordinaries in London. Moreover, some of the episodes disclose Tarlton as a theatrical figure. As one entry of the ballad in the Stationers' Company illustrates, Tarlton replies in a song to a gentleman at Bell Savage, and the episode of 'theame' proves that the practice of theatre was assimilated into the gentlemen's life as one of their cultural accomplishment or habits.⁶¹ In addition, in a series of country episodes, the names of towns Tarlton travels around in the Queen's Men troupe — Suffolk, Norwich, Greenwich, Southampton, Bristol and Worcester — in fact are

⁶⁰ Anon, *Tarlton's Jestes* (London: Printed by J[ohn] H[aviland] for Andrew Crook [etc.], 1638).

⁶¹ The entry of the ballad is as 'A sorrowfull newe sonnette, Intituled TARLTONs Recantacon vppon this theame gyven him by a gentleman at the Bel[le]savage without Ludgate (nowe or ells never) beinge the laste theame he songe' (Arber, II, 526). See Chapter 4 for full discussion. Hazlitt notes 'give themes' as 'a very favourite practice among literary associates and otherwise', referring to Gascoigne's *Posies* (1575) (Hazlitt, II, 197).

the places of the players' actual visits. From these episodes, with local and topographical references, the society where Tarlton dwells, visits, or stays, is illustrated.

Tarlton's Jests shares the same episodes with the 1613 *Scoggin's Jests*: the episodes of Doctor of physick cheated over wine, Mustard wit proved, a wag-halter boy, an eye-maker/a light-maker, a constable, a question on burial of the Pope, madmen frantic and distracted, opinions about oysters, and women such as a country wench, a gentleman's maid, a pretty woman, and so on. In these motifs Scoggin is replaced by Tarlton. And distinctively, the choice is made without regard to the context, and the final remarks are stripped away. The random insertion is made to establish the collection of self-sustained episodes. In addition, some of the place names in these episodes are naturalised to make them a habitat suitable for Tarlton, for example, 'Rome to Venice' is replaced with 'London to Norwich', and 'Rome' with 'Paternoster row' in London. Whereas showing the overlapping episodes or shared interests among other merry tales and peri-texts, *Tarlton's Jests* is naturalised with both the location and the hero.

The mode of narrative in *Tarlton's Jests* differs from that of its counterpart jest-books. Regarding the specific characteristics to Scoggin's creation of jests, he often initiates action to invite laughter. He makes mistakes, misunderstands and gets into trouble, then ridicules his own contrived situation. Narrative anecdotes are relevant for jests. By contrast, Tarlton enjoys not situational jesting, but incidental jesting on the spot. He often riddles and discloses a secret target for his jests. For example, when Tarlton pours wine into a urinal, it is a trigger for him to play a trick on a physician; when he reveals the physician does not diagnose the difference, Tarlton teases him about his lack of ability necessary for his profession. While the success of *Scoggin's Jests* rests heavily on the sequential settings, Tarlton's jesting, to an extent, is extemporal but observation-based, and his attitudes toward his target are detached.

In its giving a model of carefully contrived jesting, Tarlton differs from Scoggin. Unlike *Scoggin's Jestes*, the nature of *Tarlton's Jestes* is deductive, for it requires the reader to anticipate his purpose of fooling a physician's skills and knowledge and subsequently to make a swift reaction to perceived humour. *Scoggin's Jestes* and *Tarlton's Jestes* are different in 'how' they bring laughter to people.

Each episode of *Tarlton's Jestes* is compact and concise in the description of the story. Because of this economy in the style, it lacks the aesthetic appeal which the longer narrative possesses; but a model of a short comedy skit in each episode is reflected in contemporary play-texts. While Scoggin shows that disturbing elements of social life are amusing, and that his presence of being revenged is regarded and claimed in the tradition as an honest representation of humanity, Tarlton is much the same as the Renaissance stage fools in terms of performative function: Tarlton's jests are largely based on an occasional criticism of the physical pain of practical jokes. *Tarlton's Jestes*, with the institutionalised mirth-making, shows an advancement of jesting manner in the history of the jest-book, and coincides with one aspect of stage clowns: they appear neither in a sequence nor in an integrated way.

A Banquet of Jestes, published in the 1630s, however, has another way of presentation according to the publisher's purpose. With much shorter headings, the episodes are more compressed; rather, they are chopped out of a set of episodes, deprived of narrative, and confined in a smaller frame. Consequently they do not have a consistent flow of stories. In such presentation, a single jesting hero is destined to be dismissed from the jest-book. The essence of every jest is focused on an amusing phrase, or joke, and the heroes and their victims are diversified. The episodes include nameless Londoners' encounters with their fellow townsmen, countrymen, or the people outside England, including Scotland, Wales, and Holland. Due to the topics of the gentlemen's life and London city life, the

master/mistress-servant relationship and gentlemen-merchants relationships are focused on. Also, various occupations are illuminated in each of the conflicts among city dwellers. Thus, *A Banquet of Jests* served as a model for table talk, which indicates that the nature of the jest-book changed from fireside stories in the communities to jokes for gentlemen in the city.

In the first part of *A Banquet of Jests* published in 1630, the subject matter is as wide-ranging as in *Tarlton's Jests*. In later editions and in its second part, the facets of city life are amplified: more topics of city dwellers' concern are provided. The shift in features between the first and the second parts, published separately in 1636, is that the added topics are similar to the topic of city comedies; the jests are more likely to be set in London, depicting mercantile business and ordinary people's lives. Satirical commentary in the jests is at the expense of cuckolds and thrifty merchants. The tales in *A Banquet of Jests* without a continuous narrative create a rearranged, refined, and 'moderne' — in printer Richard Royston's words — version.⁶² Thus, the insertion and the re-structuring of tales epitomise *A Banquet of Jests*. This is one of the examples upon which the publisher Royston attempted to impose a new kind of control on the operation of the early modern English press. However, when Royston presents his new genealogy of the jest-book in his last edition, he introduces *Hind's Jests* as another type of jest-book.⁶³ This pamphlet about a coney catcher should be categorised as a book of rogue literature for its contents; it records James Hind's robberies with the story-line given along with the hero's career development.⁶⁴ The 'moderne' jest-book re-possesses narrative-based story lines, which were once suppressed.

With the advent of the English jest-book in the middle of the sixteenth century, the

⁶² Anon, *A Banquet of Jests* (London: Printed [by M. Flesher] for Richard Royston [etc.], 1634). For Richard Royston's contribution to making the genealogy of jest-books with comments, see Chapter 3, Section 3 below pp. 121-26.

⁶³ Anon, *Hind's Jests* (London: Printed for J. Deacon, 1657).

⁶⁴ For biographical information about James Hind, see Barbara White's account, 'Hind, James (*bap.* 1616, *d.* 1652), *highwayman and royalist soldier*', in *ODNB*. For detailed discussion, see the next chapter's discussion of the genealogy of the jest-book.

jest-book consists of comic materials, which bring a therapeutic effect on the reader, and then in later jest-books the contents were randomly chosen and shortened fit for table talk. In the last phase of jest-book development, the jesting-hero was replaced by one who sticks out in leading a checkered life, similar to a hero in the picaresque novel. Along with such a shift, neither Scoggin, the fictitious jester, nor Tarlton, the actual comic actor, survive as the literary figure of the prominent jester-hero in the late seventeenth century.

5 Conclusion: The Fool's Two Bodies: Shifting Generic Motifs

The early modern jest-books with a jester's name on them were organised around the intention of the author and his printer-publisher. In the biographical jest-books, such as the two Scoggin books and *Tarlton's Jests*, the name of the jester recurs in almost every episode, and the name itself holds a particular importance for the publication. By contrast, *A Banquet of Jests* proves the dominance of the compiler's interests in the addition, omission, and revision of episodes. Thus, questions of what constituted the early modern jest-books are closely tied to questions of who published the books, what revisions were made by the publisher, and what had influenced content of the jest-books.

As the jest-book was dissolved and absorbed into a new genre of table-talk collection, the conventional clown, developed from the jest-book, was destined to disappear from the stage and the play-text.⁶⁵ *Scoggin's Jests* and *Tarlton's Jests* formed the literary background for stage fools. Both jest-books come closer to the dramatic fools' clowning and the early modern idea of therapeutic laughter. Of the evidence that supports the fool's function as a healer rather than an exorcist, the jests themselves are the most important. The picture of clowning figures should be reasonably accurate if it is accepted that one traces their origins

⁶⁵ For full discussion, see Chapters 7 & 8, on clowns in Shakespeare, Dekker and Heywood, below pp. 220-66.

back to the jest-book heroes. Rather than from exotic healers with the faculty of communicating with the supernatural, the fool as stage performer in the Elizabethan era sprang from the jest-book hero using jests common to the people.

Moreover, a medical view of functional laughter promoted jesters' success in jest-books, and that, onstage, consequently separated jesters' identities from a swain or a rustic and formed an alternative figure that has cut vulgarity and physicality to becoming sophisticated, as shown in the difference between the bumpkin Scoggin and the smart Tarlton. The figure of these heroes consists of two different selves: the body therapeutic and the body privileged. Both bodies function to establish the clown figure who challenges his superiors. Due to the balance of these two bodies, clown figures on stage and in drama took diverse forms in the Renaissance, when with the monarch at court, they were given another faculty of curing unstable rule. When with the plebeian, clown figures exercised an actual sense of the human body to keep company with them. When with gentlemen or gallants, they were given a sharper tongue to challenge their superiors' intellect.

Over time, the contents of jest-books underwent great change. The development of science, especially medicine, had a great influence on the picture of clowning figures in the jest-book. In the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, the theory that the human body consists of four humours was prevalent. But the physiological view of the human body distanced medicine from alchemy, and everyday real life experience from religious mystery. Deprived of the body privileged, the clowning figure was likely to be a parody of a specific human character type, and resulted in assuming a more credible and concrete figure among ordinary people remote from his original position. Once medicine started to connect with the effect of laughter in the literary representation of clowning, the clown or the fool could not retain his original shape: he lost his mystic power.

Interestingly, the tradition of keeping the court jester disappeared when Archie Armstrong, the last identified court jester, was dismissed from the court of Charles I in 1637.⁶⁶ After the Restoration, the dignity of the absolute monarch was not restored as formerly, and the practice of the royal touch for curing the King's Evil, i.e. scrofula, disappeared officially in 1714.⁶⁷ The monarch's mystic power was weakened when the development of medicine, especially related to the study of the anatomical function to the body and the practice of medicine, deprived the monarch of his divine status of healer. As well as with the wane of the shamanistic idea of the divine right of kings, the tradition of the court jester, whose duty was to validate his majesty's rule, vanished. And the jester in Renaissance drama became dispirited at the same time as the actual monarch did. He was no longer a necessary figure for reinforcing his Majesty's power, nor fascinated him as an entertainer-healer who speaks the truth. Dismissed from the status of a licensed fool transcending the boundaries of positions, a grotesque, who could mock and insult his Majesty, he became unrealistic in the drama. The growing concern about good health and laughter brought prosperity to clowning figures, and paradoxically, also accelerated their decline, together with shaking the monarch's authority as royal healer.

The development of the English clown is related to this shift in the jest-book: he returns to his traditional role as a wit within the community with healing and diagnostic powers. The clowning figures in the jest-books are different from the subversive figures who disrupt norms and bring harm to society. The blend of the two positions — wit and healer — sustains the English tradition that jesters have the freedom to speak what they will without fear of punishment.

Moreover, with the decline of the biographical jest-book, the clown who originally

⁶⁶ R. Malcolm Smuts, 'Armstrong, Archibald [Archy] (d. 1672), *court fool*', in *ODNB*.

⁶⁷ 'King's Evil', in *OED*.

came from episodic appearances in the narrative of the jest-book, lost his position in narrative tradition and on the stage.⁶⁸ The clowning figure was destined to pave the way for the existence of the picaro in the novel in later centuries. Expanded in print but left in play-texts before 1640, the lasting legacy of early modern clowns has been bequeathed to posterity.⁶⁹

⁶⁸ For a full discussion of the development and decline of the clowning figure in the play-text will see Chapter 3, Section 3 on Richard Royston's mapping of jesting heroes.

⁶⁹ Diana E. Henderson, 'From popular entertainment to literature', in *The Cambridge Companion to Shakespeare and Popular Culture*, ed. by Robert Shaughnessy (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 6-25. See also Peter Thomson's distinctions among fools and clowns (Thomson, 'Clowns', pp. 407-23).

Chapter 3

Tarlton in Print: From Myth to History

Tarlton's name has been synonymous with a man of extemporising wit, a jig-maker, dancer, jest-maker, and court jester of Elizabeth I.¹ The portrayal of him reproduced in various works of art, including pictures and music, went on for more than five decades after his death. The truth is that Tarlton is fabricated as a myth in the process of rewriting his profile by theatre historians and literary writers, of both his contemporaries, and of our own time. His legacy is to be the most over-dissected clown of all time.

When discussed in detail, clowns have almost always been examined for their role and function in theatre history and literary criticism. This makes the discussion of Tarlton fall into a one-sided story: Andrew Gurr and Richard Beadle address the interaction between writing and performing clowning figures, and attempt to reconstruct a clear portrait of Tarlton. Both Gurr and Beadle accept the view, dependent on *Tarlton's Jests*, that Tarlton was a legendary performer. Gurr regards Tarlton as a truly significant phenomenon in literary history, and he admits Tarlton's laughter-making as universal, as found in the jest-books.² He emphasises through the device of extemporaneous performance that Tarlton's uniqueness is his separation from the 'stage parts in plays': Tarlton spoke out of character and improvised. Tarlton with his dog in *Tarlton's Jests* is seen as a model for Lance with Crab in *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, and Beadle observes that the jest-book provides a key background for Shakespeare's creation of the character. He writes, 'Shakespeare might have chosen to venture for the first time upon a scripted clown's role as an addition to the text [...] there is an oblique and allusive placing of Tarlton's type of genius at a point of suspense between an old world of popular comic

¹ Peter Thomson, 'Tarlton, Richard (d. 1588), actor and clown', in *ODNB*.

² Andrew Gurr, *Playgoing in Shakespeare's London*, 2nd edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 126-33.

entertainment, and the nascent realm of professional stage comedy'.³ Because *Tarlton's Jests* is the only source of information about him and his contemporary performances available to us, these and many other scholars have over-read this material to interpret clowning.

In Gurr and Beadle, the social context of the Tarlton myth in the jest-book is examined, but the questions of verisimilitude provided in that printed material remain unaddressed. Indeed, according to early modern documents, Tarlton is unique for his appearance both onstage and offstage as the jesting hero in the jest-book as well as in the long-lasting application of his name to widely ranged accounts — during his lifetime and posthumously —, from religious pamphlets to historical records. Analysing such a myth compiled from the actual clown actor and jest-book hero is the cornerstone of all the later profiles of him, and should be necessary to clarify both how 'Tarlton' was inscribed into these documents, and to search how the clown actor evolved into the accredited personage of the jester.

Tarlton's identities as clown actor and court jester remain elusive for a variety of reasons. For one thing, the source material that has been available to us is fragmentary, anecdotal, and distorted; for another, the writers, especially the posthumous writers, were committed to compile Tarlton's episodes as true accounts. The writers' attempts to explain Tarlton's fame as an epoch-making actor amounted to labelling him as an epitome of extempore wit. As a result of reinterpreting Tarlton, these writers reproduced the current myth of Tarlton.⁴

Tarlton's portrait was obscured by historians' styles, which render description as historical fact and make stories worth repeating through later generations. Especially in conjunction with Queen Elizabeth in the historical accounts, Tarlton is praised for his wit which recovers the Queen's humour and mood, with the result of mythologising Tarlton. For

³ Richard Beadle, 'Crab's pedigree', in *English Comedy*, ed. by Michael Cordner, Peter Holland, and John Kerrigan (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 12-35 (p. 16).

⁴ Among them, most influential in scholars' formulating of the clown tradition has been David Wiles's study of clown actors. Also see Introduction for the problems of modern criticism.

example, even three quarters of a century after Tarlton's death, Thomas Fuller, retrospectively writes how Tarlton was cherished by the Queen's subjects who tried to gain the Queen's favour and patronage: 'Her highest *Favorites*, would in some Cases, go to *Tarleton*, before they would go to the *Queen*, and he was their *Vsher* to prepare their advantageous access unto Her'.⁵ Fuller defines the function of the jester, and listed Tarlton as a prime instance, who rebuked the Queen for her errors and faults, condemned her excesses, and helped her to restore her composure and regain a sense of proportion. In this description of how the Queen exercised sovereignty through Tarlton's attendance, Fuller fabricates the legendary 'Tarlton' in his elegiac praise of the Queen.⁶

Another description of Tarlton was given by Edmund Bohun later in the seventeenth century. In the episode of Tarlton's overstepping the mark by ridiculing Sir Walter Raleigh, Tarlton earned displeasure from the Queen, who 'loves a natural Jester, that would tell a Story pleasantly, and humour it with his Countenance, and Gesture, and Voice; but she hated all those Praters that made bold with other mens Reputation, or defamed them'.⁷ Thus, almost a century after the death of Queen Elizabeth, the speculation that occurs in the historical accounts as to the true nature of Tarlton's clowning is fraught with the likely problems of inaccuracies and independence from Tarlton's identity as a theatrical personage. It is common in these nostalgic accounts of the late Queen by Fuller and Bohun that Tarlton exerted his wit at court in making remarks about the Queen's subjects. Yet, written in praise of the Queen, the episodes of the jester's wit to compliment the Queen's politics are used to garnish her

⁵ Thomas Fuller, *The History of the Worthies of England* (London: Printed by J. G[rismond]. W. L[eybourne]. and W. G[odbid]. for Thomas Williams [etc.], 1662), p. 47. Later the episode is abridged by G. S. [George Sandys] in *Anglorum Speculum, or The Worthies of England* (London: Printed for Thomas Passinger [...], William Thackary [...], and John Wright [etc.], 1684), pp. 768-69.

⁶ It is also worth noted that Fuller, falsely against the fact, added, 'His death may proportionably be assigned, about the end of Queen *Elizabeth*' (Fuller, p. 47). Fuller hides the fact that Tarlton died in 1588, fifteen years earlier than the Queen's death, positioning him as the Queen's lifetime jester.

⁷ This same episode is often taken up as a typical example in explaining the relationship between the Queen and her jester Tarlton. Edmund Bohun, *The Character of Queen Elizabeth* (London: Printed for Richard Chiswell [etc.], 1693), pp. 353-54.

magnanimity and dignity. Rather than showing Tarlton's wit, these accounts lose his uniqueness in personhood, and consequently with the generalisation of the jester's function, they unexpectedly concede that his presence can be replaced with other jesters.

Though these posthumous accounts of the stage clown at court lack historical precision, these writings give Tarlton's figure the cultural homogeneity of jesters for the purpose of praising the Queen's rule.⁸ For modern scholars too, 'Tarlton' became a generic figure whose textual history could be used as a source of anecdotes with which to characterise the clown generally. Present-day critics make similar deductions. Scholars such as Edwin Nungezer, Robert Weimann, David Wiles, John H. Astington, Mark Eccles, and Alexandra Halasz seek arbitrary samplings from early modern sketches.⁹ To discover the origins of his myth and the channels reaching the unreliably determined portrait, we need to have a systematic sampling of layers of different materials, rather than generalised random sampling.

To clarify Tarlton's image passed down to later times, we need to question the authenticity of the existing myth of Tarlton, and scrutinise the transmission of *Tarlton's Jestes* and works attributed to him. A crucial problem that studies of clowns have failed to address is how the image of Tarlton, active both on and off-stage, was created, established, and fixed as a historical-fictional figure, regardless of the different categories of writing. *Tarlton's Jestes* is another biographical jest-book that appropriated a historical figure in order to put him through the process from which he emerged as a legendary figure only marginally related to the existing historical evidence of the real man.

⁸ In the late 1600s, George Sandys, Gerard Langbaine, and Anthony à Wood had in common the same manner of depicting the attendance of Tarlton in the court. Since then, the genealogical focus has been on spurious sources of levelling and standardising English clowns with time-honored court jesters.

⁹ Edwin Nungezer, ed., *A Dictionary of Actors and of Other Persons Associated with the Public Representation of Plays in England before 1642* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1929); Weimann, *Shakespeare*; J. H. Astington, 'Rereading Illustrations of the English stage', *Shakespeare Survey*, 50 (1997), 151-70; J. H. Astington, 'Tarlton and the sanguine temperament', *Theatre Notebook*, 53 (1999), 2-7; Mark Eccles, 'Elizabethan actors, IV: S to end', *Notes and Queries*, 40 (1993), 165-76; Halasz, "'So beloved that men use his picture for their signs'", pp. 19-38.

Elizabethan authors used Tarlton's name in their publications for their own purposes. Even a modern scholar such as Halasz starts her discussion from the account of Tarlton in Stow's *Annals*, saying 'the *Annales* affirms a celebrity image already in productive circulation', and further discusses the circulation of Tarlton's brand name.¹⁰ She argues that 'the *Annales* entry converts the commodity-capital form of Tarlton to symbolic capital in the service of national identity';¹¹ but her reliance on numerous allusions to Tarlton confirms that the consolidation of the allusions circulated in the era established the 'celebrity' image as she calls it, where Halasz correctly identifies the existence of a Tarlton myth. She and other writers fail to identify the material process of print that made it possible, without clarifying the cause or power of the circulation and explaining how these allusions are assimilated in 'Tarlton'.

Tarlton's name recurred in print from around 1580 to 1640, and then beyond the Restoration to 1690. Such usage, on the whole, shows that Tarlton's name was ubiquitously available and accessible to writers. It also demonstrates that the complex identity that was given to him by each publication with its author's individual observations built a general consensus among readers. At a variety of levels, according to the design of writing, Tarlton served all purposes: the figure of him as a down-to-earth character, alongside a religious, political, entertaining, or satirical presence.

Tarlton's name is deployed not only in the body of the text as the hero, but also in the paratext — the prefatory matters such as the title, epistle and preface. Thus, the signifier 'Tarlton' has the contextulizing force to yield multiple signifieds, from predictions to commentary on the impact of particular events; Tarlton, the veteran communicator between the stage and the audience is appropriated as a campaigner for a religious party, as a

¹⁰ Halasz, "“So beloved that men use his picture for their signs”", p. 20.

¹¹ Ibid., p. 33.

spokesman for critics, and as a front for balancing female rule against the rule of religion. Yet Tarlton's name, with all its divergences, characterises the clown-actor in each account.

The Tarlton myth was constructed by the print industry, and 'Tarlton' consistently offered a myth aimed at insinuating itself into the readers' imaginations. There are three main phases in the development of the myth: the Marprelate period, in which he was used as a satirical figure; the years of publishing jest-books, with his name on them up to the 1640s; and beyond, when he was presented as a companion for Elizabeth and the court.

1 Tarlton in Early Allusions: The Marprelate Controversy and the Harvey-Nashe Pamphlet War

Before 1600, the clown figure in the allusions to Tarlton, with fresh memories of his stage performances, predominated. The allusions can be classified into four different types:

1) simple name borrowing in news materials; 2) references in the Martin Marprelate controversy; 3) as a substitute example of Nashe's wit in the topical pamphlet war between Thomas Nashe and Gabriel Harvey; 4) as a ghost figure from purgatory. Reflecting early modern writers' observations on Tarlton, these four types of allusion represent the initial phase of the myth making.

1.1 Contemporary Allusions

During his lifetime, writers of news material adduced Tarlton's name as an authentic witness whether or not this was truthful or justified. In a report of the flood in 1570, Tarlton is named: it ends with 'quod Richard Tarlton', as if he made the report (Table 8).¹² Likewise, in the 1580 earthquake accounts his name is on the list of reporters. In verse, Thomas

¹² Richard Tarlton, *A Very Lamentable and Woeful Discourse of the Fierce Floods* (London: Printed by John Allde, 1570). The list of the paratextual uses of Tarlton's name is provided in Table 8.

Churchyard used Tarlton's name at the end of the report;¹³ and subsequently, the author under the name of Friedrich Nausea placed Tarlton immediately after Thomas Churchyard in his list of writers' names.¹⁴ Both Churchyard and mock-author Nausea respectively published their work in 1580. For both authors, Tarlton's already established fame as a star player fitted the facts, and for the mock-author, Tarlton's name was not inappropriate to be listed among other productive and socially reliable writers like Arthur Golding (translator of Ovid), Thomas Twyne (physician and astrologist), and Abraham Fleming (editor of Holinshed's *Chronicles* and clergyman).¹⁵

A similarly random use of Tarlton's name can be traced in the buried references to the lost text called '*Tarletons toyes*'. Evidence of its existence is found in the Stationers' Register: it was entered by Richard Jones on 10 December, 1576.¹⁶ The existence of *Tarletons toyes* was endorsed by contemporary allusions, but it is also reasonable to assume that *The toyes of an idle heade*, the latter part of *A Flourish upon Fancy*, might be mistakenly identified as *Tarletons toyes* because of the proximity in these entries. A few months later in 2 April 1577 from the entry of *Tarletons toyes*, Nicholas Breton's *A Flourish upon Fancy*, compiled together *The toyes of an idle heade*, and the pamphlets of the witty verses 'for pleasant heads

¹³ Thomas Churchyard was an English author, born in c. 1520 and died in 1602. Thomas Churchyard, *A Warning for the Wise* (London: Imprinted by John Alde, and Nicholas Ling [and Henry Bynneman?] [etc.], 1580), sig. D3.

¹⁴ Friedrich Nausea was a bishop of Vienna, who was born in Franconia, and who died in 1552, 30 years before Tarlton's death. One of his works was published in 1533 in London (Francis Mershman, 'Frederic Nausea', in *The Catholic Encyclopedia: An International Work of Reference on the Constitution, Doctrine, Discipline, and History of the Catholic Church*, ed. by Charles G. Herbermann and others, 15 vols, X [1911], pp. 719-20). This example of twofold name borrowings demonstrates that the report which was supposed to be true and factual, paradoxically included a deceased person as a reliable writer to borrow his authority. Friedrich Nausea, *A Bright Burning Beacon* ([London]: Imprinted by Henry Denham [etc.], [1580]).

¹⁵ John Considine, 'Golding, Arthur (1535/6-1606), translator', in *ODNB*; Norman Moore and rev. Rachel E. Davies, 'Twyne, Thomas (1543-1613), physician', in *ODNB*; Cyndia Susan Clegg, 'Fleming, Abraham (c.1552-1607), author, literary editor, and Church of England clergyman', in *ODNB*.

¹⁶ Arber, II, 306.

to passe away idle time withal', which was entered by Jones.¹⁷ This might be identical to *Tarletons toyes* due to the possible double entry by Jones and might commonly have been passed around by the title of *Tarletons toyes* by the same Jones in a deliberate plot. In fact, when reprinted in 1582, the caption of '*The toyes of an idle heade*' was annexed to the original title of *A Flourish upon Fancy*.

References to *Tareltons toyes* appeared in other writers' works during Tarlton's lifetime and in the first decade after his death. In 1585, in the epistle to Samuel Daniel's translation of Paolo Giovio's treatise on discourse, the writer N. W. treats equally Breton's witty verse and *Tarletons toyes*: 'For there is not published a florish vpon fancie, or *Tarletons toyes*, or the sillie Enterlude of *Diogenes*'.¹⁸ Thomas Nashe, who acknowledges Tarlton as a renowned comic player of his age, and uses his name as an impressive allusion in another of his pamphlets, also refers to 'Tarltons toyes' in his treatise on wit, '*Martin Momus*, and splaiefooted *Zoylus* that in the eight and sixt age of Poetrie, and first yere of the reigne of Tarltons toies kept a foule stir in Poules Church-yard, are now reuined againe'.¹⁹ Gervase Markham compares his view and that in 'Tarltons toyes': 'the Clowne, the Slouen, and Tom althummes, are as farre vnfit for this profession, as *Tarletons toyes* for *Paule*, Pulpit: betwixt which, though I make a comparison, yet to the place I reserue a reuerend regarde'.²⁰ 'Tarltons toyes' is focused on a comic but profane story, and the nature of the lost book is defined as witty, comical, occasionally blasphemous, indelicate and unacceptable for formal

¹⁷ Arber, II, 310. Nicholas Breton, *A Flourish upon Fancy* (London: Imprinted by [W. How for] Richard Jhones, 1577); Nicholas Breton, *A Flourish upon Fancy* (London: Printed by Richard Jhones [etc.], 1582).

¹⁸ Paolo Giovio, *The Worthy Tract of Paulus Jouius* (London: Printed [by G. Robinson] for Simon Waterson, 1585), sig. v; Franklin B. Williams Jr. points out the possibility that 'Breton's Toyes were popularly known as Tarlton's' (Franklin B. Williams Jr., 'An Unrecognized Edition of Nicholas Breton', *Modern Language Review*, 32 [1937], 81-82 [p. 82]).

¹⁹ Thomas Nashe, *The Terrors of the Night* (London: Printed by John Danter for William Jones [etc.], 1594), sig. A4. Ronald B. McKerrow identifies 'Tarltons toyes' in the quotation with the lost book of *Tarletons toyes* (Thomas Nashe, IV, 199).

²⁰ Gervase Markham, *A Health to the Gentlemanly Profession of Servingmen* (London: Imprinted by W. White, 1598), sig. B3.

occasions. Specific phrases in ‘Tarletons toyes’ become rhetorical tropes, and recapitulate theories about clownery in vogue around the late sixteenth century. And in *Tarlton’s Tragical Treatises*, published in 1578 by an anonymous author, verses include the name of Richard Tarlton as their author in the dedicatory title, the verse itself, and the byline at the end of the verse. For the writer-publishers during Tarlton’s lifetime, it was common to have Tarlton’s name prefixed to the publication.²¹

1.2 The Marprelate Controversy

The manufacture of an image of Tarlton as a trope of witty amusing improvisation can be traced throughout the contemporary writers’ treatises on wit which rivalled *Tarletons toyes*. Modern scholars have suggested that an important catalyst in the process of mythologising Tarlton and creating his widest publicity was the Martin Marprelate controversy during 1588 and 1589, shortly after Tarlton’s death.²² However, the question remains whether or not Martin’s jesting style derived from his real life observation of Tarlton performing. Martin in the Epistle uses the name of Tarlton only once, and with no relationship to his talent as a commander of extempore wit: ‘What if I should report abroad, that clergymen come unto their promotions by simony? Haue not you given me just cause? I thinke Simony be the bishops’ lackey. Tarleton took him not long since, in Don John of London’s cellar’.²³ There are no texts describing Tarlton’s jesting comparable to Martin’s. Instead, Martin uses a different personage as an agent of his negative campaigning. In the Epistle to *Oh Read over D. John Bridges*, the first Martin Marprelate tract attacking the Anglican defender, John Bridges, the

²¹ Anon, *Tarlton’s Tragical Treatises* (London: Imprinted by Henry Bynneman, 1578).

²² See Section 1.2 on modern scholars’ discussion, below pp. 100-04.

²³ The quotations from the Martin Marprelate tracts are from a modern spelling edition by Joseph L. Black, *The Martin Marprelate Tracts: A Modernized and Annotated Edition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), p. 21 (originally p. 19). The original title of this first tract, the so-called ‘Epistle’, is *Oh Read over D. John Bridges* (Europe [i.e. East Molesey, Surrey: Printed by Robert Waldegrave] [etc.], [1588]).

keynote of Martin's attack on Anglicans is emphasised in an emblematic use of 'Duns', or an epithet for a follower of John Duns Scotus (c.1265-1308), the medieval scholastic theologian.²⁴ Because Scotists, the Scholastic sect named after him, were notorious for not accommodating 'new learning', his name was synonymous with 'one who shows no capacity for learning; a dull-witted, stupid person; a dullard, blockhead', and as an enemy of learning by Raphael Holinshed, John Lyly, and Gabriel Harvey.²⁵ Such uses of 'duns [dunce]' in Martinist tracts ridicule opponent theologians as well as making insinuations against Bridge's lengthy claims in his *A Defence of the Government* (1587).²⁶ More importantly, in Martin's choice of 'duns [dunce]' for ridiculing opponents, the tactful expressions to create humour can be regarded not as 'extempore wit' composed of improvised and unprepared derision, but as thorough intelligence.

On another occasion, Martin explains the nature of his jesting. In the third tract *Hay Any Work for Cooper*, Martin repeats that his jesting is 'lawful'. Martin's purpose for writing a tract is in presenting the truth in an 'ordinary and lawfull' manner. Aiming at being 'lawful', he declares that he 'never profaned the word in any iest'. In such a manner, extempore wit shows no sign of being used.²⁷

Taking up a jocular tone to attract and entertain their readers, Martinist writers neither

²⁴ Martin humbly asks for permission 'to play the Duns for the nonce as well as he, otherwise dealing with Master Doctor's book, I cannot keep *decorum personae*', and he actually mocks his opponents in a satiric mode mixed with the use of jesting. Black, p. 7 (originally p. 1).

²⁵ See the definition 5 of 'dunce', in *OED*. Also Gordon Leff explains that 'Scotism was particularly strong at Oxford in the fifteenth century. But with the Reformation, and with the growth of humanism in the sixteenth century, all the different branches of scholasticism came under attack. Scotism was particularly a target of ridicule for its fine distinctions; 'Dunsmen' or 'Dunses' were associated with blockheads and dullards, the meaning that it has kept'. Gordon Leff, 'Duns Scotus, John (c.1265-1308), *Franciscan friar and theologian*', in *ODNB*. In addition, Martin follows up his intention of attacking Bridges by qualifying him with 'dunstical' the adjective form of 'dunce' which also became in use contemporaneously with the use of 'dunce', (Black, p. 21 [originally p. 20]).

²⁶ John Bridges, *A Defence of the Government* (London: Printed by John Windet [and T. Orwin], for Thomas Chard, 1587).

²⁷ Martin Marprelate, pseud., *Hay Any Work for Cooper* (Europe [i.e. Coventry: Printed by Robert Waldegrave] [etc.], 1589), p. 14 (sig. C3^v).

revealed whose character they attempted to assume, nor declared where their comic spirit came from; nevertheless, modern scholars emphasise that Martin's theatrical presentations were traceable to Tarlton. These scholars' retrospective speculations again complicate and distort the figure of Tarlton. Edward Arber in explaining the Martinists' writing manner, states that 'Their authors, confessedly men of irreproachable moral character, merely adopted the "extemporizing" style of Richard Tarleton the actor, to ridicule and affront a proud hierarchy endowed with large legal means of doing mischief, and not wanting in will to exercise those powers to the full'.²⁸ Raymond A. Anselment, in his study of the Martinists' application of dramatic technique to rhetoric, also compares their clowning as a rhetorical strategy comparable to the antics of the Elizabethan rustic fool, especially Richard Tarlton's.²⁹ More recently, Patrick Collinson concludes that 'Martin Marprelate was a clown whose comic stock in trade derived from the comedian Tarlton and the repertoire of the public and popular theatre [*sic*']'.³⁰

The discussions of Martin by Arber, Anselment, and Collinson track the historical process of the anti-Martinist counterattack against original Martinist positions. John Lyly and Thomas Nashe use Tarlton's name for criticising Martinists' strategy of adopting clowning. Lyly declared that the Martinists are similar to an ape, and sarcastically commented that

²⁸ Edward Arber, 'To the courteous Reader', in *An Introductory Sketch to the Martin Marprelate Controversy 1588-90*, ed. by Edward Arber, The English Scholar's Library of Old and Modern Works, 8 (New York: Burt Franklin, 1895), pp. 11-14 (p. 11).

²⁹ Raymond A. Anselment, 'Rhetoric and the Dramatic Satire of Martin Marprelate', *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900*, 10 (1970), 103-19 (pp. 103-12). Anselment depends on John Dover Wilson's discussion of Nashe's rhetorical style, and cites his earlier explanation of Martin's profile, 'A puritan who had been born a stage clown, he was a disciple of both Calvin and Dick Tarleton. His style is that of a stage monologue.' See also John Dover Wilson, 'Chapter XVII: The Marprelate Controversy', in *The Cambridge History of English Literature*, ed. by A. W. Ward and A. R. Waller, 15 vols (New York: Macmillan, 1917; repr. 1933), III, 425-52 (p. 436). See also essays on the relationship between Nashe and the Martin Marprelate pamphlets, Travis L. Summersgill, 'The Influence of the Marprelate Controversy upon the Style of Thomas Nashe', *Studies in Philology*, 48 (1951), 145-60; Donald J. McGinn, 'Nashe's Share in the Marprelate Controversy', *PMLA*, 59 (1944), 952-84.

³⁰ Patrick Collinson, 'Perne the Turncoat: An Elizabethan Reputation', in *Elizabethan Essays* (London: Hambledon, 1994), pp. 179-218 (p. 216).

Martin, himself, was an ape lacking genuine wit or learning:

Now *Tarleton's* dead the Consort lackes a vice:
For knaue and foole thou maist beare pricke and price.

The sacred sect and perfect pure precise,
Whose cause must be by *Scoggins* iests maintaine,
Ye shewe although that purple Apes disguise,
Yet Apes are still, and so must be disdaigne.³¹

Just as Collinson believes that 'the Anti-Martinist pamphlets were translated into popular entertainment on the stage', Lyly grafts his idea of jesting onto the image of Tarlton onstage, together with that of the legendary Scoggin in print, to explain the Martinists' manner of addressing and preaching.³² In comparing the famous clowns with Martin, Lyly stresses that the latter did not achieve the level of Tarlton's genius, and that Martin disguises himself as a person of wit. It is this caricature of Tarlton in the pamphlets to the deceased Tarlton, which defines 'Tarlton' hereafter, and influences modern scholars' descriptions of Tarlton and his performances.

Similarly, another anti-Martinist, Nashe, uses Tarlton to explain how Martin's prose is 'unlearned' to admonish his boasting and vanity:

These tinkers termes, and barbers iestes first *Tarleton* on the stage,
Then *Martin* in his bookes of lies, hath put in euery page:
The common sort of simple swads, I can [illeg.] there state but pitie:
That will vouchsafe, or deygne to laugh, at libelles so vnwittie.³³

In making a contrast between a witty Tarlton onstage and a deceptive Martin in print, Nashe demeans the Martinists' garrulousness. In the epistle to another of his Martin Marprelate pamphlets — 'TO THAT MOST comicall and conceited caualeire Monsieur du Kempe, Iestmonger and Vice-gerent generall to the Ghost of Dicke Tarlton' — Nashe declares that he

³¹ John Lyly, *A Whip for an Ape* (London?: Printed by T. Orwin?, 1589?), p. 4. Lyly goes on to mention *Scoggin's Jests* immediately after this description of Tarlton. Coupled with another renowned figure of a jester, the sardonic resonance in this reference to Martin's lack of wit like an ape increases.

³² Collinson, 'Perne the Turncoat', p. 216.

³³ Anon, *Mar-Martin* (London?: s.n., 1589), sig. A4^v. This tract is attributed to Thomas Nashe (and John Lyly).

will criticise the Puritans, and he asks Kemp to protect his papers ‘with the credit of thy clownery’. He defines Kemp as the successor to Tarlton: ‘who I know will entertaine it [to be the pleasant patron of my papers] with thanks, imitating herein that merry man Rablays, who dedicated most of his workes to the soule of the old Queene of Nauarre many yeares after her death, for that she was a maintainer of mirth in her life’.³⁴ Admitting the advantages of clowning and wit, he applies it to soften the impression of his attack on Puritans. Conversely, the emphatic references to the names of clowns created the anti-Martinist’s image as more refined and sophisticated than that of the Martinists.

In reply to the anti-Martinists’ pamphlets, Job Throckmorton denies Tarlton to praise John Bridges as a musical poet:

I doe not meane *Tarleton* man, that can so ingeniously translate rime into prose, and prose into rime againe: That patch of S. Maries pulpit, what should I call him? *Bridges, Bridges*, a shame on him, I shal hit on his name anon: This is he I feare me, that taught M[aster]. *Some* this tricke, and yet when it is looked into, it wil be found but a sluttish tricke neither I beleeeue.³⁵

Whereas anti-Martinists extol Tarlton and accuse Martinists of their lack of wit, Throckmorton scorns Tarlton, and instead emphasises the essentials of Bridges’ persuasive rhetoric, ‘*learning, reason, logicke, diuinitie, or good gramaticall sense*’, and in so doing he justifies the Martinists’ jesting manner. In addition, Throckmorton introduces *Scoggin’s Jests* in his defence of the Puritans’ writing manner:

if I do not finde more grosse, proud, popish, treasonable & blasphemous absurdities, more impudent reuilings, and slaunderous vntrueths, more apparant contradictions, more Skoggins jeasts, more ryming in prose, more childish foolerie., more sottish shamelesse, and sencelesse periods in that one booke alone, then can justly be collected out of all the other, I will loose my head for it.³⁶

While Lyly takes up *Scoggin’s Jests* as the opposite of the Martinists’ lack of wit,

³⁴ Thomas Nashe, *An Almond for a Parrot* (A place [i.e. London?]: Imprinted by the assignes of Signior Some-body [i.e. Eliot’s Court Press?] [etc.], [1590]), sigs. A2-A2^v.

³⁵ Job Throckmorton, *M. Some Laid Open in His Colours* ([La Rochelle: R. Waldegrave, 1589]), pp. 30-31.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

Throckmorton refutes Lyly and Nashe's attack. Thus, the Martin Marprelate controversy in its exploitation of Tarlton as a rustic clown onstage, created Tarlton's ambiguous and paradoxical images — honest but dull, sophisticated but simple, ridiculous but influential.

Donald J. McGinn finds a similarity in style between Nashe and Martin Junior, citing Nashe's comment from *The Anatomy of Absurdity*: 'he [Nashe] accuses them [the Puritans] of publicly pretending a "more regenerate holines, beeing in their private Chambers the expresse imitations of Howliglasse"''.³⁷ Likewise, Travis L. Summersgill points out in his discussion of Martin's jest motifs and his episodic narration, 'Events had to a degree out-dated the use of jest-book stories, clownish dialects, and other literary artifices'. And further he notes, 'Martin artfully associates his jest-book stories with living persons whom he desires to ridicule'.³⁸ As these scholars remark, the Martinist strategy of using wit is connected not with the actor Tarlton, but with the tradition of jests as presented in his jest-book.³⁹

The nature of Tarlton's actual jesting and extempore wit remains unexplained in the discussion of the Martin Marprelate controversy and its relation to Elizabethan performance. Scott McMillin and Sally-Beth Maclean, in their discussion of the Queen's Men's important role as propaganda against powers hostile to the Queen, concede that the Martinists' satirical attack on Anglican polemics was theatrical, and argue that pamphlet writers took advantage of Tarlton's name:

Martin Marprelate spoke uproariously, and the source of the uproar was the spontaneous jest, the impious lampoon, the improvised satire—it was Tarlton and one phase of the theatre of the Queen's Men turned into vitriolic and irrepressible prose. The earlier reformers had despised the theatre. Martin outdid them by using

³⁷ McGinn, p. 976. Thomas Nashe, *The Anatomy of Absurdity* (London: Printed by J. Charlewood for Thomas Hacket [etc.], 1589), sig. B3^v; *Thomas Nashe*, I, 22-23.

³⁸ Summersgill, p. 148 and p. 154.

³⁹ Nashe's contribution to both the Tarlton myth and the establishment of pamphleteering evidence the jest-book influence on the literature of the late 1500s, and thereby suggest that he bridged the gap between the clown figures onstage and offstage.

it. As his opponents know, the most popular actors of the day were being taken as a model.⁴⁰

McMillin and Maclean state that the Queen's Men troupe was formed in 1583 for the political purpose of the Queen and her patrons.⁴¹ Although their analysis of the formation of the Queen's Men is convincing, they are hasty in connecting Tarlton and the Martin Marprelate tracts from the fact that Tarlton was the Queen's favourite and the stage clown of the Queen's Men. However, Martin's stress on decorum is not cognate with Tarlton's verbal acting. The exchange of criticism between the two factions only emphasises how the Martinist tracts attack the foolish clownery found in *Scoggin's Jests*, while the anti-Martinists see the Martinists' strategy as similar to the jest-book heroes'. Rather than equated with the actor Tarlton, the jesting manner in the earlier tracts should be connected with the heroes of the jest-books.

1.3 The Harvey-Nashe Quarrel

The Tarlton myth started in the Marprelate controversy, especially through the anti-Martinists' antagonistic comments on Martinist discourse, and such figurative use of Tarlton as a representative of jest-makers was sustained among the pamphlet writers. Thomas Nashe took clear advantage of Richard Harvey's opinions in *Pierce Penniless* (1592):

The whole Uniuersitie hyst at him, *Tarlton* at the Theator made iests of him, and *Elderton* consumd his ale-crammed nose to nothing, in bearbayting him with whole bundles of ballets.⁴²

A later historian like Anthony à Wood copied Nashe's explanation about Tarlton and Elderton in his account of Nashe, as if the two names were effective together in expounding the issue. In doing so the posthumous reputation of Tarlton was plausibly reinforced. In addition, Nashe

⁴⁰ McMillin and Maclean, pp. 53-54.

⁴¹ Ibid., p. 24.

⁴² Nashe, *Pierce Penniless*, sig. C1; *Thomas Nashe*, II, 197.

is even depicted as Tarlton's counterpart in print:

Whereupon *Tom Nash* did register down the infinite scorn that the whole realm entertained it with, the adages also that ran upon it, with *Tarltons* and *Eldertons nigrum theta* set to it. [...] As for *Rich. Harvey* before-mention'd, it was the very self-same Person who read the Philosophy Lecture at Cambridge, and the same whom the whole University hist at, if you'll believe that noted Buffoon *Tho. Nash* his contemporary there; who farther adds, that *Tarlton* at the theater made jests of him, and *W. Elderton* consum'd his ale-cramn'd-nose to nothing, in bear-baiting him with whole bundels of ballads.⁴³

Wood's depiction of Nashe is a mixture of Nashe's own writings, and his commentary on him, 'noted Buffoon Tho. Nash', can also be traced back to Nashe's own self-representation as a Tarlton-like jester. Wood copied these phrases from Nashe's accounts, and by returning to the pamphlet writers stereotyped the view of Tarlton which preserves the tradition of linking Tarlton to the jest-makers, and even to the Martinists.

Pamphlet writers used Tarlton to persuade readers into leaving the Martinist agenda, but the ambiguous diversified image surrounding Tarlton remained. Indeed, it was amplified in the quarrel between Gabriel Harvey and Thomas Nashe. Harvey accused Nashe of imitating Tarlton, and Nashe objects to Harvey's remarks.⁴⁴ Acknowledging his wit as 'Tarltonizing', he justifies his assimilation with Robert Greene's style: 'Not *Tarlton* nor *Greene* but haue beene contented to let my simple iudgement ouerrule them in some matters of wit'.⁴⁵ These two pamphlet writers contributed to the establishment of Tarlton's longlasting reputation in print throughout the course of history.

Harvey coined the phrase 'Tarltonizing wit' in *Four Letters*, when he made his defence of his brother Richard, who had been accused of his counterfeiting Tarlton by Nashe: 'his piperly Extemporizing, and Tarletonizing; his apishe counterfeiting of euery ridiculous, and

⁴³ Wood, *Athenæ Oxonienses*, p. 174.

⁴⁴ Thomas Nashe, *Strange News* ([London]: Printed [by J. Danter], 1592), sigs. H2-H2v; *Thomas Nashe*, I, 304-05.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, sig. K2^v; *Thomas Nashe*, I, 318-19.

absurd toy'.⁴⁶ Harvey also presents a negative view of Tarlton's wit in his return accusation that Nashe borrowed from his brother Richard's *Flores Poetarum*:

'What hee is impoued since, excepting his good olde *Flores Poetarum*, and Tarletons surmounting Rhetorique, with a little Euphuisme, and Greenesse inough, which were all prettily stale, before he put hand to penne, I report me to the fauourablest opinion of those that know his Prefaces, Rimes, and the very Timpanye of his Tarltonizing wit, his Supplication to the Diuell'.⁴⁷

Though Harvey recognizes the brilliance of Tarlton's rhetoric, together with 'Euphuisme, and Greenesse', he mildly insinuates Nashe's hostile attitude. With the phrase, 'the very timpanie of his Tarltonizing wit', which noticeably collocates with 'timpani', the new musical instrument, Harvey highlights Nashe's catching but clamorous wit. Then, to justify his ability 'tred on Tarltons / heeles', Nashe retaliates against Harvey by turning his opponent's attacks back on him as 'Tarltonizing wit'.⁴⁸ Later in reply, Harvey makes an insinuating remark about S[t]. Fame, namely Nashe with another coined word, 'Tarltonism':

They that haue leysure, to cast-away, [...] may peruse his guegawes with indifferency: and finde no Art, but Euphuisme; no witt, but Tarletonisme; no honesty, but pure Scogginisme; no Religion, but precise Marlowisme; no consideration, but meere Nashery.⁴⁹

In Harvey's wording, 'Tarltonizing wit' and 'Tarltonism' differ in their connotations; the former connoting artistry, the latter implying less positively his mimicry of Tarlton. But exploiting Harvey's cynical comments on inventive but vain command of words, Nashe proudly fashions himself a 'Tarltonizing wit'. As a result of invoking the familiar iconic name, authors during the decade after his death canonised Tarlton as an authority famous for his wit, indecent or otherwise.

⁴⁶ Gabriel Harvey, *Four Letters* (London: Imprinted by John Wolfe, 1592), sig. B2 (p. 9); *The Works of Gabriel Harvey: for the first time collected and edited with memorial-introduction, notes and illustrations, etc.*, ed. by Alexander B. Grosart, 3vols (1884; reprinted New York: AMS Press, 1966), I, 168.

⁴⁷ Harvey, *Four Letters*, sig. E2^v (p. 34); *Gabriel Harvey*, I, 202.

⁴⁸ Nashe, *Strange News*, sig. H2 (*Thomas Nashe*, I, 305), sig. I3 (*Thomas Nashe*, I, 313), sig. K2 (*Thomas Nashe*, I, 318).

⁴⁹ Harvey, *Pierce's Supererogation*, sig. T4; *Gabriel Harvey*, II, 234.

1.4 Textual Tarlton: His Ghost in *Tarlton's News out of Purgatory* and Henry Chettle's *Kind-Hart's Dream*

While allusions to Tarlton in the pamphlet war complicated the real figure, the employment of Tarlton's ghost as a trope creates a simple and unified image. Via dreams, his spirit brought readers dreadful and threatening news from the afterlife. Tarlton became more than just a representative jester like Scoggin, taking on the function of communicating information and comments about the contents of a pamphlet. In *Tarlton's News out of Purgatory* and similarly in Henry Chettle's *Kind-Hart's Dream*, the ghost of Tarlton exemplifies civility in the city and appeals to his peers.⁵⁰ The ghost, with his lifetime reputation for talented critique and ridiculing, serves to constitute a dream vision, and make it trustworthy.⁵¹ Moreover, the amplification of effects in Tarlton's ghost evokes additional values for establishing the standard figure of a clown, as in the frontispiece of *Tarlton's Jests* (Figures 1 and 2).⁵²

In *Tarlton's News out of Purgatory*, Tarlton's ghost 'attired in russet, with a buttond cap on his head, a great bagge by his side, and a strong bat in his hand, so artificially attyred for a Clowne' visits his fellow Robin Goodfellow. Having been introduced by Robin as a person of 'a prompt wit', he explains the purpose of his visit, 'Therefore sith my appearance to thee is in resemblance of a spirite, thinke that I am as pleasant a goblin as the rest, and will make thee

⁵⁰ Anon, *Tarlton's News out of Purgatory* (London: Printed [by R. Robinson] for T. G[ubbin] and T. N[ewman], 1590). Henry Chettle, *Kind-Hart's Dream* (London: Imprinted [by J. Wolfe and J. Danter] for William Wright, [1593?]).

⁵¹ Geoffrey Creigh and Jane Belfield note that *Tarlton's News out of Purgatory* as well as *Greene's Vision* have 'the dream vision as a central structural device'. Geoffrey Creigh and Jane Belfield, ed., *The Cowler of Caunterburie and Tarltons Newes out of Purgatorie, with Introduction, Notes, Commentaris and Glossaries* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1987), pp. 7-18 (p. 7, note 1); Robert Greene, *Greene's Vision* (London: Imprinted [by E. Alde] for Thomas Newman [etc.], 1592).

⁵² Astington, 'Tarlton', pp. 2-7. Prior to this article Astington provides a detailed examination of the iconography of theatrical figures in his 'Rereading Illustrations', pp. 151-70.

as merry before I part'.⁵³ And in reply, Robin as the author is skeptical about Purgatory as 'a third place', as 'great grandmothers' or authoritative 'Dant[e]' explained, and draws attention to the principles of Purgatory. Questioning 'how many Popes & holy Bishops of Rome, whose Cannons cannot erre, haue taught vs what this Purgatorie is?', he advises us to believe Tarlton, one of Purgatory's latest members.

Although Elizabethan religious thinkers, especially Catholics could argue for the effects of purging sins, the author of *Tarlton's News out of Purgatory* was suspicious of the function, given the attacks by Protestants on this element of religious doctrine and on Catholic authority generally. Conversely, accepting the beliefs of 'Pithagoras schollers' on the transmigration of souls instead of the principles of an 'vpstart Protestant' solely for the purpose of ridiculing the Catholic doctrine, Robin then humbly asks Tarlton to tell him 'what Purgatorie is, & what they be that are resident there'.⁵⁴ Encouraging his readers to read Tarlton's report, the author rather clarifies his position as anti-clerical, against Catholics as well as Protestants, and as a consequence, the episodes that follow the introduction taunt clerics such as Pope Boniface, and Friar Onyon, Vicar of Bergamo. John E. Curran Jr. points out 'a joke [...] of the papists' opinion [...] is driven home by relating such an opinion to the fact of the obsolescence of the best improvisational acting', stressing that 'the idea of his continuing to perform in the afterlife is ridiculously invalid as the hopes of all Catholics to win themselves heaven through their own performances. Tarlton is of a bygone time, and so are such ideas'.⁵⁵ Curran's argument of the degeneration of Catholicism does not completely explain the purpose of writing the book. Situating Tarlton in a third place between secular and spiritual worlds, his denial of Christian conformism is hostile to both Protestants and Catholics. Tarlton functions

⁵³ Anon, *Tarlton's News out of Purgatory* (1590), p. 3.

⁵⁴ Ibid., pp. 3-4.

⁵⁵ John E. Curran, Jr., *Hamlet, Protestantism and the Mourning of Contingency: Not to Be* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), p. 115.

not as a bygone figure, but as paradoxically reborn for the author's needs of easing religious tension and mocking theological controversy.

The resonance of Tarlton's wit is, however, refuted in *The Cobbler of Canterbury*, where the author is doubtful of the provenance of *Tarlton's News out of Purgatory*: 'in faith there is prettie stuffe in it, but vnworthie Dick Tarltons humor: somewhere too low for iests, somewhere too high for stile'.⁵⁶ The author then declares that he would prefer 'one more pleasant, and more full of delightfull tales for all mens humours' in comparison with the generalised idea and reputation of Tarlton's 'fine conceites' and 'humor'. However, neither compilation of merry tales has Tarlton as its hero; his name appears in both works in the prefatory or in the very first tale, as a standard of wit. Indeed, Tarlton's presence in *Tarlton's News out of Purgatory* as a story teller, as a channel for mocking clerics, as a voice of comical but vitriolic critique, and as a device for justifying the critique is deployed only in the introduction. However much the author of *The Cobbler of Canterbury* denies the influence of Tarlton's personage on the book, the remark eventually certifies that Tarlton's wit remained in circulation in the early 1590s.

The same effect now repeats and complicates itself, for, in Henry Chettle's *Kind-Hart's Dream*, Tarlton's appearance not only echoes Tarlton the Wit's humour but also exposes the author's voice behind the figure more clearly than in *Tarlton's News out of Purgatory*. Chettle includes Tarlton in a list of apparitions along with William Cuckoe, Anthony Now-Now, Doctor Burcot, and Robert Greene. Again, Tarlton is a trope who conveys authorial commentary. In his dedication, Chettle declares that he copies the apparitions' words to please them, the readers, and himself:

Neither can they what euer they be, deale hardly with Kind-hart, for he onely deliuers his dreame; with euey Apparition simply as it was vttered. Its fond for

⁵⁶ Anon, *The Cobbler of Canterbury* (1590), sig. A3^v.

them to fight against ghosts: its fearefull for me to hide an Apparition: by concealing it I might doe my selfe harme and them no good; by reuealing it, ease my hart, and doe no honest men hurt: for the rest [...] they must beare as I doe, or mend it as they may.⁵⁷

Halasz sees Chettle as a double for Tarlton, presenting his own invective against the infringement of authorship with the deceased actor's 'brand name' associated advantageously with his vocation:

Like any authorial name, Tarlton's creates a fiction of individual production. But Tarlton's authorial name differs from others because it operates metaphorically as well as metonymically. That is, it simultaneously translates the theatricality of Tarlton's historical practice to pamphlet storytelling and stands for the collaborative labor involved in the production of the commodity-pamphlet. Moreover, it advertises the pleasures potentially available to the consumer of the commodity-pamphlet.⁵⁸

Halasz's argument, based on Stephen Greenblatt's advocacy of 'a circulation of social energy that proceeds by negotiation and exchange', however, falls on the same restricted conclusion as her previous essay on Tarlton, which praises the actor as a celebrity.⁵⁹ Though confuting Richard Helgerson's proposition that forms of nationhood are 'both produced and productive, productive of that by which they are produced', Halasz argues that Tarlton the celebrity image, 'a figure of national identity', shapes the discourse of Tarlton the cultural phenomenon as well as representing the social and political coherence of the time.⁶⁰ The use of 'Tarlton', however, is not an outcome of the circulation of social energy when imagined within a rhetoric of

⁵⁷ Chettle, sig. B1.

⁵⁸ Halasz, *The Marketplace*, pp. 68-69. See also, Stephen Greenblatt, *Shakespearean Negotiations: The Circulation of Social Energy in Renaissance England* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1988).

⁵⁹ Halasz, *The Marketplace*, p. 69. Halasz eventually defines 'Tarlton as an icon, the representational marker of a time and space not bound by work or necessity and the incorporation of that time and space into the structures and relations of a (proto)capitalist economy'.

⁶⁰ Halasz, *The Marketplace*, p. 35. Halasz refers to Helgerson's idea of Tarlton 'as a status marker as well as figure of the carnivalesque and performative traditions' in her previous essay "'So beloved that men use his picture for their signs'", p. 36, note 5). See also Richard Helgerson, 'Chapter 5: Staging Exclusion', in *Forms of Nationhood: The Elizabethan Writing of England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), pp. 193-245. Later in the early seventeenth century, William Percy used Tarlton's ghost as a prologue in his play (William Percy, *The Cuck-queanes and Cuckolds Errant* [London: Shakspeare Press by W. Nicol, 1824], p. 12).

circularity. He did not, in fact, convey any particular ideas. The pamphlet writers' treatment of Tarlton in the growing market for printed books gave the deceased actor a concrete and unchanging image: that of versatile clown actor, and not a national identity. Tarlton's representation in *Kind-Hart's Dream* results in his textualisation as a literary product.⁶¹

Tarlton's image was thus created and explained in circular terms, but more importantly his identity remained double as both jest-maker and clown actor. The conflated figure of Tarlton was carried over into the next century when historians took advantage of Tarlton's value as a comic actor. Then Tarlton the actor survived only in the ridiculous application of his picture on a privy-house door by John Oldham in his satiric account, 'Character of a certain ugly old priest': 'One would take him for the Picture of Scoggin or Tarleton on a Privy-house Door, which by long standing there has contracted the Color of the neighbouring Excrements'.⁶²

2 'Tarlton' Lives: The Transmission of Three Related Works

The most obvious ascription of Tarlton's name is the publications with his name on their title page: *Tarlton's Jests* first published before 1600, and *Tarlton's News out of Purgatory* and *The Cobbler of Canterbury*, both published in 1590. Not only do they prove Tarlton's reputation within a decade after his death in 1588, but they also demonstrate that these sketches of Tarlton problematised his actor image, and instituted him as a prologue or storyteller rather than as a stage comedian. Coincidentally, with the advent of the Martin Marprelate controversy immediately after Tarlton's death, both Martinist and anti-Martinist

⁶¹ The textualised theatrical Tarlton is the subject of Chapter 4.

⁶² Oldham equates Tarlton with Scoggin whose picture has not been recorded, but this equation demonstrates that both are of the same genre: John Oldham, *The Works of Mr. John Oldham* (London: Printed for Joseph Hindmarsh [etc.], 1684), pp. 114-15. A. W. Ward in the *DNB* in 1894 confirms that Edward Thompson's explanation that Oldham wrote the verse and account upon his father in *The Compositions in Prose and Verse of Mr. John Oldham, to which are added Memoirs of his life* (1770): A. W. Ward, 'Oldham, John (1653-1683), poet', in the *DNB* archive in *ODNB*.

writers used Tarlton's name as a topical allusion to a model of clowning in their tracts or pamphlets. These frequent uses of Tarlton the clown in social satires and religious pamphlets prove that he was an effective choice for publication, with particular influence over readers. From the beginning, 'Tarlton' was a composite figure: an amalgam of the novel identity who dominated the period. But conversely, the circumstances behind the publication of the jest-book point to the different reception of the book by the publishers from pamphlet writers' application of the jester's name.

The three distinct transmissions of *Tarlton's Jests*, *Tarlton's News out of Purgatory*, and *The Cobbler of Canterbury* illustrate the differing publishing circumstances of owning the right to print and to operate within the book trade: first, by being a bookseller, second, by being a printing house, and third, by having legal and blood kinship relations (Tables 9-11). This complexity was caused by the entrepreneurial bookseller's intention of extending his business. One stationer bought a printing house, another bought licences, and the other formed a group by marriage, for political and financial reasons. Conversely, the publication of these works projects another picture: the image and meaning of Tarlton conveyed interacted with other allusions to Tarlton in print. The early allusions show how Tarlton is thematised, and the later distant allusions explain how differently Tarlton is presented. In the 1590s, Tarlton's name and the references to his jest-making were frequently used, disseminated by various writers for their respective purposes, and consequently amplified and conflated.

The first available information about the printing of *Tarlton's Jests* is the Stationers' Register, where on 4 August, 1600, part 2 of *Tarlton's Jests* was entered to Thomas Pavier (td 1600-1625), with 'a synner to his sad soule', which *STC* identifies as *The sinners sacrifice*, from its running head 'The a synner to his sad soule'.⁶³ This entry was Pavier's first piece of

⁶³ Anon, *The Sinner's Sacrifice* (London: Imprinted by the Widow Simson, for Thomas Pavier, 1601). Arber, III, 168. *STC* lists the title under Sinner (II, 335). Its running title on sig. B1 is 'The sinners sacrifice'

business, and the jest-book was registered with a collection of prayers. Jest-book publication imparts the extensive book trade business enjoyed by the printers, and identifies the jestbook's importance as a trade item. As shown in Table 9, after this registration, the subsequent transmissions of *Tarlton's Jestes* occurred most often alongside other theological literature. John Budge (td 1606-1625), the next copy holder on the record, dealt widely in theological literature, and shared the same interest with his master Clement Knight (td 1594-1630). On 21 February, 1609, when the whole licences were assigned by Budge to Knight,⁶⁴ the list includes along with *Tarlton's Jestes*, works by famous religious writers of the time, William Cowper (td 1568-1619) and William Guild (td 1586-1657).⁶⁵ We have no evidence of how Budge obtained Pavier's licence, but it is most probable that from Pavier the licence of *Tarlton's Jestes* was amalgamated with that of theological literature, and therefore, was transmitted together, without the loss of the text.

The records of the Stationers' Register are consistent in their trade items, and thereby the transmission of *Tarlton's Jestes* is confirmed without discontinuities in the transcripts of the Stationers' Company. On 4 September, 1626, John Budge's copyrights were passed to Robert Allot (td 1625-1635).⁶⁶ The list includes 'JACOBS wrastlinge', another of Cowper's work, 'The Workes of WILLIAM COWPER late Bishop of GAELLOWAY', 'Sir John HARRINGTONS Epigrammes', and William Guild's 'MOSES vnvayled'.⁶⁷ As the list of

(STC 22577), and its entry date is 4 August, 1600.

⁶⁴ Arber, III, 402. In the same year, another edition was published for Budge. The actual edition was lost during World War II, but its existence was confirmed in the inventory of the collection of Moscherosch, German Civil servant of the late sixteenth century. See Hans Walter Gabler, "'Merchant of Venice' Preserved", *Notes and Queries*, 25 (1978), 128-29 (p. 29).

⁶⁵ Arber, III, 402. For the biography of William Cowper and William Guild, see the following *ODNB* accounts: David George Mullan, 'Cowper, William (1568-1619), *bishop of Galloway*', in *ODNB*; R. P. Wells, 'Guild, William (1586-1657), *Church of Scotland minister and benefactor*', in *ODNB*.

⁶⁶ Arber, IV, 167-68.

⁶⁷ For 'JACOBS wrastlinge', Arber, III, 331, 357, 402, and 414; for 'The Workes of WILLIAM COWPER late Bishop of GAELLOWAY', Arber, III, 331, 357, 393, 430, 431, 481, 517, 523, 546, and 554; for 'Sir John HARRINGTONS Epigrammes', Arber, III, 565; and for 'MOSES vnvayled', Arber, III, 657, and IV,

transferred licences from Budge confirms, *Tarlton's Jests* was passed over to the next bookseller with other works of theological literature. Previously from John Budge, Robert Allot obtained the licences of 17 out of 61 items (numbers 5-26) in the 1626 list, including 'Sir Harington's Epigrams' (item number 18). On 1 July, 1637, the itemised list of copies assigned by Mary Allot, Robert's widow, to John Legat and Andrew Crooke still includes *Tarlton's Jests*.⁶⁸ Despite the exclusion of Cowper's 'Jacobs Wrestlings' and some other items, *Tarlton's Jests* remains in the list as item 55, distant from the other 1626 items of higher value numbered 5-26. *Tarlton's Jests* is slotted among the miscellaneous items of the later entry as if it forms a part of the stock of London booksellers. Its separation from religious works demonstrates that Legat and Crooke regarded *Tarlton's Jests* as an independent work, not one appended to major religious tracts and sermons when they entered their licences in a taxonomical arrangement. Moreover, from the fact that the print industry experienced the jest-book boom shortly before the 1637 registration, in as the repeated and revised publications of *A Banquet of Jests* and the revived publication of *Scoggin's Jests*,⁶⁹ it is not a coincidence that the booksellers isolated *Tarlton's Jests* as a trade item on its own.

While the transmitting of the licence of *Tarlton's Jests* greatly depended on booksellers of theological literature, the printers' extensive and active involvement in its publication was exceptional: *Tarlton's Jests* made a profit incentive for the contemporary printers to publish other Tarlton-labelled works in the 1590s and around the jest-book revival in the early seventeenth century. The first extant edition of *Tarlton's Jests* was published in 1613 for John

387.

⁶⁸ Arber, IV, 387.

⁶⁹ The publication of jest-books during the first and second decades of the 1600s marked a noticeable tendency. The similarity between the title-page format of *A Banquet of Jests* and that of *Tarlton's Jests* tells us another story about the jest-book: jest-books are becoming table-talk compilations, classified by occasions.

Budge by Thomas Snodham (td 1603-1625).⁷⁰ Snodham, an adoptive son of Thomas East (td 1565-1608), is the printer of *The Cobbler of Canterbury* (1614), another Tarlton-related work. The printer and bookseller of the 1620 edition of *Tarlton's Jests* were unknown due to the fragmentary sheets.⁷¹ Then, in around 1630, another edition of *Tarlton's Jests* was published by George Purslowe (td 1609-1632), the printer of the 1630 edition of *Tarlton's News out of Purgatory*.⁷² In 1638, another edition was printed for Andrew Crooke (td 1629-1673) by John Haviland (td 1613-1638), who took business from Elizabeth Purslowe, George's widow.⁷³ How both Snodham and Purslowe formed an alliance with their booksellers remains unclear. The process that joined Snodham and Budge together to publish the jest-book is also unknown. It is more complicated in the case of Purslowe: whether Purslowe printed his edition for Budge or in his own right cannot be traced. However, from the expansion and integration of the contemporary print industry, it seems conceivable that they might have negotiated with each other and shared business. In the advent of another phase in the history of the printing industry, publishers crossed the threshold of individual specialised fields, as booksellers extended their business. For instance, a wholesale trader such as Pavier dealt extensively with many different kinds of works, ranging from plays to ballads. Trade printers, without any partnership, joined the publication process freely, and printers as entrepreneurs bought shops, copies or printing materials, regardless of their connection with the bookseller. Mary Allot sold her husband's licences shortly after his death to Robert Legatt and Andrew Crooke, the latter of whom as a result became one of the biggest booksellers of the time.

⁷⁰ Anon, *Tarlton's Jests* (London: Printed [by Thomas Snodham] for John Budge [etc.], 1613). The 1611 edition which Hazlitt, Collier and Halliwell referred to in their work has not been identified. Probably they wrongly identified the 1613 edition's publication date as 1611. John Budge published *Tarlton's Jests* at least twice with different printers. The preceding edition published in 1609 is lost, and unfortunately we have not obtained any information about the printer.

⁷¹ Anon, *Tarlton's Jests* (London: s.n., ca. 1620).

⁷² Anon, *Tarlton's Jests* (London: G. Purslowe, 1630?).

⁷³ Anon, *Tarlton's Jests* (1638).

Booksellers and printers formed a large corporation by merging separate and diverse firms.

The printing of other works with *Tarlton's Jestes*, in printers' references, indicates the significance of *Tarlton's Jestes* in the reinforcement and maintenance of partnership among local printers, revolving around John Budge and his trading of items of theological literature. William Cowper's *The Bishop of Galloway His Apology* was printed by Thomas Snodham for John Budge in 1614.⁷⁴ And in the same year, Snodham and Budge as business partners published *The Bishop of Galloway His Dikaiology*.⁷⁵ Budge, in partnership with William Ferbrand (td 1598-1609), dealt with another of Cowper's works: *Three Heavenly Treatises upon the Eighth Chapter to the Romans*.⁷⁶ It was printed by Snodham in 1609, before his 1613 edition of *Tarlton's Jestes*. By contrast, William Guild's *Moses Unvailed* and one of two other extant editions were printed by Purslowe for Budge.⁷⁷ After the death of Ferbrand, his copies were transferred to Budge and Thomas Archer (td 1603-1634). Archer was apprenticed to Cuthbert Burby (td 1592-1607), whose daughter was married to Snodham. It is not certain that Budge and Archer were allowed access to copies of *Tarlton's Jestes*, by their family connection through this marriage. In addition, the recurring names of printers such as Snodham and Purslowe also appear in the publication history of *Tarlton's News out of Purgatory* and *The Cobbler of Canterbury*. Thus, within the extended business associates centred around John Budge, *Tarlton's Jestes* and various theological works were passed over until the 1637 registration. There is no evidence to connect Pavier and Budge, and there is no convincing reason that the jest-book was regarded as part of or complementary to a

⁷⁴ William Cowper, *The Bishop of Galloway His Apology* (London: Printed by Thomas Snodham for John Budge, 1614).

⁷⁵ William Cowper, *The Bishop of Galloway His Dikaiology* (London: Printed by Thomas Snodham for John Budge [etc.], 1614).

⁷⁶ William Cowper, *Three Heavenly Treatises upon the Eighth Chapter to the Romans* (London: Printed by Thomas Snodham for William Firbrand, and John Budge [etc.], 1609).

⁷⁷ William Guild, *Moses Unvailed* (London: Printed by G[eorge] P[urslowe] for John Budge [etc.], 1620); William Guild, *Moses Unvailed* (London: Printed by G[eorge] P[urslowe] for John Budge [etc.], 1623).

theological work; or that the entry and transmission of these works were made for advertising the bookseller's trading range. But the transcripts prove that distinctive set of theological works and *Tarlton's Jestes* reached Robert Allot.

Indicating a simple progress for the transfer of the licence among the printing guild, *Tarlton's Jestes* serves as an index to the establishment of its value as a particularly idiosyncratic publication among others. Two other publications related to Tarlton differ from *Tarlton's Jestes* in their transmission and printing: both *Tarlton's News out of Purgatory* and *The Cobbler of Canterbury* were first printed by Robert Robinson (td 1583-1597), and then the licence was transferred to different printers, not in any particular relation with theological literature but as part of a network of contacts (Tables 10 and 11). The first edition of *Tarlton's News out of Purgatory* was entered in 26 June, 1590 by Thomas Gubbin (td 1587-1629) and Thomas Newman (td 1587-1598), who were in partnership, and printed by Robert Robinson. Newman bought the shop which was previously owned by Henry Middleton (td 1567-1587); and from the widow of the same Middleton, Robinson bought the printing equipment. Judging from the fact that many of the printing circles were based on a master-apprentice relationship, father-son relationship, or a marital relationship, Newman was most probably connected in business with Robinson through Middleton. Therefore, there is no impediment to forming the hypothesis that Robinson, printer, and Newman, bookseller, shared the business. Robinson's widow remarried Richard Braddock (td 1577-1611) in 1597; her printing house was then bought by John Haviland and William Hall in 1606, and a few years after in 1609 it was resold to John Beale and John Pindley. In 1613, Pindley's widow transferred her husband's copyrights to George Purslowe.⁷⁸ In 1593, another edition was printed for Edward White (td 1572?-1613) by Edward Allde (td 1584-1628). Allde was a prolific trade printer, employed by

⁷⁸ Arber, III, 535, Arber, IV, 120, and Arber, III, 702-03.

most of the publishers of the time. Geoffrey Creigh and Jane Belfield find that Robinsion, Braddock, and Alde used the same printing device, and rightly identify Robinson as the printer of the first edition from the same head ornament on the title page of the second edition, which Robinson also used in the 1590 edition of *The Cobbler of Canterbury*.⁷⁹ This evidence to connecting Robinson with Alde verifies that there are two clear transmissions: one from Robinson to Purlsowe via the printing house, which realised the publication of another edition (1630); and also one from Robinson to Alde, when they made a second edition (ca. 1593) almost collateral to the first edition.⁸⁰ These transmissions in the bibliographical history of *Tarlton's News out of Purgatory* demonstrate that the printer Robert Robinson was the key figure in publications related to Tarlton.

The licence of *Tarlton's News out of Purgatory* was passed through the hands of a narrow range of printers to George Purslowe and Francis Grove (td 1623-1661). Purslowe, part of Eliot's Court Press, was the printer of *Tarlton's Jests*, supposedly published around 1630 as this later edition of *Tarlton's News out of Purgatory*. Grove was a seller of *An Excellent Medley*, a repeatedly printed medley which has marked with the tune called 'Tarletons Medley' in its title, entered to Grove on 26 Nov. 1629.⁸¹ Their commitment to publishing *Tarlton's News out of Purgatory* in 1630 illustrates that Tarlton's name was revived in wide use coincidentally in the same year of 1630 when *Tarlton's Jests* and *Tarletons Medley* were reprinted, and when *The Tinker of Turvey*, the renamed edition of *The Cobbler of Canterbury* was published. This also demonstrates that after the 1613 *Tarlton's Jests* and the 1614 *The Cobbler of Canterbury* were published, there came another jest-book revival in

⁷⁹ Creigh and Belfield, pp. 113-16 (pp. 113-14).

⁸⁰ Anon, *Tarlton's News out of Purgatory* (London: Printed [by Edward Alde] for Edward White, [1593?]); Anon, *Tarlton's Nevvs out of Purgatory* (London: Printed by George Purslowe, and are to be sold by Francis Grove [etc.] 1630).

⁸¹ M. P. (Martin Parker), *An Excellent Medley* (London: [for F. Grove], [ca. 1630]). This medley was previously published for Henry Gosson in ca. 1625 as *An Excellent New Medley*: M. P., *An Excellent New Medley* (London: For H.G., [ca. 1625]).

1630 with the first publication of *A Banquet of Jests*.⁸² Though Creigh and Belfield accept the success of *Tarlton's News out of Purgatory* in the 1590s, they hastily assume that it was strange to publish the 1630 edition.⁸³ The process of creating interest in Tarlton again, however, should be understood in the context of both the second jest-book boom in the 1630s and the undying attention to the legendary clown. Intending to benefit from the second jest-book boom, these publishers restored Tarlton's related works, looking back to the relics of the past.

The Cobbler of Canterbury gives a different picture of printing and selling. Although its entry was not recorded in the Stationers' Register, it was certainly published in 1590 after *Tarlton's News out of Purgatory*, according to the tagline, 'an inuectiue against Tarltons newes out of purgatorie'. This advertising phrase sums up the tone and premise of the book, and then explains that *The Cobbler of Canterbury* was customised in response to an incentive to print offered by *Tarlton's News out of Purgatory*. Moreover, it warranted the inclusion of Tarlton in marketing materials. Regardless of the preceding edition, its entry to the Stationers' Register was found in the transcription of 12 June, 1600, by John Newbery (td 1584-1603). Then in 1608, another edition was printed by Nicholas Okes, for Nathaniel Butter (td 1590-1605).⁸⁴ The subsequent edition was printed for Nathaniel Butter with different printer, Thomas Snodham.⁸⁵ The transmission of the licence is clear: in 1600 of the first entry, Joan Newbery, Nathaniel's mother had already remarried John Newbery. Joan gave the publishing rights to *Tarlton's News out of Purgatory* to her son from her first marriage, Nathaniel Butter. It is not clear whether Thomas Butter or John Newbery originally had a copy, but it is most clear that

⁸² *A Banquest of Jests* is attributed to Archy Armstrong, and was printed several times. Its title page, overall format, contents, and the choice and classification of episodes seem to be first influenced by *Tarlton's Jests* and later influenced by other contemporary jest-books. See Figures 1, 2 and 3.

⁸³ Creigh and Belfield, pp. 114-15.

⁸⁴ Anon, *The Cobbler of Canterbury* (London: Printed by Nicholas Okes for Nathaniel Butter [etc.], 1608).

⁸⁵ Anon, *The Cobbler of Canterbury* (1614, STC 4580.5).

through Joan, Nathaniel Butter obtained the licence to print from John Newbery.

In 1630 when Nathaniel Butter published a revision of *The Cobbler of Canterbury* renamed *The Tinker of Turvey*,⁸⁶ the jest-book lost the familiar formula of reinforcing the reader's memory of Tarlton. This new formatted edition illustrates that the biographical jest-books stood at a crossroads in its development: the clown figure as a familiar prescriptive template to introduce a series of amusing stories became separated from the jest-book in around 1630. While *Tarlton's News out of Purgatory* had the same introductory note '*Onely such a iest as his iigge, fit for gentlemen to laugh at an houre, &c.*' and the same preface to Gentlemen consistently in its three printings, *The Tinker of Turvey* has a considerable difference in its title page from that of *The Cobbler of Canterbury*. The branding slogan with a reflection of a clown actor onstage in the titlepage of the original book, 'a merrier Iest then a Clownes Iigge, and fitter for Gentlemens humors' is replaced in the new formatted edition with a multi-use phrase such as '*his merry pastime in his passing from BILLINGSGATE to GRAVES-END. The Barge being Freighted with Mirth, and Mann'd With these Persons Trotter the Tincker. Yerker, a Cobler. Thumper, a Smith. Sr. Rowland a Scholler. Bluster a Sea-man. And other Mad-merry fellowes, euery-One of them Telling his Tale: All which Tales are full of Delight to Reade ouer, and full of laughter to be heard. Euery Tale-Teller being described in a Neate Character. The eight seuerall orders of cuckolds, marching here likewise in theyr horned rankes*'.⁸⁷ The changes in the prefatory text mark the shift in the manner of printing best-selling books. In *The Cobbler of Canterbury*, Tarlton never appears as a story teller nor a hero, with only one reference to him in the preface. The omission of 'Clownes

⁸⁶ Anon, *Tinker of Turvey*. *STC* notes that 'The change in title and the added Tinker's Song derive from the popularity of the ballad 22920.3'. The ballad is named *A pleasant new songe of a joviall tinker* [of 'Turbie', i.e. Turvey.], and was entered 22 March 1616. Butter refashioned the book for higher sales. In addition, the renamed edition lacks Robin Goodfellow's Preface, which Butter seemed to think unfit for the updated version in sense and taste.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, sig. A1.

ligge' from *The Tinker of Turvey*, and an array of jobs in the community appear to be appropriate to the text to catch readers in general. By contrast, *Tarlton's News out of Purgatory* with a triumphant reference to Tarlton's jig in the additional subtitle, has Tarlton himself appearing in the preface; and therefore, it is not surprising that this rival text followed the format of the precedent edition without changes. Second, the omission of Tarlton from the additional statements in the title page of *The Tinker of Turvey* reflects how the name of the clown gradually disappeared from the jest-books of the time, such as *A Banquet of Jests*. Third, instead of the phrase '*fitter for gentlemens humors*', the added phrase '*All which Tales are full of Delight to Reade ouer, and full of laughter to be heard*', as with the omission of the clown figure, shows that the publisher intentionally attempted to differentiate his edition from *Tarlton's News out of Purgatory*. The persistence of specific praise for Tarlton among the three editions suggests that the possible readers were not be restricted to gentlemen, and that as the literate population became larger, more customers got access to and could afford to buy printed materials. In that connection, we can deduce that the attribution was accordingly changed. Fourth, the title page presentation of *The Tinker of Turvey* is similar to that of *Tarlton's Jests* and *A Banquet of Jests*; and like these, the tales of *The Tinker of Turvey* are indented. Above all, *The Tinker of Turvey* clearly shows that it is a jest-book without relation to Tarlton, or any clown figure onstage. The edition marked its independence from the clown's name with which it was originally promoted to be sold. Thus, the allusions and references to Tarlton as a marker of the concept of jesting and clowning underwent various changes in the definition, reasoning, and canonisation of 'Tarlton'.

3 Localising 'Tarlton': The Legend in Publishing History

The development and establishment of the Tarlton myth absorbs such contemporary

collateral actions as the situation of the print industry, the mode of the jest-book, and the type and reaction of readership in terms of what appears to be Tarlton's position for writers anterior to the theatre closure in 1640. An analysis of *A Banquet of Jests*, which has been attributed to Archy Armstrong, jester to James I and Charles I, is the cornerstone of all later profiles of him, and is necessary to clarify how 'Tarlton' was inscribed into these documents.⁸⁸ The additions and alterations in the paratextual matters turn out to be very useful in examining the final phase of historicising Tarlton as both literary and theatrical.

Around the early 1610s writers' attempts to historicise the theatrical Tarlton ceased after the long years since Tarlton's death, and instead, with the advent of the jest-book boom in both newly compiled and reprinted editions, jester-heroes begin to lose face. Along with this trend, Tarlton represented as comic player or court jester only survives in historical accounts. While biographical jest-books such as *Scoggin's Jests* and *Tarlton's Jests*, went through different editions or repeated editions independently in the 1620s and 1630s, another jest-book, *A Banquet of Jests*, whose anecdotes and episodes are reclassified and even separated from context, appears and was in currency in the 1630s (Table 11).

Richard Royston (td 1628-1686), the publisher of *A Banquet of Jests* played a significant role in making a chronology of English jesters. The episodes of his jest-book are independent and were used efficiently at a table, or a banquet scene to entertain people. Indeed, Royston's jest-book without a consistent jester-hero marked a development in the jest-book evolution. With a different style and aim as Royston explains in his Preface, the jest-book states that it now comprises a univocal set of jests. His rewriting of jests revolutionised the way that jests are created or chosen on demand. But such an evolution of the jest-book distances the jester-clown figure from his original role and function both onstage

⁸⁸ For a biography of Archy Armstrong, see Smuts.

and offstage. Given that prestigious right to intervene between the original writing and the revision, the publisher's role was determined as a prominent cultural authority in society.

A Banquet of Jests, entered to the Stationers' Register on 10 May, 1630 by Royston, holds in common with Tarlton-related texts not only the name of the jester as its assumed author but also the name of Tarlton in its prefatory page. This compilation of the jest-book is distinguished by the seventeenth-century convention of adding epistles or the printer's Preface to the reader. Royston had published this title at least seven times by 1640: in 1630, 1632?, 1633, 1634, the first and second parts independently in 1636, the two parts bound together in 1640, and once as his last edition in 1657.⁸⁹ Except one edition printed by Thomas Cotes (td 1620-1641) in 1639, Miles Flesher (or Fletcher, td 1611-1664) was printer to them. These extant editions indicate Royston's monopoly of this text, and their various forms of presentation demonstrate that Royston's design and control of the printing resulted in the publisher's entitlement to revise, add complimentary expressions to the book, and conflate the two separated parts into one. Declaring the jest-book '*Being A Collection of Moderne Jests*', the title demonstrates the publisher's pride in providing up-to-date jests. However, these changes also indicate the development of his dictatorship over the choice of material for printing, and most prominently the revisions: alluring catch-phrases, the printer's name, and the prefaces and epistles all serve to give a different impression to each edition. By maintaining the single printer for the same title, but not the same format, Royston finds the value in repeated printings of his first successful business venture.

In his preface placed on the page facing to the title page, Royston shows signs of

⁸⁹ Anon, *A Banquet of Jests* ([London: Printed for Richard Royston, 1632]); Anon, *A Banquet of Jests* (London: Printed by M. Flesher for Richard Royston [etc.], 1633); Anon, *A Banquet of Jests* (1634); Anon, *A Banquet of Jests, Part 1* (London: Printed by M. Flesher for Richard Royston [etc.], 1636); Anon, *A Banquet of Jests, Part 2* (London Printed by M. Flesher for Richard Royston [etc.], 1636); Anon, *A Banquet of Jests* (London: Printed [by Thomas Cotes] for Richard Royston [etc.], 1639); Anon, *A Banquet of Jests* (London: Printed [by M. Flesher] for Richard Royston [etc.], 1640); Anon, *A Banquet of Jests* (London: Printed for R. Royston at the Angell in Ivy-lane, 1657).

changing his practical attitude towards his output, by presenting his own genealogy of jest-books. While he humbly expresses the previous publication history of the book from 1630 to 1633, he determinedly describes his intention of publishing a newly refurbished edition as ‘since to your view, / I come in colours fresh, in Habit new’.⁹⁰ Later in the 1650s, as William Proctor Williams points out, Royston developed his professional manner of prefacing in a more gentle submissive way: his prefacing ‘might serve to disarm some offense that his publications might arouse: he developed a standard disclaimer that was to appear in many of his books published during this decade’.⁹¹ Compared to the later prefaces, that to the jest-book is straightforward, but his description of targeted customers proves that the printing, trade, and marketing for existing and prospective customers were all concerns for publishers. Correspondingly, his preface exposes that the publishers responded to an active market for the jest-book, though it does not indicate the extent of trade.

Whatever the authorship and his business policy were, Royston compared his jest-book with the previously published jest-books in the preface to the 1634 edition:

*The coarser Cates, that might the feast disgrace,
Left out: And better serv'd in, in their place.
Pasquels conceits are poore, and Scoggins drie,
Skeltons meere rime, once read, but now laid by.
Peeles Iests are old, and Tarletons are growne stale,
These neither bark, nor bite, nor scratch, nor raile.
Banquets were made for laughter, not for Teares.
Such are these sportive Taunts, Tales, Jests, and Jeeres.*⁹²

Here the references to the jest-books with famous figures not only attest to the circulation of these contemporary jest-books, but also confirm Royston as giving the previous jest-books as well as his compilation permanent positions in the history of the jest-book. *The Merry Tales of*

⁹⁰ ‘The Booke to the courteous Reader’, in *A Banquet of Jests* (1633, STC 1369), the page facing the title page.

⁹¹ William Proctor Williams, ‘Richard Royston’, in *Dictionary of Literary Biography Vol. 170: British Literary Book Trade, 1475-1700*, ed. by James K. Bracken and Joel Silver (Detroit: Gale Research, 1996), pp. 219-30 (p. 224).

⁹² ‘The Printer to the Reader’, in *A Banquet of Jests* (1634, STC 1369), the page facing the title page.

Skelton was printed by Thomas Colwell in 1567.⁹³ *Pasquil's Jests* was published for John Browne (td 1594-1622), and out of five editions, three editions were printed by Miles Flesher (td 1611-1664) in 1629, 1632, and 1635.⁹⁴ *Peele's Jests* was printed by George Purslowe for Francis Faulkner (or Falconer, td 1605-1648), in 1607 and 1627.⁹⁵ The first *Scoggin's Jests* (registered in 1566) was published in around 1570 and the later two different versions of *Scoggin's Jests* were published in 1613 and 1626, with *Tarlton's Jests* published in 1613 and 1620.⁹⁶ With the exceptions of the *Skelton* book and the first *Scoggin* book, the publication of other jest-books is concentrated in the first three decades of the seventeenth century.

The jest-book productivity of these years, however, is given an unfavourable comment by Royston. He grouped these preceding publications as old-fashioned, and claimed the need for publishing a jest-book full of modernised jests. In his last edition of 1657, he replaced half of the line 'Peeles *Iests are old*' with 'Hind's *jestes are new*'.⁹⁷ The latter jest-book was published in 1657, the same year as the publication of Royston's last edition of *A Banquet of Jests*. It is another biographical jest-book, depicting the career and adventures of Captain James Hind, who was executed for robbery in 1652. The nature of the book greatly differs from the previous jest-books because of the appreciation of Hind's roguery. Royston's mapping of the jest-book literature indicates the final phase of the biographical jest-book. By consistently defining the jest-book in the comic genre, Royston juxtaposes *Tarlton's Jests* with his contemporary jest-book, and rehearses connections among them. The descendants of English jest-books are traced in his early publication of *A Banquet of Jests*, albeit acquiring topical relevance in the context of sales promotion. In his genealogy, the value of the

⁹³ See Chapter 1, Section 2.1 for the print history of *The Merry Tales of Skelton*.

⁹⁴ Pasquil, *Pasquil's Jests* (London: Imprinted for John Browne [etc.], 1604); other editions are STC 19451.5, STC 19452, STC 19453, and STC 19453.3.

⁹⁵ See also Chapter 1 for *Peele's Jests* (above pp. 23-24).

⁹⁶ The publication and the transmission of these jest-books have been discussed in Chapters 1 and 2.

⁹⁷ For the contents of *Hind's Jests*, see Chapter 2, Section 4.

jest-book is clearly of more importance than its authorship. Because Royston was concerned with mapping these works to suit his own needs, he rewrote the English clown-jester tradition as a form of heritage, and eventually historicised the jest-books in circulation during the early 1600s. The cultural value of Royston's publications is not only to establish the genealogy of the jest-book, but also to explain the shift in the jest-book's function and terminate the conventional jester's existence.

4 Conclusion

Pamphlets, plays, treatises, and jest-books concerned with Tarlton were common in the reigns of Elizabeth I, James I and Charles I, and the allusions to him in print exerted their power in creating the myth of Tarlton. The jest-book printing and reprinting in the seventeenth century marked its first phase of the trend for biographical jest-books such as *Scoggin's Jests* and *Tarlton's Jests*, and in the second phase of the table-talk boom. In the table-talk compilation, episodic form was cut from the longer context of the story, and was localised in the variety of the jests. *A Banquet of Jests* does not need a single constant hero throughout its numerous tales. As a consequence, the writer no longer necessitates a jester persona in the compilation of the jest-book for the purpose of validating any episode in any situation.⁹⁸ Later in the Restoration, Tarlton, as court jester and theatrical clown, exists either in the historical accounts of the reign of Elizabeth I or in nostalgic references to the previous generation of the plays. Edward Phillips emphasises that *Tarlton's Jests* is a worn out book in his poem 'On the Death of Jo.W.': 'Wit that shall make thy name to last, / when *Tarletons* Jests are rotten'.⁹⁹ Tarlton's name and the jest-book attributed to him were synonymously treated with each other even a century after Tarlton's death.

⁹⁸ For transitions of in the jest-book contents, see the section on recurring motifs in the jest-books in Chapter 2.

⁹⁹ Edward Phillips, *Mysteries of Love & Eloquence* (London: Printed for N. Brooks [etc.], 1658), p. 94.

According to Louis B. Wright, the jest-book increased its popularity due to ‘the regularity of almanacs’ and also because ‘some new purveyor of humor brought out a rehash of the old jokes, with a fresh title to catch the eye of the apprentice and the loiterer in Paul’s Walk’. He argues that stories circulated among middle class people such as in the printed form of pamphlets and jest-books had both entertaining and edifying aspects.¹⁰⁰

Royston establishes the historicity of Tarlton, as he formulated his marketing agenda through a personal genealogy. He stabilises ‘Tarlton’, but also gives the name a permanent stigma remarking that *Tarlton’s Jest*s is ‘stale’. In both by Royston’s genealogy and the nostalgic accounts of the reign of Elizabeth, Tarlton, who once gained currency among pamphlet writers and publishers, is consigned to memory. Historising Tarlton is a process of abstracting his information from its context and of converting the information into a recognisable printed symbol.

¹⁰⁰ Louis B. Wright, ‘Chapter XII: Ephemeral Reading’, in *Middle Class Culture in Elizabethan England* (London: Methuen, 1935), pp. 414-64 (p. 463).

Chapter 4

Memorialising Tarlton: Text and Theatre

The study of Tarlton is vitally important in view of his impact on religious and entertainment pamphlets, historical accounts, and jest-books. In these forms, Tarlton becomes even more consequential than in other areas of clown scholarship, such as in the interpretation of drama. Tarlton in and behind the writings in which he appears combines literary text and stage performance in dynamic conflation which hails him as key symbol of the clown-jester. In parallel with historicising Tarlton, textualising Tarlton concurred to permanently inscribe him into literary and historical texts. The textualisation of Tarlton as both actor and jest-maker further develops the Tarlton myth: around him a double process lasted until 1640.

Whereas the writers of the early seventeenth century wrote of their experiences and knowledge of the theatre, Tarlton was reconstituted in the print industry along with the jest-book boom, and the references to Tarlton in poetry and philosophical writing served to establish the fixed image of theatrical Tarlton which comes down to us today. Despite Tarlton's relatively distant death in 1588, writers' continued attachment to him is clear in their accounts of the past. In identifying Tarlton as a famous comedian, most modern critics acknowledge him as an already established 'text' or as a subject conveying an idea, as a textualised object for their further examination, and a permanent icon of clowning in theatre history. They use him as a coextensive figure with their identification of clown figures in early modern drama. What is required is reacquaintance with the early modern writing on the deceased clown Tarlton that demands a close reading of the allusions to him, which brought their own equivocality and variability.

The various literary texts which contain a reference to Tarlton show his cultural ambivalence as intrinsic to a theatrical persona. The ubiquity of Tarlton has often licensed

claims of the interchangeability of the stage clown and the court jester.¹ Conversely, every allusion to Tarlton not only repeats but also changes existing texts and therefore creates the potential for difference in his appropriation and reception. As Tarlton as a text was crammed variously with symbolical meaning related to theatrical performance such as witty improvisation, he became the perfect vehicle for writers to express their ideas, especially regarding the effectiveness of satiric writing.

The 1590s is the era in which the first textualisation of Tarlton arose. The allusions in pamphlets — especially of the Martin Marprelate controversy, the Harvey-Nashe quarrel, and the ghost of Tarlton as interlocutor of satiric writing — created ‘Tarlton’ as a specific literary figure out of a cultural matrix of jesters. In fact, that stereotype was adopted enthusiastically and consistently at the time. The writers of the late sixteenth century gave Tarlton’s portraiture of an actor the voice of their double, and they invoked him in condemning and satirising their contemporaries, such as religious opponents. They propagated Tarlton’s image in railing witticisms, while trying to accentuate a parable about the importance of intellectual wit. This is very different from references to his theatrical dimension, which spread over the following several decades. These include the vernacular profile of the witty satirical clown that certainly existed in the pamphlets and ephemeral literature, and new prose or poetic profiles in the form of heroic episodes created from the early seventeenth-century writers’ view of the renowned comic actor’s reputation. Whether or not these writers realised the possibilities of textualisation and historicisation inherent in their memories, they connected Tarlton with the past and treated him as a fact.

Identifying the sources of textualising Tarlton, neglected in the critics’ reconstruction of Tarlton until today, and clarifying why, how and when ‘Tarlton’ was rendered in writings and

¹ Historical accounts written by Thomas Fuller, George Sandys, Edmund Bohun, and Anthony à Wood, as discussed in Chapter 3, highlighted Tarlton’s reputation for acting and mediating between the Queen and courtiers. As shown below, other historians, such as Howes and Meres, defined Tarlton as a stage clown.

printings of the time, remain the key questions in the textualisation of Tarlton. Reconstructed profiles of Tarlton genealogised a representation of both a comic actor and a jester in parallel with a textualisation of clowning, marking a shift in the textualisation. As every written text constitutes an act of textualisation, the early modern publications individually make a transcription of him and translate that text into better known forms such as epigrams and play-texts. Seeking the Tarlton texts in the literary tradition offers a chance to better understand how the Tarlton myth has been rehearsed as a foundation in the history of drama under the writers' negotiations in documenting the early modern period. Other than the conventionally imagined, preserved, and transmitted figure, Tarlton in comedic and performing culture implies a whole spectrum of early modern clowns and fools.

1 Parallel Texts: Exemplar of Extempore Wit / Renowned Comic Actor

Among the documents concerning Tarlton's theatrical aspects is the record of the Queen's Men. Apart from the purpose-made image of Tarlton singling out his trait of extempore wit and the elegies published soon after his death, some direct references to Tarlton have become more vivid with the passage of time. Francis Meres and Edward Howes, in their accounts enumerating English public figures, refer to Tarlton's improvising talent. Samuel Rowlands in his one epigram recognises Tarlton's art of clowning. Henry Peacham in both his single account and verse recollects graphic memories of Tarlton. Richard Brome in *The Antipodes* and Ben Jonson in *Bartholomew Fair* look back nostalgically to Tarlton's stage performance. Prose concerning the fashion and style of the time such as Cyril Tourneur's satire on folly *Laugh and Lie Down*, Thomas Dekker's commentary on theatre-goers, and Thomas Heywood's treatises on the aesthetics of plays and actors, though all long after

Tarlton's death, contain critical reflections of Tarlton.² These allusions all demonstrate how Tarlton was evaluated highly in the history of the English theatre.

1.1 Allusions to 'simplicity' in Historical Accounts, Epigrams, and Books on Decorum

Tarlton's importance as a theatrical figure during the sixteenth century has long been acknowledged, but there are very few records of his performance during his lifetime.³ The descriptions of the Queen's Men, where Tarlton is often named with Robert Wilson when referring to his career as a comic actor, provide the first step towards the demystification of Tarlton as legendary clown. In the continuation to John Stow's *Annals* in 1615, Howes wrote about both Tarlton and Wilson and their distinguished talents: Robert Wilson 'for a quicke delicate refined extemporall witte', and Richard Tarlton 'for a wondrous plentiful pleasant extemporall wit'.⁴ Howes carried on the already formulated figures of the two actors. This special mention not only helps fill in some blanks between Tarlton's serviceable aspect in the pages of recorded history and his onstage aspect, but also reflects Francis Meres' coupling of Tarlton and Wilson in *Palladis Tamia* in 1598, a decade after Tarlton's death. Meres praised Tarlton whose 'extemporall verse' is worth as much as Ovid's, continuing, 'And so is now our wittie Wilson, who, for learning and extemporall witte in this faculite, is without compare or compeere, as to his great and eternall commendations he manifested in his chalenge at the Swanne on the Banke side'.⁵ The pair of Wilson and Tarlton is of particular interest because these allusions are common in attributing extempore wit to both of actors.⁶ The

² Cyril Tourneur, *Laugh and Lie Down* (London: [By William Jaggard] for Jeffrey Chorlton, 1605). See also Dekker, *The Gull's Horn-book*, and Heywood, *An Apology for Actors*.

³ The single existing evidence of an actual performance by Tarlton is an episode in *Tarlton's Jestes*, which depicts his interactive relationship with other players in *The Famous Victories of Henry V* (Anon, *Tarlton's Jestes* [1638], Tale 40 [sigs. C2^v-C3]).

⁴ John Stow, *The Annals* (London: [Printed by Thomas Dawson], 1615), p. 697.

⁵ Francis Meres, *Palladis Tamia* (London: Printed by P. Short, for Cuthbert Burby [etc.], 1598), p. 286.

⁶ In Howes's description there is an error on the part of Wilson's name: he reads 'Thomas Wilson', instead

correspondence in both Howe's and Meres' accounts presents another sequence of textualisations: Tarlton was prized for his onstage appearances with Wilson, and later writers inherited this formula of the witty stage clown-performer set by these historians. But there are significant differences between the two historians. Wilson was still alive at Meres's writing of *Palladis Tamia*, and he served as a link with his fellow actor Tarlton. Tarlton in Meres was subsequently praised for his Ovid-like wit. Conversely, the pair of Tarlton and Wilson in Howes's account gives us a picture of entertaining figures and confirms what comic actors were and why they were highly praised.

In other Renaissance texts, Tarlton is depicted as a substantive figure: an actual clown actor, who is more effectively narrowed by examining two different applications of him. One of them is a reference to the issue of circumcision. In his *Metamorphosis of Ajax*, John Harington uses Tarlton's name as a means of critiquing religious practice, in a satiric way. Through Tarlton's voice as an appealing rhetorical aid, Harington explains the importance of the relationship between God and Man acquired through the practice of circumcision:

What shold I speake of the great league betwene God and man, made in Circumcision? impressing a painefull *stigma*, or caracter in Gods peculiar people, though now, most happily taken away in the holy Sacrament of Baptisme. What the word signified, I haue knowen reuerent & learned men haue bene ignorant; and we call it very well Circumcision, and vncircumcision, though the Remists (of purpose be like to varie from Geneua) will needs bring in Prepuse; which word was after admitted into the Theater with great applause, by the mouth of Maister Tarlton the excellent Comedian; when many of the beholders that were neuer circumcised, had as great cause as Tarlton, to complaine of their Prepuse.⁷

In response to this, in *Ulysses upon Ajax*, Misodiaboles condemns Harington for his use of 'Ajax' playing on 'a jakes', and for his derogatory writing generally. In his discussion of the relevance of Harington's social satire, the author qualifies Tarlton as a merry jest-maker who possesses a verbal power in defiance of persons of authority, and the qualification makes him

of 'Robert Wilson'. Apparently, two different actors were active during the early years of the Queen's Men.
⁷ John Harington, *Metamorphosis of Ajax* (London: Printed by Richard Field [and Eliot's Court Press], [etc.], 1596), pp. 9-10.

worthy of God's favour: 'And so to Tarletons Testament I commend you, a little more drinke, then a little more bread, a little more bread, and a few more clothes, and God be at your sport Master Tarleton'.⁸ While Tarlton is depicted as a communicative tool for the middle sort by Harington, Tarlton is given, the right to act as a jester who links the reader and audience with his voice onstage. Thus, a careful comparison of these allusions elucidates Tarlton's craft of participating in and observing the social and cultural life of the time.

Another application of Tarlton is his picture in the title page of *Tarlton's Jestes*, which was reproduced many times. A woodcut supposedly depicting the actual actor was made some twenty years before his death. In a detailed examination of the iconography of Tarlton, John H. Astington notes that this image was based on a minstrel in a drawing by the Flemish painter Maarten van Heemskerck, and he speculates that the woodcut of Tarlton was copied from that in a broadsheet circulated after his death as described in Robert Wilson's play *The Three Lords and Three Ladies of London*. He warns that Tarlton's picture is not the representation of the actual man, and that it 'should be understood as amusing decoration rather than portraiture'.⁹ He refers to the set of predecessors, and gives equal interest to what the people of the time preferred.

As Chettle describes in *Kind-Hart's Dream*, Tarlton is frequently portrayed with a tabor and a pipe. Verbal descriptions and images such as woodcuts are common in illustrating Tarlton as a stage clown, especially as a jig maker.¹⁰ Once established with stereotypical epithets and written sketches, the profile of the mythical 'Tarlton' departs from the real Tarlton of the flesh and gains a momentum of its own: the star player of the Queen's Men and the conveyer of the pamphlet writers' configurations, which monopolise the clown figure.

⁸ Misodiaboles, sigs. F3-F3^v.

⁹ Astington, 'Tarlton', pp. 2-7. Prior to this article Astington provides a detailed examination of iconography of theatrical figures in 'Rereading Illustrations', pp. 151-70.

¹⁰ See Chapter 3, Section 1.4 and Figures 1 and 2 in Appendix B.

Indeed, the myth sprang from the portrait of Tarlton the comedian known for his extemporaneous jesting and jigs.

The actor image of Tarlton was clearly preserved in both accounts of his contemporary actors and in the memorialising of epigrammatists. Wilson, actor and playwright, was part of the early years of the Queen's Men. *The Three Lords and Three Ladies of London* in 1590, one of his early plays, contains an immediate allusion to his fellow actor Tarlton: the clown Simplicity delivers a tribute to him, showing his picture.¹¹ In Roger Williams, Barnabe Rich and Harington, Tarlton was exploited for their justification of criticism;¹² even so the use is not the only reason that Tarlton's clown profile was established in the early 1590s. Rather, the loss of Tarlton was a conventional poetic conceit at the time. As Tobias Döring points out, 'Memorializing actors in a literary form means to write performance, i.e. to face the problem of how written testimony can be given to a fleeting art'. Analysing Tarlton based on Döring's proposition of the funeral elegy as 'the interface of performative and literary traditions', he argues that 'the cultural work of mourning does not just immortalise the clowns, but also immobilizes their memory as their most characteristic acts, the feats of unscripted performance, are consigned to some literary form'.¹³ Then, how does this tribute become a vehicle for Tarlton's memory, restore his persona, and subsequently further the development of the Tarlton myth?

Basing his case on the records of the Stationers' Register, Edwin Nungezer states the works were published paying tribute to his memory: 'a ballad intituled, TARLTONs *farewell*' in 1588; 'A *sorrowfull newe sonnette*, Intituled TARLTONs *Recantacon vppon this theame*

¹¹ Robert Wilson, *The Three Lords and Three Ladies of London* (London: Printed by R. Jhones [etc.], 1590).

¹² Roger Williams, *A Brief Discourse of War* (London: Imprinted by Thomas Orwin [etc.], 1590); Barnabe Rich, *Greene's News Both from Heaven and Hell* (London : Printed [by widow Charlewood], 1593); Harington, *Metamorphosis of Ajax*.

¹³ Tobias Döring, 'Writing Performance: How to Elegize Elizabethan Actors', *Shakespeare Survey*, 58 (2005), 60-71 (pp. 61-65).

gyven him by a gentleman at the Bel[le]savage without Ludgate (nowe or ells never) beinge the laste theame he songe’ in 1589; ‘TARLTONs, repentance of his farewell to his frendes in his sicknes a little before his deathe’ in 1589; ‘a pleasant Dyttye Dialogue wise betweene TARLTONs ghost and Robyn Good Fellowe’ in 1590.¹⁴ The first record, according to Nungezer, is identified with ‘A pretie new ballad, intituled *willie* and *peggie*, to the tune of *tarlton’s carroll*’. Andrew Clark points out the correspondences between Stow’s Tarlton (in Howe’s appended statement) and the ballad: Tarlton is depicted as a jest-maker, the Queen’s favourite, a member of her company the Queen’s Men, a jester privileged to have access to her chamber, and an improviser of doggerel verse.¹⁵ Indeed, ballads generally seemed to create the same, recurring story of Tarlton in one way or another in performed lyrics.

Questions concerning whether Tarlton in a lament or a ballad can be taken at face value are problematic, however. With the possibility of a performer’s embellishment of the story, and of his serving royalty, it is not highly likely that his story of the relationship with the Queen is considerably embroidered. With their cautious application to other surviving documents, Clark, and later Nungezer, conclude that although the ballad is assigned to Tarlton, it is a lament for Tarlton, and despite the fact that the ballad is addressed to ‘Willie’, ‘pleasant Willy [...] dead of late’ as Edmund Spenser notes in ‘*Thalia*’ in ‘The Teares of the Muses’ (1590), Willie is another name given to Tarlton.¹⁶ Similarly, though Clark follows Howes’s distant description, he accepts the portrait of Tarlton with feats of singing, dancing, and jesting to be a fact as sung in the ballad. For him, it is most probable that the relationship

¹⁴ Nungezer, pp. 347-65 (pp. 352-53); Arber, II, 500, 526, 531, and 559.

¹⁵ Andrew Clark, ed., *The Shirburn Ballads 1585-1616* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1907), pp. 351-53 (p. 351).

¹⁶ Clark, p. 351, and Nungezer, p. 352. Edmund Spenser, ‘The Teares of the Muses’, in *The Minor Poems*, II, ed. by Charles Grosvenor Osgood and Henry Gibbons Letspeich, assisted by Dorothy E. Mason, *The Works of Edmund Spenser: A Variorum Edition* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1947), p. 68. The editors introduce the controversial views on the identification of Willy with four candidates: Shakespeare, Sidney, Lily, and Tarlton (pp. 317-21).

between the Queen and the jester is praised under the pseudonyms, Peggy for Elizabeth, and Willy for Tarlton in 'A pretie new ballad'.

The editors of the Variorum edition of Spenser's poems, however, identify the controversies concerning the identification of Willy: one critic, for example, insists that Spenser's Willy could not be Tarlton because the jig admitted as Tarlton's distinguished feature was 'the antithesis of the departed spirit of high comedy' at the time of composition.¹⁷ If this identification of Tarlton as Willy is true, Spenser's lament over Willy, together with the praise of the pleasant Willy in 'A pretie new ballad' appears to be a clear profile of Tarlton in one way, and should be accepted as an insight into the Elizabethan manner of Tarlton myth making, though it is limited to his profile at court. Even if it is not, the fact that 'A pretie new ballad' was assigned to Tarlton attests to the development of an authorial name of Tarlton in the literary text. Most of these pieces near his death — ballads and sonnets — are not extant, with the exception of 'Tarltons Farewell', but the fact that their entries in the Stationers' Register were made one after another for about three years after Tarlton's death suggests that the news of his death and tributes to him were an appealing theme of broadside sheet material.

Rhetorical depictions of Tarlton appear later in the form of epigrams in an epideictic fashion, often comparing him to other famous names of the time or deities in antiquity and their Latin counterparts, after the early modern fashion. Tarlton was a perfect subject for the widely circulated epigrams. James Doelman summarises the eclectic form of the epigram at this time:

The Renaissance epigram was a chameleon. Perhaps most striking is the way in which it transgressed social and intellectual boundaries, managing to be both a classical, sophisticated, and self-conscious form and a vernacular, popular one that circulated very widely among the public.¹⁸

¹⁷ Quoted in Osgood and Letspeich, pp. 538-39. Brent Stirling, 'Terpsichore's Lament and "Pleasant Willie"', *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 30 (1931), 556-62.

¹⁸ James Doelman, 'Epigrams and Political Satire in Early Stuart England', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 69 (2006), 31-45 (p. 33)

The subjects of epigrams are a broad range of people of various ranks and occupations. Tarlton is a classical model because he had a wide public exposure from *Tarlton's Jests*, notwithstanding that his original figure was little known. Tarlton was conveniently incorporated into the writing to refer to a stage clown. Doelman defines 'a dual face' in epigrams as 'formal and vernacular, detached and engaged', and considers this double nature in the Stuart era 'the most important among the attributes that underwrite the genre's active role in the political discourse of the era'.¹⁹ It is also true in the Elizabethan era, as we find ambiguities in the presentation of Tarlton as an emblem of folly.

In 1598, Thomas Bastard, proud of being a successor to Tarlton's folly, delivered words of praise for Tarlton 'president' of 'pleasant follies' in his English epigram.²⁰

Epigr. 39. De Richardo Tharltono.

Who taught me pleasant follies, can you tell?
I was not taught and yet I did excell.
T'is harde to learne without a president.
T'is harder to make folly excellent.
I sawe, yet had no light to guide mine eyes.
I was extold for that which all despise.

Developing a satiric analogy between Tarlton and himself, Bastard denounces Tarlton's comic performance. Bastard's importance in the literary tradition explains that the inclusion of Tarlton's name helped his emphatic presence in the late sixteenth century carry on into the seventeenth together with his own reputation as an epigrammatist.²¹ Bastard's poem illuminates how Tarlton's inclusion in the poem demonstrates the importance of the epigram for English middling sort. Bastard's English epigram would be circulated not only among

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 31.

²⁰ Thomas Bastard, *Chrestoleros* (London: Imprinted by Richard Bradock for J[ohn] B[roome] [etc.], 1598), p. 155.

²¹ P. J. Finkelpearl, explaining Bastard's importance in the literary tradition, writes, 'At Winchester College the writing of Latin epigrams using the model of Martial was a central exercise in the curriculum, and the most important epigrammatists of the 1590s — John Owen, John Hoskins, Sir John Davies, Bastard — were trained there'. P. J. Finkelpearl, 'Bastard, Thomas (1565/6-1618), *epigrammatist and Church of England clergyman*', in *ODNB*.

intellectual Latin literates but also among the less learned, thanks to its vernacular form.

In an epigram of 1600, Samuel Rowlands, describes gallants in Tarlton-like costume attracting the people in the street:

When *Tarlton* clown'd it in a pleasant vaine
 With conceites did good opinions gaine
 Vpon the stage, his merry humours shop.
 Clownes knew the Clowne, by his great clownish slop
 But now th'are gull'd, for present fashion sayes,
Dicke Tarltons part, Gentlemens breeches plaies:
 In euery streete where any *Gallant* goes,
 The swagg'ring Sloppe, is *Tarltons* clownish hose.²²

A mental picture of Tarlton was created for readers by this satiric analogy with foppish gallants in outrageous clothes, with the emphasis on his comic 'conceites' in 'clownish slop', 'breeches', 'swagg'ring Sloppe', and 'clowning hose'. And most probably the mental picture formed by readers was reinforced by the picture of him in circulation, for both pictures were almost identical. One way of creating the standardised image of Tarlton was by writing the epigrams that reinforced a detailed profile (wrongly) associated with him.

Like Bastard, another Oxford graduate, Charles Fitz-Geffry (Fitzgeffrey) composed a verse, 'Richardo Tarltono', which Grosart later translated, depicting the effect of Tarlton's comic performance:

To Richard Tarlton
 Oft in the theatre as Tarlton's face
 Was seen, instinct with keenness as with grace,
 A thunderous roar of laughter straight arose
 From all who saw, and shook the sky's repose;
 The heavens were all astonished and the host
 Of native deities who crowd heaven's coast.
 To enjoy the pleasantries they all prepare,
 Tarlton, to quit for earth the elysian air.
 Jove, fearing lest his halls being vacant made,
 His lonseome days should pass in lowering shade,
 A cruel crime he wreaks upon thy head:

²² Samuel Rowlands, 'Epigram 30', *The Letting of Humour's Blood in the Head-vaine* (London: Printed by W. White for W.F., 1600), sig. C2^v. Reprinted with a different title, *Humor's Ordinary* (London: Printed by Edward Alde, for William Firebrand [etc.], 1607), sig. C4.

The treacherous Fury bids thee join the Dead.
 But if thou hadst not sought the gods on high,
 The gods to seek thee would have left the sky,
 Circling thy gracious jocularity!²³

Fitzgeffrey illustrates the scale of laughter Tarlton brought to the audience, comparing his unrivalled quality to the dignity of Jove and other gods: in the comparisons of ‘thunder’ with ‘laughter’, ‘heaven’ with ‘hall’, and even ‘a treacherous Fury’ with ‘jocularity’. Tarlton is elevated to a member of the worthies to be epigrammatised. In ‘Rich. Tarltono, Comoedorum principi. Epit.’ written in 1607 by John Stradling,²⁴ Tarlton’s quality in acting is celebrated. Stradling sets Tarlton up as a new avatar of the comedian, calling him ‘Roscius Britannicus’.²⁵ Notwithstanding the fashion of epigrammatists — borrowing the power of dignity and authority or employing the skill of rhetorician — Fitzgeffrey’s and Stradling’s epigrams refer to Tarlton’s actual abilities as a comic player. In the manner of eulogy, a mere actor was taken up as a commodity for the high tradition of classical literature continued by England’s university graduates, and paradoxically his comedian image became part of the literary heritage.

By way of contrast, the real figure of Tarlton was depicted in another epigram by painter and poet Henry Peacham, and in an account by the religious controversialist Thomas Wright. In 1608, Peacham referred to Tarlton in ‘The Epistle to the Reader’: ‘like Tarleton, I see once againe I must thrust my head out of doores to be laughed at, and venture a hissing amongst you’.²⁶ This small sketch of Tarlton was later amplified in the epigram in *Thalia’s*

²³ Charles Fitz-Geffrey, *Caroli Fitzgeofridi Affaniae* (Oxford: Joseph Barnes, 1601), pp. 194-95. Grosart’s translation is quoted in Nungezer’s *Dictionary* (p. 360). For a biographical information on Fitzgeffrey, see Anne Duffin’s account in *ODNB*: ‘Fitzgeffrey [Fitzgeffrey], Charles (c.1575-1638), *Church of England clergyman and poet*’, in *ODNB*.

²⁴ Mihail Dafydd Evans, ‘Stradling, Sir John, first baronet (1563-1637), *scholar and politician*’, in *ODNB*.

²⁵ John Stradling, *Joannis Stradlingi Epigrammatum Libri Quatuor* (London: [Printed by Eliot’s Court Press] at the charge of George Bishop & John Norton, 1607), p. 13.

²⁶ Henry Peacham, *The More the Merrier* (London: Printed by J[ohn]. W[indet]. for Geoffrey Chorleton, and Thomas Man [etc.], 1608), sig. A4.

Banquet in 1620:

To Sir Ninian Ouzell Epigram 94.
 AS Tarlton when his head was onely seene,
 The Tire-house doore and Tapestrie betweene,
 Set all the multitude in such a laughter,
 They could not hold for scarce an houre after,
 So (Sir) I set you (as I promis'd) forth,
 That all the world may wonder at your worth.²⁷

Peacham's pictorial description of Tarlton is as vivid as if it was staged, but it is almost identical to Nashe's report of the scene at Cambridge.²⁸ It shows evidence of the posthumous textualisation of his comic performance. Taking up the same verse, Nora Johnson interprets Tarlton's performance as 'the transformative — not to say disruptive — pleasure of the clown's initial appearance', and emphasises that 'Tarlton's automatic connection to his audience is enough, even without words, to transform the theatrical environment'.²⁹

Following David Wiles' argument on the charismatic persona of clowns and clowns' improvisation as something beyond 'the fantasy of textual control' with 'performance as inimical to authorship', Johnson concludes that 'the forms of celebrity [...] made the stage an important counter to the authorial constructions of the absolutist court, the print shop, or the discourses of private property'.³⁰ Johnson's mythologisation of Tarlton into her paradigm of actors' authoring stems from ambiguous textualisation of him. It is true that the clown's physical appearance and impeccable timing correlate with his inconvertibility in historical records. However, the historicity of Tarlton and the historicising of Tarlton as a text lie in the accumulation of the allusions and the strategic translations of him in counterfeiting his identity and contextualising him through the opposition between low-class extempore wit and

²⁷ Henry Peacham, *Thalia's Banquet* (London: Printed by Nicholas Okes, for Francis Constable [etc.], 1620), sig. C7.

²⁸ See Chapter 3, Section 1.3.

²⁹ Nora Johnson, *The Actor as Playwright in Early Modern Drama* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 18-19.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

learned rhetoric.

In his antagonistic list of the corruption of the time, Thomas Wright portrays Tarlton's attire, which has typified the stereotypical rustic clown costume until today:

some times I haue seene *Tarleton* play the Clowne, and use no other breeches than such sloppes or slivings as now many Gentlemen weare, they are almost capable of a bushell of wheate, and if they bee of sacke-cloth, they woulde serve to carrie mawlt to the Mill.³¹

While Wright condemns the gentlemen's apparel as an 'absurde, clownish, and vnseemely attire' in the list of impediments to virtue, he details the breeches Tarlton wore onstage. Similar to Rowlands's epigram in 1601, Tarlton's loose baggy trousers are used as an analogue to recent gentlemen's fashion, and this strongly supports that actor Tarlton was evoked in the satirists' mind with the trend of the fashion of the time. Along with the fact that Wright's witness of the actual Tarlton onstage convinces us what a clowns' wardrobe was, at least five printings of *The Passions of the Mind* within 30 years, in 1601, 1604, 1620, 1621, and 1630 by various printers also affirm the printed materials' power and force to recall and retain the image of Tarlton onstage.³² Despite the fact that there was no social distributor of any connection between players and gentlemen, between past and present, and between city and country, satirists' compositions linked Tarlton to a theatrical clown with rustic attire. It is not an attempt to fix his image for posterity, but an outcome of the satiric writing of the time. And as shown in Rowlands's epigram, it is also a two-way transfer carried out between the two different planes — epigrams and satire.

Implying the limitations of the representations in the epitaphs and elegies, Döring points out, 'all such commemorative poems, as negotiations between textuality and

³¹ Thomas Wright, *The Passions of the Mind* (London: Printed by V[alentine]. S[limmes] for W. B[urre], 1601), p. 298.

³² Peter Milward, 'Wright, Thomas (c.1561-1623), *Roman Catholic priest and religious controversialist*', in *ODNB*. According to *STC*, *The Passions of the Mind* exist in five editions: STC 26039, STC 26040, STC 26041, STC 26042, and STC 26043.

performance, should be seen to involve acute questions of cultural authority'.³³ However, whatever the connections made by scholars and critics between the actual clown personage and the homage to him in the literary records, it should not be overlooked how and in what process writers' synthetic remodelling of the subject resulted in the textualisation of Tarlton.

In addition to his epigram on Tarlton's clownery, Henry Peacham recorded in an essay Tarlton's performance which he saw at the age of ten.³⁴ Though his recollection of Tarlton's physical acting was written long after Tarlton's death, it introduces two types of clown acting: that of Tarlton himself and clowning generally in Tarlton's lifetime. On his deathbed, when a rich father leaves his estate to his two good sons, while their younger brother, the third roguish son, performed by Tarlton, replies to the father's reproaches in the same manner as his brothers to the father's blessings:

I remember when I was a School-boy in *London*, *Tarlton* acted a third sons part, such a one as I now speake of: His father being a very rich man, and lying upon his death-bed, called his three sonnes about him, who with teares, and on their knees craved his blessing [...]. To the third, which was *Tarlton*, (who came like a rogue in a foule shirt without a a band, and in a blew coat with one sleeve, his stockings out at the heeles, and his head full of straw and feathers) as for you sirrah, quoth he) you know how often I have fetched you out of *Newgate* and *Bridewell*, you have beene an ungracious villaine, I have nothing to bequeath to you but the gallowes and a rope: *Tarlton* weeping and sobbing upon his knees (as his brothers) said, O Father, I doe not desire it, I trust in God you shall live to enjoy it your selfe. There are many such sons of honest and carefull parents in *England* at this day.³⁵

Peacham clearly presented Tarlton's role to explain his view that the parent-child relationship is strong. Through the experience of seeing the play on which the clown's part was based, Peacham located Tarlton both onstage and in print. The motif of foolish son, his father's punishment in the inheritance, and a young villain on the gallows were drawn from common stories in the jest-book tradition. These motifs had already enough cultural currency to be

³³ Döring, p. 65.

³⁴ John Horden, 'Peacham, Henry (b. 1578, d. in or after 1644), writer and illustrator', in *ODNB*.

³⁵ Henry Peacham, *The Truth of Our Times* (London: Printed by N[icholas] O[kes] for James Becket [etc.], 1638), pp. 103-05 (sigs. F4-F5).

parodied, and they were not the products of Tarlton's improvisation. Tarlton in Peacham's account could be seen and heard if performed, and read, as — most importantly — interacting with the clowning techniques of the time. The episode not only shapes a picture of Tarlton's acting, but also provides a hint of the relationship between a play in performance and a jest-book as it follows one of the jests in *A Hundred Merry Tales*.³⁶ Tarlton reproduced in print shows that he works a medium beyond his personal myth as a performer.

Despite Peacham's recording of a memory of Tarlton's acting never staying the same, it gives an account of both Tarlton and the Queen's Men's repertoire, and a jest as a source of the play's clown scene, together with his unmistakable appearance as a rustic. And in addition, if Peacham's account of Tarlton's performance is accurate, it implies his role had relations with a jest-book hero. As discussed in the chapter two, the jest-book episodes are among the canonical English clown performances. In the clown tradition, what Tarlton actually performed may survive only in the jest-book, and has some continuity down to today's clowning figures long after the court jester disappeared from history.³⁷

With a sense of loss about both the ideal paternal figure in the anecdote and the death of Tarlton, Peacham historicised Tarlton, and situated him not only as a theatrical persona but also a historical persona. As a consequence of becoming a conduit from page to stage, as well as from stage to street, textualised Tarlton with theatrical and literal values serves as a mediator beyond the theatre and beyond the limits of the genre.

The historical clown is, thus, presented as transversal across the genre, and overflows the narrative in one of Peacham's accounts of the past play-text in the early seventeenth

³⁶ Anon, *A Hundred Merry Tales*, Tale 5. For a detailed discussion on the father and his three sons, see Chapter 2.

³⁷ Modern scholars' biographies of Tarlton have mainly been drawn from his fictional representations as a jester in *Tarlton's Jests*, and as an actor recollected in later writers' accounts of his memories. Richard Beadle, in his discussion of *Tarlton's Jests* with reference to *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, aptly draws attention to the importance of the printed jest as a clue to performance. See Chapter 3.

century. It is worth noting that Tarlton's physical clowning is reported in another of Peacham's descriptions. In the meantime, however, Shakespeare presents another view in Hamlet's prohibition of the player's improvisational clownery to avoid breaking with the overall plot:

let those that play your clowns speak no more than is set down for them; for there be of them that will themselves laugh to set on some quantity of barren spectators to laugh too, though in the mean time some necessary question of the play be then to be considered. That's villainous, and shows a most pitiful ambition in the fool that use it. (III. 2. 38-45)³⁸

Taken together, the clown's performance — subtextual and unwritten — becomes an innovative dual form: both disturbing and entertaining. In this light, as a pure text, 'historical' Tarlton is first reaffirmed as a comic actor and then reshaped as an applied text of 'literary' Tarlton as a new discourse of the theatre business.

1. 2 An Aesthetic of Clowning: Tarlton and the Dramatists

Heywood and Dekker define the comic actor in their treatises on drama and the poet's role. In the Elizabethan era, Stephen Gosson attacked the theatre as the cause of moral decay from the Puritan's point of view. The playwright Thomas Lodge contended against such reformers' denunciations of the theatre.³⁹ The controversy concerning the stage, in the Jacobean era, turns to the quality of plays and acting. So the importance of Heywood's *An Apology for Actors* lies not in its response to Puritan attacks on the theatre, but in the author's idea for the theatre, with Heywood working as an actor at the time of writing his treatise.⁴⁰

³⁸ William Shakespeare, 'Hamlet', in *The Oxford Shakespeare: The Complete Works*, ed. by Stanley Wells and Gary Taylor (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988).

³⁹ Stephen Gosson, *The School of Abuse* (London: Printed [by T. Dawson] for Thomas Woodcock, 1579); Thomas Lodge, *Protogenes Can Know Apelles* (London: Printed by H. Singleton?, 1579).

⁴⁰ Thomas Heywood's *An Apology for Actors* was published in 1612 by Nicholas Okes, who had published all of Heywood's Ages quintet. But it has been widely accepted that it was written several years earlier in around 1607. E. K. Chambers carefully examined the description of named actors, the location of the Revels Office, and the identification of an incident of a Spanish landing, and proposed that a strongly

As Nora Johnson points out, ‘Authors like Heywood were poised between the commodity and the contest, poised, that is, to speak with forms of authority we must labor to recover’.⁴¹ By contrast, unlike Heywood, Dekker and Tourneur were never actors; they were both pamphlet writers and dramatists, while Heywood wrote a contentious treatise on the principles of acting as well as prefaces to his plays.

Discussing actors in antiquity, Heywood praises the value of actors’ delivery of speech as well as their actions:

A Description is only a shadow receiued by the eare but not perceiued by the eye: so liuely portrature is meerely a forme seene by the eye, but can neither shew action, passion, motion, or any other gesture, to mooue the spirits of the beholder to admiration.⁴²

When Heywood defends the actor in domestic histories, he acknowledges that he ‘as being wrapped in contemplation, offers to him in his hart all prosperous performances, as if the personator were the man personated? so bewitching a thing is lively and well-spirited action, that it hath power to new-mold the harts of the spectators, and fashion them to the shape of any noble and notable attempt’. As Blair Worden argues, in dividing the two concepts of history and poetry, and regarding a poet as half-philosopher, the virtue of poetry is to give verisimilitude to history, and so too drama functions as Heywood conjectures here.⁴³ In addition to justifying drama not as didactic but as a mixture of oratory tradition and painting, he defends action as a mixture of both types of representations; oratory is ‘a kind of a speaking picture’ and painting, ‘a dumbe oratory’. In this way, Heywood gives dignity to the profession of acting.⁴⁴ As David Mann analyses Heywood’s reliance on the authority of antiquity, he points out that, writing under the influence of Thomas Nashe’s *Pierce Penniless*

possible period of writing was during 1607 and 1608. E. K. Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage*, reprinted with corrections, 4 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1951), IV, 250.

⁴¹ Johnson, pp. 122-51.

⁴² Heywood, *An Apology for Actors*, sig. B4^v.

⁴³ Blair Worden, ‘Historians and Poets’, *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 68 (2005), 71-93.

⁴⁴ Heywood, *An Apology for Actors*, sig. B4.

His Supplication to the Devil (1592), Heywood proceeds to discuss ‘the justification of playing as the inculcator of honour, the nobleman’s virtue’.⁴⁵

Then, in his discussion of the development of actors in the third section of the treatise, ‘Of actors and the true use of their quality’, he lists Tarlton with the English actors whose skills are worthy of mention:

Heere I must needs remember Tarleton, in his time gracious with the Queene his soueragne, and in the peoples generall applause, whom succeeded *Wil. Kemp*, as wel in the fauour of her Maiesty, as in the opinion & good thoughts of the generall audience. *Gabriel, Singer, Pope, Phillips, Sly*, all the right I can do them, is but this, that though they be dead, their deserts yet liue in the remembrance of many.⁴⁶

Heywood’s account follows that of ancient Roman actors such as Roscius, elevating the status of English actors by referring to classical names. Similarly, by emphasising the significance of the past, Tarlton extends his own meaning in theatre history. At the end of this passage, his importance grows as Heywood compares him to the actor, Edward Allen, Heywood’s contemporary. Switching from dead actors, whom he never saw, to living actors, Heywood moves from remembering and memorialising clowns to creating them. Heywood is a bridge in print not only between reportage of performance and an analysis of English actors, but also between stage and audience. For him, Tarlton is the conceptualised comic figure of the past.

However, Dekker treats Tarlton differently in *The Gull’s Hornbook* only a few years after Heywood’s writing of *An Apology of Actors* in 1607 (published in 1612).⁴⁷ R. B. McKerrow points out the book’s importance, though *The Gull’s Hornbook* is largely based on Friedrich Dedekind’s *Grobianus*; he highlights that the difference between *Grobianus* and *The Gull’s Hornbook* lies in tone, and identifies the chapter on the manners and customs of the

⁴⁵ David Mann, *The Elizabethan Player: Contemporary Stage Representation* (London: Routledge, 1991), p. 190.

⁴⁶ Heywood, *An Apology for Actors*, sig. E2.

⁴⁷ See note 40 for the date Chambers presumes for composition.

gallants in theatre as Dekker's own creation.⁴⁸ Indeed, in his satiric comments on theatre-going gallants' behaviour in *Proæmium*, Dekker lists Tarlton with Kemp and Singer, with a sarcasm aimed at learned men of mode:

It is by heart that I would haue you to con my lessons, and therefore be sure to haue most deuouring stomaches. Nor be you terrified with an opinion that our *Rules* be hard and indigestible, or that you shall neuer be good *Graduates* in these rare sciences of *Barbarisme*, and *Idiotisme*: Oh fie vppon any man that carries that vngodly minde! Tush, tush, *Tarleton*, *Kemp*, nor *Singer*, nor all the litter of Fooles that now come drawling behinde them, neuer plaid the Clownes more naturally then the arrantest Sot of you all, shall, if hee will but boyle my Instructions in his braine-pan.⁴⁹

Admonishing the gallants who 'may fit there like a popiniay, onely to learne Play-spéeches, which afterward may furnish [...] necessity of [...] bare knowledge, to maintaine table talke', Dekker admits the skills of the actual stage clowns 'in these rare sciences of *Barbarisme*, and *Idiotisme*', and raises the status of clowns. Placing him in the context of current unsophisticated theatre circumstances, Dekker debases Tarlton despite giving him a special position in the history of clown actors.

Unlike Heywood and Dekker, Cyril Tourneur gives his view on fools in his satire on folly. When he explores the nature of folly and its benefits, he connects it to contemporary ballad melodies. Regarding music as persuasive, he declares his preference for wit over patience:

I will héere rather pine to death, in this Purgatory of Patience, then passe one day longer, in the Laborinth of sorrow, to liue with such a none-such, a fool? Why, I had rather be a beg gar with true wit, then a Lady without true honor: but, since Patience is a medcine for all Malladies, if he continue the coxcombe a little longer, I will fit him a pennyworth to the purpose: and in the meane time, till I sée him (which I hope neuer to doe:) let me sing my new Ballet, of the fine foole, to the tune of *Tarlton*.⁵⁰

⁴⁸ *The Gull's Hornbook* by Thomas Dekker, ed. by R. B. McKerrow (London: De la More Press, 1904), pp. iv-v.

⁴⁹ Thomas Dekker, *The Gull's Horn-booke* (London: Imprinted [by Nicholas Okes] for R. S[ergier?], 1609), sigs. B2-B2^v (pp. 3-4).

⁵⁰ Tourneur, sig. D1^v.

In a figurative image of folly, Tarlton is connected with wit and an ideal of the fool. Tarlton has become generic with no precise reference to particular performances.

Heywood, Dekker and Tourneur demonstrate their views on clowns, but their analysis of Tarlton is different in their desires for function and contribution: they each examine clowns in the theatre industry, contemporary trend making, and daily life. Unlike the text of ‘Tarlton’ in the earlier pamphlets, where he is used in qualifying the target’s talent, the stage clowns are functionalised in both writers as to their relations with everyday culture — for Heywood, they function as pain relief, and for Dekker, they function as trend makers. Dispossessed of his conventional attributes such as ‘extemporising’, Tarlton is treated on a par with other clown actors, and consequently, he becomes an historic example. Dekker’s description of the life of his contemporaries gives a clue to the clowns’ rapidly decreasing appearances in the theatre, while the application of clowning to table talk was to result in the further diminishing of their presence onstage.

2 Tarlton Onstage: Later Allusions in the Play-texts

As well as the allusions to Tarlton as an example of the clown actor in the treatises or the satiric pamphlets, there are the references to him in plays. In *The Return from Parnassus* in 1600, Ingenioso, full of world weariness, describes ‘this dull age’ and subsequently links it to ‘an vnmanerlie microcosme’ of Tarlton, calling him ‘this swine-faced clowne’ and scorning that ‘there is noe inke fitt to write his seruill name’ (I. 1. 270-76).⁵¹ Likewise, in the Rendezvous scene of three men and three women (Act II, Scene 4) of *The Partial Law*, one woman comments that the dance-tune ‘The souldier’s delight’ as old-fashioned, using a simile

⁵¹ Anon, ‘*The First Part of the Return from Parnassus*’, in *The Three Parnassus Plays (1598-1601)*, ed. by J. B. Leishman (London: Ivor Nicholson & Watson, 1949), p. 149.

of Tarlton's attire: 'Nay, that's as old as the beginning of the world, or Tarlton's Trunk-hose'.⁵²

Both authors present a pessimistic view of Tarlton, without compliment or homage. In the early seventeenth century, Tarlton represented a figure at a safe temporal distance. Ben Jonson's stage keeper in *Bartholmew Fair* looks back with merry nostalgia:

STAGE-KEEPER [...] I kept the *Stage* in Master *Tarletons* time, I thanke my starres. Ho! and that man had liu'd to haue play'd in *Bartholmew Fayre*, you should ha' seene him ha' come in, and ha' beene coozened I'the Cloath-quarter, so finely! And *Adams*, the Rogue, ha leap'd and caper'd vpon him, and ha' dealt his vermine about, as though they had cost him nothing. (Induction, 35-40)⁵³

Mocking nostalgic feelings for late Elizabethan stage performances, Jonson presents a historical parallel to clowns of the Elizabethan age. Recording the past through Tarlton continued up to 1640. Both Richard Brome's *The Antipodes* and William Cavendish's *The Country Captain* present nostalgic references to Tarlton. In *The Antipodes*, Letoy and Bishop discuss what a comic scene is like, as Letoy explains to Bishop how to act:

LETOY Goe, be ready:
 But you Sir are incorrigible, and
 Take licence to your selfe, to adde unto
 Your parts, your owne free fancy; and sometimes
 To alter, or diminish what the writer
 With care and skill compos'd: and when you are
 To speake to your coactors in the Scene,
 You hold interloquutions with the Audients.
 BISHOP That is a way my Lord has bin allow'd
 On elder stages to move mirth and laughter.
 LETOY Yes in the dayes of *Tarlton* and *Kempe*,
 Before the stage was purg'd from barbarisme,
 And brought to the perfection it now shines with.
 Then fooles and jesters spent their wits, because
 The Poets were wise enough to save their owne
 For profitabler uses. Let that passe.
 Tonight, ile give thee leave to try thy wit,

⁵² Dobell Bertram, ed., *The Partiall Law: A Tragi-comedy / by an unknown author (circa 1615-1630) now first printed from the original manuscript; edited by Bertram Dobell* (London: B. Dobell, 1908), p. 43.

⁵³ Ben Jonson, *Bartholomew Fair* (London: Printed by J. B[eale]. for Robert Allot [etc.], 1631). The reference is to G. R. Hibbard, ed., *Bartholomew Fair*, New Mermaids (London: A & C Black, 1977).

In answering my Doctor, and his Patient
He brings along with him to our *Antipodes*. (II. 2)⁵⁴

This dialogue between Letoy and Bishop involves early seventeenth-century appropriation of the jester, though they recognise that Tarlton and Kemp were actors of the past and that their clowning was old-fashioned. More importantly, it theorises the relationship between playwright and actor in terms of dominance and control over the stage performance. The clowning figure is clearly stipulated as an actor with the freedom to improvise using his wit.

And in addition, when Brome groups and sequences fools and jesters, he introduces both Tarlton and Kemp as representative of stage clowns according to the compositional rules of current convention and tradition. Clowns may be divided into thematic and performative competence, and both manifest in the play-text idiosyncrasies of the clown actor. Like Dekker, who regarded Tarlton as a skilled comedian in the theatre of 'barbarisme', Brome gives him the honour of outstanding clown up to the reign of Charles I.

Likewise, Tarlton is recalled in *The Country Captain*. When Engine in a frenzy describes the new play, he praises Tarlton's jesting, 'I am afraid the witts are broke, there be men will / make affidauit, that haue not heard a good iest since / Tarleton dyed' (1360-62).⁵⁵ Fifty years after Tarlton's death, his reputation and his jests survived as a standard of the Elizabethan stage, its texts, and performances. Thus, anachronistic ideas and customs concerning clowning and jesting, and nostalgia for the acting legend coexisted in play-texts before 1640, and were localised in the accounts of Tarlton's appearances onstage.

In the meantime, John Taylor, Water-Poet, contributed to narrowing the definition of the English clown. In his translation of Thomas Coryate's elegy on witty jesters, Tarlton's name appears in the middle of the verse with other actors, such as Lanum, Singer, and Kemp:

⁵⁴ Richard Brome, *The Antipodes* (London: Printed by J. Okes, for Francis Constable [etc.], 1640), sig. D4^v.

⁵⁵ H. R. Woudhuysen, ed., *The Country Captain by William Cavendish, Earl of Newcastle*, The Malone Society Reprints, 162 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).

O were my wit inspird with Scoggins vaine,
 Or that *Wil Summers Ghost* had seasd my braine,
 Or *Tarlton, Lanum, Sinner, Kempe, and Pope,*
 O she that danc't and tumbles on the rope,
 O tilting *Archy*, that so brauely ran,
 [...]
 And with your wits and spirits inspire my pate ful.⁵⁶

Notably, the list of names includes the fictitious Scoggin, Will Summers, Henry VIII's jester, and Archy Armstrong, James I's jester, along with the author. In contrast to Heywood who referred to the Roman actor, Roscius, Taylor genealogises these English clowns of literary, theatrical, and court households, and traces their earliest form to Scoggin's jesting. Interestingly enough, Scoggin's name is not italicised, unlike the other historical jesters, which suggests that the author demarcated fictitious and actual figures, while accepting that the origins of jesting can be traced back to Scoggin's techniques. Scoggin's name becomes a trope exemplifying one specific strain of witticism and humour. Moreover, the poet established the tradition of English clowns. This genealogy of jesters which survived the editing process in 1622, 1628 and 1630 might have solidified into a mental picture of the literary and theatrical figure which later writers edited into print. It helps that among the most famous clowns Tarlton's name has clearly been passed down to later generations, and thereby resulted in widely received perception.

From the 1590s to the early 1610s, the textualisation of 'Tarlton' occurred in the pamphlet war — the discussions on drama and play writing. The meaning and value of 'Tarlton' for seventeenth century writers is different from the pamphleteers of the sixteenth century, where Tarlton was referred to as a simple comedian, and as a persona given voice to convey the writer behind the pamphlet. In the seventeenth century, however, Tarlton was

⁵⁶ John Taylor, *Odcomb's Complaint* ([London]: Printed for merrie recreation [by G. Eld], and are to be sold at the salutation in Utopia [by W. Burre?], 1613), sig. A6. It was reprinted in *All the Works of John Taylor the Water-Poet* in 1630 (London: Printed by J[ohn] B[leale, Elizabeth Alde, Bernard Alsop, and Thomas Fawcet] for James Boler [etc.], 1630).

deprived of his own voice, which had once been given in the form of an apparition, and instead he became an approved agent of clownery, figuring as a trope for the idea of comedian. It was these fabricated details that finally, poshumously, forged Tarlton's reputation as a comic actor.

3 Conclusion

The transmission and transplantation of Tarlton in the writings predating 1630 involve a process which simultaneously historicises and textualises this historic clown. Tarlton's double identity as actor and court jester complicates his profile. Throughout the several decades following his death, the textualisation and historicisation of Tarlton went through five stages: 1) during the 1590s and in the early 1600s, the dominance of his actor image was applied variously in epigrams and satire by writers; 2) in the 1610s, his memory was recollected and theatrical-Tarlton was visualised and reshaped by writers who engaged in the theatre business; 3) during the jest-book boom of the 1610s and 1620s, the jest-book and pamphlets bearing Tarlton's name were vigorously reprinted, resulting in both support for the boom and the consolidation of the name of Tarlton; 4) around 1630 with the shift in the second jest-book tradition, where the jesting hero departed from the biographical jest-book, jests were clipped out from the longer narrative and jesters became faceless and nameless; 5) with the result of the jester's separation from the jest-book, jesters coincidentally lost their power over the theatre. Their activity was revived only in historical accounts or the genealogy of English jesters as part of historicising them in both the jest-book and theatre traditions. Tarlton is the only clown in English history subjected to this myth-making process.

Tarlton is, thus, not a symbolic clown, but is recast as a competent performer in the transitional phase of clown history, surviving purposeful fabrication and opposition. He

deservedly becomes the representative English clown of the Renaissance, conceived of as a suitable object for expressing the policies of play-texts the theatre. But for this same reason, he has suffered from the false images created in literary works. Hence the writers and publishers who had conceptual, narrative, and spiritual links with Tarlton created a textualised Tarlton and distorted his representation. The historicising of Tarlton gave a structural frame to the writers' and publishers' voices, as they inductively articulated him through a multiplicity of perspectives running through various literary genres. The portrait of Tarlton updated by present scrutiny is of a wide-ranging figure involved in the developing concept of clownery, rather than a reductive figure defined within the narrow local principles of clown and jester. It would be impossible to correlate the changes of meaning and the value of the theatrical Tarlton with the textualised Tarlton of literary texts, and it is with this untransferable identity that critics have attempted to give a uniform figure in role, function, and appearance. Tarlton has released potential forces and meanings, which have had major effects on later perceptions of clowns and clowning.

The diverse records of Tarlton's stage performances are compromises at best, but were needed by the writers of pamphlets and play-texts. 'Tarlton' as an original poetic form in print then takes the role of central point of reference in the clown tradition, serving as a bridge between performance and books. The jest-book altered its hero to fit the context, re-contextualising the clown's onstage antics.

Part II: Jest as Perfomance

Chapter 5

Kemp: Print and Stage

The prominence of the heroes in the biographical jest-books makes them a prime source for the later dramatic fools. The two main aspects of the jest-book heroes — their intelligence with or without rustic origins and their narrative based reflective self-observations — combine in the Renaissance stage clowns.¹ Scoggin and Tarlton, and the jest-book traditions they sprang from, were available to English playwrights in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Moreover, it is unlikely that any playwright created clown-fool figures based merely on the jest-book heroes in currency. Just as important are the stage clowns who added their own brand of physical humour and clowning skills to the phenomenon. The Renaissance dramatist sought real paradigms for the essential properties of their fools in clown actors. The purpose of this chapter, then, is to clarify the clown actors' performance in relation to the print tradition. Kemp as a prominent figure of the Elizabethan stage deserves a new reading in order to detect the defining qualities of the developing stage clown.

Indeed, Kemp appears as one of the *dramatis personae* in plays even after his retirement from the London stage, such as in *The Second Part of the Return from Parnassus: Or the Scourge of Simony* (1603) and *The Travels of the Three English Brothers* by John Day, William Rowley, and George Wilkins (1607). Most intriguingly, Kemp's name appears as the prefix for Dogberry in *Much Ado About Nothing* (1600), in the cast of *Everyman in His Humour* by Ben Jonson (1598), and in the stage directions of the Q2 *Romeo and Juliet* (1599).² These texts incorporated the current acquisition of Kemp, thereby explaining the

¹ For detailed discussion, see Chapter 2, Section 3.

² Anon, 'The Second Part of the Return from Parnassus: Or the Scourge of Simony', in *The Three Parnassus Plays (1598-1601)*, ed. by J. B. Leishman (London: Ivor Nicholson & Watson, 1949); John Day, William Rowley, and George Wilkins, 'The Travels of the Three English Brothers', in *Three Renaissance travel plays: The Travels of the Three English Brothers, The Sea Voyage, The Antipodes*, ed. by Anthony Parr (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995); William Shakespeare, *Much Ado About Nothing*

symbiotic relationship between the clown — his biographical career — and the play-text. Moreover, it illustrates the continuous mythologisation of the performer after printed definitions of the clown. Allusions to Kemp examined in their relationship to contemporary jest-book culture provided the relevance of the latter to the growth of the clown actor. Kemp in play-texts is a medium between narrative and performance: an actual clown actor who, according to his own account in personal anecdotes, was capable of exploiting his own talent for comic effect, and had skills as a morris dancer. It is this kind of rich material in print which informs us of the development of stage clowns.

The allusions to Kemp in both his lifetime and posthumous publications are performance-oriented — in his position as Tarlton's successor on the English stage or in his fame as a morris dancer. Thomas Heywood notes in his *An Apology for Actors* that Kemp succeeded Tarlton 'as well in the fauour of their Majesty, as in the opinions & good thoughts of the general audience'.³ In another of the earliest accounts of Kemp as an onstage clown actor, Thomas Nashe clearly positions him as a successor to Tarlton. He dedicates his tract *An Almond for a Parrot* 'To that most comicall and conceited Caualiere Monsieur du Kempe, Iestmonger and Vice-gerent generall to the Ghost of Dicke Tarlton'.⁴ Later in the same vein, Richard Brome parallels Kemp with Tarlton in nostalgic recollection of the previous period of stage history.⁵ In the genealogy of comic actors defined by John Taylor, Kemp has a place in

(London: Printed by V[alentine]. S[immes]. for Andrew Wise, and William Aspley, 1600), sigs. G3^v-G4^v. Also in the First Folio of Shakespeare, Kemp's name appears as the prefix for Dogberry and in the list of the names of the principal actors: William Shakespeare, *The First Folio of Shakespeare* (London: Printed by Isaac Jaggard, and Edward Blount [at the charges of W. Jaggard, Edward Blount, I. Smithweeke [i.e. John Smelthwicke], and W. Aspley], 1623), sig. A7, and pp. 116-17. *Everyman in His Humour* was published in folio in 1616, compiled together with other Ben Jonson's plays: Ben Jonson, *The Works of Benjamin Jonson* (London: Printed by William Stansby and are to be sould by Richard Meighen, 1616), p. 72; In the Q2 text of *Romeo and Juliet* published by Thomas Creed, Kemp appears as Peter after Juliet's mock death: *Romeo and Juliet* (STC 22323), sig. K3^v.

³ Heywood, *An Apology for Actors*, sig. E2^v.

⁴ Nashe, *An Almond for a Parrot*, sig. A2. For a more detailed discussion of Kemp as a follower of Tarlton, see Chapter 3.

⁵ Letoy in Richard Brome's *The Antipodes* comments on the clown's extemporal acting (II. 2. 48-50), and

the history of renowned actors and jesting-heroes with Will Summers, Scoggin, Tarlton, and Singer.⁶ While Kemp's reputation shows historical continuity after Tarlton, he eventually becomes famous as a performer in the literary tradition.

During his most flourishing days on the London stage, Kemp's theatrical practice was even used as an allusion to the forensic strategy at court. Explaining the death of the wrongly accused Edward Squire, executed for plotting the poisoning of the Queen, Martin Aray regrets that Edward in his defence lacked the 'playerlyke' preparation Kemp made for a performance:

the course & manner of this seemed rather some such matche as *Kemp* and his companions do handle on the stage, then the lyuely managing of a matter of truth in deede, which neuer would haue needed such a playerlyke corespondence in the actors, for euen as *Kemp* and his fellowes hauing before-hand studied to con their partes by roate, and each knowes to keepe his cu, and to frame his speech and manners according to his fayned function, euen so was this fore-studied tragedy acted in Westminster hall.⁷

Though Aray's reference to Kemp is unusual among literary texts, it explicitly shows the character of actors of the time: on cue, players appear onstage to deliver their speech. While Kemp's reputation was established in literary and theatrical terms, another image of Kemp as a byword for a player-like performance penetrated less literary contexts.

Moreover, he also appears as a successful morris dancer in epigrams and songs, as in Thomas Weelkes score for a song.⁸ Thomas Coryate wrote an epigram for Kemp in an appreciation of his laborious journey from London to Norwich in *The Odcombian Banquet*.⁹ John Taylor took up Coryate's remark in *Odcomb's Complaint* in 1613, when he made

Ben Jonson's stagekeeper in *Bartholomew Fair* similarly recollects the days of Tarlton. For a full discussion of the nostalgia of the early English stage, activated by Tarlton, see Chapter 3. In Chapter 3, how the legendary comic actor Tarlton survived in the history of drama is discussed. Similarly, with the working of the print industry, Kemp remains as a comic performer in history.

⁶ Taylor, *Odcomb's Complaint*, sig. A6.

⁷ Martin Aray, *The Discovery and Confutation of a Tragical Fiction* ([Antwerp]: Imprinted with licence [by A. Coninx], [1599]), pp. 12-13.

⁸ Thomas Weelkes, *Airs or Fantastic Spirits for Three Voices* (London: Printed by [John Windet for] William Barley [etc.], 1608), sig. D2^v.

⁹ STC notes that *The Odcombian Banquet* is 'Largely a pirated reprint of the prelims. of [Thomas Coryate's *Coryats crudities*]' (I, 261). Anon, *The Odcombian Banquet* ([London]: Imprinted [by George Eld] for Thomas Thorp, 1611), sig. B1^v.

comments about Kemp while discussing Coryate's work.¹⁰ Indeed, his achievement inspired Richard Brathwaite to compose an epitaph, 'Vpon Kempe and his morice, with his Epitaph'.¹¹ These are not all: Kemp and morris dancing became profitable material for the playwrights. When the associations of Kemp with morris dancing or jigs were written up as historical accounts, they included mention of Kemp the dancer in works of drama. The diverse fame of Kemp created a posthumous reputation: in his list of the English dramatic works in 1691, Gerard Langbaine includes *A Knack to Know a Knave*, which has Kemp's name in its subhead 'With Kemps applauded merrimentes of the men Goteham in receiuing the King into Goteham'.¹² What is interesting is the instant recognisability of Kemp: the name of Kemp ornaments the play called *A Knack to Know a Knave*.

1 Welcoming a King: Kemp and the 'Madmen of Gotham' and *A Knack to Know a Knave*

The title page of *A Knack to Know a Knave* refers to the premise of the play in which a farcical fragment is transplanted as a special feature: Kemp's applause for the Gotham villagers' welcome to the king. Even though the episode of 'the men of Gotham' is only a few pages long, the book pledges to deal largely with what Kemp performed on stage. The episode of Gotham, though the narrative is small, cultivated the anonymous author's bibliographical interest and enthusiasm for Kemp. At an immediate level, Kemp's part in the

¹⁰ John Taylor, 'A sad, ioyfull, lamentable, delightfull merry-go-sorry Elegie or Funerall Poem vpon the supposed death of the famous Cosmographicall surueior, & Historiographical Relator M Thomas Coriat of Odcomb' in *Odcomb's Complaint*, A6; reprinted in *All the Works of John Taylor the Water-Poet* (1630), p. 60.

¹¹ Richard Brathwaite, *The Good Wife: or, A Rare One amongst Women* (London: Printed [by John Beale] for Richard Redmer [etc.], 1618), sig. F8^v. It is conflated with Patrick Hannay's work: Patrick Hannay, *A Happy Husband* (London: Printed [by John Beale] for Richard Redmer [etc.], 1619).

¹² Anon, *A Knack to Know a Knave*; Gerard Langbaine, *An Account of the English Dramatic Poets* (Oxford: Printed by Leonard Lichfield, for George West, and Henry Clements [etc.], 1691), pp. 536-37; Gerard Langbaine, *The Lives and Characters of the English Dramatic Poet* (London: Printed for Thomas Leigh [etc.], 1699), pp. 162-63.

episode of the Gothamite villagers' petition to the king did not appear to be necessary for the frame story. But a closer look reveals that even though many of his merriments were unrecordable, the part of the clowns should never be underestimated.

A Knack to Know a Knave explains the nature of the clownery of Kemp's day and shows its theatrical potential. Kemp's use of the Gotham sequence for clowning material demonstrates his dependence on the existing jest-book tradition and his establishment of himself in the play's narrative. The depiction of motifs from jest-books is a relatively neglected field; and the jest motif as a source for clownery has been largely discarded. Many of them are recognised as marginal because of their small scale in relation to the entire play, and their secondary significance to the main plot. Nevertheless, the meaning of the clown scenes can be established by such well-known motifs as the Gotham episode that illuminates humanity's simplicity and naivety, and by the parts for clowns which are narrative-based, and form episodes-within-the play as a locus of the traditional discourse of jests.¹³ The inclusion of such episodes provides an onstage microcosm of role-playing derived from the jest tradition, and by parodying former techniques the situation in the play is depicted as one where everyone shares earlier humour with the jest-maker. Serviceable jests can be found through the figure of Kemp in the circuit from print to theatre, and *vice versa*.

The Gothamite stories, whose origins can be traced back to the Middle Ages, were widely disseminated, and the first edition by Andrew Boorde was published in 1565, about the same time as the publication of *Scoggin's Jestes* and *The Merry Tales of Skelton*, the other two of his compilations of jests from around 1566-67.¹⁴ By the end of the sixteenth century, the Gotham stories permeated English culture. The episode of the three villagers of Gotham

¹³ See Chapter 2 for details.

¹⁴ Boorde and his authorship of *Scoggin's Jestes* are discussed earlier in the first chapter. Because *The Mad Men of Gotham* followed the same path of the transmission of licence as both *Scoggin's Jestes* and *The Merry Tales of Skelton* from Thomas Colwell to Roger Jackson (entered in 22 July 1616) and John Harrison IV (entered in 29 July 1630), Andrew Boorde's editorship is endorsed.

opens the jest-book: at a bridge a man on the way to market to buy sheep meets another man, who tells the first man he should not bring his sheep over the bridge. When the two men start quarrelling, the third man with a bag of meal on his horse meddles in their heated quarrel centred on a hypothesis ‘as there had been an hundred sheepe betwixt them’, and empties his meal into the river, saying ‘even so much wit is there in your two heads, to strive for that thing which you have not’.¹⁵ The idea of the episode is common with the general outline of the madmen scene in *A Knack to Know a Knave*, where the three men Miller, Cobbler, and Smith, at first discuss who should make a petition to the king, but the election results in a nonsensical request: Cobbler asks the king to give a licence to brew ale more often, explaining that villagers drink all their ale up and he eventually fails to entertain a visitor to moisten his throat.¹⁶ When the three men try to choose a suitable person for the petition and fall into a heated quarrel, the correspondences between the play and the tale is clear: there is no further need for any of the three men to qualify themselves in their excitement of the election because the petition is unrelated to their vocations. They strove for the thing which they did not have. The twist in the tale changes into their meaningless quarrel in the play. The scene of the madmen of Gotham proves the possibility of well-known tale realised as drama.

The tale from the jest-book and the episode in the play are not identical, but likenesses in the theme of emphasising human folly prove the tale as a source. The scenic difficulties may explain the transformation of the tale: in the play, the site for the story changes from a bridge over the river to a village gate. Besides, the three men are given clearer identities respectively as a miller, a cobbler and a smith — regular jest-book presences. The expansion of the men and their dramatic treatment at the king’s entry into the village makes it obvious that the tale in the jest-book was used as a comic anecdote: its time-based flow dialogue

¹⁵ Anon, *The Mad Men of Gotham*, Tale 1 (sigs. A2- A2^v). The same episode is discussed in Chapter 2.

¹⁶ This motif is similar to that of a jest in the 1626 *Scoggin’s Jests*, where Scoggin explains his guest why he cannot entertain him with a meal, showing there is no fish meat without the bone.

proves that the foolishness of the characters could be close to the play's comic components. There is no script of Kemp's performance, but it is probable that by the promotional title the audience's awareness of the actual actor's identity and his personal entertaining devices were triggered in the reference to a jest. This covert presence of 'mad men' behind the episode seems to have allowed the possibility of using Kemp's forte as a mode of figuring emerging clownery, which sought outlets in both narrative and performance.

2 Kemp's *Nine Days' Wonder*: Print in Action and the Jig to Norwich

Kemp defined a clown actor through his talent for physical comedy, his dancing skills, and his jesting ability in composing lyrics and tunes for jigs. It is established how the references to Kemp's jig reached print. In 1598, Edward Guilpin refers to Kemp's jig in a satire.¹⁷ Also in 1598, John Marston takes up a dance called 'Kempes Iigge' in his satire recognisable as merriment evoking stuff: 'A hall, a hall, / Roome for the Spheres, the Orbes celestiall? / Will daunce Kempes Iigge'.¹⁸ Both references to Kemp's jig in a satire were printed by James Roberts (td 1569-1615), a publisher of ballads and a printer of Shakespeare quartos, such as *The Merchant of Venice*, *Hamlet*, and *A Midsummer Night's Dream*; Nicholas Ling (td 1580-1607), bookseller of Guilpin, made the entry of Kemp's own pamphlet on jigs, Kemp's *Nine Days' Wonder*, later in 1600.¹⁹ In addition, in the early days of his stage career, the following four entries to the Stationers' Register were made for his jigs during his acting career, including working with the Strange Men (1592-1594) and the Lord

¹⁷ Edward Guilpin, *Skialetheia* (London: Printed by J[ames] R[oberts] for Nicholas Ling [etc.], 1598), sigs. D5-D5v.

¹⁸ John Marston, *The Scourge of Villany* (London: Printed by J[ames]. R[oberts]. and are to be sold by John Busby [etc.], 1598), sig. H3.

¹⁹ William Kemp, *Nine Days' Wonder* (London: Printed by E. A[lldel] for Nicholas Ling [etc.], 1600). For the details of printers, see Plomer, *Dictionaries* and *The British Book Trade Index*. Ling entered his copy of 'a booke Called Kempes *morris to Norwiche*' on 22 April, 1600 (Arber, III, 160).

Chamberlain's Men (1594-1599): on 28 December 1591, entered by Thomas Gosson '*the Thirde and last parte of KEMPES Jigge*'; on 17 January 1595 entered by Thomas Creede, 'a ballad intituled / *A Pleasant newe Jigge of the broomeman*' ascribed to Kemp in its marginal note; on 2 May 1595, entered by William Blackwall, 'a ballad, of master KEMPES *Newe Jigge of the kitchen stufte woman*'; and on 21 October 1595, entered by Thomas Gosson, 'a ballad called KEMPES *newe Jygge betwixt, a souldiour and a Miser and SYM the clown*'.²⁰ The copies of these are not extant, but these entries prove that Kemp was known as a composer and performer of jigs before he himself declared it in his pamphlet.

Added to the evidence of Kemp's own jigs, the fact that other jig entries were made between 1592 and 1595 illuminates a rapidly growing jig boom.²¹ The performer with skills of jigs such as Kemp and his predecessor Tarlton swayed the stage, but at the turn of the century, the infrequent entries of jigs in the Stationers' Register exhibit how the interest in jigs waned sharply. The case is also true of allusions to Kemp; instead of the references to Kemp and his jig, the success of his morris dancing became more conspicuous. References to jigs are modified from play-text to play-text, many of which underscore the points the jig-maker-performer intended to make.²² According to the *OED*, a jig is 'a light performance or entertainment of a lively or comical character, given at the end, or in an interval, of the play', and its original form consisted of 'song and dance'. As the convention of a jig as a provisional and improvisational insertion in dance, song or short performance disappeared, axiomatically references to jigs in play-texts became less. In fact, the subtitle to *A Knack to*

²⁰ Arber, II, 600, 669, and 297; Arber, III, 50. For Kemp's career with acting companies, see Martin Butler's account: Martin Butler, 'Kemp, William (fl. 1585-1602)', in *ODNB*.

²¹ Cf. Arber, II, 601, 669, 670, and 671.

²² Baskervill puts it according to the contemporary satirical comments by playwrights, 'The jig fell into disrepute not only because of its low art but chiefly because of its obscenity, an objection that may have grown out of its action as well as its subject matter'. Baskervill lists several remarks of jigs made by Shakespeare, Jonson, and Massinger (Charles Read Baskervill, *The Elizabethan Jig and Related Song Drama* [New York: Dover, 1965; first published by University of Chicago Press, 1929], pp. 11-12).

Know a Knave silently illustrates this connection between the clown's unscripted jig and the play's main plot: it indicates the movement in drama towards plot-oriented performance, with the elimination of the jig as an extra and uninvited event. As we shall see, the clown moved into character in order to insert commentary, or to supply an alternative point of view within which his context is to be understood and judged. Thus, moved out of the role of jig-maker, Kemp increasingly appears in play-texts as a working cast member, who entertains through interaction with other characters.

Shortly after Kemp left the Lord Chamberlain's Men, he achieved fame by morris dancing from London to Norwich, a feat he publicised in Kemp's *Nine Days' Wonder*. Kemp's impressions of a morris dancer in his small pamphlet hereafter helped playwrights characterise Kemp in their play-texts, and moreover create roles for him (Figure 4). In 1601, immediately after Kemp's success in the morris and the subsequent publication of his pamphlet, Marston created a scene with morris dancing in the beginning of *Jack Drum's Entertainment*. Sir Edward Fortune interprets Kemp's morris:

I had rather that *Kemps* Morice were their chat,
For of foolish actions, may be theyle talke wisely but of
Wise intendements, most part talke like fooles.²³

Sir Edward's advance notice is immediately followed by the entry of the morris accompanied with a Foole. Marston puts a comparison of two images of a morris dancer and a fool into one unified scene. Integrating a remark by Kemp with the dramatisation of the morris, Marston illustrates that the morris and the fool came into being as theatrical performance, and moreover explains how he himself responded to the reputation of Kemp and his morris dance. Kemp is evoked as an image in the minds of the audience clearly enough for them to recognise immediately the visual reproduction of the morris. The image-making process of

²³ John Marston, *Jack Drum's Entertainment* (London: Printed [by Thomas Creede] for Richard Olive [etc.], 1601), sig. A3^v.

the fool is under way, associated with the theatrical exploitation of an actual clown figure. With the list of allusions provided earlier that tell Kemp's reputation as a skilled morris dancer and jig-maker, the records of the Stationers' Register also support the public approval that Kemp depended on for applying the same skills onstage.

Kemp realises and fashions himself as both a subject and an object of playing and acting. Authoring himself, he sought his own narrative techniques. In the dedication of *Nine Days' Wonder*, Kemp 'a Morrice dauncer, [...] that hath spent his life in mad liggess and merry iestes', contests ballad-singers who 'proclaime [him] bankrupt of honesty'. And as he promises to his patron, Anne Fitton, he declares that he will 'offer the truth of his progresse and profit to honorable view'.²⁴ Furthermore, he adds a prose epitaph to Thomas Deloney, and refutes the balladeers' manner defiantly, though with a reconciling tone at the end. He accuses Deloney of being 'the Author of these abhominable ballets written of [him]', though praising him as 'Chronicler of the memorable liues of the 6. yeomen of the west, Jack of Newbery, the Gentle-craft, and such like honest mē: omitted by Stow, Holinshed, Grafton, Hal, [F]roysart'. He finds the advantages in Deloney's time-based writing when he distinguishes it from history writing, then amicably adds, 'but I was giuen since to vnderstand your late generall Tho. dyed poorely, as ye all must do, and was honestly buried, which is much to bee doubted of some of you'.²⁵ With knowledge of the power of print, Kemp concludes his offensive remarks on ballad-makers with a supplication:

I prethee do so no more, leaue writing these beastly ballets, make not good wenches Prophetesses, for litle or no profit, or for a sixe-penny matter reuiue not a poore fellowes fault that's hanged for his offence; it may be thy owne destiny one day; prethee be good to them.²⁶

Kemp attempts to explode the ballad-makers' mistaken understanding of him, and denies their

²⁴ Kemp, *Nine Days' Wonder*, sigs. A2-A2^v.

²⁵ Ibid., sig. D3^v.

²⁶ Ibid., sig. D4^v.

malicious and vindictive remarks. Kemp's purpose of writing is thus clarified: first, writing the truth, based on the fact that that is his true venture; second, refuting the chief offender against him, Thomas Deloney, and thereby silencing the aggression of the balladeers.

Kemp's writing is, therefore, to be noted for three distinctive features: the autobiographical style of the narrative, self-analysis from an observant viewpoint, and the recognition of the necessity and influence of printed books. Kemp adopts the first person in his narratives in order to give more credibility and prestige to his discourse. On the basis of what he experienced, his autobiographical pages present a mixture of travel journal and detailed records of merry dialogues with the people he met. Taking advantage of being a jig-maker, Kemp disclaims his acquaintance with the 'cut-purses' who followed him:

I remembred one of them to be a noted Cut-purse, such a one as we tye to a poast on our stage, for all people to wonder at, when at a play they are taken pilfring. [...] I thought myselfe well rid of foure such followers, and I wish hartily that the whole world were cleer of such companions.²⁷

During the journey he encounters various people whom he knew already or came to know for the first time. In conversation, he refuses a carouse at one time, and establishes his innocence at another; he illustrates his garments prepared for the journey, and from time to time recounts tales of his musicians and the instruments of a tabor and drum.²⁸ On his fourth day, he finds two young men stuck in the mud: 'I could not chuse but lough to see howe like two frogges they laboured'.²⁹ At another time in the episode of the fifth day, Kemp tells of how his company wrote a rhyme for his travelling companion, Maid Marian:

I fitted her with bels, which [s]he merrilly taking, garnisht her thicke short legs, and with a smooth brow bad the Tabrer begin. The Drum strucke; forward marcht I with my merry Maydemarian, who shooke her fat sides, and footed it merrily to Melfoord, being a long myle. [...] ere I part with her, a good fellow, my friend, hauin writ an odde Rime of her, I will make bolde to set it downe.³⁰

²⁷ Ibid., sig. B.

²⁸ Ibid., sig. A2^v, in his dedication and elsewhere.

²⁹ Ibid., sig. B3.

³⁰ Ibid., sigs. B3^v-B4.

The episode continues onto the eighth day, the odd musician again making a rhyme, which Kemp ‘bluntly set downe’ in his record of the day.³¹

The palpable distinction between ‘facts’ and ‘observation’ invites its questioning of the roles of narrator and author. Using a series of subjective adjectives and adverbs such as ‘merrilly’, ‘thick short’, ‘merry’, ‘fat’, ‘odde’, ‘bolde’ and ‘bluntly’, he transcribes his discovery in detail. Including the other’s eye and gaze, Kemp establishes his writing and perception activating and validating epistemic description. Helped and encouraged by the people who accompany or welcome him, he completes his journey. On the final day, he describes the approaching end of his adventure, with self-questioning and self-analysis. Humbly and respectfully presenting his pamphlet to his patron, he concludes the journey with a recollection of his motives:

This is the substance of al my iourney; therefore let no man beleue, how euer before by lying ballets and rumors they haue bin abused, yt either waies were laid open for me, or that I deliuered gifts to her Majesty [...] whose sacred name ought not to be remēbred among such ribald rimes as these late thin-breecht lying Balletsingers haue proclaimed it. [...] Thus fearing your Ladyship is wearier with reading this toy then I was in all my merry trauaile, I craue pardon; and conclude this first Pamphlet that euer Will Kemp offred to the Presse, being thereunto prest on the one side by the pittifull papers, pasted on euery poast, of that which was neither so nor so, and on the other side vrg’d thereto in duety to expresse with thankefulnes the kind entertainment I found.³²

Explaining ‘the substance of al my iourney’ as ‘all my merry trauaile’, he humbly asks his patroness for ‘reading this toy’, believing that he has ‘duety to expresse [...] the kind entertainment’ for the reader — both his patron and general readers — by ‘this first Pamphlet’, and he insinuates that he would make print capital out of his performative activity in his journey and in this pamphlet. Max W. Thomas argues for the relationship between Kemp’s self-promotion and his quest for the market of stage performers, and states that his publication

³¹ Ibid., sigs. C1^v-C2.

³² Ibid., sig. D2.

is furthered on ‘a movement [...] toward the commercialization of rural festivity’.³³ However, with Kemp’s announcement of his motive for projecting the morris, comes his commercial enterprise for exploiting his talent of creating merriments through dancing skills. And as the publication took effect, Kemp’s name and his fame were reflected in the play-texts he designed. The market for Kemp came within the movement from the commercialisation of clownery toward the promotion of clownery on the London stage.

3 Clowns for Play-texts: Kemp and Italian Tradition

One small scene with a stage direction describes a picture of a clown in a play-text. In *The Pilgrimage to Parnassus*, Dromo enters, leading a clown in with a rope, and gives a description of the function of clowns: ‘Clownes haue bene thrust into playes by head& shoulders, euer since Kempe could make a scuruey face, and therefore reason thou shouldst be drawne in with a cart rope’.³⁴ A person tied up with a rope, crackrope, or wag-halter is a frequent motif in jest-books.³⁵ A clown under the yoke with ‘a scuruey face’ marks how clowns’ physical movements and their extra-textual motions were gaining prominence as aspects of performance. It is more than mere conjecture that Kemp took advantages of the frequent opportunities for a mixture of physical clowning and improvised wit when he played the clown. In *The Return from Parnassus: or the Scourge of Simony*, Kemp appears with Burbage in Act IV Scene 3, not only as a master comedian, but also as an author. Reproaching university graduate playwrights, Kemp remarks to Burbage ‘Why heres our fellow

³³ Max W. Thomas, ‘*Kemps Nine Daies Wonder: Dancing Carnival into Market*’, *PMLA*, 107 (1992), 511-23 (p. 514).

³⁴ Anon, ‘*The Pilgrimage to Parnassus*’, in *The Three Parnassus Plays* (1598-1601), ed. by J. B. Leishman (London: Ivor Nicholson & Watson, 1949), Act V, Scene 2, 665-8.

³⁵ Both the 1613 *Scoggin’s Jests* and *Tarlton’s Jests* have an episode of a boy bound with a restrictor on the way to the gallows.

Shakespeare puts them all downe, I and *Ben Ionson* too' (1769-70).³⁶ In the next scene, Studioso and Philomusus greet Kemp with homage for his return from travelling the low country and his successful performing trip:

PHILOMUSUS [...] What M.
Kempe, how doth the Emperour of Germany?
 STUDIOSO God saue you M. *Kempe*: welcome M. *Kempe*
 from dancing the morrice ouer the Alpes. (1781-84)

The elaborate praise in this allusion consists of two suggestions that Kemp completed both his travels in the Continent and the morris journey from London to Norwich. He introduces himself as well-known to Studioso and Philomusus: 'Hee's not counted a Gentleman that knows not *Dick Burbage* & *Wil Kemp*' (1792-93). In reply to Kemp's self-analysis, Philomusus extols Kemp's success as a writer: 'Indeed M. *Kempe* you are very famous, but that's as well for [your] workes in print as your parts in que' (1796-97). As a master of acting, Kemp recollects his memory of a certain comic actor's performance: 'I was once at a Comedie in Cambridge, and there I saw a parasite make faces and mouths of all sorts on this fashion' (1761-63). Kemp analyses what he sees as a stereotypical performance and mentions casting culture. Kemp casts Philomusus as 'a foolish Mayre or a foolish iustice of peace', based on his physiognomic distinctions (1811), while Burbage casts Philomusus as Richard III from his 'face' and 'the proportion' of his body, and then requires him to deliver some lines from the play to make him appear more qualified (1835-45). Demonstrating decisive Elizabethan casting conventions, Kemp, with Burbage, values an actor's physical appearance and delivery of speech. The author of the play locates Kemp, who both mirrors and creates the convention of comic performance, and insinuates the possibility that he is creating roles for a particular actor, his appearance, and his acting style: the actor and his body come first, the text

³⁶ Anon, '*The Return from Parnassus: or the Scourge of Simony*', in *The Three Parnassus Plays (1598-1601)*, ed. by J. B. Leishman (London: Ivor Nicholson & Watson, 1949).

second.

Likewise, in *The Travels of the Three English Brothers* (1607) by John Day, William Rowley, and George Wilkins, Kemp appears as an actor. When Sir Anthony Shirley requires him to play with Italian harlequins, he humbly accepts the role:

SIR ANTHONY [...] Hark, Kemp,
 Because I like thy jesture and thy mirth
 Let me request thee play a part with them.
 KEMP I am somewhat hard of study, and like your honour; but if they will
 invent any extemporal merriment, I'll put out the small sack of wit I ha' left
 in venture with them. (Scene 9, 74-79)³⁷

Sir Anthony acknowledges Kemp's skills in 'gesture' and 'mirth'. In addition, Kemp's self-analysis bears out his own acting. In a moderate tone, he makes a clear indication that harlequins and he are in a competitive relationship. In questioning the custom of the *commedia dell'arte*, Kemp finds that Harlequin casts his wife in a female role. And the casting plan centres on the differences in acting and *dramatis personae* between Italy and England. Reflecting the early modern casting of a clown as a rustic servant, Harlequin's wife is assigned to the role of a courtesan, Harlequin to Pantaloon, the jealous coxcomb, and Kemp to a peasant, Pantaloon's man. When Kemp kisses Harlequin's wife in rehearsing the role of the servant who keeps his master's wife, Harlequin is jealous. Then Kemp wants to play the part of Amorado, who makes Pantaloon a cuckold, but Harlequin refuses it for jealousy. Kemp's wish for a part of a paramour importantly suggests the fluidity and flexibility of casting in the early Stuart theatre. The scene is developed starting from the conventional fixed casting in the *commedia dell'arte* and the English stage to the confusion stirred up by the mixing of roles and private life.

The whole scene coincides with the facts as reported by contemporary writers, though

³⁷ Day, Rowley, and Wilkins. Parr notes that 'jesture', or acting style, is possibly a pun on 'Kemp's reputation as a clown' (p. 105).

the incident was not included in Anthony Nixon's pamphlet *The Three English Brothers* (1607), the direct source of the play.³⁸ Nashe, in *An Almond for a Parrot*, gives a detailed account of Kemp's reputation in Italy, in an encounter with 'that famous Francatrip' Harlicken':

he enquired of me if I knew any such Parabolano here in London as Signior Chiarlatano Kempino [...]. He, [...] began to embrace me a new, and offered me all the courtesie he colde for his sake, saying, although he knew him not, yet for the report he had hard of his pleasance, hee colde not but bee in loue with his perfections being absent'.³⁹

With the fact that Sir Anthony met Kemp in Italy, the authors of *The Travels of the Three English Brothers* apparently furnished their play with this account of Kemp and Harlequin. While Marston dramatised a morris dance in the initial set up for his comedy, these authors took up Kemp's acting contrastive to the Italian tradition, and emphasised his verbal and physical features as a comic actor. In whichever case, Kemp's clownery inspires the dramatists to compose scenes in their plays. Not only did the authors of *The Travels of the Three English Brothers* provide caricatures of the theatrical duo of the English clown and the Italian harlequin, but they also portrayed Kemp and Harlequin as being in the same tradition of comedians. Kemp embodied onstage is a convenient reminder that the Renaissance clowns stem from being counterparts to the Italian Harlequin, where dialogue, often with the deviation brought by the clown's ad-lib lines or extra-textual physical movements, plays an important part.

What is interesting in the dramatisation of Kemp is the playwright's idea of clowns and the creation of the role of the clown. Shakespeare has Hamlet instruct the players:

³⁸ Anthony Parr, 'Nixon, Anthony (fl. 1592-1616), *pamphleteer*', in *ODNB*; For the biographies of the Shirley brothers, see the following accounts: Richard Raiswell, 'Sherley [Shirley], Anthony [*known as* Sir Anthony Sherley], Count Sherley in the nobility of the Holy Roman empire (1565-1636?), *adventurer and diplomat in the Persian service*', in *ODNB*; 'Shirley, Sir Robert, Count Shirley in the papal nobility (c.1581-1628), *diplomat*', in *ODNB*; 'Sherley, Sir Thomas (1564-1633/4), *privateer and travel writer*', in *ODNB*.

³⁹ Nashe, *An Almond for a Parrot*, sig. A3^v.

And let those that play your clowns speak no more than is set down for them; for there be some of them that will themselves laugh to set on some quantity of barren spectators to laugh too, though in the meantime some necessary question of the play be then to be considered. That's villainous, and shows a most pitiful ambition in the fool that uses it. (III. 2. 36-42)⁴⁰

Shakespeare seems to be directly addressing Will Kemp with these comments. It is more clearly shown in the equivalent scene of the Q1 text from which the Q2 and Folio texts omitted several lines. In Q1, Hamlet delivers more lines after his cautioning remark about the acting of the clown's part; the second half of his speech contains short references to jests:

Cannot you stay till I eate my porridge? and, you owe me
A quarters wages: and, my coate wants a cullison:
And thus beere is sowre: and, blabbering with his lips,
And thus keeping in his cinkapase of ieasts,
When, God knows, the warme Clowne cannot make a iest
Vnlesse by chance, as the blinde man catcheth a hare:
Maisters tell him of it.⁴¹

John Dover Wilson in his discussion of the Q1 text identifies two of the five jests — 'my coate wants a cullison' and 'beere is sowre' — as taken from *Tarlton's Jestes*: in the first of the court jests, when the Queen reproves Tarlton for his drinking, he replies 'Feare not you, [...] for your beere is small enough'; and in the episode at the eating-house in the city, Tarlton says, 'How happens it then [...] that to her Majesties disgrace, you dare Make me a companion with servingmen, clapping my Lord Shandoyes cullisance upon my sleeve, looking at the gentleman with the red face'.⁴² Dover Wilson comments that Hamlet, with the skull of Yorick in his hands, makes an elegiac tribute to Tarlton at the Grave-digger's scene, and suggests that one of Tarlton's successors was blamed for his bowdlerisation of his master's art of clownery.⁴³ Dover Wilson's conjecture on the two scenes of the players and

⁴⁰ G. R. Hibbard, ed., *Hamlet*, The Oxford Shakespeare (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987).

⁴¹ William Shakespeare, Q1 *Hamlet* (London: Printed [by Valentine Simmes] for N[icholas]. L[ing]. and John Trundell, 1603), sig. F2^v.

⁴² John Dover Wilson, 'The "Hamlet" Transcript, 1593', *Library*, Third Series, No. 36, Vol. 9 (1918), 217-47 (pp. 239-41); See Anon, *Tarlton's Jestes* (1638), Tale 1 (sig. A2) and Tale 18 (sigs. B1^v-B2).

⁴³ Dover Wilson, 'The "Hamlet" Transcript', pp. 240-41. Modern scholars have reached the conclusion that

the grave diggers reasonably justifies the hypothesis that Kemp's departure was due to discord with Shakespeare.

Dover Wilson's localisation of jests indicates that jests in print were influential in playwrights' and comic actors' formulation of the comic material in their work. Other contemporary evidence about the use of language typical of the jests points to the origins of the player scene associated with Kemp or a clown of his type. In Ben Jonson's *Every Man Out of His Humor*, Sogliardo, using the same jest on 'coat' and 'cullison', tells Carlo Buffone 'And I'll give coats, that's my humour. But I lack a cullisen' (I. 2. 145-57).⁴⁴ Though *Every Man Out of His Humor* was performed by the Lord Chamberlain's Men and published in 1600, it does not have the name of Kemp in the list of actors. But the close proximity to the time when Kemp belonged to the Lord Chamberlain's Men does not deny Kemp's or his fellow jig-dancer's influence on the play. Another reflection of jesting materials can be found in Ben Jonson's comic dramatisation of common stereotypes.⁴⁵ Carlo Buffone inhabits the traits of a parasitical clown, most probably modelled on Kemp. Carlo's reference to his own model embellished with the tradition of throwing a shoe for good luck establishes a close connection with Kemp and his morris dancing:

CARLO [...] Would I had one of Kemp's shoes to throw after you!
 PUNTARVOLO Good fortune will close the eyes of our jest, fear not, and we
 shall frolic. (IV. 5. 146-49).⁴⁶

the date of *Hamlet* is around 1600, and this conclusion does not contradict the probability that Kemp left the Lord Chamberlain's Men in 1599 (E. A. J. Honigmann, 'The Date of *Hamlet*', *Shakespeare Survey*, 9 [1956], 24-34).

⁴⁴ Ben Jonson, *Every Man Out of His Humor* (Lonson: Printed [by Adam Islip] for William Holme [etc.], 1600). See also the comic dialogue between Peter Onion, a groom, and Juniper, a cobbler, in his *The Case Is Altered* (London: Printed [by Nicholas Okes] for Bartholomew Sutton [etc.], 1609), sig. G4.

⁴⁵ Helen Ostovich discusses Jonson's dependency on the stock nature of farce: 'Its dominant elements are crude colloquial dialogue, frequent mocking asides, and rapid physical action. Its characterization depends on stock types like the shrewish sensual woman, the duped husband, the swaggering gallant, the intriguer, and the clown'. *Every Man Out of His Humour*, *The Revels Plays*, ed. by Helen Ostovich (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001), pp. 15-17 (p. 16).

⁴⁶ For a detailed explanation, see Ostovich's note to the reference (Ben Jonson, *Everyman Out of His Humour*, ed. by Ostovich, p. 315). See also Bruce Boehrer, 'The Case of Will Kemp's Shoes: *Every Man*

In the characterisation of Carlo, Jonson inscribes Kemp's practical joke in relation to a contemporary jest and travel. Situating the dialogue at the end of the passage, he inherits the convention that the closing of the event or action is signalled by a jig.

Other dramatists of the early seventeenth century also took pleasure in using 'cullison' in their works. Amongst his various uses, and in addition to Jonson and Shakespeare, Thomas Middleton, in *A Trick to Catch the Old One* (1608), gives Harry Dampit the word in a set of offensive accusations against his servant Audrey: 'Out, you babliaminy, you unfeathered, cremitoried quean, you cullisance of scabiosity! (IV. 5. 49-50).⁴⁷ In 1618 Middleton also refers 'a blew coat without a Cullizan' in an amusing tone in *The Owl's Almanac*.⁴⁸ The twenty year trend in these usages of 'cullison' anticipates Shakespeare's ready application of a familiar phrasal expression which was most probably first printed in Jonson's *Every Man Out of His Humor*.

Further parallels, such as the word 'cinquepace', offer coincidental but nonetheless cumulative evidence of textual borrowing or influence. In both *Much Ado About Nothing* and *Twelfth Night*, published in 1601 and 1600 respectively, soon after Kemp's departure for Norwich, the references to 'cinquepace' can be compared with 'jig' and 'galliard':

BEATRICE [...] For hear me, Hero, wooing, wedding, and repenting is as a Scotch jig, a measure and a cinquepace. The first suit is hot and hasty, like a Scotch jig and full as fantastical; [...] And then comes repentance, and with his bad legs falls into the cinquepace faster and faster till he sink into his grave.
(*Much Ado About Nothing*, II. 1. 70-77)⁴⁹

Out of His Humour and the "Bibliographic Ego", *Ben Jonson Journal*, 7 (2000), 271-95.

⁴⁷ Thomas Middleton, *A Trick to Catch the Old One* (London: Printed by George Eld [etc.], 1608), sig. G4.

⁴⁸ Thomas Middleton, *The Owl's Almanac* (London: Printed by E.G. for Lawrence Lisle [etc.], 1618), p. 36. The work has been wrongly attributed to Thomas Dekker. See Neil Rhodes' 'Introduction' to *The Owl's Almanac* in Gary Taylor and John Lavagnino, ed., *Thomas Middleton: The Collected Works*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 1271-72.

⁴⁹ Sheldon P. Zitner, ed., *Much Ado About Nothing*, The Oxford Shakespeare (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993).

SIR TOBY [...] Why dost thou not go to church in a galliard, and come home in a coranto? My very walk should be a jig. I would not so much as make water but in a cinquepace. [...] I did think by the excellent constitution of thy leg it was formed under the star of galliard. (*Twelfth Night*, I. 3. 119-25)⁵⁰

Beatrice and Sir Toby rank the cinquepace low among dances because with its rhythm and quick steps, it appears foolish; and so they consequently fancy an image of a disturbing but comic image, of a man falling into a grave.⁵¹ The use of the cinquepace with jigs connotes vulgarity, even obscenity, which are embedded in the negative aspects of a clown skilled in dance. In addition, in later plays, such as J. C.'s *Two Merry Milk-maids*, and James Shirley's *The Ball*, characters recite the word 'cinquepace' in association with dance.⁵² These allusions, exceptionally resonant of the days of Kemp, demonstrate jigs and a variety of dances were used as a reminder of a form of rough, uproarious merry-making. This metatheatricality relays the performativity of the comic jig scene to the clown, and with the currency and relevance of specific dances known to the people, Kemp embodies the lines behind his own performance. This internal evidence of jest references in relation to rustics, mechanicals, or dancers supports the hypothesis that Kemp's momentum as a skilled dancer and performer resulted in his making digressions from the text and the expected performances for the roles given to him.

4 Kemp in Shakespeare: Two New Strands of Clowning

The clowns of the Q1 *Hamlet* and its later texts share their origins in Hamlet's pointing

⁵⁰ Roger Warren and Stanley Wells, eds, *Twelfth Night, or What You Will*, The Oxford Shakespeare (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994).

⁵¹ According to Charles Read Baskervill, the cinquepace is characterised by the dancer's leaping action at the end. Baskervill explains the cinquepace is the component unit of the galliard and 'The cinquepace, according to Arbeau's account, consists of four movements of the feel followed by a "cadence," which is made up of a leap ("sault majeur") and a final "posture"' (Baskervill, *The Elizabethan Jig*, p. 341).

⁵² J. C., *Two Merry Milk-maids* (London: Printed by Bernard Alsop, for Lawrence Chapman [etc.], 1620), sig. F2; James Shirley, *The Ball* (London: Printed by Thomas Cotes, for Andrew Croke, and William Cooke, 1639), sig. C1^v and sig. D3^v.

to the Clown as a peasant. And because of the Q1 Clown's simple comedy oriented philosophical riddle, he retains the status of an elementary figure of clowning along with Shakespeare's early clowns. Hamlet's directions to the players about jest-making clowns and Hamlet's encounter with the riddle-making gravediggers-clowns together with Kemp's improvisational and plot-spoiling acting mark Kemp as a subliminal force throughout the comic passages of the play.

The Gravedigger scene of Q1 has fewer lines and so presents a less elaborate scene.

Before Hamlet and Horatio enter, the Clown poses a riddle for his fellow gravedigger:

CLOWNE [...]

Goe fetch me a stope of drinke, but before thou

Goest, tell me one thing, who buildes strongest,

Of a Mason, a Shipwright, or a Carpenter?

2. Why a Mason, for the buildes all of stone,

And will indure long.

CLOWNE That's prety, too't agen, too't agen.

2. Why then a Carpenter, for he buildes the gallowes,

And that brings many a one to his long home.

CLOWNE Pretty agen, the gallowes doth well, mary howe dooes it well? the

gallowes dooes well to them that doe ill, goe get thee gone:

And if any one aske thee hereafter, say,

A Graue-maker, for the houses he buildes

Last till Doomes-day. Fetch me a stope of beere, goe. (sig. H4)

By contrast, the two clowns in the Q2 and Folio texts unfold their riddle in a more complicated way:

Clow. What is he that builds stronger then eyther the Mason, the

Shypwright, or the Carpenter?

Other. The gallowes maker, for that out-liues a thousand tenants.

Clowne. I like thy wit well in good faith, the gallowes dooes well, but how

dooes it well? It dooes well to those that do ill, nowe thou doost ill to say

the gallowes is built stronger then the Church, argall, the gallowes may doo

well to thee. To't againe, come.

Other. VVho buildes stronger then a mason, a Shipwright, or a Carpenter?

Clowne. I tell me that and vnyoke.

Other. Marry now I can tell.

Clowne. Too't.

Other. Masse I cannot tell.

Clow. Cudgell thy braines no more about it, for your dull asse wil not mend his

pace with beating, and when you are askt his question next, say a graue-maker, the houses hee makes lasts till Doomesday. Goe get thee in, and fetch mee a soope of liquer. (Q2 *Hamlet*, sig. M2)⁵³

- Clo. What is he that builds stronger then either the Mason, the Shipwright, or the Carpenter?
- Other. The Gallowes maker; for that Frame outliues a thousand Tenants.
- Clo. I like thy wit well in good faith, the Gallowes does well; but how does it well? it does well to those that doe ill: now, thou dost ill to say the Gallowes is built stronger then the Church: Argall, the Gallowes may doe well to thee. Too't againe, Come.
- Other. Who builds stronger then a Mason, a Ship-wright, or a Carpenter?
- Clo. I, tell me that, and vnyoake.
- Other. Marry, now I can tell.
- Clo. Too't.
- Other. Masse, I cannot tell.

Enter Hamlet and Horatio a farre off.

- Clo. Cudgell thy braines no more about it; for your dull Asse will not mend his pace with beating; and when you are ask't this question next, say a Graue-maker: the Houses that he makes, lasts till Doomesday: go, get thee to *Yaughan*, fetch me a stoupe of Liquor.

(The First Folio text of *Hamlet*, p. 277)⁵⁴

The narrative of the Q1 text differs a great deal from that of the Q2 and the Folio texts. First, the dialogue starts and ends with the demand for beer, and because it is inserted in between the repeated requests, the dialogue has an anecdotal quality. Secondly, the narrative is confined to a mason, a shipwright and a carpenter, while the dialogue in the Q2 and the Folio texts expands on the subject of the gallows. The second clown in Q1 connects a carpenter with a gallows-maker through a chain of association; by contrast, in his immediate reply the second clown of the Q2 and Folios nominates a gallows-maker outside of the group. Then in contrast to the Clown of Q1, who ends the questioning and suddenly concludes that the answer is a grave-maker, the same question is repeated by the second clown in the later texts. The first clown gives the answer of 'a grave-maker' in a lengthened speech. Thirdly, the dialogue is followed differently by the song: the first clown in Q1 gives the same song twice, whereas the first clown in the other texts give three different songs during his dialogue with

⁵³ William Shakespeare, Q2 *Hamlet* (At London: Printed by I. R[oberts] for N. L[ing], 1605).

⁵⁴ Shakespeare, The First Folio of Shakespeare.

Hamlet. The whole grave-making scene in Q1 twice invites the clown's simple jesting of 'gallows', while that of the so-called true texts develops the function of the clown and the meaning of the scene to usher in the exchange between Hamlet and the clown in the following scene, epitomising the antithesis of doomsday. The changing clown in the gravedigger scene from the Q1 text to the Q2 pursues the play's transition from deploying the generic jest to a narrative jest.

The various clowns that Kemp would have had the opportunity to play in the Lord Chamberlain's Men are all assumed to have been tailored to his talent. If the quartos ascertain Shakespeare's use of Kemp — the Nurse's man Peter in *Romeo and Juliet* and Dogberry in *Much Ado About Nothing* — then he is typical of early clowns in his plays, and hence points to the organic features of Shakespeare's clowns' acting. According to Thomas Whitfield Baldwin, Kemp also appeared in other plays as Costard, Dromio, Launce, Jack Cade, the Clown in *Titus Andronicus*, Bottom, Grumio, Shallow, and Launcelot, each of whom is a 'pure blundering low-comedy clown' as Baldwin called.⁵⁵ Baldwin's list of Kemp's repertory of roles is not certain, but these early clowns in Shakespeare have either or both of two common features: their roles as servants convey generic traits of jest-book clowning; and their parts have possibilities for transgression against the play-text, as Hamlet suggests.

The servant clowns in Shakespeare's early comedies are simple reflections of physical and verbal clowning, but unlike the minor clowns with small parts, they play a more integral role in the events of the play. In *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, both Speed and Launce make a contrastive pair of two different types of clowning. As a quick-witted clown, Speed engages in humorous comments on his master Valentine. By contrast, Launce Proteus's servant, appearing with his stupid dog, creates a comic but low, indecent moment in the play. Launce's

⁵⁵ Thomas Whitfield Baldwin, *The Organization and Personnel of the Shakespearean Company* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1927), pp. 229-83 (p. 230). Baldwin provides the list of Shakespearean actors and their roles inserted sheets between page 228 and 229.

weeping and his use of shoes, staff, and even his dog, manifest his foolishness. Launce punctuates his diatribe with exaggerated physical actions to parody the serious and stilted style of the plighted lovers, Valentine and Julia. With a comparison of his family to the props, his fooling through a down-to-earth presentation of a sad separation provides comic potential. Such juxtaposition is a familiar strategy of jest-book characters for achieving their purposes. Moreover, his own confession of love for a milkmaid and his list of her qualities are retrieved from the convention of the jest-book and conduct books: her qualities reflect what a common low-life character are required to have. The custom for husbandry is ridiculed in Launce's narrative of weighing his milkmaid, and consequently his humorous treatment of his love parallels his master's treachery against Valentine. The characteristic of reversing a situation is intrinsic to the clown as well as the jest-book hero. Excellent in verbal clowning, Launce also demonstrates with physicality the common idea of human qualities circulated in the jest-books. In many ways Launce is one of Shakespeare's clowns most clearly originating from a jest-book hero. Taking advantage of the durable episode in the jest-book, each performer in history has underscored the farcical subplot with the physical comedy. A legacy from the jest-book narrative is reconstructed and extended in the performative fooling of the clown, the theatrical counterpart who plays Launce with the comic handling of Crab.

Among several nameless clowns probably acted by Kemp, the Clowns in *Titus Andronicus* and *Antony and Cleopatra* as typical rustic clowns, preserve the primordial jest-book trait. The Clown in *Titus Andronicus* makes two crucial appearances, and each reflects a familiar jest-book motif. In Act IV, Scene 3 where the Clown brings the birds as a bribe, his entrance with a basket and two pigeons illustrates the alpha-omega episode in *Scoggin's Jests*. In making the Clown quibble on 'Jupiter' and 'gibbet-maker', Shakespeare illustrates that he comes from the tradition of the jest-book: this jest is created out of an

uneducated person's mishearing.⁵⁶ Moreover, in the following scene when he brings Titus's letter to Saturninus, the Clown is sentenced as in the episode of the hanging of the dissolute son in *A Hundred Merry Tales*. Reworking these two distinguished features of the jest-book, Shakespeare subliminally indicates the tragic deaths which will end his own work.

Similarly, the Clown in *Antony and Cleopatra* brings a basket at the moment of Cleopatra's decision to commit suicide in Act V, Scene 2. Undaunted, he comes near to Cleopatra, and with malapropisms and insinuations he comments on Cleopatra, her relationship with Antony, her persistence to fame and honour, and her mindset of 'immortal longings' (280). Not only does his entrance with a basket meet such a jest-book hero's convention as signifying his humble origins, but also the Clown's commentary contributes to foreshadowing the prospect of the play within the traditionally permitted role to the clown figures who ironically quibbles on the decisive matter.

These three clowns serve the same purpose as they send a message to the audience in a familiar way. In comparison, the Clown in *Titus Andronicus* makes a more primitive appearance in Shakespeare's anecdotal use because his role as a messenger to Saturninus can be substituted by another character; conversely the Clown in *Antony and Cleopatra* gets more involved in the events of the play because he brings 'the worm' essential for Cleopatra's successful death in joy, as well as being a commentator for both her and the audience. Though the same transition from the simple jest-book type clown to the functional clown is found in Shakespeare's major clowns, Shakespeare exhibited simple forms of jesting for early roles cast for Kemp.

In *Much Ado about Nothing*, Kemp was assigned to the part of Dogberry, linked a jest in print to his major role. Dogberry with his mate, Verge plays a trick on the watchmen with

⁵⁶ For a discussion of the Clown in *Titus Andronicus* with reference to the jest-book contents, see Chapter 2.

the possibilities of competing in comical movement. Hazlitt compares Dogberry's deception of the watchmen with Tarlton's in the second episode of his court-witty jests.⁵⁷ As long as a watch is a popular contemporary jesting target, Kemp as Dogberry acted as a generic clown with the standard stock of funny speeches modelled on the jest-books.

Kemp in the part of Dogberry also reminds us of a familiar jest-book motif. The happy ending of *Hero and Claudio* is a consequence of Dogberry's attempts to perform his functions faithfully and his subsequent disclosure of Don John's malicious plot. It should be understood that Dogberry is able to reveal the evil nature of Don John's character and uncover his plot within the comical framework both because he is detached from the action as a watch in the street, and precisely because he is closely connected to the familiar figure of the jesting target in the jest-book. Dogberry makes his jest accidentally by his comic ineptitude as the jest-book characters do. The fact that Dogberry is a watch consolidates the point. In ridiculing himself and his duties, he defines his role in the play, as the witness and the informant on the wicked plot. Dogberry explains to another watchman:

If you meet a thief you may suspect him, by virtue of your office, to be no true man; and for such kind of men, the less you meddle or make with them, why, the more is for your honesty. (III. 3. 49-52)

In his metaphor of 'thief', he unknowingly informs of Don John's suspicious and guilty presence in the play, even though the latter is the Prince's brother; and he foreshadows the futility of Don John's efforts to win over Claudio. Dogberry's folly is further intensified when he assumes an investigator's role to question Boratio and Conrad, whom his fellow watches being caught, and he asks the Sexton not to write down not their confessions but their abusive remarks about himself. Notably, he is 'the Prince's officer coxcomb' (IV. 2. 70). There is, of course, nothing particularly witty or wise in Dogberry's words. Even his redundant tedious

⁵⁷ Hazlitt, II, 191-92.

but laughable report to Leonato that he and his fellow watches captured the two conspirators in Don John's rebellious plot fails to indicate any wit or wisdom on his part. Dogberry boasts of himself as a member of the police force though he is unqualified, but he comments that he is an ass. His false report and incompetence at his job verifies that he is a figure derided in the jest-book.

The picture that emerges of Dogberry, then, is of a simple clown, not of a witty and intelligent man who comments on others' activity. Earlier in the play, Benedick is called 'the Prince's jester' by Beatrice. In reprisal for the insulting allusion by Benedick concerning her wit, with reference to the 'Hundred Merry Tales' (II. 1. 130, 137), she defines Benedick as 'a very dull fool' because:

Only his gift is in devising impossible slanders. None but libertines delight in him, and the commendation is not in his wit but in his villainy, for he both pleases men and angers them and then they laugh at him and beat him. (II. 1. 136-41)

In contrast to Beatrice's authentic jesting from *A Hundred Merry Tales*, that of Benedick jesting shows a significant shift in jesting fashion: humour for the sake of satire and slander. Beatrice's questioning of Benedick's jesting paradoxically serves as a reflection of the witty fool represented in the early jest-books. Kemp as Dogberry appears as a simpleton, not a witty commentator clown, with the jest-book hero's features. Shakespeare succeeded in establishing both principal characters as the opposite of Dogberry, and as amplifiers of the comic sections of the plot.

There is a further reflection of the simple jesting-hero in Dogberry. In fact, he is no professional fool, but as a rustic clown stimulates events with his familiar tactics of exchanging words or entreating others as laughing material in his response to the hero, usually seemingly unrelated or indirectly related to the play's main concerns. Dogberry is present in the play as a developed form of the jest-book hero's performative clowning.

Whether Shakespeare was actually using Kemp/Dogberry in a complex way is certainly a debatable question, but it sheds light on the nature of the buffoonery role, and reinforces the discussion of the various functions of the jest-book originated fools.

Other early clowns are built on Kemp's qualities as well. The Dromio twins in *The Comedy of Errors* relate narrative story lines more than any other servant-clowns. The mistaken identities in the play are further complicated by the Dromios' failure in going on errands for their masters. Again the foolish errand is a familiar object of laughter in the jest-book, and the confusion caused by his errors troubles his master; in the jest-book the priest is troubled through saying the wrong mass, and in the play the master figure misses his aim. The same occurs in *Love's Labour's Lost* when Costard mistakes Berowne's letter for another, and delivers them respectively to the wrong recipients. Jest-book based performativity is achieved in Shakespeare's weaving the stock material of foolish errands into the play's confusion. And it is noted that their action advances the plot forward, and that these clowns as confusion makers also participate in the play's happy ending.

5 Conclusion

Rustic clowning characters, who bring a shift to the flow of the story and deliver an occasional line, reflect *Tarlton's Jests* and its precursor jest-book *Scoggin's Jests*. They anecdotally create a one-man, two- or three-person show or a small group show in the play. And their part is scathing satire on the main characters or the happy moment. This generic trait is common and is rarely shown in clowning figures involved in narrative.

The allusions to Kemp and the writers' use of Kemp in their allusions are only secondary to the clown actor's theatrical practice. When all of these are presented with rusticity and vulgar speech and curses invited by mistakes, occasionally associated with

dances, one of the earliest personages of the English clowns in performance is identified with Kemp. His cultural identity covers both the realms of the theatre and the print industry, and he can be conceptualised as a bridging figure reflecting the Renaissance changing frame of clown phenomenon. Beneath this motion we may locate the vicissitudes of the actual history of theatre practice and clowning. Discreet moments of comedy arrive with the entrée of the clown as a metatheatrical commentary break from the intricacies of the plot.

Chapter 6

Armin's Comic Genius: Theory in Practice

Shakespeare's clown actors — William Kemp and Robert Armin — are prominent figures whose writing is closely related to their acting. It is not certain whether Kemp depended on personal contacts with Nicholas Ling his publisher, but there is little doubt that Ling's acquaintance with the printing of the staged texts and Kemp's actual stage career united the two men to publish Kemp's *Nine Days' Wonder*. More explicitly through his publications, Robert Armin moved into print culture.

Robert Armin has often been discussed in relation to later Shakespearean fools; critics have argued that his joining the Lord Chamberlain's Men influenced Shakespeare's composition. M. C. Bradbrook observes the problem for Shakespeare as 'the control of the clown'.¹ She acknowledges a turning point for his career in writing the clown as the appearance of 'the congenial Robert Armin' to Shakespeare.² She positions Armin as 'the new clown' and points out that the roles which he played in the company 'are dramatically interwoven with the central characters and the central feelings of the play; they demand an actor ready to play many parts, not just his own brand of clowning'.³ While Shakespeare created the role of and for new clown, the clown actor faced changes in the style and concept of clowning thrust upon him by the departure of Kemp. In this respect, Armin is an unusual actor, both inspiring the playwright's composition and practicing his own creation of the clown figure. Armin is the author of the jest-book *A Nest of Ninnies* (1608), originally *Fool upon Fool* (1600 and 1605); his play *The Two Maids of More-Clack* was printed in 1608. He depicted clown figures in his jest-book, and expanded them in his play. What emerges from

¹ M. C. Bradbrook, *Shakespeare the Craftsman: The Clark Lectures 1968* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1969), pp. 49-74 (p. 49).

² *Ibid.*, p. 50.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 50.

Bradbrook's discussion, but is not fully explored, is the fact that Armin created the role of the contemplative clown which thereafter had an influence on the composition of early modern stage characters. The roles given to the clown in the Armin plays nonetheless closely echo elements in his jest-book.

The fact that Armin's style was already prefigured in his jest-book is a corrective to the somewhat circular discussion of Bradbrook. While dramatists sought material for their plays from jest-books, stage clowns were expected to answer to theatrical needs in their own practice of clowning by verbally abusing or ridiculing others or by presenting their lower aspects. Armin's *Quips upon Questions* is a key record of this extemporaneous presentation of jesting; and Armin is an analogue of existing clowns when he absorbs jests in his works and stage performance. Side by side with the importance of *Quips upon Questions*, *A Nest of Ninnies* deserves our attention because it is akin to Armin's play, *The Two Maids of More-Clack*, which includes the two distinctive fools, Blue John and Tutch.

1 Armin as Pamphleteer

Armin enjoyed his triple identity as apprentice to a goldsmith, pamphleteer, actor, and by taking freedom from his apprenticeship in 1604, when he gained a reputation as a pamphleteer and started his acting career.⁴ One of the earliest references to Armin is found in Thomas Nashe and Gabriel Harvey's quarrel about the position of pamphleteers. Nashe in *Strange News* in 1592, grouped Armin with Thomas Deloney and Philip Stubbes as a son of William Elderton.⁵ In reply, Harvey blamed Nashe for the misuse of pamphlet writers' names: 'he is

⁴ Scholars convincingly conclude that Armin was an educated young gentleman by virtue of his apprenticeship. Chris Sutcliffe, 'Robert Armin: Apprentice Goldsmith', *Notes and Queries*, 239 (1994), 503-04. See also, Jane Belfield, 'Robert Armin, Citizen and Goldsmith of London', *Notes and Queries*, 225 (1980), 158-59. For Armin's brief biography, see Martin Butler, 'Armin, Robert (1563-1615), actor and comic writer', in *ODNB*.

⁵ Thomas Nashe, *Strange News*, sig. D4^v. For the biographies of Elderton, Deloney, and Stubbes, see the

so much vayner, so little learneded, so nothing eleganter, then they [Deloney, Stubbes, Armin and others]; and they so much honester, so little obscurer, so nothing contemptibler, then he'.⁶

In Nashe and Harvey, Armin is equated with Deloney and Stubbes.

Armin's aspiration to a career in the print industry is evident in his association with documents such as his commendable preface to *A Brief Resolution of a Right Religion* in 1590 and his dedicatory epistle placed last in *A True Discourse of the Practises of Elizabeth Caldwell* in 1604.⁷ Moreover, in one of the last of his prose writings, the dedication 'To the right honourable, and his singuler good Lady, the Lady *Mary Chandois*, R. A. wisheth health and euerlasting happiness' affords evidence that Armin engaged in two different businesses from his apprenticeship at the same time, as he promises his loyalty to the deceased Lord Chandos, William Brydges (d. 1602) and concludes the dedication signed as 'Your Ladiships euer in duty and seruice, *Robert Armin*'.⁸ Mary Chandos was a daughter of Sir Owen Hopton, custodian of Lady Katherine Grey, and later lieutenant of the Tower of London. Armin's choice of such a dedicatee as a most suitable reader of his account of the Elizabeth Caldwell case supports his purposeful commitment to the print industry. In addition, Armin's service to Mary's husband, the fourth Lord Chandos, a patron of the players, substantiates his theatrical identity. In fact, in his tale of Jack Miller in *Fool upon Fool*, Armin touches on the troupe of 'Lord *Shandoyes* Players', which was patronised by William's brother, Giles, the third Lord

following accounts in *ODNB*: Elizabeth Goldring, 'Elderton, William (d. in or before 1592), *ballad writer*', in *ODNB*; Paul Salzman, 'Deloney, Thomas (d. in or before 1600), *silkweaver and writer*', in *ODNB*; Alexandra Walsham, 'Stubbes [Stubbs], Philip (b. c.1555, d. in or after 1610), *pamphleteer*', in *ODNB*.

⁶ Harvey, *Piece's Supererogation*, pp. 183-84. William Kemp called Deloney as a pamphlet writer in his attack on him in *Nine Days' Wonder*, then he carefully separated him from Stow, Holinshed, Grafton, Hall and Froissart of 'those well deserving writers', though he accepted Deloney as the author of *Jack of Newbury* (Kemp, D3^v). See Chapter 5 for more about Kemp as a pamphleteer. For the ambiguity of pamphlets and ballads, see John Carpenter, 'Placing Thomas Deloney', *Journal of Narrative Theory*, 36 (2006), 125-62. He discusses Deloney's position as to the social mobility and the transgression of literary genres and evaluates him as an indicator of these identities.

⁷ C. S., *A Brief Resolution of a Right Religion* (London: Printed by Roger Ward, for John Proctor [etc.], 1590), sig. A4^v; Gilbert Dugdale, *A True Discourse of the Practises of Elizabeth Caldwell* (London: Printed by James Roberts for John Busby [etc.], 1604), sig. D4, inserted after A2.

⁸ John Craig, 'Hopton, Sir Owen (c.1519-1595)', in *ODNB*.

Chandos, and with which Tarlton was, according to *Tarlton's Jests*, also associated.⁹ Dependent on theatre patronage, Armin pursued a career in both print and the theatre, and achieved dual purposes throughout his life.

In addition to prose works, Armin also published the poem, *The Italian Taylor, and His Boy* in 1609, but it is said to have been written some ten to fifteen years earlier.¹⁰ The work furnishes proof of Armin's career as pamphlet writer, as he explains his purpose of writing and publishing a poem translated from 'the Italians' in the preface to the reader: 'I haue to thy pleasure, & my no great profite, written this Pamphlet, onely my aduenture in presuming into the hands of so Noble a Patron, I feare (in part) wil offend'.¹¹ Armin adds an 'argument' between every woodcut, poem and chant throughout, aimed at clarifying his overall intention. Regardless of the date of writing, it is of importance because of his interest in a catechetic method of questions and answers on humanity. He takes up a broad range of subjects from honesty, devilish deeds, simplicity, labour, virtue, and envy, most of which are common to the subjects of *Quips upon Questions*, another of his compilation of conceits in dialogue form. Most interestingly, another title of Armin's publications a year before is found in his statement: 'Not long since I discouered a nest of *Ninnies* in that great wombe the Worlde and

⁹ William Brydges (after 1548-18 Nov. 1602) was the brother of Giles Brydges, 3rd Lord Chandos and succeeded him as 4th Lord Chandos, 21 Feb 1593/4. See the description in REED ('Patrons and Travelling Companies', in *Records of Early English Drama, Kent: Diocese of Canterbury, 3, Appendixes, Translations, Endnotes, Patrons and Travelling Companies, Glossaries, Index*, ed. by James M. Gibson [Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002], pp. 1389-1500 [p. 1407]) and the accounts in *ODNB*, Andrew Warmington, 'Brydges, Grey, fifth Baron Chandos (1578/9-1621), *courtier and landowner*', in *ODNB*. For the Brydges' patronage, see also the account in REED ('Brydges', in *Records of Early English Drama, Cumberland, Westmorland, Gloucestershire*, ed. by Audrey Douglas and Peter Greenfield [Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986], pp. 259-60). The successive lords of Chandos from the 2nd to 4th (1558-1610) continued to be the patron of the company (John Tucker Murray, *English Dramatic Companies, 1558-1642*, 2 vols, II [London: Constable, 1910], pp. 28-33).

¹⁰ J. P. Feather, ed., 'Introduction' to 'Phantasmo, or the Italian taylor and his boy / 1609 with the poem by R. T., and the answer in poem by R. A., from Alba by R. T. / 1598', in *The Collected Works of Robert Armin*, 2 vols, II (New York: Johnson Reprint, 1972). Feather conjectured that Armin's creation predated to around 1590, because Straparola's *Le piacevoli notti*, Armin's source book, was circulated in the late sixteenth century, and because the literature of this sort, as he believed, had become outdated by his publication of the work.

¹¹ Robert Armin, *The Italian Taylor, and His Boy* (London: Printed for T. Pavier?, 1609), sig. A4.

some of the old brood before, scorned at this new birth: it was but to shew their antiquitie, and who was the neatest *Ninnie* of all the nest'.¹² This publication together with *Quips upon Questions* is part of Armin's career in the print industry, as well as demonstrating his developing interest in the discursive clowning tradition.

1.1 *Quips upon Questions*

Quips upon Questions published in 1600 shows the less well-known aspects of Armin's character and talent. It indicates that Armin was aware of his own identity as a clown actor and appreciated the opportunity of print, which allowed him to consolidate his theories on the practice of clowning. The pseudonym on the title page 'Clunnyco de Curtanio Snuffe', which literally means 'Snuffe, Clown of the Curtain', proves Armin's identity as a clown actor, and another Latin pseudonym in *Fool upon Fool* in the same year explicitly endorses his identification.¹³ He jokingly but publicly announces that 'a clowne of the towne' wishes to please the reader in presenting his wit as an essential techniques for clowning.

*Quips vpon questions, or, A clownes conceite on occasion offered. bewraying a morrallised metamorphoses of changes vpon interrogatories: shewing a litle wit, with a great deale of will; or in deed, more desirous to please in it, then to profite by it. Clapt vp by a clowne of the towne in this last restraint, hauing litle else to doe, to make a litle vse of his fickle muse, and carelesle carping.*¹⁴

Also, the subheading shows the Elizabethan convention of the clown actor's performance. Just as Tarlton makes improvisational dialogues within a given 'theme', so the clown continues to employ the conceits as expressive. The aim and the strategy of the clown's

¹² Ibid., sigs. A4-A4^v.

¹³ Because of the marginal note in the MS, it was once attributed to John Singer; but both his later pseudonym for the clipped version of *Fool upon Fool* in 1605, 'Clonnico del mondo Snuffe' ('Snuff, Clown of the Globe') and his autonym in the title page of its subsequent enlarged version, *A Nest of Ninnies* in 1608 certify the authorship of Armin. Robert Armin, *Fool upon Fool* (London: Printed [by W. White and S. Stafford] for William Ferbrand [etc.], 1605), sig. A1. See also Figure 3.

¹⁴ Robert Armin, *Quips upon Questions* (London: Imprinted [by W. White] for W. Ferbrand [etc.], 1600), sig. A1.

practice on stage are accentuated in the subsequent verse as follows:

Like as you list, read on and spare not,
Clownes iudge like Clownes, therefore I care not:
Or thus,
Floute me, Ile floute thee; it is my profession,
To iest at a lester, in his transgression.

This satirical verse is configured around Armin's professionalism: the clown sacrifices himself as the target for mockery, and in turn scoffs back at those who mock him. In the verbal play between the clown and the audience-reader, knowledge of human values, the ethics of human activity, and humanity's aesthetic sense are criticised and satirised. The reproduction of commentary on the methods of clowning is corroborated by verse 'Incouragement to the Booke' placed before the main body of the text:

Goe on, feare none; goe too and doubt not:
Some fooles make Rules, for the wise to flout at.

But wise haue eyes, and wit with all,
To judge right at first fight, if the worst fall.

On then, right men, vvill rightly fauor.
VVhose vvit, iudging it, vvill not vvauor.

But fooles haue tooles sharpe in season,
To vvound and confound vvithout reason.¹⁵

While actors such as Kemp displayed his dancing skills as comic materials in themselves to please the audience, Armin stresses verbal and linguistic skills rather than physicality. His quipping is closer to early modern satiric writing than the tradition of ironic anecdotes in the jest-book. These paradoxically demonstrate that print spoilt the business of the extempore performers, whose act was based on the tradition of the jest-book.

Curiously but suggestively enough, Armin expands his own theory of clowning in the epistle, and in doing so he sarcastically reveals his feelings about Kemp's manner of

¹⁵ Ibid., sig. A3^v.

performance, his fellow actors of the same type. The epistle is addressed to ‘Timothy Truncheon, alias Bastinado’ which implies a character who wields a truncheon as a symbol of control. Armin uses the evocative vocabulary of a constable-like figure when he refers to contemporary plays with the topical word ‘Burgomaister’, and ‘bobbadillo like’.¹⁶ In their use of a burgomaster, the contemporary writers projected their understanding of new political and social power. In George Chapman’s *The Blind Beggar of Alexandria*, Pego, Irus’s servant disguises himself as a Burgomaster and plays a trick on others with the right to monitor and watch. At the denouement, Pego is promoted to become the real burgomaster of Alexandria.¹⁷ And in Ben Jonson’s *Every Man in His Humour*, Captain Bobadill, characterised as a braggart, ‘a Paules-man’ by Jonson, creates chaos.¹⁸ *The Blind Beggar of Alexandria* was entered in the Stationers’ Register on 12 February 1595/96, and according to Henslowe’s diary, the play ran for twenty-two performances between February 1596 and April 1597.¹⁹ *Every Man in His Humour* was first performed by the Lord Chamberlain’s Men in 1598 before Armin was employed. In addition, the name of Timothy the addressee serves as a connective between morris dancing and physical theatre. Timothy is the name of a character with a tabor and pipe in John Marston’s *Jack Drum’s Entertainment*, whose entrance is immediately followed by a morris dance. The scene invokes the frontispiece of a morris dancing Kemp with a one-man band of tabor and pipe from Kemp’s *Nine Days’ Wonder*. *Jack Drum’s Entertainment* was entered to F. Norton on 8 September of 1600, the same year as Kemp’s and Armin’s publications, and according to its note on the title page, the play was performed several times before its publication.²⁰ With these topical references to successful comedies and characters

¹⁶ Ibid., sig. A2^v.

¹⁷ See Chapter 1, Section 2.2 for discussion of contemporary writers’ use of ‘burgomaster’.

¹⁸ Jonson, *Everyman in His Humour*, sig. A2^v (p. 4).

¹⁹ R. A. Foakes, *Henslowe’s Diary*, 2nd edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 34, 35, 36, 37, 47, 48, 54, 55, 56, 57, and 169.

²⁰ Marston, *Jack Drum’s Entertainment*, sig. A1.

who brandish clubs or sticks for showing physical power, Armin demonstrates that he was conscious of the physical clownery of contemporary rival plays and actors, and hints that his own clowning strategy is separate from the existing acting style of comedians.

Moreover, Armin claims acquaintance with people around Fleet Street in a short passage on his promotional sales strategy: ‘but yet I thinke all men of my minde, gently to iudge, not rashly to reuile. Well, when my Bookes are in Paules Church-yarde, if they passe through Paules I care not, or in Fleet-streete I haue friendes that will take Lud-gate to defende me’.²¹ St. Paul’s Churchyard is where Nicholas Ling, Kemp’s publisher, had a shop. Many of the prominent printers operated their business at St. Paul’s Churchyard, the centre of the London book trade, as well as the home of criticism on the publications. St. Paul’s authority over writers is evident not only in Armin’s modesty about his achievements but also in Harvey’s negotiations with those who were involved in publishing. From suspicion about the print industry, Harvey asks himself, ‘who for me, might not haue flourished, or lashed in Poules Churchyarde’, and then requires those engaged in the industry to cultivate printership to seek a profitable writer, ‘I appeale to Poules churchyard, whether lines be like vnto seames: and whether the Deft writer be as sure a workman, and the neat Taylor’.²² A year after, Harvey censured that Nashe lived parasitically on or took an advantage of the print industry, calling him ‘the swishswashe of the presse’, and ‘the poulkat of Pouls-churchyard’.²³ Running a shop at St. Paul’s Churchyard was prestigious. Armin, however, chose William Ferbrand (td 1597-1609) as his press near Guildhall in the area outside St. Paul’s Churchyard.

The outskirts of the trade centre as a site for business provided Armin and Ferbrand

²¹ Armin, *Quips upon Questions*, sig. A2^v.

²² Harvey, *Four Letters*, sig. F3 (p. 45), sig. H1 (p. 57).

²³ Harvey, *Pierce’s Supererogation*, sig. Z2^v (p. 172). He disdains Nashe, as ‘vaine Nash, railing Nash, craking Nash, bibbing Nash, baggage Nash, swaddish Nash, rogish Nash, Nash the belleweather of the scribling flocke, the swishswash of the presse, the bumm of Impudency, the shamble of beastlines, the poulkat of Pouls-churchyard, the shrichowle of London, the toade-stoole of the Realme, the scorning-stocke of the world, & the horrible Confuter of foure Letters’.

with an alternative ground for seeking wealth — power and the market — and entertainment — print and theatre industry.²⁴ As Armin was a goldsmith's apprentice, his sphere of life was based mainly around the north-east of St. Paul's Church, where Lombard Street, his master's dwelling place, and Cheapside, part of which was known as Goldsmith's Row, with both Bread Street and Friday Street, were the residences of many goldsmiths.²⁵ Ferbrand's printing office was located near Cheapside, in between the two landmarks, the Guildhall and the Royal Exchange. Their business places in close proximity were logical candidates for working liaisons between Armin and Ferbrand. That Armin's later publishers were not those at St. Paul's Churchyard may suggest that Armin distanced himself from the commercialised London book trade.

Also, further acquaintances of Armin — Fleet Street friends and his Ludgate defenders — relays us the importance of his pamphlet. At Ludgate (or Fleet) Hill at the end of Fleet Street the Bell Savage Inn was located, and there Tarlton sang his theme at the request of spectators, according to the Stationers' Register.²⁶ Among the playhouses Tarlton played at — the Bull Inn, the Bell Savage Inn, and the Curtain — the Bull Inn and the Curtain stood along Bishopsgate Street and Shoreditch Street, some distance from Fleet Street; and only the Bell Savage Inn was near Fleet Street.²⁷ It is of high possibility that Armin's acquaintances at Ludgate were made through the events at the Bell Savage Inn or mediated by his master Tarlton; and consequently this supports the later description by Tarlton of his adoption of

²⁴ For further details about the early years of the development of the London book trade, see the account and research by Frank Mumby. Frank Mumby, *Publishing and Bookselling: A History from the Earliest Times to the Present Day*, New & Revised Edition (3rd edn) (London: Jonathan Cape, 1954), p. 43.

²⁵ For more information, see an account of 'Cheapside Street' in Dr. Janelle Jenstad's project, *The Map of Early Modern London*. For the information of individual theatre, see also *Elizabethan Era*.

²⁶ Arber, II, 526. According to *Tarlton's Jests* (1638), Tarlton also played a theme at the Curtain (sig. B3, Tale 10).

²⁷ Anon, *Tarlton's Jests* (1638), Tale 20 (sig. B2), Tale 23 (sig. B3), Tale 38 (sig. C2) and Tale 40 (sig. C2^v).

Armin as his successor.²⁸

Given all of these theatrical associations, Armin apparently reveals his antipathy to the staging of physical theatre. With the proviso that he had friends in the Fleet Street area of the theatre business, he shows antagonistic feelings toward St. Paul's Churchyard and the so-called St. Paul's men, as personified by Bobadill. The obsessively repeated detail of a stick or baton-like arm revolves around the fictitious dedicatee Timothy Truncheon. Armin's satirical references to the St. Paul's men illustrate his defiance of physically oriented or motion-based performance. Emblematically the baton-like prop evokes the jester's bauble; and therefore Armin's references to a staff as a symbol of authority paradoxically underscore a fool's bauble and serves as constraint to the clown's excessive physical activity onstage. At the end of his epistle, he reflects on such a stoical attitude as a warning against stage clowning:

What should I say? My trust is, that either my simplicitie of loue, or thy crueltie in cudgeling, will guard me from enuious tongues, whose teeth are all blacke with rancor of their spight; and whose tongues are milke white with hart burning heate: God keepe me from their byting; I had rather be stroken with a poysoned bullet: that were a death honorable, the other a life miserable. No more but this, say I am out of towne, and hear not their ribald mockes, and by that meanes excuse me form them, whose poysoned tongues will else abuse me.²⁹

The allusions to truncheon, bastinado, and Bobadill are finally united in his reference to 'thy crueltie in cudgeling', but they are given more encouraging connotation as he parallels the preceding remarks with 'my simplicitie of loue'. Armin welcomes and recognises the value of tongues which are 'milke white with hart burning heate', denying the physical power of 'byting' with 'teeth'. In the subsequent preface to the reader, he summarises his principles of clowning, assisted by the reader's imaginative contribution, to vitalise the clown's practices

²⁸ Anon, *Tarlton's Jests* (1638), Tale 38 (sig. C2).

²⁹ Armin, *Quips upon Questions*, sig. A2^v.

and performances, requesting the reader to use his ‘disgression’ or ‘discreSSION’.³⁰

Besides disclosing his antagonism to physical clowning, Armin, by his celebration of Tarlton, puts himself into the quipping tradition. In ‘Wher’s Tarleton?’, Armin tactfully answered, ‘Go too, hee’s gone, and in his bodyes stead, / His name will liue long after he is dead’. Interpreting these lines, Dana E. Aspinall argues, ‘Armin muddies his mythic association with the clown and instead cursorily discards Tarlton’s memory’, and furthers her view: ‘using Tarlton as a springboard from which he can refashion the fool’s constitution, he distends foolery’s parameters to include an advisory capacity, one radically elevated from Tarlton’s slapstick buffoonery’.³¹ Armin starts introducing the legendary icon of Tarlton, already inscribed in the history of clowns, and then locates himself in the clown tradition, ‘Now am I a foole in deed? So let that passe, / Before I go, Ile quit thee with the asse’, and, ‘His Name is here: tis true, I credite it. / His Body’s dead, few Clownes will haue his wit’. Armin made ethical questions about a master of comic themes, or quip-maker, to answer the ultimate universal question, ‘What is the fool?’, concluding with a quip on human wisdom:

Though he be dead, dispaire not of thy wisedom;
What wit thou hast not yet, in time may come:
But thus we see, two Dogges striue for a bone,
Bout him that had wit, till them selues haue none. (D4^v)

Making Tarlton’s loss overlap with the shift in the clowning of the time, Armin admits that Tarlton’s strategies for physical clowning became old-fashioned; and instead he conceives his new ideas for foolery in the rest of the verse.

1.2 The Three Published Versions of *Fool upon Fool*

In the same year as *Quips upon Questions*, Armin published his own jest-book, *Fool*

³⁰ Ibid., sig. A3.

³¹ Dana E. Aspinall, ‘Robert Armin’, in *Fools and Jesters in Literature, Art, and History: A Bio-Bibliographical Sourcebook*, ed. by Vicki K. Janik (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 1998), pp. 42-49 (p. 43).

upon Fool. As the closing remark of the epistle of *Quips upon Questions*, ‘I am out of town’ tells of the fact that the Chandos company to which Armin belonged visited Coventry on 19 July and Bristol in August 1600, the first *Fool upon Fool* appears to have been published after his return to London.³² As Armin writes, ‘I could linger thus a whole Summers day babling’ in the preface, it is plausible that his resolution of publishing his jest-book was made during the summer of 1600 when he joined the Lord Chamberlain’s Men.³³

The three extant versions of *Fool upon Fool* show differences in the prefatory materials, which shed light on editing practices and Armin’s idea of clowning in progress. The first two were published by Ferbrand during his relatively brief period in business in 1600 and 1605, the latter, however, published in an abridged, version. The third and enlarged version, renamed *A Nest of Ninnies*, was printed in 1608 for John Deane (td 1601-1619) by Thomas East (td 1567-1609). The transfer of the printing rights from Ferbrand, printer of his original pamphlet, can be seen as part of the changing phenomena of the early modern book industry and its rights of authorship, printing, and editing. In publishing his third edition, Armin made substantial innovations. He made the title page claim the work to be ‘By Robert Armin’, rather than using a pseudonym. He deleted the expository subtitle, and instead enlarged the preface. This corresponds to the substantive additions to the body of the text, and most notably this preface constitutes a framework for the whole book, which may conceivably have been prepared for a revival of the text unexpectedly undermined by his former printer Ferbrand.

The title pages of the two earlier versions by Ferbrand show significant changes: the list of fools is differently punctuated, and the author’s profile is deleted. According to *STC*, the 1600 title reads, ‘*Foole vpon Foole, or Six sortes of Sottes. A flat foole a leane foole a merry*

³² Murray, *English Dramatic Companies*, p. 32, and documents in REED, see note 9, above.

³³ Robert Armin, *Fool upon Fool* (London: Printed [by E. Alde] for William Ferbrand [etc.], 1600), sig. A2.

foole and a fatt foole. A cleane foole. A verry foole. Shewing their liues, humours and behaiours, with their want of wit in their shew of wisdom. Not so strange as true omnia sunt sex. Written by one seeming to haue his mothers witte, when some say his is fild with fahters fopperine, and hopes he liues not without companies. Clonnico de Curtanio Snuffe', while the 1605 title reads *Foole vpon Foole, or Sixe sortes of Sottes. A flat Foole, a leane Foole, a merry Foole, and a fatt Foole, A cleane Foole, A verrie Foole. Shewing their liues, humours, and behaiours, with their want of wit in their shew of wisdom. Not so strange as true. Omnia sunt sex. Clonnico del mondo Snuffe'*.³⁴ Though the title pages of the 1600 and the 1605 editions provide the classification of fools after the title, the difference in punctuation the 1605 edition spoils Armin's design for the whole book. The 1600 edition clearly places pairs of fools side by side, with rhyming words, brackets, and period marks:

| | | | | |
|---------------|---|-----|---|-----------------|
| A flat foole | } | and | { | A fatt foole. |
| A leane foole | | | | A cleane foole. |
| A merry foole | | | | A verry foole. |

Not only do the bracketed pairs of fools appear in the text in the same sequence as shown in the title page, but also the order of appearances demonstrates the flow of Armin's new conception of folly and foolery. It is more clearly directed by the additional bridging passages, the so-called 'moral links' of its later edition, *A Nest of Ninnies*.³⁵ By contrast, the title page of the 1605 edition binds together the fools on each side, adds commas to the items of the left group, punctuates with commas the first two items of the right group with the replacement of periods, and capitalises the first letter of 'foole':

³⁴ See Figures 5 and 6 in Appendix B, for the overall spatial arrangement of the two jest-books.

³⁵ H. F. Lippincott identifies Armin's additions according to the framework of introductory passage by the World and Sotto as 'moral links'. H. F. Lippincott, ed., *A Shakespeare Jestbook, Robert Armin's Foole upon Foole (1600): A Critical, Old Spelling Edition, Edited and with an Introduction by H. F. Lippincott*, Salzburg Studies in English Literature (Salzburg: Institut für Englische Sprache und Literatur Universität Salzburg, 1973), pp. 1-10.

| | | | | |
|----------------|---|-----|---|-----------------|
| A flat Foole, | } | and | { | A fatt Foole, |
| A leane Foole, | | | | A cleane Foole, |
| A merry Foole, | | | | A verry Foole. |

The clustering separated by different punctuation marks and the emphatic capitalisation of ‘Foole’ in the altered title page of the 1605 edition seem to have been meant to intensify the author’s presentation of a variety of fools, but it has the opposite effect. The author’s deliberate arrangement of fools was not clearly articulated onto these title pages.

Then, with the change of Armin’s pseudonym from ‘*Clonnico de Curtanio Snuffe*’ to ‘*Clonnico del mondo Snuffe*’, the 1605 version omits the detailed profile of the author in the 1600 version: ‘*Written by one, seeming to haue his mothers witte, when some say he is fild with his fathers fopperie, and hopes he liues not without companie*’. In addition to the deletion of the characteristics of ‘his mothers witte’ and ‘his fathers fopperie’, a riddle posed in verse disappears: ‘*Not amiss to be read, no matter to regard it: / Yet stands in some stead, though he that made it mar’d it*’.³⁶ The 1605 title page, thus, not only damages the value of the original text, but also undermines the author’s satisfaction with his own text and his assertion of its qualities. It is from this vandalising act of editing by Ferbrand that we can confirm that the revisions were not conducted by Armin himself.

Further infringements are also found in the subsequent pages in the 1605 edition. While the 1600 edition has two prefaces, one to the publisher-distributor of books and the other to the reader-customer, the 1605 edition only has the latter. The deleted preface to the 1600 edition, ‘To the Printer health, to the Binder wealth; and to both, both’ offers Armin’s observations on a specialising print industry, and his appreciation of each involved in the publishing stages. The records of the separate preface to the binder are scarce, and Armin’s

³⁶ Armin, *Fool upon Fool* (1605), sig. A1.

epistle written specifically to commend the work of the binder implied the self-conscious professionalism of a man of the print business.³⁷

At the end of the first paragraph of the deleted preface, in denying being foolish is ‘a profit’, Armin advances his discussion. He avoids being subsumed into the common sense wit of the fool, and elaborates the concept of ‘fooles naturall’ and ‘fooles artificiall’ in relation to his view of business profit. Comparing ‘profit’ to ‘love’ and ‘simplicity’ with ‘all they [the wise] can doe’, he elevates simplicity in fools and promotes the idea of the natural fool:

Take heede then and let us lay our heades together: not to be faulty in our labour: I in writing, you in working, least our tytle be layd to our charge: but all’s one, many now a dayes play the foole and want no witte, and therefore tis no wonder for me to set downe fooles naturall, when wisemen before theyle be unprofitable, will seeme fooles artificiall: Is it then a profit to bee foolish? yea so some say, for under shew of simplicity some gaine love, while the wise with all they can doe, can scarce obtaine love.³⁸

For Armin, products contrived unnaturally are categorised as ‘artificiall’, and thereby the editorial practice of alteration, when done against the author’s will, should be avoided merely for profit making. Exploring the idea of profit amplified in the quality of the product, Armin formulates a concept of a mutually advantageous relationship between writer and publisher in the second paragraph. Insisting on a beneficial interdependency and cooperation between printing and writing, Armin attempts to persuade publishers to become highly professional in the production of better and more perfect books, which should encourage purchase. Then he moves on to the reader’s gains in buying books. He emphasises, ‘let me intreate thus much: a fayre Letter and a true Stitch, that one may beare out the others blame, least the quicke eyde

³⁷ According to EEBO, there are a few examples of the instruction to the bookbinder. They are not prefaced to the body of the text, slotted into body passages, or placed at the end. In addition, they are dated much later, the first example of this kind is Willem Janszoon Blaeu’s English translation from the Dutch, *The Sea-mirroure*, in 1625. (Willem Janszoon Blaeu, *The Sea-mirror* [Amsterdam: Printed by William Johnson Blaeuw [etc.], 1625]).

³⁸ Armin, *Fool upon Fool* (1600), sig. A2.

Reader finde more faults that I would willingly a should'.³⁹ Armin invokes an ideal harmony between the supplier's professionalism, the craftsmen's perfect product, and the reader's intellectual and moral satisfaction.

Unlike the first preface to the people of the printing business, the preface to the reader, common to both the 1600 and 1605 editions, is compactly written in one paragraph. Armin asserts that 'fooles write as their wit workes', and proposes the value of wit in questioning himself and the reader: 'are all wittes ever prosperous? no, times are leaden dull: age weakes, and wits must deed decline'.⁴⁰ Requiring the reader to make 'amendes', Armin attempts to embroil the reader who may be uninterested in fool literature, and develop his receivers into a community. This preface seems more likely to have been appropriate to the main body of the text than the other preface, which includes reference to the strife between the author and those engaged in the print industry.

By contrast, the title page and the preface of the third edition, *A Nest of Ninnies*, were different to Ferbrand's editions. The only extant complete edition, which is in the Bodleian Library, specifies the author's real name on the title page, and most of the subheadings which appeared in the earlier editions are deleted and replaced with different headings.⁴¹ The motto '*Stultorum plena sunt omnia* [Everything is full of fools]' summarises Armin's beliefs about the world and humanity. Instead, he provides a two-page long replacement, 'To the youthful and rightly compleat in all good gifts and graces, the generous Gentlemen of Oxenford,

³⁹ Ibid., sig. A2.

⁴⁰ Ibid., sig. A2^v.

⁴¹ The Folger Library has another copy, whose title page is replaced in manuscript (Robert Armin, *A Nest of Ninnies* [London: Printed by T. E[ast] for John Deane, 1608]). And H. F. Lippincott finds that there is the press variant in these two copies: in the dedicatory epistle, the Bodley copy reads 'most true', and the Folger copy 'youthfull'; the latter has clearer prints in the areas at G3, G3^v, and G4 (H. F. Lippincott, 'Bibliographical Problems in the Works of Robert Armin', *Library*, 30 [1975], pp. 330-33 [p. 330, note 2]). Unless otherwise noted references to *A Nest of Ninnies* are to the Folger copy at EEBO. See the Bodleian copy of *A Nest of Ninnies*, in *The Collected Works of Robert Armin*, 2 vols, I (New York: Johnson Reprint, 1972).

Cambridge, and the Innes of Court. Ro. Armin greeting'.⁴² Regarding the 1605 edition's reduction in volume by one quire from the 1600 edition with the elimination of one of the prefaces and several verses, H. F. Lippincott observes that 'The profit motive apparently overrode the fact that the verse deletions destroy the consistent plan of the book, and it is unlikely that he was in any way responsible for this edition'.⁴³ The printer's condensation for the sake of economising on paper in the 1605 edition is shown in the printing of the first page at the verso of the title page, while the 1600 and 1608 editions start the first page from the next leaf, A2. From the fact that Armin made considerable additions to the 1608 edition by the volume of one quire, it is clear that he intended to restore the whole presentation of the book, which had been damaged by Ferbrand, against Armin's aesthetics, philosophy and general policy for books. His inscription of his real name can be read as his declaration of provenance of the work, preventing its destruction without the author's permission. Conversely, Ferbrand's imperfect craftsmanship invited a motive for rewriting, and roused Armin's sense of responsibility for re-issuing the book.

Armin's targeted readership was probably responsible for his purpose of republishing the jest-book. His Latin phrases '*similis similem* [Like attracts like]' and '*sumus in toto* [We're all one]' follow an identical course of logic to his principles of being a natural fool. After his self-introduction as a 'Motly' with a '*cloakebag*', Armin turns to the '*nimble braind*' students of the Inns of Court, and requires them to acknowledge '*neighbourly neerenesse*' to himself. He underscores the common property of 'the generous Gentlemen of Oxenford, Cambridge, and the Innes of Court' and himself as he insists, '*since all is one, and one all, thats car'd for, singlenesse hath such regard, I make a question, which if you easily answere, I am satiffied,*

⁴² Armin, *A Nest of Ninnies*, sig. A2.

⁴³ Lippincott, 'Bibliographical Problems', p. 330. See also his old-spelling edition, pages 32-40 for a discussion of the bibliographical problems between the three existing editions. (H. F. Lippincott, *A Shakespeare Jestbook*).

otherwise buried quicke, how euer my loue looses not his labour'.⁴⁴ In Armin's reference to 'singleness', according to his subsequent remarks in praise of plainness, his punning on 'simplicity' is echoed.⁴⁵ As in the preface to the printer and the binder of *Fool upon Fool*, simplicity gains love as profit, and such labour, informed with 'singleness' and 'simplicity', ends in success.

Taken together with the different formatting of these books, Armin's new preface to the 1608 edition is distinct in the following ways: firstly, it turns from the general reader to the intellectual; secondly, it draws both groups together in his ambition, with arguments targeting both imagined communities and becomes more elaborate in the language. Lastly, the cause of the deletions from the extant prefaces marks Armin's departure from Ferbrand, resulting in a remodeled book with a new framework of 'moral links'. Examination of the prefatory matters concerning the interference of the print industry clarifies the reasons for Armin's publishing three different editions. On the other hand, the same examination also clarifies Armin as an emerging clown-performer, theorising and anticipating modern humour.

1.3 Diverging Fools: Simplicity, Natural Fools and the Clown Tradition

The three versions of *Fool upon Fool* have in common the presentation of six types of fools, and in the same order of arrangement.⁴⁶ But with moral links inserted between sequences in *A Nest of Ninnies*, Armin directs his readers to his own understanding of and sympathy for these fools. His discussion sets a high value on their power to please the people,

⁴⁴ Armin, *A Nest of Ninnies*, sigs. A2-A2^v. The translations of Latin are provided by Zall (Zall, *A Nest of Ninnies*, p. 18).

⁴⁵ 'singleness', definition 3 in *OED*. *OED* records Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet* (1597) as its first quotation: 'O single soald iest solie singuler for the singlenes' (sig. E2), and Armin's *A Nest of Ninnies*, as its second: '*since all is one, and one all, thats car'd for, singlenesse hath such regard*' (sig. A2^v).

⁴⁶ For more detailed discussion of the printer's alteration in the second edition, and Armin's expansion and improvements based on the second version, see Lippincott, *A Shakespeare Jestbook*, pp. 32-40.

and is, thus, an exceptionally valuable document for the study of the development of clowning. On the one hand, his presentation of fools in his jest-book goes far beyond that of any other jest-book of the day: the core ideas of clowning and foolery intrinsic to Armin's jest-book are 'simplicity' and 'folly'. On the other hand, the idea of 'folly', excusable human error, or a mistake made by imperfect humans is expanded later in *A Nest of Ninnies* in conflicting with 'simplicity'. But rather than invoking the negative connotations of 'ignorance' or an 'absence of sagacity', Armin positively alludes to the 'simplicitie' of various fools.

The distributions of 'simple', 'simply', and 'simplicity' in comparison with those of 'folly' in the jest-book illustrate how Armin understands the functionality of clowning and fooling on particular occasions. In the only extant complete Folger copy of *A Nest of Ninnies* and including some of the press variants in the Bodleian copy, Armin uses 'simple' fourteen times, 'simply' five times, and 'simplicity' five times, while his use of 'folly' or 'follies' appears twenty times. The distinctions are made on their concentrations: 1) out of 25 examples of words derived from 'simple' in *A Nest of Ninnies*, thirteen examples appear in the anecdotes of the fifth and sixth fools, such as those of Will Summers and John of Hospital; 2) the appearances of 'folly' or 'follies' concentrate in the first four anecdotes, and the anecdotes of Will Summers do not have any examples of 'folly'; 3) the uses of 'folly' as many as twelve times are found in the additions to *A Nest of Ninnies*. In addition, these word choices are frequent in the replaced and added pages. The press variants in the Jack Miller sequence, 'Such a simple neatnesse' in the Folger copy and 'Such a neatness' in the Bodleian copy, endorse Armin's regard for the 'simple' in his directions for fools. The ratio of Armin's word tallies corresponds with what Armin praises in the characteristics of fools. Most obviously, the idea of 'simplicity' is inscribed in the note to the title, 'Simply of themselues without compound', where Armin undertakes that fools presented in his jest-book are authentic, and

not to be confused with mongrel forms of clowning.

In the second anecdote of a flat fool, Jack Oates insults the Noble man who had visited Sir William, his lord, because of his ‘simplicitie’. When Jack sees the Noble man kissing his lady as a customary salutation, he hits the nobleman:

Jack Oates séeing him kisse his Ladie, on the sodaine giues the Earle a sound box on the eare, knaue (quoth he) kisse Sir *Willies* wife? the good Knight amazed at this, caused him to be whipt: but the kinde Noble man knowing simplicitie the ground of his errour, would not suffer it, but putting it vp, left him and entred the house. *Jack* séeing they were sad, and he had done amisse, had this wit in simplicitie to shadow it. (sig. B1)⁴⁷

However, the nobleman’s kind forgiveness is in vain, when Jack asks him ‘where his hand is’. He says: ‘I mistooke it before, knowing not your eare from your hand being so like one another’. On Jack’s impertinent manner paid with whipping, Armin comments: ‘Thus fooles thinking to be wise, become flat foolish, but all is one, *Jack* neuer repented him’ (sig. B1).

In the third tale Jack plunges into grotesque banter about professional musicians as artificial fools. One Christmas, Jack does not endure Sir William’s welcoming other fools, he knocks a Piper over the head with his bagpipes until nearly dead, and violently beats the a Minstrel until he loses an eye and cannot not stand. Armin distinguishes the piper and the minstrel, as artificial and describes the minstrel as ‘in his old cloaths, making wry mouthes, dauncing, & looking a squint’ (sig. B2). Jack has difficulty in intuiting how Sir William and others feel in his attempts to communicate with them and express himself. The tale concludes with an address to the audience: ‘Here you haue heard the difference twixt a Flat foole naturall, and a flat foole artificiall, one that did his kinde, and the other who foolishly followed his owne minde’ (sig. B2^v). Armin sets up the distinction between ‘artificial’ and ‘natural’ fools, when he explains the difference between two flat fools:

Naturall Fooles, are prone to selfe conceipt:

⁴⁷ Lippincott notes that the Noble man has been identified as George, 6th Earl of Shrewsbury [1528?-1590] in William Holles’ *Memorials* (Lippincott, *A Shakespeare Jestbook*, p. 61).

Fooles artificiall, with their wits lay wayte
 To make themselues Fooles, liking the disguise,
 To feede their owne mindes, and the gazers eyes.
 Hee that attempts daunger, and is free,
 Hurting himselfe; being well cannot see:
 Must with the Fidler heere weare the Fooles coates,
 And bide his pennance sign'd him by Iack Oates.
 All such say I, that vse flat Foolerie,
 Beare this, beare more; this flat Fooles companie. (sig. B2v)

The contrast between the artificial and the natural fool reappears in the stories of Will Summers, where the artificial fool is identified as Thomas Brandon the juggler, another of the jesters to Henry VIII.⁴⁸ Armin's clear discrimination in using 'natural' and 'artificial' lies in possessing artistic skill, such as dancing, singing or playing a musical instrument. Consequently, this prompts revision of the traditional and flawed recognition of the artificial fool as a wise court fool. The natural fool, according to Armin's definition, is a person who lacks art or skills acquired through practice, and thereby becomes a fool when overwhelmed with simplicity.

Indeed, besides being roused to a brutal act by motives of simple emotion, Jack Oates is further condemned by the sin of gluttony, as depicted in the fourth tale:

Iack was searcht for, and anon found in the Moate. It was told the Knight where the Foole was eating it: Gentlemen (quoth he) we are dissurmished of our feast, for *Iack* my Foole is in my Moate vp to the arme-pits eating of the Pie. They laught and ran tothe windows to see the iest: there they might see *Iack* eate, the Cooke call, the people hallow, but to no purpose: *Iack* fed & féeding gréedily (more to anger the Cooke, then disapoint sir *William*) euer as hée burnt his mouth with hast dipt the Pie in the water to coole it. (sig. B3^v)

In this section of the moral link, Armin finishes with a summary of the results of Jack Oates' foolery: 'rewarded with a deserued whipping', 'got out with repentance', and 'in daunger rather then to lacke their wils, to slacke or rebate the edge of their appetites' (sigs. B4-B4^v). Jack's stories are examples of a household idiotic fool, who does not amuse his master

⁴⁸ John Southworth, *Fools and Jesters at the English Court* (Phoenix Mill: Sutton, 2003; first published, 1998), pp. 121-27.

through language. His identity revolves around self-centred eccentric behaviour and acts driven by animal appetites, impelled by uncontrollable destructive urges. In particular, the so-called ‘jest’ of Jack Oates’ last episode is dissimilar from the sophisticated wordplay which Armin clarifies in his *Quips upon Questions* and in his preface. It clarifies the disparity between the simple impulsive ‘natural’ fools depicted later, and the fictional ‘wise’ fools of Renaissance drama.

Armin’s idea of simplicity is explored in the figures of the second and the third fools of the jest-book. Jemy Camber and Leonard of Sherwood are departures from the appetite-driven Jack Oates and appear as obsession-driven fools. Expanding on gluttony, Armin connects ‘fatness’ with a ‘surfeit’ in mental weakness, and explores excess in the ‘forward déedes’ of Jemy to figure out how he invited the ‘netling very lust with shame and disgrace’ (sig. D1^v). In the Leonard episodes, the lean fool characterised as envious and frustrated by ‘desire’, which ‘is more then abilitie to performe’, and Armin asserts a personal imbalance or a lack of restraint brings ‘gréedinesse’, and hence dulls the wit. In the moral link to this fool, Armin makes an interim comment on the first three fools: ‘we haue followde one with our flat and fat foole, disturbd by the leane. Now as in a historie we mingle mirth with matter, to make a please plaister for melancholy’ (sig. B4^v). Plain fools unable to suppress their desires show mental feebleness, and their actions often end with unwanted effects, for which the World’s melancholy is not healed.

Armin again incorporates the concept of ‘simplicity’ or the quality of being natural into the fourth fool Jack Miller to associate the episodes with each other, and tighten the structure of the latter half of the jest-book. He summarises the first part as a description of folly, and moves on to simplicity:

This cleane nigit was a foole.
Shapt in meane of all,

[...]
 From his nostrills rumatick.
 Griefe it was to see,
 Such a simple neatnesse spring,
 From imbisillitie. (sig. C2)

Armin applauds Jack's 'simple neatnesse' coming from 'imbisillitie', which is exaggerated on such a nature as his as 'cleanlynnesse'. Furthermore, this particular personality accompanied with a Latin phrase '*Nemo sine crimine* [nobody's perfect]',⁴⁹ appears in the first preface of *Fool upon Fool* (1600), as *Nemo sine crimine servit* [No one serves without crime]', but the preface of the present edition does not include it.⁵⁰ While he equates the printer's 'unperfect' work with human folly in the first edition, in *A Nest of Ninnies*, without degrading the fool's mental feebleness, Armin excuses human infirmity in the sequence of Jack Miller. Armin's principle of simplicity is inserted effectively in the replaced verse and amplified in the Latin phrase.

Because Jack Miller is 'a right innocent, without any villany at all' (sig. E3^v), but also because he is one of the fools who 'make their head their foote' and 'made sawcie through the mud of their owne minds', his efforts are in vain, and he falls a victim to laughter (sigs. E4^v-F1). When Jack, following Lord Chandos's favourite players, exposes himself to the danger of falling into the icy river, he volunteers to be whipped as a punishment by the players. Intriguingly, he is made to mock his own pain and violent beating: 'for it was his manner euer to wéepe in kindnesse and laugh in extreames' (sig. E3^v). Armin places Jack in extreme separation from other fools in his mixed feelings of two extremes, and presents Jack as one of 'ideots true borne' (sig. F1). Dissatisfied with the stories of Jack Miller, the World accordingly waits for a greater, 'comely foole' (sig. F1).

Will Summers, Armin's last fool, was a court jester to Henry VIII, and became a

⁴⁹ Zall's paraphrase in English (Zall, *A Nest of Ninnies*, p. 49).

⁵⁰ The English translation is given by Lippincott, *A Shakespeare Jestbook*, p. 46.

familiar subject of plays such as Thomas Nashe's *Summer's Last will and Testament*, and Samuel Rowley's *When You See Me, You Know Me*. Clearly Armin did not use portraits of Summers from these circulated documents, because his representation is of a completely different identity: Summers in the plays of Nashe and Rowley can be categorised as a typical court fool — clever, witty and artificial as they had traditionally been prescribed. As J. R. Mulryne notes, the account of these plays 'probably owes more to posthumous myth making than to fact'.⁵¹ Mulryne accepts both Armin's description of Summers and *A Pleasant History of the Life and Death of Will Summers* (1676) as sources for accurate biographical information. But as in the textualising and historicising of Tarlton, it is not adequate to see these posthumous biographies as necessarily *factual*.

Armin depicts Summers differently, despite acknowledging his image in the contemporary commendatory writing. Armin acknowledges in the verse added to *A Nest of Ninnies* the many people still alive who knew Summers:

I could describe him, as I did the rest;
But in my mind I doe not thinke it best:
My reason this, how e're I doe descry him,
So many knew him, that I may belye him. (sig. F1)

Concerning a later anecdote, Armin offers a source available to him by memory and oral transmission: 'HOWsoever these thrée things came in memory, & are for mirth incerted into stage playes, I know not; but that *Will Sommers* asked them of the King, it is certaine, there are some will affirme it now liuing in Gréenewich' (sig. F3). It is possible to assume, on the basis of these two examples, that Armin at least attempted to find sources for his stories about Summers in order to create the 'Will Summers' of his jest-book, although probably most of his anecdotal sources were then in currency.

Armin's sketch of Will Summers is a picture of a kind-hearted and witty yet ultimately

⁵¹ J. R. Mulryne, 'Somer [Sommers], William (d. 1559), *court fool*', in *ODNB*.

simple man. One story relates how his elderly uncle visits from the country, and Summers decides that the old man should dress in a multicoloured costume to see the king. Summers dresses his uncle ‘simply’ in a fool’s attire as his best: ‘Come uncle sayes he, we will haue your gaere mended, leads him to his chamber, & attires him in his best fooles coate, simply God wot, meaning well to him, and the simple old man as simply put it on, cap & all’(sig. F2^v). Significant here is Armin’s insistence on Summers’s simplicity. He does not dress his uncle in motley for a jest, but as the appropriate way to dress before the king, not imagining the effect of dressing a rustic old man in a motley coat.

The jests and riddles of Summers that Armin says can be confirmed by people in Greenwich are also very simple. To cheer the king up, Summers ‘as the fool of the play doth with an antic look to please the beholders’ asks, ‘what is that the lesser it is, the more it is to bée feared? The King mused at it, but to grace the iest the better he answered he knew not. *Will* made answeere it was a little bridge ouer a déepe riuier, at which hée smyled’ (sig. F3). Then in the second riddle, Summers proves that a ‘dirt-dauber’ is the cleanliest trade. In the third jest, Summers turns scatological in reminiscence of the traditional jesting heroes:

Now tell me sayes *Will* if you can, what it is that being borne without life, head, lippe or eye, yet doth runne roaring through the World till it dye? this is a wonder qd the King, & no question, I know it not. Why qd *Will* it is a fart. At this the King laught hartely, & was excéeding merry, and bids *Will* aske any reasonable thing, and he would graunt it. (sigs. F3-F3^v)⁵²

Even if the language of these jests were Summers’s rather than Armin’s, the jests would still be simplistic enough to show his lack of intricacy, which is recognised as a feature of the sophisticated humour of licensed fools.

The simplicity of Summers is further underlined by the affection for his sleeping habits in Greenwich.

⁵² The fart motif appears in Boorde’s *Scoggin’s Jestes*, Tales 27 and 41. For details see Chapter 2, Section 2.1.

VVIII Sommers, in no little credit in the Kings Court, walking in the Park at Gréenwich, fell a sléepe on the stile that leads into the walk, and many that would haue gone that way, so much loued him, that they were loth to disease him, but went another way. (sig. F1^v)

In another example, a poor woman gives a cushion for his head and ties him to a post with a rope to prevent him from hurting himself by hitting the ground. Throughout, Summers never wakes from his deep sleep, and the episode proves the love and favour that the people had for Summers's innocence.

On the occasion that the King was saved from melancholy by Summers's riddles, after finishing jesting, he 'laid him downe amongst the Spaniels to sléepe' (sig. F3^v). In public places or among dogs, ordinary people did not sleep. Presumably Summers did not intend humour in narcolepsy, and it is possible that whether or not he was suffering from the disease, Summers's unexpected sleeps reassured people and gave them their own innocent release.

Conversely, Summers had another trait of mocking verbal abuse: Armin describes how Summers tricked Cardinal Wolsey out of ten pounds, which the fool distributed to the poor. Making a bet with the Cardinal, he gained the upper hand: the Cardinal, entrapped, answers 'To God' to his question, 'To whom dost owe thy soul?', and then 'To the poor' to another question, 'To whom thy wealth?' Summers continues:

open confession, open pennance: his head is thine, for to the poore at the gate I paid his debt, which hée yéelds is due: or if thy stony heart will not yéeld it so, saue thy head by denying thy word, and lend it mée: thou knowest I am poore, & haue neither wealth nor wit, and what thou lendest to the poore, God will pay thée ten fold: he is my surety, arrest him, for by my troth hang mée when I pay thée. (sigs. F3^v-F4)

As a result of Summers's self-mocking assessment that he possessed 'neither wealth nor wit', only the Cardinal loses, despite the fact that 'he was building that admirable worke of his tombe' and that at Wolsey's gate 'stood a number of poore people to be serued of almes'. The Cardinal's defeat in the contest of wits invites his own reluctant self-knowledge, and 'it

grieved him to iest away ten pound so' (sig. F3^v). As well as his stinginess, Summers's jest reveals the Cardinal's frustration.

Armin's 'Summers' is thus distinguished in simple, guiltless, or even childish acts and words. And his depiction of Summers differs greatly from the profile in the plays by Nashe and Rowley. He is never the vocational, truth-speaking, artificial fool that he became in the public perception, implying Armin's compositional creativity in his jest-book, where the six natural fools possess simplicity in manner and mind. Indeed, this idea of simplicity is to develop into an association with the idea of 'subtillity [subtlety]'. In the phrase as 'Subtill in his follie', in the tale of Leonard, the word occurs together with a word of negative connotation. In the next moral link placed before the conclusion, the last tale of John is summarised in the World's reaction: 'Surely sayes mistris Nicetie this pleases well to see one so naturally silly to be simply subtill' (sig. C3^v). The association in these opposing words expresses the developing common paradox of refined simplicity, which will ultimately reach sagacity, intelligence or intellectual capabilities.

Indeed, the nature of Summers's innocence is further demonstrated by John of Hospital. In valuing highly the 'singular' case of John, the World waits for his tales of refined simplicity. And the cynical Sotto calls John 'simply simple without tricks', and explains 'not sophisticated like your *Tobacco* to tast strong, but as Nature aloud him he had his talent' (sig. G1). Introduced initially as 'this innocent Ideot that never harmed any', the profile of John starts from Blind Alice's caregiver and his habits of going to Sermons. Then at the death of Alice, he is welcomed into Paul's Church Hospital out of the charity of the City that regards him as 'one of Gods Creatures' (sigs. G1-G1^v). In the first episode, believing that he is now in the service of his Nurse, John attempts to save peas pottage for her at the wealthy Merchant's house. Because the pottage is on the fire, he gets burnt. This episode not only exposes that

‘the jest was to see the folk of the house who, wondering what he ailed, could not devise what the matter was’, but also certifies his goodness in insinuating that he is stigmatised with the burn for a good reason. This charismatic treatment of John and ‘his own folly’ contrasts with the blabby beggar, ‘who lost a good almes for his labour’ despite telling the truth (sigs. G2^v-G3). In the second episode, John tolls the church bell for ‘his nurses chicken’ in addition to the people’s ‘prayers or burials’ (sig. G2), and as a result, the sexton of Christ’s Church understands his ‘diligence’, and thereafter prevents John from reaching the pulling the bell rope. Likewise, in the third episode, though John is asked by a Cobbler to send a mended pair of boots to a gentleman. He inadvertently sells them ‘for a groat’ to another as he replies ‘everything for a groat’. Answering his Nurse’s question about how he gained the groat, John says, ‘For boots’ not knowing that it forms a double entendre. The diligent Cobbler finds his loss of the boots and ‘four shillings’ for the replacements, and learns that he is to blame:

nay, sayes the Cobler, if my money can be booted and ride poste so by fiue shillings at a time, it is no boot for me to say Vtinam, but the next bootes Ile make a page of my owne age, and carry home my selfe: for I see fooles will afford good pennyworths. (sig. G3)

In the fourth and last episode, thirsty John goes into a gentleman’s house and drinks beer until he loses himself in the cellar. In the meantime, ‘the cryer cryed a man child of the age of two & thirtie yéeres, for at least hée was so old’ (sigs. G3-G3^v). The butler who also gets drunk with John sends him to the Hospital, ‘least he were blamed for his negligence in looking to the doore no better’ (sig. G3^v). The jests of John of Hospital are certainly beyond the range of Will Summers’s tricks or self-mockery. They are related through the eyes of non-fools, who burlesque their own wisdom or judgment after realising it as insufficient and himself as stupid. John has no identification cannot go anywhere, is old enough to be thirty two years of age in contradiction to his childish judgments, and is free from responsibilities. He is a fool and nothing more.

These examples of the six natural fools demonstrate that Armin's understanding of folly reached a culmination. Further, the differences between the first three fools and the rest, and between Will Summers and John of Hospital, are evident in Armin's shifting idea of 'simplicity'. Giving another alliterative title to his rehashed jest-book, Armin not only clarifies what the previous title signifies, but also warmly denotes that the world cares for lovable fools.

Armin also used his categories of fools to create two dramatic fools — Blue John and Tutch, in *The Two Maids of More-Clack*, which actually has in its attribution 'VWith the life and simple maner of IOHN in the Hospitall'.⁵³ These two skilfully developed fools reflect Will Summers and John of Hospital. Leslie Hotson proposes that Armin's composition of the play was after his joining the Lord Chamberlain's Men. Charles S. Felver infers that the composition date was as early as around 1600, most probably before Armin's enrolment in Shakespeare's company, due to the fact that there are allusions to contemporaries such as Queen Elizabeth and Dean Nowell who died in 1602.⁵⁴ As the original jest-book was plotted much earlier, and the play was written in parallel to the jest-book, Armin used his own jest-book as a resource for his clown parts.

2 *The Two Maids of More-Clack*: The Fusion of Tutch and Blue John

John Davies appreciated how Armin 'That tickles the spleene like an harmeles vermin' and 'wisely play the foole' in *The Scourge of Folly* in 1611, where he compares Armin with

⁵³ Robert Armin, *The Two Maids of More-Clack* (London: Printed by N[icholas] O[kes] for Thomas Archer [etc.], 1609), sig. [1].

⁵⁴ E. K. Chambers concludes that the play was not written for the boys' company from the fact that Armin as an adult actor could not have played with the King's Revels. Felver speculates that Armin's success in his play motivated Shakespeare to create Touchstone, and inferred that Armin had a direct influence on the development of the Shakespearean fool. Leslie Hotson, *Shakespeare's Motley* (London: Rupert Hart-Davis, 1952), p. 103; E. K. Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage*, reprinted with corrections, 4 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1951), III, 210; Charles S. Felver, 'Robert Armin, Shakespeare's Source for Touchstone', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 7 (1956), 135-37.

poor talentless actors:

Wee all (that's *Kings* and ah) but Players are
 Vpon this earthly *Stage*; and, should haue care
 To play our Parts so properly, that wee
 May, at the *end*, gaine an *Applauditee*.
 But most men ouer-act misse-act, or misse
 The action which to them peculier is:
 And, the more high the Part is, which they play,
 The more they misse in what they *Do*, or *Say*
 So that when off the *Stage*, by *Death*, they wend
 Men rather hisses them then them commend.⁵⁵

According to this contemporary commentary, Armin's artifice is distinguished firstly in his convincing realistic performance, and secondly in his skilled acting of the fool. Armin's play shows his casting of himself as the two fools, and his actual playing of their roles. In particular, Armin's doubling of both Tutch and John in the Hospital is the key to the play's success, and the creation of a double image of the fool in the dualities of disguise consolidates Armin's unique conception of clowning (Figure 7). Armin defined an artificial fool as an entertaining talent, and not as an intelligence who tells the truth to his master or mistress; conversely a natural fool is a simple person with no malicious intentions. Armin only uses the words 'artificial' and 'natural' in distinguishing fools according to their physical differences, and not to their mental distinctions. Taking this into consideration, Armin creates Tutch not only as an artificial fool in terms of his identification in the household, but also as a natural fool when he assumes a disinterested communicative folly with simple and virtuous intentions.

The play's main characters are Sir William, the Knight of More-clack, his newly-wed wife and her family, Sir William's two daughters and their suitors. Tutch is a clown and servant to Sir William, and later serves Filbon, suitor to Tabitha. He appears in seven scenes

⁵⁵ John Davies, 'To honest-gamesome Robin Armin, / That tickles the spleene like an harmeles vermin', in *The Scourge of Folly* (London: Printed by E[dward]: A[l]lde: for Richard Redmer [etc.], [1611]), pp. 228-29.

out of 22, while John in the Hospital appears in only three episodic scenes. In the preface 'To the friendly peruser', Armin calls the play 'a Historical discourse, acted by the boyes of the Reuels', and explaining the previous performance history, says, 'I would haue againe inacted Ihon my selfe'.⁵⁶ From this, we learn that Armin played a part of John, and because of the later appearance of John disguised as Tutch, there is no doubt that Armin also played Tutch. The plot has a divergent clown role in simple and natural John in relation to the jest-book, as well as Tutch's involvement in the plot. Armin's presentation of the two fools as artificial and natural in the play complements his classification.

In a story set in London, Mary and Tabitha, the daughters of Sir William Vergir, Knight of More-clack, love respectively Sir Robert Toures and Filbon. Sir William himself remarried Mrs. Humil, whose former husband James was supposed to be dead, and whose son aims to marry Sir William's eldest daughter, Mary. Sir William, on the other hand, not only disapproves of Humil Junior's marriage to Mary, but also refuses his daughters' marriages. In his unwillingness that his daughters be betrothed, he gives unrealisable conditions that Toures can get married to Mary 'when shees dead and liues againe', and Filbon to Tabitha 'when you are from your selfe / A woman'. Mary and Sir Robert Toures attempt to elope, while Tabitha is confined to prevent her fleeing. James unveils himself to the now Lady Vergir, and Young Humil plots to make Sir William to retract the breach of his marriage to Mary by informing Sir William of the cuckoldry between James and the Lady. But Sir William defends the Lady, and consequently Humil imposes exile on himself and banishes James. Then, Sir William convinces that Filbon, disguised as a Welsh knight, is the right husband for Tabitha, and agrees to their marriage. Meanwhile, Mary seems to be dead but recovers her breath. Humil disguised as an apothecary returning from the exile with a wicked plan to poison his own

⁵⁶ The scene divisions and references are from Alexander S. Liddie, ed., *An Old-Spelling, Critical Edition of The History of the Two Maids of More-Clacke* (New York: Garland, 1979).

mother, now attempts to retaliate against Sir William with the same use of poison when he finds James is his father. At the denouement, Filbon strips off his disguise as a nurse and reveals himself, which fulfils Sir William's requirements as to marriage. James accuses Sir William of murdering his wife, and explains that the false poisoning did not kill her and that he is her husband. At this point, Toures thirsts for revenge on his father-in-law, and finds Mary alive. Both couples meet their father's requirements. Sir William pardons the young couples. Despite the parents' — Sir William, Lady, and James — attempts to block the marriage, they finally take place and the play ends happily.⁵⁷

As Alexander S. Liddie points out, in the complicated plot brought on by the play's diverse 'disguise-device' occurring as many as then times in the play, Armin's roles as John, Tutch, Tutch as John, and Tutch as Morgan (Filbon's disguised identity) are 'a showcase for his versatility'.⁵⁸ Most importantly, we see Armin's involvement in the process to the happy ending in his double role of John and Tutch, as realising his conception for the clown onstage.

John's brief scenes — scenes 2, 7, and 10 — reveal Armin's episodic use of the clown figure. John makes his first appearance in the second scene with watermen. In Scene VII with the nurse and the boy, John re-enters the play to be introduced to the Earl of Tumult, and his presence closely resembles his episodes in Armin's jest-book. Sir William explains John's background before his dwelling at the Hospital as 'nurst' by 'blind *Ales*', and asks the Lord to find out his distinctive features: 'Aske him such questions as his simplenes / Answeres to any: sirra let me heare ye' (7. 139-47). The scene is emphatic of John's 'simpleness', or innocence, and in subsequent dialogues between John and the boy, John behaves in the same way as he does in the jest-book, he answering that he would attempt to 'Carri't [a groat] home my

⁵⁷ For a more detailed synopsis see Liddie's account. '5. Plot and Characterization', in *The Two Maids of More-Clacke*, pp. 53-64 (pp. 53-58).

⁵⁸ Liddie, pp. 59-60. Liddie lists ten different disguises though he counts nine: Toures as tinker, Filbon as servant, Tutch as Robert Morgan, Humil as apothecary, Auditor as merchant, Filbon as Robert Morgan, Tutch as servant, Tutch as John, Filbon as Nurse, and James as governor.

Nurse', and pull the bell rope for praying for his nurse's 'chickin' (157-74). At these jests made between John and the boy, the Earl diagnoses John as 'A silly ignorant', whereas Sir William redefines him as 'a cleanly Idiot' (175-76). Distinct from foolishness or intellectual deficiency stressed in the double negatives, John's personal characteristics are marked by plain and unpretentious manners, which accordingly lead us to give an appraisal of John's lack of artfulness. In Scene X where John appears with the boy, and the watermen and the nurse join them, again the scene consists of John's idiosyncratic short answers to others' questions. With John's spontaneous puns and brief exchanges with Sir William, his simple nature is a preparation for Tutch's disguise as John at the end of the play. The scene also prepares the audience for John's departure from the play with the nurse when she urges him to leave, which not only introduces Armin in another manifestation of the fool, but also reflects John as Tutch, an ordinary servant clown.

Unlike John in the Hospital, who only makes his appearance in small incidents, Tutch figures prominently in the play's narrative. He is the central character of the sequence of disguises and also a guide to the whole story. However, in the last scene Tutch in disguise as John appears to put everything in order. While the device of disguise is used in order to gain access to targeted individual, it also unifies the two different selves of the fool: the artful and the involuntary in the single actor's performance. The unified figure of the two fools in Armin is achieved with his recruitment of John from his own jest-book, and completed in the use of disguise and differing dialect.

In addition to the clowns' simplicity, a second link between the jest-book and the play is in truth telling. At the denouement in Scene 22, Tutch is disguised as John in the Hospital to resolve all confusion. Sir William calls the disguised Tutch 'my suck-egge [a silly person]', and asks him for news of London (169). When Tutch replies about the welcome given the

beggars of the world, mimicking John's pun in a spur-of-the-moment witticism, it is a prelude to Sir William's warm reception of the lovers. The short answers by Tutch as John are in directives to the theatrical truth. Though John is not a licensed fool, the earl acknowledges that 'He saies true, chide him not, we are no lesse' (185). 'True' is another key word for articulating Armin's idea of simplicity as to the natural fool. The word 'true' and its derivatives echo 27 times throughout the play, enlarging the effect of the fool's simplicity. Indeed, the earl's recognition is immediately followed by the discovery of the truth. Revealing himself as the trickster, Tutch says:

Plague on't, shall I be left alone, master make haste? But tis my deede, I am author of this shift, hees where hee would be now, Ime where I should be too, but not wel back't, yes now I am. (234-36)

The revelation complete, when Tutch uncovers his disguise to Sir William:

I plaid but "*John* come kisse me now" saies she, I am *Tutch* your quondam seruant sir, thrust out to thrust them in, a lawfull marriage is no mockery sir, I counterfeited welch, to ioyne this constring English. (261-65)

Tutch's double disguise as Sir Robert Morgan, Welsh knight, and John in the Hospital, firstly lead toward the marriage of Filbon and Tabitha, and secondly at his return to being Sir William's servant, serves as a buffer between the young couple and their parents. His counterfeit identity as a Welsh knight among the English is the antithesis to John among 'all the world' of 'beggars' (184).

The third and final link between the jest-book and the play is this use of the natural fool, especially of John in the Hospital at crucial moments, and Will Summers on some occasions, as a cushion against the tension, and a tool for burlesquing wisdom. Usurping the place of Tutch, John assumes the role of natural fool. If the position traditionally assigned to the artificial fool degenerated into that of a simpleton, an important difference existed nonetheless between the two positions. The fool was legally bound to his master; he was not a free agent.

John, however, is bound to no one. Unlike the court jester, or an artificial witty entertainer in the court or household, John in the Hospital maintains his personal freedom at all times. It is possible, then, that John could never have been removed from the world, where he never sells his wit to anyone. Thus, when Armin in the role of Tutch appears disguised as John, the fusion of both merits — the wit of a ‘Will Summers’-like household fool, and the simplicity of a ‘John in the Hospital’-like natural free ‘fool — is achieved. Armin’s dual characterisation embodies the clowning prescription which he explores in his jest-books and pamphlets.

3 Conclusion

A short skit performed by Will Summers in Armin’s *A Nest of Ninnies*, evidences the classical presentation of jests on stage in early modern times. The episode begins ‘Howsoever these three things came in memory and are for mirth inserted into stage plays I know not’, and describes how Summers’s three questions for the King were presented as jests after he came out from his hiding place behind the Arras. The jest by the innocent fool, Will Summers, also endorses Armin’s appreciation of simple verbal clowning. As unpretentious as he is, Summers does not appear as a jest-maker in the literary tradition. He is a marker that separates the court jester from the fool of the jest-book. Armin, however, expands clowning in the last of his six fools. His celebration of Blue John points to the literary debut of the natural fool. The clown originating from the jest-book cannot preserve his form when jests became timeworn and overused phrase, and he began to recede with the growing sophistication of the diversified, natural fool.

This point in the history of clowning can also be crucial considered in Tutch’s direct involvement with the main characters; Tutch glories in John’s simple nature. In this respect, Armin’s Tutch departs the early clown figures originating from the jest-book, and epitomised

in Tarlton's or Kemp's clowning. Rather than extending 'foolosophy', as Jonathan Bate terms the language of early modern clowning,⁵⁹ Armin's divergence from the forms of existing clownery is fully realised in his play; namely, the clown's craft, policy and practice are envisaged for performance in textualised jests essential to the dynamics of modern clowning.

However, this branch of clowning practice was not necessarily received by contemporary dramatists. Examination of the clowns and fools in Renaissance play-texts will clarify the diverse new world of clowns and fools.

⁵⁹ Jonathan Bate argues for the influence of Renaissance humanism on early modern drama, and calls foolery 'foolosophy'. The core of the clowning figures in print and performance go unexamined by Bate due to his dismissal of the significance of the jest-books. Jonathan Bate, 'Shakespeare's Foolosophy', *Shakespeare Performed: Essays in Honor of R. A. Foakes*, ed. by Grace Ioppolo (London: Associated University Press, 2000), pp. 17-32. 'Foolosophy' the ideas derived from Greek words 'philo' and 'sophy' respectively mean 'love' and 'wisdom'. As he looks at Erasmus's and Montaigne's concept of folly in human life, Bate examines in particular the so-called wise fools' questioning and issue-raising of the wisdom of the time, and calls Shakespeare a 'foolosopher'.

Chapter 7

Eclectic Shakespeare: Touchstone, Feste, Lear's Fool, and Autolycus

Twentieth century critics such as C. L. Barber, Louis Montrose and Ronald Knowles, drawing heavily on anthropological studies or relying on Bakhtinian readings, have analysed the universal traits in the clown figures of Renaissance drama, or re-examined the clowns of festivities.¹ Putting the fools and clowns in the play-texts in an historical context, New Historicist critics ended with a similar conclusion: Shakespeare's clowns, in the role of commentator and offender of conventional behaviour, also assume the role of a trickster as their supposed ancestor. Elevating low-status servant clowns who appear only sporadically in small scenes, and giving them a signifying presence in the main plot, critics tried to save clowns from being stock characters. Similarly, other critics turned to the reconstruction of historic actors' theatrical performances, seeing, for example, Kemp reflected in Hamlet's criticism of clown actors, or Armin, who joined Shakespeare's company after Kemp had left it, as having influenced the line of clowning figures from *As You Like It*, *Twelfth Night* and *King Lear*. These mythologised literary and theatrical clowns somewhat complicate and confuse the history of English clowning. In reality, playwrights created new characters from the literary models of the jest-book heroes of Scoggin, Skelton, and Tarlton, and from the jesting materials in the jest-books. Ben Jonson, for example, used Scoggin and Skelton as contrasting figures with 'crafty heads' in a comedy skit in his masque, *The Fortunate Isles and Their Union*; and Henslowe in his diary left some notes on the now-lost play-texts of Scoggin and Skelton.² In their creation of clowning figures, we witness how playwrights exhibited an

¹ See C. L. Barber, *Shakespeare's Festive Comedy: A Study of Dramatic Form and Its Relation to Social Custom* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1959); Louis Montrose, 'The Purpose of Playing: Reflections on a Shakespearean Anthropology', *Helios* 7:2 (1980), 53-74; and Ronald Knowles, ed., *Shakespeare and Carnival: After Bakhtin* (Basingstoke, Hampshire: Macmillan Press, 1998).

² Ben Jonson, *The Fortunate Isles and Their Union* (London: s.n., 1625), sigs. B3v-B4. See the references to the play-text of Scoggin and Skelton, see R. A. Foakes, *Henslowe's Diary*, pp. 138,

influential creativity and craftsmanship in their use of the source material to create characters out of clowns.

The resultant personage, then, is not a figure familiar to the audience but a new and complex creation. The clowns in the play-texts are witty and intelligent men, taking advantage of freedom of speech, with access to the nobility and a hierarchical awareness, which benefits them materially. Their position, however, traces back to the jest-books, and how the playwrights merged the literary jesters and the stage comedians into their art is now our focus. Indeed, in reworking his own creations in his later plays, Shakespeare exploited another element in history of clowning: the institution of the natural fool in Armin's pamphlets, and the rogue character in the coney catching pamphlets (often indistinguishably called jest-books). The fools described in Armin's principles of clowning, and the knavish heroes of the longer narratives, are the background to the advent of Shakespeare's experimental fools, and their centrality in Renaissance drama, though only temporarily, in the early seventeenth century.

1 Touchstone and Feste: Reflecting the Jest-book Tradition

Touchstone and Feste have received a vast amount of critical attention. They are seen as wise and satiric critics, both categorised as an 'authorized commentator' in Enid Welsford's terms, and as witty critics who are nonetheless foolish in many regards.³ Scholars are generally satisfied with the reading that Touchstone is the epitome of a wise fool, and an astute critic of the play's other characters. For them, there is little of significance in Touchstone's limited contribution to the development of the play's action. C. L. Barber aptly puts it, Touchstone, and Jaques, 'mediate between the audience and something in the play';

166, 167, and 169.

³ Welsford, *The Fool*, p. 249. Robert Hillis Goldsmith, adopting Welsford's idea, terms Touchstone 'the critic inside the play'. See also Goldsmith, p. 50.

and later he adds, ‘The figure of the jester, with his recognised social role and rich traditional meaning, enabled the dramatist to embody in a character and his relations with other characters the comedy’s purpose of maintaining objectivity’.⁴ Barber sees Touchstone’s function as the reservoir of the comic spirit of the play, though he leaves the ‘traditional meaning’ unexplained. It is this attitude that has made critics reach the same conclusion and see the household fool as a satiric commentator. Touchstone’s peripheral position to the play’s action complicates his presence in the play’s narrative. Being a more complex character than Feste, probably due to Shakespeare’s own transitional feelings about the nature of his clowns, and coinciding with Armin’s replacement of Kemp, Touchstone can be understood as a newly interactive element in the drama, and as the outcome of the playwright’s challenging beliefs for comedy.

1.1 Touchstone

Touchstone’s complexity and composite nature suggest an attempt on Shakespeare’s part to change the characterisation of clowns and fools. Such coexistence is characteristic of Shakespeare’s later plays, and has been the subject of much discussion of the clown characters and their actors. Touchstone has been seen as the typical example of a transitional clown figure, particularly on the supposition that the part was played by Armin. The problem is that this is the wrong starting point for discussion: critics have argued with the preconception that Touchstone is an artificial fool, and that Shakespeare created him under the influence of Armin’s philosophy of fools. The question to be considered on this issue is how much Armin is reflected in the characterisation of Touchstone. A reassessment of Shakespeare’s fools can be achieved by a careful inspection of Armin’s jest-book and play.

⁴ Barber, p. 228.

In his creation of another version of the domestic fool, Shakespeare does not resort to realistic characterisation. Traditional readings of Touchstone as a detached commentator from the periphery, with the freedom to go to and from the centre of the play — becoming a member of the Forest of Arden while actually still being a household fool — illuminate the paradoxical position of this fool. They recognise Touchstone as a development of the literary institution of the fool. As such, this sophisticated incarnation of the fool backgrounds the innate functions with which the jesting figure is naturally equipped. Helen Gardner perceptively puts it:

In everything that Touchstone says and does gusto, high spirits, and a zest for life ring out. Essentially comic, he can adapt himself to any situation in which he may find himself. Never at a loss, he is life's master. The essence of clowning is adaptability and improvisation. The clown is never baffled and is marked by his ability to place himself at once *en rapport* with his audience, to be all things to all men, to perform the part which is required at the moment.⁵

Gardner seems to suggest that by working within the strict regulations of clowning, Shakespeare created an individualised fool, who realises his own self-fashioning. Regrettably, it is a weakness in her discussion that importantly she never clarifies the elements intrinsic to clowning. She refers to 'adaptability and improvisation.' Moreover, she further Touchstone a 'parodist', an integral part of the play that 'sustains many different roles'.

John Dover Wilson, however, in his commentary on *As You Like It*, finds Armin's influence in Shakespeare's creation of Touchstone, and advises:

Yet we must never forget, what Armin did not for a moment allow his audience to forget, that Touchstone is a Fool. [...] He possessed in the educational jargon of our time, a better *background* than Launcelot Gobbo; but he was just as much the 'natural'. His stiff mechanical gait, his drawling speech, his wooden face (all the more so for the flashes of intelligence, released as it were by a hidden spring, which passed across it), together with the motley of his profession, combine to mark him off from the other characters as something less than human.⁶

⁵ Helen Gardner, 'As You Like It', in *Shakespeare: The Comedies, a Collection of Critical Essays*, ed. by Kenneth Muir (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, 1965), pp. 58-71 (p. 69).

⁶ John Dover Wilson, *Shakespeare's Happy Comedies* (London: Faber and Faber, 1962), p. 158.

While Dover Wilson indicates accurately that Touchstone's 'background' marks him 'off from the other characters as something less than human', he does not consider the origins of Touchstone's jesting. Touchstone is a professional fool, but he is as much the natural fool defined by Armin with aspects of historical, conventional jesting.

Intelligent and foolish at the same time, Touchstone's wit renders him a modern court jester. S. L. Bethell argues this double nature in Touchstone:

Touchstone, in a fat part, must have wit; but there is no reason why he should not be a fool, also, in the matter of Audrey, and so constitute a double source of amusement. The psychological difficulty is brushed aside, and we are given a character wise in speech and foolish in action — which seems to have been the character usually assumed by a court jester. The audience is thus required to attend simultaneously to two diverse aspects of a situation, and to keep the two strands of attention separate; to enjoy the folly and the wit without any naturalistic sense of their compatibility.⁷

Certainly with Bethell, the examination of Touchstone relates to the court jester being 'wise in speech and foolish in action', accommodating both human folly, and wit in its analytical treatment of the visible elements in society. However, Touchstone should not be overstated as a commentator on the characters and events of the play. Rather, it is fruitful to understand him as demonstrative of the clown tradition, which firmly resides in the material of the jest-book, and thereby makes him an interactive participant in the world of *As You Like It*.

In suggesting that the clown actor for *As You Like It* was William Kemp, who was antagonistic to puritans, Juliet Dusinberre draws an inference from Touchstone's encounter with Sir Oliver Martext: 'Kemp's reputation as an anti-Martinist who had many times brought the house down at the Curtain jesting against the Marprelate Puritans would have created instant recognition and mirth in his audience'.⁸ Her view of the Curtain's 'favourite comedian

⁷ S. L. Bethell, *Shakespeare and the Popular Dramatic Tradition* (London: P. D. King and Staples, 1944), p. 95.

⁸ Juliet Dusinberre, 'Topical Forest: Kemp and Mar-text in Arden', in *In Arden: Editing Shakespeare, Essays in Honour of Richard Proudfoot*, ed. by Ann Thompson and Gordon McMullan (London: Thomson Learning, 2003), pp. 239-51 (p. 240). She collects evidence about

with one of his best gags' is justified if one considers Touchstone's position as a jester, and the familiar circulating comic material which it must have been based on. The puritans' supposed hypocrisy provided both playwrights and jest-book writers with materials for satire and comedy. It is no surprise that Shakespeare had Touchstone unmask their duplicity. As Michael Hattaway observes, there is an echo in Rosalind's reference to a priest who lacks Latin of the figure of Sir Oliver Martext (III. 3. 270).⁹ In the jest-book, ignorant clerics, who do not have Latin literacy, often expose themselves to ridicule when they are exposed.¹⁰ In this common jest-book reference, Touchstone may be recognised as a reflection of the jesting hero.

There are strong indications that Touchstone is equipped with the traits of both a jest-book hero and a household fool. With the pancakes and mustard in Touchstone's first speech, Shakespeare again invokes jest-book subject matter, with Touchstone's target the knight's forswearing. As a messenger from the court of Duke Frederick, Celia's father, and as is always the case with a household fool, he is warned by Celia, 'you'll be whipped for taxation one of these days' (I. 2. 67). From his very first appearance, Touchstone is a changing character in the play, transforming gradually from court jester to free jesting hero. His own identification is underlying throughout the play; relocated to the forest, he says, 'Aye, now am I in Arden, the more fool I! When I was at home I was in a better place; but travellers must be content' (II. 4. 12-13).

Kemp's anti-martinist attack on stage from the Martinist's rebuke of the players such as *Theses Martinianae* and the dedicatory epistle to Kemp in *An Almond for a Parrot*. Dependent upon David Wiles' discussion on Kemp and his Rowland jigs, she suggests that the origin of song 'O sweet Oliver' is the phrase from the jig 'acquired a religious gloss' (p. 245). Martin Marprelate, pseud., *Theses Martinianae* ([Wolston, Warks.]: Printed [by John Hodgkins] by the assigns of Martin Junior, without any priviledge of the Catercaps, [22 July 1589]).

⁹ See Michael Hattaway's note for Martext (III. 4. 31) in his modern edition of *As You Like It*, The New Cambridge Shakespeare (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 148. The quotations from *As You Like It* are to this edition.

¹⁰ Anti-clerical motifs are common to jest-books such as *A Hundred Merry Tales* and the 1626 *Scoggin's Jestes*. For example, an unlearned friar, because of his Latin illiteracy, reads the wrong sermon at the mass. For the jest motifs of mock clerics, see Chapter 2.

In his witticisms along with more caustic satirising of the faults and foibles of others, Touchstone becomes the first comic character created by Shakespeare under the influence of Armin's theories: simple clowning embedded in the social structure and the narrative revisits the anecdotal force of former jesting materials; sophisticated clowning denoting desires, hidden emotions, and the truth behind complex human situations recall earlier clown actor's embodiment of jest-book texts. There are echoes in Touchstone of the natural fools whom Armin described in his jest-book: unlike appetite-driven Jack Oates, obsessive Jemy Camber and Lean Leonard, simple but idiotic Jack Miller, and like Will Summers who ridicules and comments on others, Touchstone, like a simple household fool is loyal to his mistress, and shares happiness with others.¹¹ And there is little question that *As You Like It* results from Shakespeare's struggle with the clowning tradition handed over from Tarlton and Kemp, and from his attempt to profit artistically, and foreground Armin's skills.

Having met Touchstone, Jaques returns to the Duke and announces, 'O that I were a fool! / I am ambitious for a motley coat' (II. 7. 42-43). He adds his reasons:

I must have liberty
 Withal, as large a charter as the wind,
 To blow on whom I please: for so fools have.
 And they that are most gallèd with my folly,
 They most must laugh. And why, sir, must they so?
 The why is plain as way to parish church:
 He that a fool doth very wisely hit,
 Doth very foolishly, although he smart,
 If he seem senseless of the bob. If not,
 The wise man's folly is anatomised
 Even by the squand'ring glances of the fool.
 Invest me in my motley; give me leave
 To speak my mind, and I will through and through
 Cleanse the foul body of th'infected world,
 If they will patiently receive my medicine. (II. 7. 47-61)

¹¹ Peter Cockett examines Armin's Lean Leonard and actor David Tennant's note on his acting of Touchstone, and concludes that Shakespeare's creation of Touchstone is a reflection of Armin's idea of natural folly. 'Performing Natural Folly: The Jests of Lean Leonard and the Touchstones of Robert Armin and David Tennant', *New Theatre Quarterly*, 22 (2006), 141-54.

He wants to be a fool because he would gain the freedom of speech granted to fools, and in doing so he may speak his mind and purge the world of its foulness. Jaques, however, cannot be a fool because, as Duke Senior spots, he lacks an important trait. Jaques, foreshadowing Thersites in *Troilus and Cressida*, protests that the world is too filled with sin for fooling to redeem it: 'Most mischievous foul sin in chiding sin. / For thou thyself hast been a libertine' (II. 7. 64-65). With the ability to understand the world and present it in an unaffected manner, the fool functions in the world without 'mischievous foul sin'. Evident in the opposite figure mirrored in Jaques, Touchstone employs clownery in his speech in innocence. This is the most complex characteristic of Touchstone. Though he is in the forest of Arden, where he enjoys freedom from his position as court jester, he is simultaneously both artificial and natural fool.

Touchstone's licensed speech is full of paradoxical quibbles. In his conversation with Corin, he parodies the pastoral ideal. Answering Corin's question about how he likes 'shepherd's life', Touchstone responds obnoxiously: 'in respect that it is a shepherd's life, it is naught. [...] in respect that it is private, it is a very vile life. [...] in respect it is not in the court, it is tedious. As it is a spare life, look you, it fits my humour well; but as there is no more plenty in it; it goes against my stomach' (III. 3. 3-8). In response to Touchstone's jest on the life of shepherds, Corin justifies his life, 'Sir, I am a true labourer. I earn what I eat, get what I wear, owe no man hate, envy no man's happiness; glad of other men's good, content with my harm; and the greatest of my pride is to see my ewes graze and my lambs suck' (III. 3. 53-56). The statement with its simple quest for life's pleasure causes Touchstone's further parodying of a shepherd's plain country life:

That is another simple sin in you, to bring the ewes and the rams together, and to offer to get your living by the copulation of cattle; to be bawd to a bell-wether, and to betray a she-lamb of a twelve-month to a crooked-pated old cuckoldly ram, out of all reasonable match. If thou beest not damned for this, the devil himself will have not shepherds. I cannot see else how thou shouldst scape.

(III. 2. 74-80)

Apart from his initial comparison of court and country, Touchstone now looks to a new reality, that of country life, and insinuates the sexual in his allusion to ‘the copulation of cattle’. This is another side to Touchstone’s paradoxical, complex characterisation for he later acknowledges other lovers’ marriage as ‘country copulatives’ (V. 4. 52), and himself takes Audrey, a country milkmaid, as his wife. Touchstone is a changing subject. He functions in his command of manipulative words as both cynic and parodist. Detached from both the court and the country, he never functions as a drive or as an active participant in the action and events of the main plot. Indeed, the most esoteric feature of Touchstone is his marriage to Audrey and his immigration to the country despite his desire to achieve a better place at court. The end of Touchstone’s wandering life can be read as a Shakespearean negotiation of both of the origins of the fool — the coexistence of a jesting hero of the low community and the household fool. This reading implies the dynamic process in which the later Shakespearean fools actively rework the jest-book models in sophisticated dramatic narratives.

1.2 Feste

Twelfth Night has many things in common with the jest-books: Feste plays the dual role of both clown and Sir Topaz, the fictional curate.¹² Shakespeare’s eliding of Feste as Sir Topaz most evidently has the jest-book origins. As an adaptation of the jest-book style of creating laughter, the Sir Topaz episode grounds the problematic clown roles in the jest-book narratives.

1.2.1 Sir Topaz, a Native of the Old Comic Tales

The examination of the Sir Topaz episode demonstrates that Shakespeare’s and

¹² The alternate spelling to ‘Topaz’ is ‘Topas’ in the various editions of *Twelfth Night*, and in Chaucer’s *Tale of Sir Thopas*, it was spelt ‘Topas’ or ‘Thopas’.

previously Lyly's use of this character is deeply embedded in the jest-book tradition. The propagation of the name of Sir Topaz is always accompanied by unnecessary outlandish dress. When Maria makes Feste wear a disguise to deceive Malvolio, she says, 'Thou mightst have done this without thy beard and gown, he sees thee not' (IV. 2. 64-65). Alan C. Dessen's conclusion of his discussion of the relationship between Malvolio's incarceration and Feste's 'unnecessary' disguise is helpful here: 'Feste's Sir Topas disguise is for our benefit, not Malvolio's. The high comic presentation of the two voices and the two roles sets up for us the terms of the stewards' malady — a darkness of ignorance that can confuse religion and folly so that the higher self is imprisoned'.¹³ This is well put, but there is more to the relevance of Feste's disguise. In Lyly's *Endymion*, Sir Tophas at hunting, appears in full armoury and carries unnecessary apparatuses. Sir Tophas's absurdities in Chaucer's *The Canterbury Tales* are directly transplanted to Lyly's burlesque of Sir Tophas to reappear finally in Feste's unnecessary element of disguise. While satiric tone is common to these three stories, they show important changes in the social status of the persona of Sir Topaz: a timid knight in Chaucer, 'a foolish braggart' in Lily, and a fictitious curate and a fictitious persona created to deceive in Shakespeare.¹⁴ The image of a bearded clergyman, prominent in the late sixteenth-century, also supports Feste's disguise as Sir Topaz the curate. Since growing a beard was 'an aggressive anti-Catholic gesture' for reformers as shown by Thomas Cranmer's picture, Shakespeare might well have exploited the "catholic beard" for comic effect.¹⁵ In

¹³ Alan C. Dessen, *Elizabethan Drama and the Viewer's Eye* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1977), pp. 148-52 (p. 151).

¹⁴ Critics agree that the tale ridicules the Flemish in satirising the timid knight. The further critics also argue a satiric aspect to a tale in a similar vein, though they raise different points respectively: John M. Manley, 'Sir Tophas: A Satire', *Essays and Studies*, 143 (1928), 52-73; William Witherle Lawrence, 'Satire in Sir Tophas', *PMLA*, 50 (1935), 81-91; Irving Linn, 'The Arming of Sir Tophas', *Modern Language Notes*, 51 (1926), 300-11; Mark Diccio, 'The Arming of Tophas Reconsidered', *Notes and Queries*, 244 (1999), 14-16. Tophas in Lyly is also a soldier with a beard, and recognised as 'a foolish braggart'. See also David Bevington's introduction to *Endymion*: David Bevington, ed., *Endymion*, The Revels Plays (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996), pp. 1-72 (p. 14).

¹⁵ Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Thomas Cranmer: A Life* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996), p. 361.

addition, putting on a gown was a conventional measure of disguise, as in the 1613 *Scoggin's Jests*, in which the jesting hero disguises himself as a priest in a gown to deceive the villagers to make them donate money to the church.¹⁶

Yet, another aspect given to the Sir Topaz sequence is the anti-puritanical attitude of attributed insanity. When Feste says farewell to Malvolio immediately after his conclusion that Malvolio is mad, Malvolio calls him to a halt with, 'Sir Topaz, Sir Topaz!' (IV. 2. 61), which is immediately followed by Sir Toby's comment, 'My most exquisite Sir Topaz' (IV. 2. 62). The use of the word 'exquisite' ironically unites Malvolio's desperate call with the earlier foreshadowing banter about beating a Puritan. In Act II Scene 3 where Sir Toby, Maria, and Sir Andrew plan to trap Malvolio, Sir Toby exchanges a dialogue with Sir Andrew with an allusion to beating Malvolio for 'being a puritan' as legitimate:

MARIA Marry, sir, sometimes he is a kind of puritan.
SIR ANDREW O, if I thought that I'd beat him like a dog.
SIR TOBY What, for being a puritan? Thy exquisite reason, dear knight.
SIR ANDREW I have no exquisite reason for't, but I have reason good enough.

(II. 3. 125-35)

Shakespeare's use of 'exquisite' opposes puritans in their reputation for pretentiously insisting on simple and plain speech. While the word 'exquisite' was a favourite for Thomas Elyot and some anti-Martinist pamphleteers, Martinists did not use this word, as it was indicative of puritanical concern over self-indulgence. In Maria's description of Malvolio, he is ridiculed firstly for being 'a time-pleaser', secondly for being 'an affected ass that cons state without book and utters it by great swatches', and third for being 'the best persuaded of himself, so crammed, [...] with excellencies' (II. 3. 136-40). Maria, Sir Toby, and Sir Andrew have as their central concern Malvolio's ambitious governing of Olivia's household, along with his self-love and self-centred probity. The appropriate figure to beat the puritanical Malvolio is

¹⁶ Tale 9 of the 1613 *Scoggin's Jest*s has Scoggin in disguise as a priest with a gown obscuring his identity.

defined as having perfect reason, an 'exquisite' priest, and therefore intrinsically anti-puritan. Like the cynical, anti-clerical attitude displayed in the jest-book, a multi-layered history of comic genealogies is crystallised into Sir Topaz's mocking jest of Malvolio.

Not only is it important that the origins of Sir Topaz can be traced back as far as Chaucer, but it is worth noting that the Topas tale was placed in the same category as old tales and the jest-books during the sixteenth century. Moreover, this categorisation explains why Feste refers to 'the old Vice' in his closing song (IV. 2. 121-32). George Puttenham relates how the minstrels, harpers, and cantabanks found their low-life music and rhyme schemes in permanent currency, and Sir Topas, already familiar to the Elizabethans as an amusing figure, was ready to undergo changes and adaptations to fit recreations on all occasions:

for the most part stories of old time, as the tale of Sir *Topas*, the reportes of *Beuies of Southampton*, *Guy of Warwick*, *Adam Bell*, and *Clymme of the Clough* & such other old Romances or historicall rimes, made purposely for recreation of the comon people at Christmasse diners & brideales, and in tauernes & alehouses and such other places of base resort, also they be vsed in Carols and rounds and such light or lasciuious Poemes, which are comonly more commodiously vttered by these buffons or vices in playes then by any other person.¹⁷

Puttenham's account clarifies the relationship between the familiar tales in circulation and the 'buffons or vices' who presented them. For this reason Shakespeare directs Feste as Sir Topaz to be the presenter of an old anecdote. F. W. Sternfeld remarks that 'the Vice twitting the devil was a thinly veiled form of the Elizabethan jester mocking the Puritan',¹⁸ and the Oxford editors unquestioningly accept Sternfeld's position.¹⁹ However, it is most probable of all that Shakespeare created Feste to follow the current conventions for delivering comedy.

¹⁷ George Puttenham, 'Book 2 Chapter IX "Of concorde in long and short measures, and by neare or farre distaunces, and which of them is most commendable"', in *The Art of English Poesy* (London: Printed by Richard Field [etc.], 1589), p. 69.

¹⁸ F. W. Sternfeld, *Music in Shakespearean Tragedy* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1963), p. 113.

¹⁹ Roger Warren and Stanley Wells, eds, *Twelfth Night, or What You Will*, The Oxford Shakespeare (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), pp. 197-98, note for 'old Vice' (l. 125).

1.2.2 'Wisely play the fool'

Feste in the guise of a priest enacts familiar jest-book material in the Sir Topaz episode as well as conveying contemporary religious disputes. Anti-clericalism interrelates with the sceptical mentality of the time. Marcy North, in her essay on the relationship between authorial anonymity, pseudonymity and print invention, argues that 'Framing a text as a letter from hell is [...] a common trope for anti-clerical satires of the late medieval period'.²⁰ In addition to hell, the concept of Purgatory is another arena for giving people grounds for scepticism regarding the afterlife. The author of *Tarlton's News out of Purgatory* (1590) assumes that Tarlton, a lately deceased clown actor, came back from Purgatory to report what he had found there. The targets to be mocked in his reports include clerical figures such as the pope, friars and ministers.

Paul Dean suggests that the scene 'contains some oblique theological allusions which are partly to be understood in terms of the Harrowing and partly in terms of Reformation theological debate'.²¹ Indeed, a lot of theological allusions in the play probably relate to its title, but Dean's configuration gives undue value to the play's festivity. Contextual information about the satiric tradition and its association with clerical figures provides another perspective to the scene and eventually to the entire play.

Throughout, Feste puns on clerics and the church, and as a clown it is inherent that he is a satiric commentator in the play. Viola's soliloquy on Feste's wit is often cited as an illumination of the wisdom of the fool:

²⁰ North, pp. 390-416 (p. 401). She takes examples from Andrew Maunsell's *The Catalogue of English Printed Books* (1595) with reference to anonymity in the titles of books in the sixteenth century, and concludes that 'the conventions of conspicuous anonymity, whether they had early precedents or not, cultivate a new authorial stance within the title and title page, the latter of which is primarily a print convention'.

²¹ Paul Dean, 'The Harrowing of Malvolio: The Theological Background of *Twelfth Night*, Act 4, Scene 2', *Connotations*, 7.2 (1998), 203-14 (p. 203). He furthers his discussion of theological allusions in Shakespeare's plays in relation with religious imagery and iconography. ('"Nothing that is so is so": *Twelfth Night* and Transubstantiation', *Literature and Theology*, 17.3 [2003], 281-97).

This fellow is wise enough to play the fool,
 And to do that well craves a kind of wit.
 [...] This is a practice
 As full of labour as a wise man's art,
 For folly that he wisely shows is fit,
 But wise men, folly-fall'n, quite taint their wit. (III. 1. 59-67)

Viola does not say that Feste is wise; instead she says that he is 'wise enough to play the fool'. And yet, she does not say that the fool's actions are 'as full of labour as a wise man's art'. She concludes that wisdom in a fool is comparable to folly in a wise man. Viola's words are a compliment to a professional or practicing fool, which reverberates later in John Davies's praise of Armin, 'wisely play the foole'.²²

In Viola's comments, the picture of the wise or intelligent fool is not equivocal. She connects the fool's successful practice in fooling with his speech and use of language. When Viola asks Feste whether he is Olivia's fool, Feste replies, 'I am indeed not her fool, but her corrupter of words' (III. 1. 34-35). In many of the motifs in jest-books, confusion is caused by the wrong choice of words, puns, or malapropisms. Likewise, Feste and other later fools are more skilled in playing with words, giving them many different meanings other than the ones intended. Their difference from earlier clowns' verbalism is that most of their corruption of words points to the play's main concerns or the causes and results of the final events. Their language creates multiple tones ranging from false to malicious utterances, but it is subsequently all surpassing in its comic effects. The fool recognises and verbalises folly in complex 'simple syllogism[s]' as exhibited by Feste before his catechism with Olivia (I. 5. 45).

Feste exceeds in his verbal ability playing a crucial role as the interacting spirit of the comedy, which revolves around the plot against Malvolio. Feste is the bridge between Olivia, the distracted heroine of the main plot and the self-loving Malvolio of the subplot. Feste's

²² See Chapter 6 for Armin's prominence in playing fools.

highly effective participation in the play is similar to that of Touchstone, who moves from the court to the forest of Arden to seek his place. But unlike Touchstone, Feste is consistent in his role and position throughout the play, though he appears in both plots. He is constantly juxtaposed with Malvolio, but the steward is no match for the fool. In contrast to Malvolio, Feste knows himself as an artificial fool who draws his livelihood by begging for alms as the reward for his profession. Without the ready-made jokes which Touchstone often performs, and without becoming a household fool like Touchstone, Feste practices the art of clowning in singing and more clearly in the plot ridiculing and taunting Malvolio.

In Act I, Scene 5, Feste is left alone on the stage and comments, 'Wit, an't be thy will, put me into good fooling! Those wits that think they have thee do very oft prove fools, and I that am sure I lack thee may pass for a wise man. For what says Quinapalus? "Better a witty fool than a foolish wit"' (I. 5. 29-33). As Warren and Wells note, 'Feste is playing on the traditional opposition of *wit* (intelligence) and *will* (passion, desire)'.²³ Feste's remarks come from the circulating conception of wit. Exercising wit in his 'simple syllogism', he ridicules Olivia, who enters immediately after his statement. Feste by feigning the identity of a priest challenges Olivia, who commands him to present proof that she is also a fool, 'I must catechize you for it, madonna. Good my mouse of virtue, answer me' (I. 5. 57-58), and eventually invites her to praise him for his fooling. Feste's catechism with Olivia is another case originating from jest-book material: the jest-book hero pretends to be a priest and mocks the congregation. As Feste impersonates a priest twice in the play, he convinces his targets within a received framework. That Shakespeare merges the common form of mocking priests into the formalities of *Twelfth Night* is evidence for Feste's distant ancestors.

Linguistic play permeates Feste's jests, as with Viola at the beginning of Act III, where

²³ See the note for 'wit . . . will' (I. 5. 29), in Roger Warren and Stanley Wells, ed., *William Shakespeare: Twelfth Night, or What You Will* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), p. 104.

he foregrounds his identity as a sophisticated contemporary English fool:

VIOLA Save thee, friend, and thy music. Dost thou live by
 thy tabor?
 FESTE No sir, I live by the church.
 VIOLA Art thou a churchman?
 FESTE No such matter, sir. I do live by the church for I do
 live at my house, and my house doth stand by the
 church. (III. 1. 1-7)

The tone here is by no means entirely amusing. As long as Viola clearly recognises Feste's musical instruments as in his professional scope, he remains an artificial fool (in Armin's terms). The successive dialogue is necessarily ironic in its ridicule of clerics' fool-like mendicancy. This ridicule underlies the jest, and as a consequence, leads Viola's response, this time clearly directed at beggars. Viola understands Feste's dialectical reasoning and replies in kind: 'So thou mayst say the king lies by a beggar if a beggar dwell near him, or the church stands by the tabor if thy tabor stand by the church' (III. 1. 8-10). Feste makes a further quip on her question, ambiguously using 'wanton' (III. 1. 11-24). Thus, Shakespeare situates Feste in the traditional narrative of jesting, adding great linguistic subtlety to the genealogy of comic identity. Feste, like Touchstone and other household fools in Renaissance drama, is active and functional essentially in his own world of words. As Viola concludes, 'This fellow is wise enough to play the fool' (III. 1. 59), he is not merely a fool but a 'corrupter of words', a fool within the play but also *within* his own jesting. Such an unchangeable constant form for Feste highlights Shakespeare's development of the fool, who participates in the play with wit and insight but is never a main character. In his jesting, Feste extends conventional jests as internal working models, and even assimilates them into the verbal practice typical of the artificial fool. Feste is the perfect example of a Shakespearean comedian based on the dyadic operation of the jest-book motifs and the concept of the artificial fool.

The episode taken from the jest-book was an exceptionally creative retrieval for Shakespeare, the tale of Sir Topaz including a generic flexibility for a dramatic poem to

incorporate the rudimentary tones of the earlier comic material. The Sir Topaz scene was and has been reduced to appeal to the people of the day, and the transmission of the name and the framework of the previous Topaz stories demonstrates the deep cultural roots of the episode and how its value could transfer for Shakespeare.

2 All Licensed: Lear's Fool

The Fool in *King Lear* is a particularly difficult case, as other fools such as Feste and Touchstone can be viewed in similar terms. However, no clown figure is as representative of the concept of clowning as Lear's Fool. Stage fools who play an important role are fictional figures. They exercise their office and serve as influential, to different degrees, because they are licensed fools. In *King Lear*, though the Fool is a natural and artificial figure, both fictional and real, and cannot materialise the same dramatic function as Shakespeare's other fools. One reason for the complex character of the Fool is the attempt on Shakespeare's part to create a new clown in connection with Armin's principles for fools in his jest-book and the actualisation of the two fools — Tutch and Blue John — in his own play *The Two Maids of More-Clack*. Shakespeare was influenced not only by existing jest-books, but also by the emerging principles of clownery proposed by Armin. Apart from combining jest-book motifs with the practice of an artificial court jester in one figure, Shakespeare develops his earlier clowns into one single personage: the perfect embodiment of a natural and an artificial fool. The resulting creation is the Fool, full of the reflections and implications of Will Summers and Blue John.

The general critical opinion on Lear's Fool may be summarised as follows: the Fool, as a loyal servant, realises Lear's folly by his insight and makes him realise with his jesting that he has made a mistake which must be corrected. Agreeing with this view, many critics have

defined the Fool as wise because of his strong influence on his master, and his dispensation to tell the truth; and some, in addition, have concluded that he is a supreme example of the artificial fool, because of his position as a court fool. They have left open to question, however, how Lear's Fool affects his master, and where the complexities of the character of the Fool come from.

The Fool's conversations with Lear indicate that their mutual jesting reflects one another. They use the words 'whip' and 'whipp'd' six times in Scene 4 (lines 106, 156, 172, 174, twice at 175).²⁴ The Fool is destined to be whipped when he speaks assertively beyond the limit. As he offers himself as worthy of being whipped for his insult, he points out his master's folly. He explores how Lear himself became a fool that will be whipped at any time in his own folly. In the enigmatic riddle of an egg making two crowns, he explains that the two crowns mean the emptied two shells of the halved egg in the middle when the yolk is taken out. He adds:

Thou hadst little wit in thy bald crown when thou gavest thy golden one away. If speak like myself in this, let him be whipped that first finds it so. (4. 153-56)

After his song, he consolidates his first riddle, underlining how little Lear understood him:

I have used it, nuncle, ever since thou madest thy daughters thy mother; for when thou gavest them the rod and puttest down thine own breeches, [*Sings*] [...] Prithee, nuncle, keep a schoolmaster that can teach thy fool to lie. I would fain learn to lie. (4. 163-71)

When Lear becomes displeased with the Fool's telling the truth, he says, 'An you lie, we'll have you whipped' (4. 172). In reply, the Fool defines the qualifications for being a fool: 'They'll [thy daughters will] have me whipped for speaking true, thou wilt have me whipped for lying, and sometime I am whipped for holding my peace. I had rather be any kind of thing than a fool' (4. 174-76). He concludes his bitter mockery with a self-humiliating act of truth

²⁴ All references to *King Lear* are to the edition by Stanley Wells (Stanley Wells, ed., *The History of King Lear*, The Oxford Shakespeare (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000)).

telling, 'Now thou art an O without a figure. I am better than thou art, now. I am a fool; thou art nothing' (4. 184-86). At his initial appearance in the play, echoing the importance of honesty in loyal service as represented in Kent's words, the Fool taunts and mocks his master with the custom of whipping and makes him realise that he is comparable to folly.

At the end of Scene 4 when Lear leaves Gonoril's house after quarrelling with her, the Fool remains with Gonoril and Albany. In replying to her command to follow the king, the Fool demonstrates his resolution to be with folly:

Nuncle Lear, nuncle Lear, tarry, and take the fool with thee.
 A fox when one has caught her,
 And such a daughter,
 Should sure to the slaughter,
 If my cap would buy a halter.
 So the fool follows after. (4. 306-312)

The Fool adjudges Gonoril to deserve a gallows-bird in his punning rhymes of 'daughter', 'slaughter' and 'halter'. We recall that the jesting hero beats a wag-halter boy's confession out of him, and this closed joke is taken into *King Lear*, as the Fool himself declares Gonoril's sins against her father.²⁵ In the familiar jest, the Fool determines to fulfil his function within service, despite his loss of the literal and physical position of court fool.

In the following scene, he makes insulting remarks, which prod Lear as to his situation. When Lear finds that he is deprived of its power despite not noticing the fact that he himself yielded his power, he fantasises its recovery: 'To take't again perforce — monster ingratitude!' (5. 36). The Fool makes an additional critique: 'If thou wert my fool, nuncle, I'd have thee beaten for being old before thy time [...]. Thou shouldst not have been old before thou hadst been wise' (5. 37-41). The Fool makes Lear reach for self-knowledge, but simultaneously drives him to frenzy. Lear responds, 'O, let me not be mad, not mad, sweet heaven! / I would not be mad. / Keep me in temper, I would not be mad!' (5. 42-44). His dark

²⁵ See Tale 47 of the 1613 *Scoggin's Jest*s, and Tale 41 of *Tarlton's Jest*s for the episode of a wag-halter boy (Anon, The 1613 *Scoggin's Jest*s, [sig. E1]; Anon, *Tarlton's Jest*s [1638], [sig. C3]).

foreboding of insanity is finally proved correct. When Lear listens to Kent's story about how he was kept in fetters, he tells himself, stricken with anger about Regan and her husband, '*Histerica passio*, down thou climbing sorrow; / Thy element's below' (7. 225-26). Rejected by Regan, Lear senses his madness. Coupled with the Fool's previous remarks on Lear's senility in Scene 5, Regan's uncompromising opinion that her father is in his dotage provokes anger. In retaliation for her suggestion that he ask Gonoril's forgiveness, Lear mocks her and himself, 'Dear daughter, I confess that I am old. / Age is unnecessary. On my knees I beg / That you'll vouchsafe me raiment, bed, and food' (7. 311-13). In the subsequent dialogue with Regan, who attempts to deprive him of his retainers, Lear foreshadows his future recognition about the state of a man with no property:

Our basest beggars
Are in the poorest thing superfluous.
Allow not nature more than nature needs,
Man's life is cheap as beast's. (7. 422-25)

Asking the heavens, 'give me that patience, patience I need', and then spurred by his 'noble anger' he cries out, 'O, fool. I shall go mad!' (7. 429, 434, 444). Both the loyal fool's accurate but painful comments and the disobedient daughters' remarks on Lear coalesce to make it impossible for Lear to interact with others. And an essential comic issue raised by the Fool's presence is that his confrontations with his master are alarming, and presented with a primitive and instinctive cultural understanding, which draws his identity back to the earlier, abstract prescriptions for humour.

The Fool's structural importance relates to the ideas of idiocy and simplicity in the composite nature of jesting. The fool's function is questioned in Armin's natural fool, especially Blue John in Armin's pamphlet, who has no motives for action and never doubts others. Unprepared for any event, he is amusing for moments but harmless. Like him, Lear's Fool is, in essence, a natural fool, as he speaks with neither malicious nor vicious intention. At

times he makes abusive and ironic comments to Lear, but like Will Summers, he is consistently loyal to his master. He defines a fool's business when he finds Kent in fetters:

When a wise man gives thee better counsel, give me mine again. I would have none but knaves follow it, since a fool gives it.

[Sings] That sir that serves for gain
And follows but for form,
Will pack when it begin to rain,
And leave thee in the storm.

But I will tarry, the fool will stay,
And let the wise man fly.
The knave turns fool that runs away,
The fool no knave, pardie. (7. 239-50)

The Fool and Kent are different in their service to the King: the former, speaks the truth, as a licensed comedian of language, and the latter shows his loyalty as a man of action. Both are genuinely motivated to be honest and true to the king. The Fool embodies Armin's natural fools; especially relevant are to the new Shakespearean comic identity the last two in his list. Associated with cruelty and violence, some of Armin's natural fools appear rough and idiotic. Armin's description of Will Summers and Blue John, on the other hand, shows another side to the natural fool: both are single-minded, and earnest in their actions, invoking simplicity as a valuable human property.²⁶ The Fool, in his simplicity, brings about the idiotic impressions of the court fool, and as Shakespeare's creation he is an amalgam of Will Summers and Blue John from Armin's natural fools: not a single reflection of Blue John, but an all-licensed fool.

In Scene 9, Lear and the Fool set out onto the stormy heath, and onward, wandering a literal and figurative wasteland, where Lear realises that mankind and himself are simple creatures. His recognition begins with his loss of wit and with his compassion for his fool. Allowing the Fool to enter the hovel with him, Lear says, 'My wit begins to turn. / (*To Fool*) [...] Poor fool and knave, I have one part of my heart / That sorrows yet for thee (11. 68-74).

²⁶ For detailed discussion of simple natural fools, see Chapter 6.

His newly-found recognition as man and fool develops in his understanding of the penniless and exposed position of a man:

Poor naked wretches, wheresoe’ver you are,
That bide the pelting of this pitiless night,
How shall your houseless heads and unfed sides,
Your looped and windowed raggedness, defend you
From seasons such as these? O, I have ta’en
Too little care of this. Take physic, pomp,
Expose thyself to feel what wretches feel,
That thou mayst shake the superflux to them,
And show the heavens more just. (11. 25-33)

The scene is carefully contrived. Right before Lear’s speech the Fool exits and immediately after the speech he re-enters. Most importantly, his re-entrance is coupled with the first appearance of Edgar as the Bedlam beggar. The Fool has already driven Lear into a primitive and innocent state of mind, and now with Edgar invites him to gain self-knowledge. Shortly after he meets the naked Edgar, Lear observes with full self recognition:

Is man no more than this? Consider him well. Thou owest the worm no silk, the
beast no hide, the sheep no wool, the cat no perfume. Here’s three on’s are
sophisticated; thou art the thing itself. Unaccommodated man is no ore but such a
poor, bare, forked animal as thou art. Off, off, you lendings! Come on, be true.
(11. 92-98)

In this scene, Edgar also sings like the Fool, and both sing in scene 13, where the Fool’s remarks on folly and Edgar’s representation of mankind are orchestrated harmoniously. Speaking to both in turn, Lear calls Edgar ‘thou [...] most learnèd justicer’, and his fool, ‘thou sapient’ (12. 17-18). Driven by their songs, Lear, then, comes to realise himself as ‘unaccommodated man’, but at the same time, as Kent remarks, ‘his wits are gone’ (13. 80).

An important counterpart to the Fool in *King Lear*, in sharing clear precedents from the jest-book sources, is the nameless fool in *Timon of Athens*. Scene 4, when the Fool enters with Apemantus, presents in compact form a jest on human folly, which parallels Timon’s misfortune. It has echoes in the jest-book motifs and the philosophical commentary of Lear’s

Fool. The words accompanying the clown figure, such as ‘rod’, ‘hanged’, and ‘hangman’, and the appearance of an illiterate errand boy like Peter in *Romeo and Juliet*, are all suggestive of traditional jesting episodes and characters. When Varro’s servant asks what a whoremaster is, the Fool replies:

A fool in good clothes, and something like thee. ’Tis a spirit; sometime’t appears like a lord, sometime like a lawyer, sometime like a philosopher with two stones more than ’s artificial one. He is very often like a knight; and generally in all shapes that man goes up and down in from fourscore to thirteen, this spirit walks in. (4. 104-09)²⁷

Apemantus admits the Fool’s wit and certifies that he could substitute for a fool: ‘That answer might have become Apemantus’ (4. 113). Then the Fool is instructed by Apemantus, ‘Come with me, Fool, come’, and the Fool reveals his identity as a witty, insightful companion for a philosopher (4. 114-15). Some of the essential elements of Shakespeare’s later sophisticated fools are present in this one, though with a lighter tone, but he remains a fool because of his subordinate status, never becoming an integrated functional character. One difference, however, lies in his freelance status; and in this, he resembles a wandering jesting hero, and witnesses another emerging figure in Shakespeare’s experimental creation of clowns and fools.

In comparison with Tutch and Blue John in Armin’s *The Two Maids of More-Clack*, the fool’s relationship with Lear is equivocal. While Armin defines the two different fools, Shakespeare creates Lear’s Fool as a synthetic figure of both. In Tutch’s disguise of Blue John, Armin also successfully combines the two clowning forms of intelligence and simplicity. Conjoining the two figures in Lear’s Fool, Shakespeare overlaps and inflects the two forms: Lear’s Fool is no real fool, but is created as a loyal servant household clown; there is no performativity inherent in him. In this respect, the Fool is a magnificent failure, with an

²⁷ Quotations are from *The Life of Timon of Athens*, The Oxford World’s Classics, ed. by John Jowett (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

unaffected natural fool projected onto the figure of the artful professional. A simple solution to this problem would have been the destruction of one of art's great creations, bringing the Fool's exit suddenly in the middle of the play so that he might fulfil his function as a stock comedian. And, indeed, some artistic discomfort is implied in the ambiguities surrounding his absence at the end: 'My poor fool is hanged' (24. 300). But in contrast to other fools who get involved in dramatic action, the fool is concerned with his master's mental journey. Embodied in a single unified persona, his metaphysical contribution to the play resides uncomfortably alongside his tangible bodily presence.

3 Transformation into Narrative: Autolycus

Whereas both Touchstone and Feste are more commentator-like personages than other simple clowns, they function in the story because they are at the centre of the comedy, either to bridge the two different spheres of the play — the court and the forest for Touchstone, Olivier's house and Orsino's house for Feste — or to advance the plot as servants. However distinguished among Shakespearean fools, Lear's Fool, who reflects new ideas of clowning, is difficult to perform. Because he still retains the applications of the ancient jests in the tragic structure, and also because he does not comfortably fill the gap between the social natural fool and the artificial stage fool, the Fool cannot keep his shape till the end. As a consequence, when he has accomplished his role of driving Lear to self awakening, he silently exits the world of the play, and does not remain as a jesting voice like Touchstone or Feste. Shakespeare's attempts to transform the clown and the fool can be seen as culminating in creation of a performative, story-involved fool. Ironically and appropriately though, he went back to the suitable model in the origins of the clown — the jesting hero. At first, it is difficult to differentiate Autolycus in *The Winter's Tale* from the other principal clowns because he is

closely related to the features of Shakespeare's earlier fools, and because he is also a primary character of the subplot. Shakespeare reduced the opposing forces which complicated the characterisation of Lear's Fool, and created a more coherent figure by distributing them into two different figures.

Autolycus's first appearance in the play in Act IV, Scene 3 opens with his song, in between the stanzas of which he reveals his identity: 'I have served Prince Florizel, and in my time wore three-pile, but now I am out of service' (IV. 3. 13-14).²⁸ He adds 'My traffic is sheets' (IV. 3. 23). Admittedly he is in a position similar to cheap print peddlers or news vendors; he is essentially a narrator. He is also 'a snapper-up of unconsidered trifles', and lives on a 'silly cheat' (IV. 3. 25-27). He defines himself with the fear of other fools: 'Gallows and knock are too powerful on the highway' beating and hanging are terrors to me' (IV. 3. 28-29). Banished from the court of Polixenes, he is made to live in the familiar environment of the jest-book and to converse with country characters. Unlike Touchstone, whose identity is a household fool even in the forest of Arden, Autolycus is brought on stage as a ruffian who stepped out of his original place as a hired servant, but by virtue of becoming a thief and rogue, he interacts with other characters of the low-life communities. With the Clown, the old shepherd's son appears as a typical rustic clown, who has most of his dialogues with Autolycus. Both belong to the comic subplot, bringing harmony in the accomplishment of the marriage between Perdita and Florizel. In this subplot, Autolycus provides comic action, ranging from singing and cheating to ridiculing the Clown with word play. While the comic subplot of other plays frequently remain open and incomplete, the case of Autolycus becomes integrated into the happy ending as a resolution preceding Leontes' remorse, and before his reconciliation is achieved.

²⁸ Quotations are from *The Winter's Tale*, The Oxford World's Classics, ed. by Stephen Orgel (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996).

Apart from the literary ancestry in the name, Autolycus's profession of thief coincides with the growing attention of the time to highwaymen. However, jest-book subject matter frequently sees the comic potential in lawbreaking and deception, and often turns to knaves and the socially disruptive for its heroes and heroines.²⁹ Coney catching pamphlets co-existed with the jest-books, and were often indistinguishable, as with Richard Royston.³⁰ Moll Cutpurse and James Hind are examples. Based on '*The Madde Prankes of Mery Mall of the Bankside*' (non-extant, entered in the Stationers' Register in 1610), Thomas Middleton and Thomas Dekker wrote *The Roaring Girl, or Moll Cutpurse* (1611).³¹ Early modern attention to a rogue story is also evident in the publication of *Hind's Jests* in 1657.³² Knaves became popular and familiar subjects, and their biographies provided the foundations for playwrights' creation of narrative characters. Autolycus is an important precursor to the criminals in fictional literature and a further marker of the appropriation of jest-book characters.

Exercising 'an open ear, a quick eye and a nimble hand', as Stephen Orgel points out, Autolycus provides 'a wry commentary on the questions of evidence that fill in the play'.³³ When Autolycus finds that Florizel is planning to run away with Perdita, he rationalises the desirability of being a knave:

I see this is the time that the unjust man doth thrive [...]. Sure the gods do this year connive at us, and we may do anything extempore. The prince himself is about a piece of iniquity, stealing away from his father with his clog at his heels. If I thought it were a piece of honesty to acquaint the King withal, I would not do't. I hold it the more knavery to conceal it; and therein am I constant to my profession.
(IV. 4. 669-78)

²⁹ Stephen Orgel notes 'The name means literally "the wolf himself", "the wolf by himself", or "the lone wolf"'. Further, he explains Autolycus's mythical origin in the epic Greek poem. Stephen Orgel, ed., 'Introduction', in *The Winter's Tale*, pp. 50-53 (pp. 50-51).

³⁰ See the detailed discussion in Chapter 3.

³¹ For an account of Moll Cutpurse see Paul Griffiths, 'Frith [*married name* Markham], Mary [*known as* Moll Cutpurse] (1584x9-1659), *thief*', in *ODNB*. For a further discussion of *The Roaring Girl*, see Chapter 8 on clowns in Dekker and Heywood.

³² White, 'Hind, James', in *ODNB*.

³³ Orgel, 'Introduction', pp. 50-53 (p. 51).

Later Autolycus finds that his own plot turns its meaning against himself. Unlike the ordinary clown, who is constant to his profession by keeping his own counsel, Autolycus's witty turnabout in Act IV, Scene 2 is Shakespeare's means of rearticulating a jesting-hero into a story-telling character. Orgel not only finds a subversive in Autolycus — the news provider who tells of the restoration of Perdita's lost position as a princess, the introduction of Paulina's conclusion which leads to Hermione's restoration, and the redemption and rehabilitation of Leontes by the confirmation of resolving misunderstanding — but also points out that 'there is no threat in this subversion; quite the contrary', and concludes that 'In being most a knave, he is most serviceable to the interests not only of the young couple, but of the two kings'.³⁴ This seems contradictory, however, as it hovers on the matter of Autolycus's identity. With regard to the genealogy of comic forces cohering finally in Autolycus he contains knaves and fools, and is proleptic of the future of literary clowning. Despite his appearance as a secondary figure in the subplot, he creates his own plot, whose narrative is juxtaposed with the main plot.

Standing somewhere between the truth telling licensed fool and the rustic clown, Autolycus appears as a reinforcing agent of reality, the major figure, in fact, of the realistic perspective. His example demonstrates that Shakespeare's presentation of his fools developed from the simpler elements of tradition towards the new principle of narrative fools. Autolycus's interaction with the Clown and his father, situate him in the centre of his carefully delineated subplot in Bohemia. In the context of his own subplot, and as he interacts with other characters, Autolycus becomes a developed character with a thematic analogue to Leontes in the main plot. As a rogue-fool, he has an alternative parasitic relationship with the social world from that of other fools. While authentic clowns inhabit subordinate positions as

³⁴ Ibid., p. 53.

servants or with freelance privileges live by their masters, Autolycus earns his livelihood only by stealing. While other fools are detached, he precipitates the action of the play with the advantages of his lawless position, which make him violate and transcend the borders of the plots. In the presence of Autolycus there seems to be an emerging force to disrupt the existing jest tradition. But it is probable that Shakespeare never intended to deviate from that tradition; his pursuit of a new clown is presented alongside the old-fashioned shepherd Clown, and accordingly he reconciles the old and new clowns as harmoniously as he organises marriage and reunites the separated.

4 Conclusion

In contradistinction to the jest-book originated rustic clowns, most of whom are nameless and relegated to an inferior position in Shakespeare, Touchstone, Feste, Lear's Fool and Autolycus are evolved and developed literary characters, and have greater independence from one or more of the jesting archetypes. Still retaining the older forms of jesting heroes' clowning, they offer new potential for clownery in the literary tradition and for early modern culture. Touchstone, abandoning the service at court, devotes himself to following country matters. He is engaged with the targets of the jest-book familiar to the contemporary audience so that he is prominent in the excessive linguistic fooling. Feste, supplied with the Sir Topaz sequence for jesting material as the axis of the play's comedy, employs improvisational wit to maintain himself as the centre of interest, and becomes the pivot around which the action of the play evolves. Lear's Fool is the result of the conflation of the two major strands of jesting in the jest-book and its onstage performance. However, the undertone of the Fool's bitter and harsh criticism, became anachronistic, partly because the jest-book tradition itself changed into superficial routine table talk, and partly because actual household fools were disappearing.

The fool as a figure of amusement and entertainment, was under threat. Not only would it have been premature to send out a two-sided fool, who consisted of both simplicity and artful skills to the Renaissance stage, but also such a figure, even if he were to appear later, would still have been difficult to control, and hence the more narrative and content-based figures were waiting to emerge. Autolycus, transfigured from a knavish peddler into an active presenter of ethics, commerce and the politics of society, and endowed with a burgeoning consciousness, is derived from the traditional jester figure. It was no longer possible for the Stuart plays to be confined inside the jest-book tradition from which the Elizabethan playwrights composed their clowns.

Chapter 8

Narrative and Verbal Clowning in Dekker and Heywood

Complete enumeration of the clowns and fools in early modern drama is beyond the scope of this study. However, in the context of Shakespeare and his contemporaries changing engagement with comic material for the stage, we may turn to Stuart dramatists' clowning in the post-Shakespeare period. The sign that the fool adapted and survived in later Renaissance drama is confirmed in the plays of Dekker and Heywood. Departing from conventionalities such as enduring set piece jokes, these playwrights followed the same trajectory as the eclectic Shakespeare to create new characters and broaden the application of comedy during the early Stuart period.

Regarding comedians and jests, both Heywood and Dekker rely of the models of early clowning. But unlike Shakespeare's fools, their clowns are mostly active with the lower strata of society such as servants, apprentices, tradesmen, and even the thieves of the underworld, thus retaining jest-book traits. Examination of these figures in the plays of Dekker and Heywood, further clarifies the position of the clown and how that position defines his character; and secondly, it illustrates to what extent he is still an interactive figure in the drama as opposed to merely an ironic commentator.

1 Unnamed Clowns: Transitions in Generic and Topical Forms

The jest-book heroes who visit various households or interfere with relationships in the community bring surprise, trouble, and confusion. Their freedom to speak without fear of serious reprisal is a core feature of any fool in early modern drama. The rustic fool or servant-clown is guaranteed his right to make comic speeches, and as pointed and satiric as he pleases. More importantly, he inhabits comic set pieces arranged in conventional patterns.

Examples of plays containing such undisputed fools are Dekker's *Sir Thomas Wyatt* (1607), and *The Welsh Ambassador* (1624), and Heywood's *If You Know Not Me, You Know No Body* (1606), *The Golden Age* (1611), *The Four Prentices of London* (1615), and *The Royal King and the Loyal Subject* (1637).¹ In these plays the episodes of the unnamed clowns and the low-life characters, such as the thieves in *The Roaring Girl* (1611) are retellings of jokes in the jest-book style. Each is notable for a vulgar style of speech, comic stupidity is characterised by symbolic physical movements derived from the jest-books.

The nameless clown in *Sir Thomas Wyatt* makes his appearances with a captain, a soldier, a countryman, and a maid. The scenes serve to introduce the reception of Lady Jane's accession. Two of the clown scenes are, according to Cyrus Hoy, written by Dekker, and these most comic impressive scenes symptomatic of Dekker's practice for creating clowns.² In Act II, Scene 3, when he finds that Jane's supporter, Homes, has entered with a halter around his neck, the clown says 'I hope hee doth not meane to hang himselfe?' (II. 3. 73).³ Then, the desperate Homes strangles himself, and the clown makes the fact known, calling him 'this Dog' and 'dissembler', adding, 'So, so, a very good evening, would all falce Seruants might drinke of the same sauce' (II. 3. 85-86). In the interaction with such familiar characters in the jest-book, such as soldiers, countrymen and maids, clowns invite demagoguery from unsophisticated people. But the clown maintains the distinct advantage of having free access to people from various backgrounds.

And in a common jest-book episode of a man with a halter on the way to the gallows,

¹ All quotations from the plays by Thomas Dekker are to *The Dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker*, 4 vols, ed. by Fredson Bowers (Cambridge: The University Press, 1953-61), and those by Thomas Heywood are to the earliest original editions obtained through EEBO. The citations are respectively added in the footnote, in the section where they are discussed.

² Cyrus Hoy assumes that 'Dekker's share in the play can be most clearly traced in IV. ii-iii; there are fainter traces of his presence in II. iii. and IV. i'. Cyrus Hoy, *Introductions, Notes, and Commentaries to texts in 'The Dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker'*, 4 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), I, 311-50 (p. 318).

³ *Thomas Dekker*, I.

the clown is allowed unrelenting comments on the political and social tensions running beneath the comic narrative. In *Tarlton's Jests*, as in the 1613 *Scoggin's Jests* with Scoggin as its hero, Tarlton makes a haltered young boy face the truth that his time has come.⁴ The jesting hero's confirmation of judgment is revisited in *Sir Thomas Wyatt*. As with Lear's fool's Gonoril's sins against her father, jests about a halter give the clown a cue to broach all subjects of violation.⁵

Later in Act IV, Scene 2, the clown plays a stooge for the Captain, drawing more farcical questions and answers from him. Here the clown's jokes are related to topical allusions, not to existing jests. The clown and the Captain display of contempt for the Spaniards consist of early modern vocabulary, some of which are found in the *OED*:⁶

BRETT Right, a Spaniard is a Camocho, a Callimanco, nay which is woser a Dondego, and what is a Dondego?
 CLOWN A dondego is a kinde of Spanish Stockfish, or poore Iohn.
 [...]
 CLOWN Weele fling our flat Caps at them [Arundell, Norfolke, and Bret].
 BRETT Weare your owne Neates-leather shooes? Scorn Spanish Leather, crie a figge for the Spaniard: [...]
 CLOWN Yfaith wee are the Mad-caps, we are the licke-pennies.
 (IV. 2. 51-78)

This kind of a stage gag is also to be found in the satirical jokes of jest-books, but Dekker's use of jests is narrower, and more closed. His choice of words — Camocho, Callimanco, Dondego [Don Diego], Spanish Stockfish, poor John, flat cap, fig [fig of Spain], mad-cap — did not pass on to later generations, which suggests that later audiences might have found Dekker encyclopaedic but anachronistic.

Likewise, in *The Welsh Ambassador*, the clown interacts with a wide variety of characters, such as Winchester, the Bishop or Armante, the Duke of Colchester's daughter,

⁴ Anon, *The 1613 Scoggin's Jests*, Tale 47; Anon, *Tarlton's Jests* (1638), Tale 41. See Chapter 7 for full discussion.

⁵ See Chapter 7 for full discussion.

⁶ 'camocho', in *OED*; 'calamanco', in *OED*; 'don diego', in the record of 'don', in *OED*; 'flat-cap', in *OED*.

Voltimar, a captain, Edmond and Eldred, the King's brothers, and even the King. The clown's social mobility can be traced back to the jest-book hero's transversal nature extending from court, city, and country. In addition, in a later table-talk compilation, *A Banquet of Jests*, jesting situations are also set in camp and college. Just as jesting targets are diverse, and subjects varied in the jest-book tradition, so clown scenes in play-texts take place in different ways. Among his witty dialogues, ranging from the pun to idle talk, the scene where the clown enters as a 'cronicler' with a book to join the King and his followers most clearly provides conventional jest routines and jest-book style clownery. The clown scornfully assesses the King's rule compared to previous rulers:

To tell you true, my cronicle is not an egg laid as others haue been, myne is an ephemerides fore tellinge what shall happen in kings raignes to come, for that that's past wee all know. (V. 3. 48-50)⁷

As a result, everybody enjoys the clown's subsequent listing of events regarding the fashion in the city, the 'bawdie howses' (84), 'Powles' church (89), and 'New gate' prison (90). With a book as a prop in his hand, his fake seriousness is conversely reinforced and emerges through the comic smoke-screen which conceals his lack of learning. Consequently, he vilifies the moral and political stances of the other characters. Like Scoggin's pretence of to great learning to induce the parishioners' offering, the clown as a chronicler cynically exposes politics rooted in dogmatic religiosity and social disquiet.⁸

Later, Dekker created the clown as even more prophetic in original manuscript, but this extended use of the clown was cut in the final published text. Fredson Bowers notes that 'The excisions at the end in the Clown's prophecies may well, as critics believe, be accounted for as normal theatrical cuts of somewhat dull material'.⁹ While a simple clown may retain as a secondary or incidental character while assuming a more complex role such as a prophet, he

⁷ *Thomas Dekker*, IV.

⁸ Anon, *The 1613 Scoggin's Jests*, Tale 9 (sigs. B1-B2).

⁹ *Thomas Dekker*, IV, 303-11 (p. 304).

does not conform to the theatrical tradition of using a jesting clown. Dekker developed a prophetic clown from the generic figure of the jest-book clown; his tendency in creating clowning figures resulted in going beyond the common design of jest-book originated clowns. Dekker had to wait for the reinforcement of literary character development.

In *If You Know Not Me, You Know No Body* in which young Elizabeth on suspicion of plotting with Wyatt against her sister Queen Mary is confined in the Tower of London, Heywood employs the clown as an interactive agent between ruling class policy and the sentiments of the common people. As a messenger-like conveyor of news, the Clown enters after Mary's treatment of the rebel lords and Elizabeth. His first words 'Oh arme, arme, arme' echo Mary's decision to send armed soldiers to confine Elizabeth, and inform the audience of her approaching danger as an alarming cry for help (sig. B1^v).¹⁰ In addition, his tableau-like description of his fall from a stack with a heap of billets' dropping on him serves proleptically to imply Elizabeth's future suffering.

Though the clown scene is comical and is presented with low-life characters in an engaging tone, it ushers in the serious actions of the main plot. Alongside the dumb show which interprets events, the clown is both participant in and guide to the narrative, and assists the atmosphere of tension. In the jest-book tradition, shown in *A Hundred Merry Tales*, jests are explanatory with their end messages; they are not dramatic, but sketchy, emphasising a rough outline of events and summarising the results. Physical clowning is reminiscently manifested the fools' beating of a soldier, which is followed in turn by Cooke's beating of another soldier. Constable's ominous curse upon Elizabeth reiterates verbally the violence of both assaults. Cooke's words, 'Audacious slaue presuming in my place' recalls the clown's amusing entrance previously and imply that physical comedy is orchestrating an innovative

¹⁰ Thomas Heywood, *If You Know Not Me, You Know Nobody* (London: Printed by T[homas]. P[urfoot]. for Nathaniel Butter, 1605).

moral perspective, expelling the humourless and the culpable individual (sig. D3). Later when he makes a jest against Beningfield Elizabeth's enemy, he pulls the chair out from under Beningfield to make him swing in the air and fall down. In his ridicule of Beningfield, the clown brings a goat for the Princess to talk to. The clown sarcastically compares that the beast with gray hair and beard as akin to Beningfield (sig. E4^v). The clown also appears conventionally with a milkmaid, and their dialogue announces that the wronged Elizabeth will recover her honour and status: 'Troth you say true, euery one to his fortune, / As men goe to hanging' (sig. F2). The resonance of the clown's words is identical to Tarlton's jest on the wag-halter boy: jests by the clown here are frequently associated with imagery of the gallows, with death impinging on every character's life.¹¹ As a classic model of the continuity of the jest tradition, the clown is well informed of his status as reflected in his final entrance similar to the conventional example of a musical clown: he enters with faggots and sings about the new queen's accession. Heywood's early clown in *If You Know Not Me, You Know No Body* also retains these familiar features of early clowning.

In *The Golden Age*, Heywood employs the clown in other ways: both as a messenger and as a disguised servant to Jupiter; as such, he is more deeply involved in the plot. When the clown appears with the nurse, he tells her the news and both share his secret. They control the story behind the scenes, and help it to develop. Identifying himself as 'the man that tooke paines with you, 'twas I that brought you in the hand-basket', the clown delivers letters to King Melliseus and Jupiter to remind them of their obligations as kings (sig. F4).¹² This clown's origin is readily identifiable in his jesting on 'gibbet-maker' and 'Jupiter'.¹³ Aside from the clown's modern mishearing, the reference is generated by common jests. As seen in

¹¹ See note 4, above.

¹² Thomas Heywood, *The Golden Age* (London: Printed [by Nicholas Okes] for William Barrenger [etc.], 1611).

¹³ In *Titus Andronicus*, by mishearing Jupiter, the clown makes the same joke in (IV. 3. 80).

Dekker's *Sir Thomas Wyatt*, references to hanging and the gallows and the clown's reminder of others' infringing acts, co-occur frequently both in jest-books and in play-texts. His low rank in society is once again insisted on when he helps Jupiter disguise himself as a pedlar to play a trick on Danae. The clown coaches Jupiter in a pedlar's method for dealing with everyday items. Helping Jupiter's amorous adventures with a mortal being, he introduces low-life behaviour and practices the customs of the world of common men.

The clown in *The Four Prentices of London* has a small part and he only appears in short scenes, but his presence is typical of the clown of his day. In contrast with the high born four brothers, the clown associates with thieves and villains. He lacks civility, as Charles points out: 'Yee slaues, I'le teach you some ciuility' (sig. C4).¹⁴ Once Charles joins the villains, however, the clown works to link the four brothers with outlaws. When Charles and Eustace unknowingly fight each other for their sister's love, the clown, who runs between them to bring news of an enemy's approach, mediates between Eustace, Charles, and his outlaw subordinates:

EUSTACE Because I heare thy life in jeopardy,
 And thou hast dealt with me so honourably:
 Receive my hand; now I am wholly thine.
 And yee mad rogues, I am halfe your Captaine now.
 Looke when yee see me nodde, yee crouch and kneele,
 Make legges, and curt'sies, and keepe bare your Crownes.
 CLOWNE 'Tis hard to teach them manners that are Clownes.
 But for my owne part, here's a legge, here's a cap, here's a knee,
 All these sweete halfe Captaine, I reserue for thee. (sigs. D4-D4^v)

he clown's ranking himself with Eustace and Charles creates a comic duel between Bella Franca and himself. He identifies himself as a soldier in pursuit of Bella Franca. He even challenges her to a fight to obtain her love. When finally he finds that he has lost, he says, 'You thinke you haue a foole in hand; no by my faith, not I. If you haue any businesse to the

¹⁴ Thomas Heywood, *The Four Prentices of London* (Printed at London: [By Nicholas Okes] for J. W[right], 1615).

Campe, farewell, I am running thither as fast as I can' (sig. H3). By the loss of the duel, the clown returns to the original habitat of low characters. Like other minor clowning figures, he makes occasional appearances for social interaction between the high and low born, taking advantage of his adaptability to new circumstances in ways similar to the jest-book heroes and their ubiquity.

The Royal King and the Loyal Subject is influenced by another distinctive feature of the jest-book in its clown scene, where the King initiates the question of the Lord Martial's liege service. The clown then appears with a Welshman, one of the typical characters in the early seventeenth century table-talk compilations. The Welshman's pronunciation of English creates puns on the male sexual organ and suggestively overshadows the meaning of the King's questioning of Martial's true service. When the clown replies to the Welshman, who asks for the prince's patronage ('Very good, I like your demonstration well; but doest thou thinke your Organ of *Rixam* [Wrexham] can compare with ours for all that?'), the clown's satiric comparison is at cross-purposes, quibbling on 'gibbet-maker' and 'Jupiter', in line with Shakespeare's *Titus Andronicus* and Heywood's *The Golden Age* (sig. B1^v).¹⁵ Hereafter, the clown accompanies Captain Bonville, in scenes that borrow familiar settings from the jest-book: they visit a bawdy house, ridicule the host and other guests, mock the whores, and deceive the Bawd, pretending to be intellectuals. Human appetite at a tavern or a bawdy house is a most common topic of the jest-book, and subsequently reveals the true nature of the characters in a direct way. In Act III, the clown appears with Lady Mary, the Captain's betrothed, and becomes her messenger to the Captain. The clown serves as a mediator, like a jest-book hero, such as Scoggin who can enter any level of society, and maintain relationships between characters, and sustains the narrative. The clown's episodes with Mary test his

¹⁵ Thomas Heywood, *The Royal King, and the Loyal Subject* (London: Printed by Nicholas and John Okes for James Becket [etc.], 1637).

loyalty, and invoke the relationship between the King and Martial. In replying to the clown's question, Lady Mary quips in her confidence that she and the Captain will both remain faithful to each other. Later, when the Captain encounters the Clown's old fellows, Match and Touch-box, the Captain, aware of the worth of the Clown's service, says, 'Both to their height and depth, their true dimensions / I understand; for I have try'd them all' (sig. H2). The episodes in which the clown appears bring the characters renewed consciousness and awareness, and with the help of the familiar jest-book setting they also give the audience an implicit commentary on the play's moral trajectory.

The comic skit of Moll and the thieves in *The Roaring Girl* and its underworld of low characters is dependent on the coney catching pamphlet '*The Madde Pranckes of Mery Mall of the Bankside*' (entered in 1610).¹⁶ The scene becomes an interlude-like section from the main plot because of the realistic codes used in actual London underworld life. The shared materials among the jest biographies, such as communal human relationships or the master-servant relationship are then lost, and topicality comes to the fore. The clowning scenes were often contrived with laughing materials taken from the jest-book and the coney catching pamphlet. As a result of choosing contemporary events or gossip, the scenes depicting low characters of the Stuart period are less reliant on jest-book source. As the jest tradition was assimilated into coney catching pamphlets, the comic characters in plays, influenced by the advent of prose narrative characters, became complex and diverse.¹⁷

¹⁶ Arber, III, 441. The record reads 'Entered for his Copey vnder the handes of maste Edward Abbott and master Adames warden, A booke called, The Madde pranckes of mery Mall of the Banckside, with her walkes in mans apparel, and to what purpose, written by John Day'. Paul Griffiths states 'She was already gossiped about across the city and was the subject of several stage plays, most notably *The Roaring Girl, or, Mol Cutpurse* (1611) by Thomas Middleton and Thomas Dekker' (Griffiths, 'Frith [*married name* Markham], Mary [*known as* Moll Cutpurse]' in *ODNB*). Thomas Middleton and (Thomas Dekker), *The Roaring Girl* (London: Printed by Nicholas Okes] for Thomas Archer [etc.], 1611); *Thomas Dekker*, III.

¹⁷ See Chapter 3 for the jest-book genealogy and Dekker's idea of jests. See Chapter 7 for the relationship between the jest-book and the narrative clown in the play-text.

Both Dekker and Heywood share common traits in their clowns: firstly, both rejuvenate generic jests; secondly, they integrated topical innovative clowns developed from the traditional jests. However, Dekker and Heywood differ from each other. Dekker's clowns are more dependent on conventional jests, while Heywood's are narrative deliverers and more plot-involved. The sources for their humour undeniably are the jest-books, but for Dekker, partly because of his authorial control of the comic scene, partly because of his interest in contemporary fashion and trends, and partly because of his attention to physical clowning, his fools are both generic and topical, and they form shorter interludes inserted into the main text. Heywood's clowns, by contrast, are more narrative based, but occasionally it is discernible that their scenes go out of artistic context as they convey changing early modern manners. The transition and mixture of nameless clowning figures in Dekker and Heywood thus illuminates another early modern picture of the shifting reliance on the jest-book and on collaborative playwriting. A new flexibility had arrived to prescribe the writing and acting of episodic clown scenes.

2 Commentary and Agency: The Integrated Clown

While the nameless clowns in Dekker and Heywood retain the characteristics of the jest-book heroes and settings, the clown in *The Royal King and the Loyal Subject* shows signs of making a larger contribution to the story. Employed in more scenes than other episodic minor clowns, he comments on the actions of the main character in the subplot, and helps him restore a clear sense of value. On the other hand, named clowns, for whom playwrights created as a more active personage become involved in the main plot, and often play a major part in its development. Such clown figures as Dekker's Babulo and Young Cuddy Banks, and Heywood's Nick and Clem function beyond existing conventional clowning to become

dynamic driving forces of the narrative.

In *Patient Grissil* by Dekker, written in collaboration with Chettle and Haughton, Babulo, a clown and a servant to Janicola, appears only in Dekker's authorial scenes.¹⁸ His creation of Babulo distinctively demonstrates his theories of clowning. Babulo first appears as a servant to Grissil's family, then is welcomed into the court, and finally returns to the family. His life, which stretches to the court and turns back permanently to its originals, has many points of likeness to the jesting hero's life. Scoggin in the 1626 *Scoggin's Jests* enjoys his life with his young scholar friend, Jack, makes jests in the country, wins and loses the queen's favour at court, comes back to the English court after his temporary visit to the French court, and dies in his house. Howleglas also starts his journey from his native land, and visits various European villages to mix with people of different occupations. This mobility allows the jesting hero to communicate and interact with various people. Like the Clown in *The Royal King and the Loyal Subject*, who recognises himself and his 'commission' (Act III, sig. E3), Babulo discerns that he is not a person of the court. Babulo never loses his identity as a basketmaker, and happily returns to his family with a clear sense of belonging. In an opposite movement to that of Babulo, Grissil goes back to the court this time more assuredly. In a contrasting development of self-awareness, Babulo indicates the differing desires of each character: a lady in the court for Grissil, and a humble basket maker for himself.

At his first entrance, Babulo repeats his pride in his work as a basket-maker, and when Laureo, a scholar and Janicola's son describes his poor life at university and raises the question, 'Who is more scorn'd then a poore scholler is?', Babulo replies, 'Yes three things: Age, wisdom, and basket makers' (I. 2. 139-40).¹⁹ Then, responding to Laureo's regret at his poor life, Babulo says, 'A trade, a trade, follow basket-making, leaue bookes and turne

¹⁸ Cyrus Hoy detects that 'Dekker is almost certainly present through put the whole of the scene (Janicola, Laureo and Babulo are onstage to the end)'. Hoy, I, 145-46.

¹⁹ *Thomas Dekker*, I.

block-head' (I. 2. 149-50). He defines who he is in his first conversation with Marquesse, who finds Babulo a 'pleasant fellow':

MARQUESS Why dost thou tremble so? We are al thy friends.

BABULO Its hard fro this motley Ierkin, to find friendship with this fine doublet'.
(I. 2. 301-05)

Pleased with Babulo's answer, and realising his persistent self-awareness as a basketmaker is 'simplicite' (312), Marquesse tries to take him to his court, and even proposes Grissil to have him as his own servant. Babulo refuses:

BABULO I thinke sir I am a fitter husband for her.

MARQUESS Why shouldst thou think so, I wil make her rich.

BABULO Thats al one sir, beggers are fit for beggers, gentlefolkes for gentlefolkes: I am afraid that this wonder the rich louing the poor, wil last but nine daies: old Master bid this merrie gentleman home to dinner, you shal haue a good dish of fish sir: and thank him for his good wil to your daughter *Grissill* for ile be hanged if he do not (as many rich cogging marchants now a daies doe when they haue got what they would) giue her the belles, let her flye. (I. 2. 317-23)

This initial scene demonstrates Babulo's rustic origins as well as 'his intemperate tongue' (I. 2. 324). Babulo's distancing of Grissil from Marquesse in the part of a servant clown derives from his sense of the closed community of basketmakers — an outdated mode of representation — but in fact satisfactory in designating his identity as a rustic clown.

After being banished from the court, Babulo recollects his personal history of services between the humble community and the court:

I am glad thou tak'st they death so patiently, farewell my Lord, adue my Lady, great was the wisdom of that Taylor, that stitcht me in Motley, for hee's a foole that leaues basket making to turne Courtier: I see my destiny dogs me: at first I was a foole (for I was borne an Innocent) then I was a traueller, and then a Basketmaker, and then a Courtier, and now I must turne basket-maker and foole againe, the one I am sworne to, but the foole I bestowe vpon the world, for *Stultorum plena sunt omnia, a due, adue*. (III. 1. 111-19)

His intrinsic nature is unchanged despite his protean roles in the play. Nonetheless, his commitment to the play's action indicates his departure from traditional clowning: less

physical, less jest-book like, but more verbal than any of Dekker's other clowns, Babulo contributes dynamically to the development of the plot, focusing on the details other characters convey. In *The Witch of Edmonton* (written in 1621, published in 1658), Dekker's Mother Sawyer becomes a comic when she interacts with Young Cuddy Banks, her son, a yokel, and the clown, intensifies the impact of theatrical humour when he engages in dialogue with the devil dog.²⁰ As a person of good will, his witch mother identifies him as 'The Son of my worst Foe' (II. 1. 179).²¹ In Act III, Scene 1, Cuddy Banks heightens the comedy when he engages with four morris dancers. The subsequent action in which Cuddy Banks, as an idiot, chases Katherine Carter's apparition to woo her and falls into a pond clutching at air, is highly comical. Folly hangs over him, in the subsequent scene, where he and the devil dog talk to each other for the first time, bringing a new absurdity to the presentation of his simple nature. When Cuddy Banks appears with Mother Sawyer, he becomes a perfect foil exploiting the comic possibilities of bewitchment. The devil dog's morris dance in Act III, Scene 4 is a burlesque of the preceding morris dance with Cuddy Banks, and the juxtaposition of the devil-dog with the clown is part of jest tradition, with Cuddy as the victim of his own simplicity.

Cuddy Banks serves to precipitate the play's undesirable events, such as accomplishing revenge on the devil — 'tis thou has brought her to the Gallows, Tom' (V. 1. 101-02) — or realising the witch's evil: 'I am partly a witness to this, but I never could embrace her: I thank thee for that, Tom'. He also anticipates the devil's intentions, saying 'you must play fair, you should be stav'd off else. [...] I have heard beastly things of you, Tom' (V. 1. 147-48, 164-73).

As the dialogue between Cuddy Banks and the demon-dog proceeds, he increases his own

²⁰ The play is a collaboration by Dekker, John Ford and William Rowley. The shares of each playwright are suggested by Fredson Bowers: Rowley composed the Frank Thorney plot, whose scenario was written by Dekker and Ford, and the Cuddy Banks scenes, and Dekker was in charge of Mother Sawyer, and worked with Ford in several scenes (*Thomas Dekker*, III, 483-86).

²¹ *Thomas Dekker*, III.

relation to the devil:

DOG Ha, ha! The worse thou heardst of me, the better 'tis.
Shall I serve thee, Fool, at the self-same rate?

CLOWN No, I'll see thee hang'd, thou shalt be damn'd first; I know they
qualities too well, Ile give no suck to such Whelps; therefore henceforth I
defie thee; out and avaunt. (V. 1. 174-77)

Despite his insights into evil, the play successfully excludes its potential for dark tones in the allusions to 'Gallows', 'hanging', and 'death'. Unlike the satirical commentator clown of earlier plays whose origins must be traced back to the jest-book. Cuddy Banks observes and comments on evil as part of the main cast.

While Dekker's named clowns in the main plot do not directly accent the play's themes, but rather stimulate and enable other characters to function, Heywood's fools have diversified into rounded characters away from the flat stock clowns originated from the jest-book heroes. Heywood's Nick in *A Woman Killed with Kindness* (1607) and Clem in *The Fair Maid of the West* (1631) exercise an exceptional power in each play: with the advantage of being a servant to the heroine or hero, both support the coherence of the play.²² In *A Woman Killed with Kindness*, Nick a loyal servant to John Frankford plays a trick on his wife, Anne Frankford, and her lover, Wendoll, to expose their adulterous relationship. His initial scene with other servants, where he misunderstands the meaning of 'compendious' twice, reveals his original identity as both servant and clown. But his departure from being a conventional clown figure is also marked in his refusal to dance and his revelation of his moral nature:

NICK My humour is not compendious: dancing I possess not, though I can foot
it; yet since I am fallen into the hands of Sisly Milk-pail, I assent. (sig. B1^v)

[...]

NICK I am sodaine and not superfluous:

²² Thomas Heywood, *A Woman Killed with Kindness* (London: Printed by William Jaggard, [...] and are to be sold [...] by John Hodges, 1607). The composition date of the first part is around the last few years of Elizabeth's reign because the play includes historical events of 1596 and 1597, and the references to the Queen suggest that she was still alive.

I am quarrelsome, and not seditious:
 I am peaceable, and not contentious:
 I am briefe, and not compendious. (sig. B2)

It is usual for clowns to explain situations; it is not usual for clowns to express their own feelings when not related to any previous scenes. As a testifier for adultery, Nick's words 'superflous', 'seditious', 'contentious', and 'compendious' foreground him as a main promoter of the play's action. Like honest Scoggin in the 1626 *Scoggin's Jests*, Nick as a loyal household servant, is persistent in his service to his master.

Clem appears as a young vintner's apprentice in the first part of *The Fair Maid of the West*. Besse, a tapster girl, whose beauty attracts many suitors, falls in love with Spenser. Fleeing from prosecution for killing Besse's abuser, Spenser leaves Plymouth with his friend, Goodlack, and sends Besse to a tavern he owns at Foy in Cornwall, where she meets Clem. Not only does Clem help Besse escape from her unwanted suitor and abusers, but he also volunteers to accompany her as supporter and guardian during her voyage from attacks by Spanish and Turkish ships. With witty remarks, Clem marks his presence as a clown while, at Besse's side preparing her escape, going between her and Captain Goodlack. When Goodlack asks Clem about his apprenticeship, wondering how his speech has improved, his identity is revealed:

GOODLACK Here's a brave drawer will quarrell with his wine.
 CLEM But if you preferre the Frenchman before the Spaniard, you shall have either here of the deepe red grape or the pallid white. You are a pretty tall Gentleman, you should love High-Country wine: none but Clarkes and Sextons love Graves wine. Or are you a married man, Ile furnish you with bastard, white or browne, according to the complexion of your bed-fellow.
 GOODLACK You rogue, how many yeares of your prentiship Have you spent in studying this set speech?
 CLEM The first line of my part was, Anon anon, sir: and the first question I answerd to, was logger-head, or blockhead, I know not whether.
 (pp. 36-37)²³

²³ Thomas Heywood, *The Fair Maid of the West* (London: Printed [by Miles Flesher] for Richard Royston, [etc.], 1631).

At her departure Clem asks her to take him with her. Despite his self-consciousness as a clown and an apprentice, he decides to set out on the adventure with Besse:

CLEM And shall I take time, when time is, and let my Mistresse slip away. No, it shall be seene that my teeth are as strong to grinde bisket as the best sail or of them all, and my stomacke as able to digest pouderd beefe and Poorejohn. Shall I stay here to see my scoare a pudding in the Half moone, and see my Mistresse at the Maine yard with her sailes up, and spread. No it shall be seene that I who have beene brought up to draw wine, will see what water the ship drawes, or Ile beray the Voyage.

BESSE If thou hast so much courage, the Captaine shall accept thee.

CLEM If I have so much courage? When did you see a blacke beard with a white lyvor, or a little fellow without a tall stomacke. I doubt not but to prove an honour to-all the Drawers in Cornwall. (p. 45)

Clem's inner feelings and sentiments differ significantly from the unnamed clowns of Heywood, and his unfolding of his self-reflective feelings is important as examples of a new clown. This feature is unprecedented in his other clowns. Conversely, Clem's first voyage contains conventional physical clowning, such as his falling from the mast. Thus, Heywood's innovative new clown does not always surpass the persistence of traditional jesting styles. Though welcomed at the court of Morocco, Clem keeps his self-awareness as a 'Christian', and an Englishman. In conversation with merchants, he makes a traditional English pun as of old before his promotion to courtier:

CLEM Your gold doth binde me to you: you may see what it is to be a sudden Courtier. I no sooner put my nose into the Court, but my hand itches for a bribe already. What's your businesse my friend?

2 MERCHANT Some me of my men for a little outrage done
Are sentenc'd to the Gallies.

CLEM To the Gallowes?

2 MERCHANT No, to the Gallies: now could your Lady purchase
Their pardon from the King, heres twenty angels? (p. 58)

Clem survives the voyage, and happily reunites with Besse and her fiancé Spenser, in the first part, where more involved in the main plot, Clem becomes an independent dramatic persona, rather than a clown. In the second part where he helps the English party escape from Egypt, however, his part is largely reduced, apart from his jesting with Tota, Mullisheg's wife. His

numerous proverbs throughout distinguish him from the Moroccans:

CLEM A foolish proverbe we use in our countrey, which to give you in other words, is as much as to say, You have hit the naile on the head. (sig. B2)

Clem's difference in representation between the first and second part can be explained by the shift of rapidly expanding table-talk compilations. In the second part Clem is a vehicle for the expression of common jokes relevant to any situation, which reaffirms the play's heritage in the jest-book.

3 Conclusion

Dekker and Heywood's clowns represent a late development of comedy in early modern drama, demonstrating the clown's growing distance from his jest-book predecessors. Both Dekker and Heywood straightforwardly followed the model of the clown from the jest-book, while at the same time promoting a new form of clowning. Dekker stuck to the historical fashion of the jest-book hero's strategy for laughing at his target and equipped his clowns, both named and unnamed, with verbal repartee rather than physical tricks for their narrative contributions. Heywood, by contrast, started from the jest-book type clown and later changed his named clown from conventional jesting hero into an active character seriously involved in the events of the play. These clowns mark the opposite poles in the continuum of the English clowns of the time, ranging from one type of jesting subject to another as the agent of comic narrative. Rather than playing stooge or foil, narrative clowns in Dekker and Heywood exhibit strong possibilities for later clowning figures, and at the same time show that clowns were likely to lose their jesting position and disappear as drama develops narrative clowning more than physical clowning.

Though their origin is in rather far-fetched stories from the jest-books, where the hero acts within a short anecdote, the finalised figure ironically drives the narrative in plays. Some

didactic elements in the jest-book are solely synchronic, and as a consequence, with the temporary vogue for physical action, the authentic type of jesting underwent change. Some jesting figures survived in the blended figures of knaves, rogues, fops and gallants. And others preserved their original, essential traits as inducers of thematic concerns, or as an element of shock to the audience outside the core group of characters. From humble beginnings of episodic use, clowns underwent transformation to become constituents in the main story in the space of a few decades. Yet, the rapid growth of these clowns paradoxically hastened the disappearance of the fool from the history of English drama.

Conclusion

Clowning Reworked in Print and Onstage

This dissertation has argued that playwrights evolved new comic characters from the literary models of the jest-book heroes, thus fusing theatrical tradition with new fictional characters. Unfortunately, twentieth century critics separated the two factors of actor and comic motif, and accordingly, these issues were considered to be independent of each other. But, as the clown and the fool did not develop separately from either textual or theatrical forms, any distinction between clowns and fools is not only a matter of narrative motifs, but also concerns an individual actor's performance of a fool. Jest-books containing a specific clown actor with his name in its title are key factors in tracing the development of early modern clowns and fools.

The history of these figures must be seen as bound up in the broader context of the print industry, as the creation of their roles and comic identities has been recorded in printed materials. If literary and theatrical representations of clowning are fundamental to analysing the development of fools and clowns, their definition can be extracted from all possible printed materials which reflect the important changes in the printing industry. Ultimately, then, at stake is the core question: what constitutes a clown?

This study has analysed specific instances of clowns and fools in pamphlet literature, epigrams, and in the transmission of the right to print where the literary images of fools and clowns in play-texts coincide. Concurrently, the study also has thrown light on the circulation of the literary images of fools and clowns between print and stage, and especially through the representations of Tarlton, Kemp and Armin. The jest-books created in their names became in literary terms the verbal counterparts to the real personages on stage. The historic attractiveness of these actors inevitably gains our attention, but more crucially whetted the

curiosity of contemporary writers and printers. The circulation of these clowning figures makes it clear that the growing print industry played a specific role in contributing to the literary styles and methods crystallising comic narratives for performance. The close proximity between the jests described in the jest-books and descriptions of clowning on stage enables us to visualise the clown figure; the proximity in jesting styles, meanwhile, emphasises their close relation to and dependence on each other.

Revision and updating of an anachronistic jest-book (as revealed in the complex dating of the two editions of *Scoggin's Jest*) suggests the generic quality of jest-books, in spite of the former association with theatre. The analysis of the print history of *Scoggin's Jest*, for example, has shown how the clowning tradition of the English theatre stemmed from the medieval period. The two editions of *Scoggin's Jest*s — the 1613 edition and the 1626 Colwell-Boorde edition — grew out of mother jest-books such as *A Hundred Merry Tales* and *Howleg拉斯*, which were both published around 1550. The 1626 edition of *Scoggin's Jest*s became a model for regular practice in the printing business in its revision and updating of an anachronistic jest-book originally entered 50 years earlier by Colwell. The early modern printing process evidences how printers took part in the choice of books to create and place on the market. Individual names on the jest-book titles, such as *Tarlton's Jest*s and *Peele's Jest*s, function as trademarks or brands for advertising, and demonstrate the commercial techniques of the day. In practice, the association of jest-books with theatre was an opportunistic association with famous theatrical figures for the purposes of branding.

In the biographical jest-books, motifs — both generic and topical — can be seen to develop throughout the works, firstly, because their flexibility allowed writers to adapt them, and, secondly, because already naturalised versions of the stories enabled the writers to rely on audience familiarity. However effectively the hero unifies the whole book, later jest-books

from the seventeenth century lack the coherence of those with differently processed motifs. The variations among the jest-books witness the shift from classical to new jests, thereby suggesting that the comic style in the theatre will also necessarily change: jester and jest-book reverse as the revised textual humour becomes prominent in play-texts.

The critical response to the myth of Tarlton has been overwhelmingly favourable, even though he remains the stuff of legend and his reputation is as an historical phenomenon. By demystifying Tarlton through reinterpretation, his identity as so-called representative clown can be partially reconstructed through his figure as it appears in print. For example, Tarlton is *characterised* in the relationship between the clown actor and the Marprelate controversy. Despite there being no clear description of Tarlton's jesting manner in the Marprelate tracts, his fame, taken out of context and referred to in Lyly's anti-Martinist tract, has developed a life of its own. Lyly evaluates the talents of Tarlton and Scoggin; and this fact should be understood as one of the earliest instances of disinformation eliding the realities of the actual clown actor Tarlton and the fictional Scoggin. Tarlton in print is therefore transfigured, producing the many allusions which have come down to us today. Like an authorial name, Tarlton has created fiction both in print and onstage. *Tarlton's Jests* and other jest-books appropriating Tarlton's name illustrate that the name is in itself marketing material, and their publication advanced Tarlton myth making. Just as the renaming of *The Cobbler of Canterbury* to *The Tinker of Turvey* indicates the waning influence of Tarlton, so the genealogy of jest-books mapped by Richard Royston, the printer of *A Banquet of Jests* in the 1630s, endorses jests as the literary background to the stage fool and clowns, paralleling the changes between an alert and burgeoning publishing industry and an equally attentive performance community. Tarlton's name is further historicised in the synonymous process of publishing biographical jest-books and contemporary writers' arbitrary statements, which

further obscure the realities of the stage figure and the figure in print.

In the process of publishing, printers converted their products' old-fashioned image into something new to ensure that readers were attracted and impressed. They often considered their publications as being ambitious production concepts, and often believed content to be somewhat irrelevant. For example, in *Tarlton's News out of Purgatory*, his name is a kind of label, a device for creating recognition, and the line between promotional image and personal identity becomes unclear. Tarlton's name is also used as a powerful brand of integrity and dependability, with printers occasionally turning it into various symbols of opposition to mainstream cultural values as propagated by existing writings. The printer of *The Cobbler of Canterbury* owes a great deal to the brand success of Tarlton's name, but the brand may also have suffered from becoming a contradictory symbol when printers used it as the perfect tool of protest against preceding publications. Print gave rise to the wider distribution of Tarlton's name, mythologising him as a trademark, and as a symbol of trustworthiness and effectiveness. Over time, however, the symbol became abstract, merging preoccupied eye-catching figures with post-print incorporation into cultural products, and in its later use, the name of Tarlton was not tied to one idea within a publication, becoming a form of identity in itself and a medium for creative expression or exploitation.

The nature of Kemp's and Armin's influences inheres in and circulates around their publication in the texts where an idea of performance or a particular mode of perceiving and presenting reality leads to the formation of another corpus, another body of ideas for clowning. Scholarship has suffered from a preoccupation with Kemp as a morris dancer and as an anti-Martinist performer. But the allusions to Kemp found in play-texts demonstrate that his clowning and morris dancing are dependent on jest material. Possessing a clown's personality was a critical element for the performing jester, and so was the clown actor's writing: actors

were connected to their performance via the nexuses of the printing community. It is through an exploration of the written manifestations of clowning that the reciprocal impact of the individual comic actors upon early modern clowning is most effectively presented. Kemp in both print and on stage embodied the clown actor of the Elizabethan period.

Likewise, the roles given to the clowns Armin played on stage still echo the tropes of the jest-books, while being different from Armin's own jest-book in which he presents his personal ideas for clowning in the form of the jest tradition. Distancing himself from the centralised busy London book trade and the physical theatre, he places greater importance on verbal as opposed to artificial clowning. His idea of the simple natural fool is explored further in the figures of his own play-text. The creation of a fool located in a dual-structured plot and subplot of disguise is realised in Armin's doubling of Tutch and Blue John. This divergent fool became established as one of the most comprehensive instances of a clown figure for the period.

There is a fresh and sharper appreciation of the centrality of jest-books in the articulation of early modern clowning. A reading of the jest-book involves theoretical questions about the relation between the aesthetic form and the social identification of clowning. For example, this aesthetic could be seen as universalising and naturalising certain culturally specific values: parenthood, religion, mercantilism and rulership. Conversely, in their engagement with social problems in public theatrical performance, fools and clowns represent the verbal dimensions of the jest-book. But a vital alternative position recognises that the generic trope of clowning does not transcend history and ideology, but rather participates in establishing comic identity, and must emphasise the extent to which clowning is connected to the history of printing. The fool emerged from a cultural chiasmus in which the reciprocal interactions between writing, printing, staging, (re)printing, and (re)writing of

clowning are equally reinforced.

What are the ramifications of such a reading? The question one poses when analysing comic identity can frequently change, but a central issue persists: how did the comic identities of the jest-books become internalised in the literary drama? In the plays of Shakespeare and his contemporaries, the clowns and fools possess crudity as well as refinement. Analysis has often failed to enlarge upon the key fact that the period during which English clowns had their most prominent success marked the emergence of new clowning identities. They vanished as quickly as they were welcomed as the jest-book trend shifted away from the compilation of unsophisticated humour and dialogues between nameless characters to the exhilarating adventure stories of spirited knavish heroes and heroines. The early clowns of the theatre are not fully-fledged characters, but instead act as corporeal embodiments of the long-lasting cultural tradition of the jest-book material. The clowning presented therein can descend into a base comedy, alienated from and even hostile to everyday human affairs. Peddlers, wandering scholars, sturdy beggars and the like, all brought together as low-life clowning characters, were first assembled in the jest-book, and only later developed into the characters more functionally integrated into the plots of the flowering English drama. By the end of the seventeenth century, the clown originated from the jest-book ends up far removed from his origins to play egocentric individuals such as the fop, the gallant, or cozeners.

As fashions in the jest-books changed, and clown actors' practices subsequently followed suit, new forms of clowning developed in early modern plays. Many of the nameless clowns in Shakespeare are modelled on Kemp, and preserve the jest-book motifs. Kemp was the perfect medium for these early jest-book originated clowns as he was a conventional performer of bodily set piece comedy. Meanwhile, Touchstone's exposure of ignorance harks back to the jest-book motif of fake priestcraft revisits on Sir Oliver Martext. Feste, disguised

as Sir Topaz the curate, summons the innocence of a jest-book gull in the baited Malvolio. With the presence and influence of Armin, who presented his own version of jest-book clowning, revolving around an innocent mentality, Shakespeare departed from the physical clowning of Kemp, and created a more discursive fool while still retaining some of the traditional motifs from the jest-book. Touchstone is an example of the emergent clown, who reflects intellectually on his deeds.

The great artistic presence of the Fool in *King Lear* is a culmination of the circulating jest-book tradition, and Armin's principles for clowning in particular. Reflecting Armin's Blue John — a natural fool epitomising simplicity — Lear's fool also contains elements of idiocy. But, developing Armin's creations of Tutch and Blue John, Lear's fool is a synthetic figure of both. Shakespeare's clowns underwent the influence of the shift in the jest-book tradition. Autolycus, as a tramp-fool and a rogue-fool, has a different parasitic relationship to the social world from that of other Shakespearean fools, where the depiction of clowning characters, in all their variety and states of mind, is particularly remarkable in the light of their origins in the jest-books and the early clown actors' writing.

Both Dekker and Heywood turn to a different type of fool from Shakespeare. The Shakespearean fool becomes pivotal in the play's narrative, like Touchstone and Feste, is enigmatic and innocent like Lear's fool, or becomes narrator-like and another hero of the play, as in the case of Autolycus. Unlike these comedians, Dekker and Heywood's are derived from conventional jest-book clowning and narrative-based contextual clowning. Endowing their clowns with topicality, these figures are both prophets and low-life jesters. Conversely, both also introduced new forms of clowning. Dekker's Babulo is an innovation in his exhibitions of self-awareness as a man of humble birth; and Heywood's Nick and Clem are different in that they reveal their inner feelings. Both types of clown become involved in promoting the

play's action as narrative characters rather than as temporary jesters.

This extraordinary period of transition for theatrical characterisation resulting in arguably England's greatest national comic creations clearly deserves future consideration. Indeed, a comprehensive compendium of each narrative element from the jest-books with a resonance or influence over the literary plays and their clowns — an exhaustive account beyond the scope of this thesis — would be a most fruitful area of research, and remains a future ambition. Might it be possible to isolate and then to closely excavate the origins of the lines that give us the witticisms, thought processes, feelings, actions and song contents of Touchstone, Feste, Malvolio, the Fool in King Lear, Babulo, Nick and Clem in the jest-books? To what extent are these major literary creations dependent on traditional but specific strains of comedy in the early modern jesting publications? Re-examination of the jest-books as the palimpsests over which sophisticated English comedy was written could even prove to be a dynamic means of revitalising the literary critical approaches to fools and clowns to date, and would re-cast the balance of significance between jest-book and play. A procedure that could closely bind criticism of Shakespeare's fools and clowns to the historical texts *beneath* the plays would reveal the necessity of re-evaluating and then foregrounding the jest-books for the study of English drama. More importantly, gauging the inter-relation and the *proximity* of the jest-books to literary art, rather than seeing them as discrete background documents, will deepen our knowledge of the development of Shakespeare's imagination as it extends rather than wholly creates figures *sui generis* in the English comic tradition.

Even though we have confined our detailed literary analyses to the texts of Shakespeare and his contemporaries, we have seen that the discursive boundaries for English clown history are far wider than the literary textuality of clowning. Examination of comic lines and scenes reveals the connections between the practice of the clowning of the time and its underlying

theories, between societal change and its cultural products achieved by the interdependence between print and performance. The jest-book and coney catching pamphlet materials coincide and are transformed. Yet as a consequence, the clown scenes created from them would be something of an enigma to a modern audience; and this issue leads us to a further area in which this dissertation's research areas could be extended: how might the jokes in the jest-books be made more accessible in contemporary performance contexts? How might early clowning be revived?

Building on the jest-book tradition, the clown became a trope of the day, and the interaction with the jest-books produced the complex and idiosyncratic literary fool residing in English culture. However, the same process soon led to the English fool and the clown tradition being devalued and falling from fashion when dissociated with social and literary culture. English clowns have been fabricated in the genealogy which publishers made, and which scholarship has largely accepted without any meaningfully close consideration. Clowns were not tricksters, as has been frequently asserted by post-Welsford critics from the anthropological perspective, which though importantly cataloguing the shared historical, folkloric and mythic traits of clowns, fails to trace their origins directly back to the jest-book heroes.

The hugely problematic binary of authentic once-living clowns and the mythology surrounding and obscuring these actual historical figures (such as Tarlton) has been itself a constructed effort to categorise clowning characters since the beginning of jest-book publication. In the case of both the writing and printing of early modern texts, it is important to analyse where and how this trope figures in the construction of clowning. The binary can only be determined through printing, writing and staging, and the multiple references to clowning practice in the printed documents makes the construction effaced in anthropological

study more starkly apparent.

What, then, is the result of such an analysis? What does this mean for theatre historians and literary critics? Crossing the division between print and stage, both theatre historians and literary critics should recognise that they are at a point of vital methodological change for the research and reconstruction of a history of the literature of theatre performance. If academic research limits itself to reconstructing fools and clowns within their period, they are frozen as socially determined identities, which will alter (inaccurately) as the definition of any point in a given period alters. Twenty-first century actors perform theatrical comedy that is semantically available to audiences through familiarity with our particular cultural milieu; and there can be no denying the permanent importance of an ongoing digital preservation of international approaches to Shakespeare's clowns by actors of multiple international cultures year by year. Study of the differences in delivery of these most performed and renowned characters and lines in world comedy must merit further identification and comparison. (How does a *King Lear* Fool from contemporary Eastern Europe differ from or unite with an African, American or Asian counterpart in the recreation of Shakespeare's comic effects?)

Yet, due to the eternal qualities of the jest-book and in its influential relationship between print and performance, the clown maintains a rich repository of less familiar but historic jokes, parodies, theatrical conventions, and almost forgotten forms of physical humour. A proposition regarding the wider dissemination of the contents of the jest-books would involve consideration of experimental projects in alliance with the practical theatre itself.

Actors could style themselves within a context that promotes rather than prohibits multiplicity. New possibilities would become available for comic actors' performance if they were to reconsider their former clowning identities from the jest-books. While

playwrights transfer onto the stage the everyday realities described in the jest-books, actors could (re)present the written and performed early texts in which fools and clowns sought to present themselves as human individuals. The original fool figures in the jest-books have not been yet restored, rehabilitated, or even fully identified in contemporary Shakespeare, and if we could return to the meaning and value of clown scenes in relation to known or speculative historical context and their generative process, we may find vital other ways of staging clown scenes, and even entire plays. The development of the English clown could be part of a recycling, retelling, reworking and revitalising process for the contemporary theatre.

Thus, the fools and clowns in the jest-books and play-texts could become test cases in which the establishment of early modern clowning could be made visible onstage for contemporary audiences. The jest-book record of the jesting tradition is now an academic area where early modern jokes are held at a distance in a theatre museum-like preservation. It is possible to conceive of this tradition as both available for our attempts at accurate conceptions of clown identity and clown tradition, and yet also as possessing a transcendent and unrealised potential for contemporary stage clowning practices. A further proposal of this thesis would be the possible application of the jest-book prescriptions for comedy in twenty-first century theatre practice, which would both deepen scholarship in the field but also, possibly, erode the binary of academic theatre history and its more radical implications for the stage. The purpose of this is neither to efface the more recent clowning tradition of comic characters, nor to promote an idea of uniform clowning, but to open up possibilities of multiple performances of staged clowning identities. It could be argued that for the benefit of academic theatre study alone, it is essential to revisit the prescriptions of the jest-books in a live performance setting and witness and record the inevitably fascinating complexities of the results.

The speculative re-dramatisation of jest-book activity in the present would certainly yield a ‘recalibration’ of actions and speeches in classic literary comic scenes.¹ W. B.

Worthen states:

The notion that dramatic texts might bear their historical origins into performance not only sustains projects like the Globe, but also characterizes Shakespearean performativity in the modern era.²

Worthen’s account is largely focused on recording instances of significant modern theatrical performance, and predictably omits any reference to Tarlton and the jest-books. Nevertheless, intriguingly, the comedian Christopher Peak, ‘in a concentrated effort to engage in clowning’ was encouraged in a production of *Romeo and Juliet* to give an improvised Kemp-like performance of Peter, who became ‘unusually prominent’.³ Peak reported the experience to

Worthen in an e-mail:

“So for my part I set most of the routines in rehearsal — the piss-pot, etc. But the one place I left open to manipulation was during the Romeo-Nurse scene, when I exited the stage [into the audience]. Each night I would start working on the next evening’s production, trying to top whatever I had done the night before. [Peak went into the audience and engaged several members of the audience, sometimes bringing them onstage.] ... A lot of these ideas did come from working in clubs [as a stand-up comedian], but they also come from my experience in theater. I know that the danger of performance isn’t as prevalent in the theater, but in clubs it’s what everyone is anticipating. It’s all the same people, I think, so I figured given the opportunity the house would respond, which would add a dimension to the show that I believe Will [Kemp? Shakespeare?] probably intended.”⁴

Embedded in the great interest of a contemporary clown attempting the reconstruction of a Kemp-oriented performance is the revealing remark that literary comedy in the theatre has lost its ‘danger’, which is highly suggestive of the possibility that contemporary Shakespearean comic performance has lost its ability to engage meaningfully with audiences, and has broken away from its grounded, earthier functions in the jest-books. (It is instructive

¹ W. B. Worthen, *Shakespeare and the Force of Modern Performance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 12.

² *Ibid.*, p. 31.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 75-76.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 221-22.

that Peak is concerned about his piss-pot when preparing this kind of performance — an unwitting perhaps but telling return to the essential bodily tendencies of the early clowns.) Worthen inevitably references the contemporary Globe theatre in London as the logical laboratory for experiments with historical performance, and, as a means of returning to the kind of audience engagement that was routine in early clowning — the ‘extra-dramatic tactics of direct address’ that Andrew Gurr characterises as within Tarlton’s performances — the Globe would seem ideal, as it would for an ongoing testing of the comic validity of the jest-book strategies on modern audiences, theatre-goers who are fully aware that they inhabit the space and bodily experience of the ‘groundlings’ of the original theatre.⁵ In the wake of witnessing contemporary theatre from Bertolt Brecht on, interaction with a live comedian would presumably be considerably less difficult for a contemporary audience than witnessing reconstructions of jest-book routines, but a theatrical experience of great value, nevertheless.

It is a possibility, then, that early theatrical techniques might have a future beyond their certain interest for the academy, as in the intriguing case of the Noh theatre of Japan, one of the great surviving, indeed, living theatrical forms of international early culture, where complex narrative information is obscure for modern audiences but remains of great aesthetic interest and can still be regarded as contemporary entertainment. Here it is the actor’s duty to continue a national performance tradition centred in a permanent semantics of ancient costume and movement, rather than demonstrate bygone narratives that have been superseded in their relevance by a received consensus in the need to update a text for contemporary relevance, as is usually the case in most contemporary Shakespeare production direction and design.

In fact, no clown performer can extricate himself from the ancient and dominant forms

⁵ Gurr, p. 130.

of clowning originally shaped by the jesting heroes. In reading early modern texts, one encounters not only the presence of mythologised personae such as Tarlton, but also authentic historic reality, and all readings tend to result in a questioning of the assumptions underlying these areas relating to the formation of clowning identity. Interpreting the spaces within and between the texts juxtaposed against one another inevitably yields new critical texts. I propose both in this thesis and as a general proposition *performative* readings of the early comic texts as a vital productive form for the elucidation of their prescriptions. Twenty-first century clown actors could be directed or self-directed in experimental performances with multiple rather than single comic aims, which could turn the theoretical and historical situations of the jest-books into contemporary onstage reality. Recreating the jest-book heroes as fully-fledged performing characters might well prove to be a revitalising force in contemporary productions of early modern comic characters.

Critical analysis of Shakespeare and his contemporaries has largely divided text and performance in an exhaustive four hundred year project that will never abate. But a new method of approaching the dramas from the vantage point of the interdisciplinary study of print culture could expand to include innovative theatrical comic practices for today's theatre. In this thesis we have been involved in the implications of the following forms: narratology, editing practices, the socioeconomic effects of print, reading habits, and the intertextual play between these forms. In isolating early modern English clowns as the subject of this study, our whole attempt has been ultimately focused on going back to that moment in history when the print industry became influential. Yet our further concern should be the future productivity of clowning.

APPENDICES

Appendix A: Tables

Table 1: The Transmission of the Two Editions of *Scoggin's Jests*

| The 1626 <i>Scoggin's Jests</i> (STC 21850.7) | | | The 1613 <i>Scoggin's Jests</i> (STC 21851) | |
|---|---|---|---|--|
| Year | Stationers' Register & Publication | Other jest-book publications transmitted with the edition | Year | Stationers' Register & Publication |
| 1565-66 | Enter to Thomas Colwell (Arber, I, 299) | | | |
| 1578 | Hugh Jackson married to Colwell's widow (Arber, II, 676) | | | |
| | | | Post 1600 | Entered by Thomas Pavier (Arber, III, 563) |
| | | | | Turned over to Ralph Blower (Arber, III, 563) |
| | | | 1613 | The 1613 <i>Scoggin's Jests</i> published by Ralph Blower |
| | | | 1615 | Edward Wright entered for <i>Scoggin's Jests</i> (Arber, III, 563) |
| 1616 | Roger Jackson entered the copies of Hugh Jackson (Arber, III, 593) | <i>The Merry Tales of Skelton, The Mad Men of Gotham</i> | | |
| 1626 | Francis Williams obtained Roger Jackson's copies | <i>The Merry Tales of Skelton, The Mad Men of Gotham</i> | | |
| | The 1626 <i>Scoggin's Jests</i> published by Miles Fresher for Francis Williams | | | |
| 1630 | John Harrison IV obtained Francis Williams's copies (Arber, IV, 237) | <i>The Merry Tales of Skelton, The Mad Men of Gotham</i> | | |

Table 2: Andrew Boorde's Printers till 1626

| Name | Boorde's works (short title, year of publication and STC reference) |
|---|---|
| Robert Wyer (td 1530-1561) | <i>A Dietary of Health</i> (1542, STC 3378.5; 1550?, STC 3373; ca. 1550, STC 3382.5; 1554?, STC 3380.5; 1562, STC 3381,); <i>A Dietary of Health, Selections</i> (1550, STC 3373) |
| William Middleton (td 1541-1547 [the date of death]) | <i>A Dietary of Health</i> (1544, STC 3387.7); <i>The Breviary of Health</i> (1547, STC 3373.5) |
| Robert Copland (td 1508-1548) | <i>The Principles of Astronomy</i> (1547?, STC 3386) |
| William Copland (td 1545 [uncertain]-1569) Successor to printing house of Robert Copland | <i>The First Book of the Introduction of Knowledge</i> (1555?, STC 3383; 1562?, STC 3385) |
| William Powell (td 1535 [uncertain]-1570) Successor to William Middleton (married Middleton's widow Elizabeth). Master of Thomas Colwell and Hugh Jackson | <i>A Dietary of Health</i> (1547, STC 3380); <i>The Breviary of Health</i> (1552, STC 3374; 1557, STC 3375) |
| Thomas Colwell (td 1560-1575) | ? <i>Scoggin's Jest</i> (?1570) <i>A Dietary of Health</i> (1562, STC 3381), <i>The Mad Men of Gotham</i> (1565, STC 1020.5) |
| Thomas East (td 1565-1608) Associated Henry Middleton (td 1567-1572), son of William | <i>The Breviary of Health</i> (1575, STC 3376; 1587, STC 3377; 1598, STC 3378) |
| Hugh Jackson (td 1572 [date of freedom]-1616) Married widow of Thomas Colwell | <i>A Dietary of Health</i> (1576, STC 3382) |
| Richard Jones (td 1564-1602) | <i>The Milner of Abington</i> (c. 1576, STC 79) |
| Miles Flesher (td 1611-1664) for Francis Williams (td 1626-1630) | <i>Scoggin's Jest</i> (1626, STC 21850.7) |

Table 3: The 1613 *Scoggin's Jests*

| | |
|----|--|
| 1 | How Scoggin was banished out of England. |
| 2 | How Scoggin made an Oration at Calis. |
| 3 | How Scoggin plaid the Phision. |
| 4 | How Scoggin got himselfe an Office. |
| 5 | How Scoggin feasted the Knight his Master. |
| 6 | How the Knight was lodged in Scoggins house. |
| 7 | How Scoggin was hired to be a Horse coursers seruant with whom he dwelled. |
| 8 | How Scoggin set a whole towne together by the cares. |
| 9 | How Scoggin made the country people offer their money to a dead mans head. |
| 10 | How Scoggin deceiued a Vintner at Paris in France. |
| 11 | How Scoggin got a twelue monthes boord of an Inne-keeper. |
| 12 | How Scoggin gaue a Dutchman a Purgation. |
| 13 | How Sooggin frighted his hoast with the skin of a dead Beare. |
| 14 | How Scoggin answered to all manner of questions that was asked him. |
| 15 | Of the merry talke a country-woman had with Scoggin. |
| 16 | How Scoggin taught a French-man Latin to carry him to the Pope. |
| 17 | How Scoggin cousoned the Friers in Rome. |
| 18 | How Scoggin sate at the Popes table. |
| 19 | How Scoggin vsed a Taylor in Rome. |
| 20 | How Scoggin tooke a Frier tardie. |
| 21 | How Scoggin coniured a walking Ghost. |
| 22 | How Scoggin put a Country Gentleman out of his Dreame. |
| 23 | How Scoggin asked a Frier a question. |
| 24 | Of the Frier and the Coblers man. |
| 25 | How Scoggin counselled the Frier to forsake swearing. |
| 26 | How Scoggin lay all night with a Glouers wife |
| 27 | How Scoggin deceiued a Doctor of Phisicke. |
| 28 | How Scoggin proued the Doctor, a foole by Nature. |
| 29 | How Scoggin the third time made a foole of M. Doctor. |
| 30 | How Scoggin answered a Popish Preist. |
| 31 | Of a Iesuite that spake against Scoggin. |
| 32 | How Scoggin questioned with the aforesaid Iesuite. |
| 33 | Of anorher question propounded to this Iesuit. |
| 34 | How Scoggin proued Mustard to haue wit. |
| 35 | How Scoggin cousned a Frier of twenty duckets. |
| 36 | Of Scoggins wrongfull accusation. |
| 37 | Scoggin deceiued by a country wench. |
| 38 | How Scoggin deceiued a Drapers maide. |
| 39 | Of Scoggins short answere at dinner while. |
| 40 | How Scoggin for one day, serued in a Priests roome. |

- 41 How Scoggin and three or foure more deceiued a Tapster in Rome.
- 42 The talke which Scoggin had with a pretty woman.
- 43 Of Scoggin and an Vsurer.
- 44 How Scoggin got away the Abbots Horse fram him.
- 45 How Scoggin was made Priest. at Rome.
- 46 How Scoggin saued his head from cutting off.
- 47 How Scoggin iested with a Boy in the street.
- 48 How Scoggin escaped imprisonment.
- 49 How Scoggin serued an old woman at Rome.
- 50 Of Scoggin and a countrey Milke maide.
- 51 How Scoggin deceiued an Inneholder at Venice.
- 52 Scoggins description of a pot of Ale.
- 53 How Scoggin gaue a reckoning Pot.
- 54 How Scoggin made a Cobler beleeeue that he was dead.
- 55 Of Scoggins most strange and monstrous beast.
- 56 How Scoggin bestowed vpon his friends excellent good Sammon.
- 57 Scoggins opinion of Oysters.
- 58 Scoggins resolution of a question,
- 59 How Scoggin, by his wit got a suite of apparell by a Courtier.
- 60 How Scoggin excused a painters fault.
- 61 How Scoggin deceiued a Butcher in a market towne.
- 62 How Scoggin deceiued the Butcher another way.
- 63 How Scoggin excommunicated his parishioners.
- 64 How Scoggin ouer-tooke a Priest and kept company with him, and how hee and the
priest prayed for money
- 65 How the Pope came to heare Scoggin say Seruice.
- 66 How Soggin serued a country Squire.

Source: Anon, The 1613 *Scoggin's Jests* (*Scoggin's Jests, Part 2*), (London: Printed by Raph Blower [etc.], 1613).

Table 4: The 1626 *Scogin's Jests*

| | |
|----|---|
| 1 | VVHat shift <i>Scogin</i> & his chamberfellow made to fare well in Lent. |
| 2 | What shift <i>Scogin</i> made, when he lacked money. |
| 3 | How <i>Scogin</i> deceiued the skinner. |
| 4 | How Iack got his dinner. |
| 5 | How Iack made his masterpay a penny for her ring bones. |
| 6 | How Iacke made of two egges three. |
| 7 | How a husbandman put his son to schoole with <i>Scogin</i> . |
| 8 | How <i>Scogin</i> & his scholler went to seeke his horse. |
| 9 | <i>Scogins</i> scholler took orders |
| 10 | The scholler said, <i>Tom Miller</i> of <i>Osney</i> was <i>Iacobs</i> father |
| 11 | <i>Scogins</i> scholier made priest |
| 12 | How the Priest excused himselfe for not preaching. |
| 13 | How the Priest fell asleepe at Masse. |
| 14 | How the Priest said <i>Requiem eternam</i> on Easter day. |
| 15 | How the Priest said, <i>Deus qui gint i filij tui</i> . |
| 16 | How the priest was accused for keeping a wench. 23 |
| 17 | How the parson said, <i>Anupsimus quesimus Domine</i> . |
| 18 | How <i>Scogin</i> told the hunter he had found a hare. |
| 19 | How <i>Scogin</i> told his fellows of a Pickerell. |
| 20 | [...] |
| 21 | How <i>Scogin</i> drew out an old womans tooth. |
| 22 | How <i>Scogin</i> gaue a medicine to make one goe to it. |
| 23 | How <i>Scogin</i> gaue one a medicine to find his horse. |
| 24 | How <i>Scogin</i> was robbed. |
| 25 | <i>Scogin</i> parbraked a Crow. |
| 26 | How Sogin caused his wife to be let blood. |
| 27 | How <i>Scogin</i> and his wife made an heire. |
| 28 | How <i>Scogin</i> got the Abbots horse. |
| 29 | How <i>Scogin</i> broght a dogs [...]urd to know what powder it was. |
| 30 | How <i>Scogin</i> did draw a Tooth-drawers tooth. |
| 31 | How <i>Scogin</i> did serue the poore folkes. |
| 32 | How <i>Scogin</i> came to the court, and won 20 pound. |
| 33 | How he leapt ouer the Tables. |
| 34 | How <i>Scogin</i> gaue one a goose leg. |
| 35 | <i>Scogin</i> was desired to sweepe a Lords chamber. |
| 36 | How <i>Scogin</i> said he had a wall eye. |
| 37 | How <i>Scogin</i> drew his son vp & downe the Court. |
| 38 | How <i>Scogin</i> greased a fat low. |
| 39 | How the King gaue <i>Scogin</i> a |
| 40 | How <i>Scogin</i> played horse play. |

- 41 How *Scogin* let a fart, and said it was worth forty pounds.
- 42 How *Scogin* beg'd 500 Okes.
- 43 How *Scogin* wold make a shepheard aske blessing.
- 44 How a Cowheard taught him his cunning in the weather.
- 45 How a man told *Scogin* hee thought the building of *Pauls* cost forty shillings.
- 46 Of him that thought *Paules* steeple so high, that none might looke ouer it.
- 47 How *Scogin* desired to say, Aue Maria in the Kings eare.
- 48 How *Scogin* chalked his wife the way to Church.
- 49 How *Scogin* desired the Queen to know whether riches would not tempt women.
- 50 How *Scogin* escaped beating
- 51 How *Scogins* wife came to the Queene.
- 52 How *Scogin* whined like a dog.
- 53 How *Scogin* would flye into England.
- 54 How *Scogin* prayed for an 100 French Crownes.
- 55 How *Scogin* was new christened.
- 56 How *Scogin* deceiued a Doctor of Physicke.
- 57 And a Tapster.
- 58 [...]
- 59 And the Draper.
- 60 How *Scogin* told a shoemaker he was not at home.
- 61 How the shoemaker gaue *Scogin* forty shil'ing to haue his house made greater.
- 62 How *Scogin* could not doe two things at once.
- 63 How the French King shewed *Scogin* the King of Englands picture.
- 64 How *Scogin* put french earth into his shooes.
- 65 How *Scogin* deceiued the poore folkes.
- 66 How *Scogin* talked with a fellow that kept Oxen.
- 67 What shift *Scogin* made for boots.
- 68 How *Scogin* & the priest prayed for money.
- 69 How *Scogin* came to court like a monstrous beast.
- 70 How *Scogin* asked the King & Queene forgiuenesse.
- 71 How *Scogin* told the Queene what a great study he was in
- 72 How diuers Gentlemen came to *Scogins* house to make merry. 89
- 73 How *Scogin* fell sicke.
- 74 How *Scogin* was shriuen.
- 75 Where *Scogin* desired to be buried.
- 76 What *Scogin* said when he took [...]

Source: Andrew Boorde, *Scoggin's Jests* (London: Printed [by Miles Flesher] for Francis Williams, 1626).

Table 5: *A Hundred Merry Tales*

| | |
|----|--|
| 1 | Of the miller that said he heard never but of two commandments and two doubts. |
| 2 | Of the citizen that called the priest Sir John & he called him Master Rafe. |
| 3 | Of the wife that made her husband to go sit in the arbor in the night while her 'prentice lay with her in bed. |
| 4 | Of him that played the devil and came through the warren and made them that stole the coneys to run away. |
| 5 | Of the sick man that bequeathed his third son a little ground with the gallows. |
| 6 | Of the gentleman that lost his ring in the gentlewoman's bed & another gentleman found it after in the same bed. |
| 7 | Of the husbandman that asked for Master Pispot the Philosopher. |
| 8 | Of the scholar that bore his shoes to clouting. |
| 9 | Of him that said that a woman's tongue was lightest meat of digestion. |
| 10 | Of the woman that followed her fourth husband's hearse & wept. |
| 11 | Of the woman that said her wooer came too late. |
| 12 | Of the miller with the golden thumb. |
| 13 | Of the horseman of Ireland that prayed O'Conner to hang up the friar. |
| 14 | Of the priest that said neither "corpus meus" nor "corpum meum." |
| 15 | Of the two friars, whereof the one loved not the eel head nor the other the tail. |
| 16 | Of the welchman that shrove him for breaking his fast on the Friday. |
| 17 | Of the merchant of London that put nobles in his mouth in his death bed. |
| 18 | Of the miller that stole the nuts & of the tailor that stole a sheep. |
| 19 | Of the four elements, where they should soon be found. |
| 20 | Of the woman that poured the pottage in the Judge's male. |
| 21 | Of the wedded men that came to heaven to claim their heritage. |
| 22 | Of the merchant that charged hi son to find one to sing for his soul. |
| 23 | Of the maid washing clothes and answered the friar. |
| 24 | Of the three wise men of Gotham. |
| 25 | Of the gray friar that answered his penitent. |
| 26 | Of the gentleman that bare the siege board on his neck. |
| 27 | Of the merchant's wife that said she would take a nap at sermon. |
| 28 | Of the woman that said an' she lived another year, she would have a cuckold's hat of her own. |
| 29 | Of the gentleman that wished his tooth in the gentlewoman's tail. |
| 30 | Of the welchman that confessed him how he had slain a friar. |
| 31 | Of the welchman that could not get but a little male. |
| 32 | Of the gentlewoman that said to a gentleman "Ye have a beard above & none beneath." |
| 33 | Of the friar that said Our Lord fed five thousand people with two fishes. |
| 34 | Of the franklin that would have had the friar gone. |
| 35 | Of the good man that said to his wife he had ill fare. |

- 36 Of the friar that bad his child make a-Latin.
- 37 Of the gentleman that asked the friar for his beaver.
- 38 Of the three men that chose the woman.
- 39 Of the gentleman that taught his cook the medicine for the toothache.
- 40 Of the gentleman that promised the scholar of Oxford a sarcenet typet.
- 41 Of Master Skelton that brought the Bishop of Norwich two pheasants.
- 42 Of the yeoman of guard that said he would beat the carter.
- 43 Of the priest that said Our Lady was not so curious a woman.
- 44 Of the fool that would go to the devil.
- 45 Of the plowman's son that said he saw one make a goose to creak sweetly.
- 46 Of the maid's answer that was with child.
- 47 Of the servant that rhymed with his master.
- 48 Of the welchman that delivered the letter to the ape.
- 49 Of him that sold right nought.
- 50 Of the friar that told the three childers' fortune.
- 51 Of the boy that bare the friar — his master's — money.
- 52 Of Philip Spencer the butcher's man.
- 53 Of the courtier and the carter.
- 54 Of the young man that prayed his fellow to teach him his Pater Noster.
- 55 Of the friar that preached in rhyme, expounding the Ave Maria.
- 56 Of the curate that preached the Articles of the Creed.
- 57 Of the friar that preached the Ten Commandments.
- 58 Of the wife that bad her husband eat the candle first.
- 59 Of the man of law's son's answer.
- 60 Of the friar in the pulpit that bad the woman leave her babbling.
- 61 Of the welchman that cast the scot into the sea.
- 62 Of the man that had the dumb wife.
- 63 Of the proctor of Arches that had the little wife.
- 64 Of the two nuns that were shriven of one priest.
- 65 Of the esquire that should have been made knight.
- 66 Of the man that would have the pot stand there as he would.
- 67 Of the penitent that said: "The sheep of God have mercy upon me."
- 68 Of the husband that said he was John Daw.
- 69 Of the scholar of Oxford that proved by sophistry two chickens three.
- 70 Of the friar that stole the pudding.
- 71 Of the franklin's son that came to take orders.
- 72 Of the husbandman that lodged the friar in his own bed.
- 73 Of the priest that would say two gospels for a groat.
- 74 Of the courtier that did cast the friar over the boat.
- 75 Of the friar that preached what men's souls were.
- 76 Of the husband that cried "ble" under the bed.
- 77 Of the shoemaker that asked the collier: "What tidings in hell?"

- 78 Of Saint Peter that cried: "Cause bob!"
79 Of him that adventured body and soul for his prince.
80 Of the parson that stole the miller's eels.
81 Of the welchman that saw one 40 shillings better than God.
82 Of the friar that said "dirige" for the hog's soul.
83 Of the parson that said mass of requiem for Christ's soul.
89 Of Master Wittinton's dream.
90 Of the priest tat killed his horse called "Modicum."
91 Of the maltman of Colbrook.
92 Of the welchman that stole the Englishman's cock.
93 Of him that brought a bottle to a priest.
94 Of the indictment of Jhesu of Nazareth.
95 Of him that preached against them that rode on the Sunday.
96 Of the one brother that found a purse.
97 Of the answer of the mistress to the maid.
98 Of a certain alderman's deeds of London.
99 Of the northern man that was all heart.
100 Of the burning of Old John.

Source: P. M. Zall, ed., *A Hundred Merry Tales and Other English Jestbooks of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centruies* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1963).

Table 6: *Howleglas*

- 1 How Howleglas as he was born was christened three times upon one day.
- 2 How Howleglas answered a man that asked the highway.
- 3 How Howleglas sat upon his father's horse behind him.
- 4 How Howleglas fell from the rope into the water.
- 5 How Howleglas' mother learned him and bad him go to a craft.
- 6 How Howleglas got bread for his mother.
- 7 How Howleglas was stolen out of a beehive by night.
- 8 How Howleglas was hired of a priest.
- 9 How Howleglas was made a parish clerk.
- 10 How Howleglas would fly form a housetop.
- 11 How Howleglas made himself a physician and how he beguiled a doctor with his medicines.
- 12 How Howleglas made a sick child shite that afore might not shite and how he got great worship thereof.
- 13 How Howleglas made hole all the sick folk that were in the hospital where the spear of our Lord is.
- 14 How Howleglas was hired to be a baker's servant.
- 15 How Howleglas was put in wages with the foster of Anhalt for to watch upon a tower to see when his enemies came and then for to blow an horn to warn them thereof.
- 16 How Howleglas won a great deal of money with a point of foolishness.
- 17 How the Duke of Lunenborough banished Holweglas out of his land.
- 18 How Howleglas took upon him to be a painter.
- 19 How Howleglas had a great disputation with all the doctors of Pragem in Bremen.
- 20 How Howleglas became a pardoner.
- 21 How Howleglas did eat for money in the town of Banderbetch.
- 22 How Howleglas went to Rome to speak with the pope.
- 23 How Howleglas deceived three Jews with dirt.
- 24 How Howleglas had gotten the parson's horse by his confession.
- 25 How Howleglas was hired of a blacksmith.
- 26 How Howleglas was hired of a shoemaker.
- 27 How Howleglas sold turds for fat.
- 28 How Howleglas served a tailor.
- 29 How Howleglas through his subtle deceits deceived a wine drawer in Lubek.
- 30 How Howleglas became a maker of spectacles and how he could find no work in no land.
- 31 How Howleglas was hired of a merchant man to be his cook.
- 32 How Howleglas was desired to dinner.
- 33 How Howleglas won a piece of cloth of a man of the country.
- 34 How Howleglas gave 20 gildens to 12 poor men for Christ's love.

- 35 How Howleglas feared his host with a dead wolf.
- 36 How Howleglas flaid a hound and gave the skin for half his dinner.
- 37 How Howleglas served that same hostess another time and lay on a wheel.
- 38 How Howleglas set his hostess upon the hot ashes with her bare arse.
- 39 How Howleglas served a hollander with a roasted apple.
- 40 How Howleglas made a woman that sold earthen pots to smite them all in pieces.
- 41 How Howleglas broke the stairs that the monks should come down on to matins, and
how they fell down into the yard.
- 42 How Howleglas bought cream of the women of the country that brought it for to sell.
- 43 How Howleglas came to a scholar to make verses with him to the use of reason.
- 44 How Howleglas was sick at Mollen and how he did shite in the 'pothecary's boxes
and was borne in the Holy Ghost.
- 45 How Howleglas deceived his ghostly father.
- 46 How Howleglas made his testament.
- 47 How Howleglas was buried.

Source: P. M. Zall, ed., *A Hundred Merry Tales and Other English Jestbooks of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centruies* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1963).

Table 7: *The Merry Tales of Skelton*

- 1 How Skelton came late home to Oxford, from Abington. Tale. i.
- 2 How Skelton drest the Kendall man, in the sweat time.
- 3 Howe Skelton tolde the man that Chryst was very busye in the woodes with them that made fagots. Tale. iii.
- 4 Howe the Welshman dyd desyre Skelton to ayde hym in hys sute to the Kynge, for a Patent to sell drynke. The iiij. Tale.
- 5 Of Swanborne the knaue, that was buried vnder Saint Peters wall in Oxford.
- 6 Howe Skelton was complayned on to the Bishop of Norwich. Tale. vi.
- 7 Howe Skelton when hee came from the bishop, made a Sermon. Tale. vii.
- 8 How the Fryer asked leare of Skelton to preach at Dys, which Skelton wold not grant tale. viii.
- 9 How Skelton handled the Fryer that woulde needes lye with him in his Inne. Tale. ix.
- 10 Howe the Cardynall desyred Skelton to make an Epitaphe vpon his graue. Tale. x.
- 11 Howe the Hostler dyd byte Skeltons Mare vnder the tale, for biting him by the arme. Tale. xi.
- 12 Howe the Cobler tolde maister Skelton, it is good sleeping in a whole skinne. Tale. xii
- 13 How Master Skeltons Miller deceyued hym manye times, by playinge the theefe, and howe he was pardoned by Master Skelton, after the stealinge a waye of a Preest oute of his bed, at midnight. Tale. xiii.
- 14 [How Skelton was in prison at the commandment of the Cardinal]
- 15 Howe the vinteners wife put water into Skeltons wine. tale. xv.

Source: Anon, *The Merry Tales of Skelton* (London: Imprinted [...] by Thomas Colwell, [1567]); the description of Tale 14 is given by P. M. Zall (*A Hundred Merry Tales and Other English Jestbooks of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*, ed. by P. M. Zall [Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1963]).

Table 8: Tarlton's Name in Paratexts

| date | title | STC | author | printer |
|--------------|--|---------|-------------------|--|
| 1570 | <i>A Very Lamentable and Woeful Discourse of the Fierce Floods</i> | 23688 | Richard Tarlton | Entered 1570-71 |
| 8 Apr. 1580 | <i>A Warning for the Wise</i> | 5259 | Thomas Churchyard | Iohn Alde and Nicholas Lyng Entered to H. Bynneman 8 April [1580] |
| 1580 | <i>A Bright Burning Beacon</i> | 11037 | Friedrich Nausea | Henrie Denham Entered 27 June [1580] |
| 10 Dec. 1576 | <i>Tarletons toyes</i> | | ? | Richard Jones (td 1564-1602) |
| 2 Apr. 1577 | <i>A Floourish upon Fancy</i> | 3654 | Nicholas Breton | W. Howe for Richard Jones |
| | <i>The toyes of an idle heade</i> | | | |
| 1578 | <i>Tarlton's Tragical Treatises</i> | 23687.5 | Anon | By Henry Bynneman (td 1566-1583) |
| 1582 | repr. <i>A Flourish upon Fancy and The toyes of an idle heade</i> | 3655 | Nicholas Breton | Richard Jones |
| 1585 | [repr. <i>A Flourish upon Fancy and The toyes of an idle heade</i>] | 3655.5 | Nicholas Breton | Richard Jones |

Table 9: The Transmission of *Tarlton's Jests*

| date | copy holder or publication information (bookseller & printer) | indicator item(s) in the later list of entries | Other publications of jest-book & memorable event |
|-----------------|---|---|---|
| 4 Aug. 1600 | entered by Thomas Pavier | with 'a synner to his sad soule' a collection of prayers | |
| ? | John Budge | William Cowper's ' <i>Jacobs wrestlinge, the conduite of Comforte, the preparative to the passeouer</i> ' | |
| 21 Feb. 1609 | Clement Knight | William Guild's ' <i>Th[e] only way to Salvation</i> ' | |
| 1613 | for John Budge by Thomas Snodham the first extant edition of <i>Tarlton's Jests</i> (STC 23683.3) | | The 1613 <i>Scoggin's Jests</i> (STC 21851) |
| | | | 1614 & 1615 John Budge by Thomas Snodham William Cowper's <i>The Bishop of Galloway His Apology</i> |
| 1620 | <i>Tarlton's Jests</i> (STC 2683.5) | | |
| 4 Sep. 1626 | Robert Allot | 'Jacobs wrastlinge', 'The Workes of WILLIAM COWPER, ' <i>Sir John Harringtons Epigrammes</i> ', William Guild's <i>Moses Unvailed</i> | The 1626 <i>Scoggin's Jests</i> (STC 21850.7) & the 2nd jest-book boom |
| c.1630 | <i>Tarlton's Jests</i> (STC 23683.7) by George Purslowe | | <i>A Banquet of Jests</i> (1630, 1632?, 1633, 1634, 1636) |
| 1 Jan. 1637 | John Legat and Andrew Crooke via Mary Alott (the widow of Robert) | itemised separately from theological literature | |
| 1638 | <i>Tarlton's Jests</i> for Andrew Crook by John Haviland | | Haviland took business from Elizabeth Purslowe, George's widow |

Table 10: The Transmission of *Tarlton's News out of Purgatory**Tarlton's News out of Purgatory* (1590) from Robert Robinson to George Purslowe

| date | publisher(s) | STC | event & indicator person | printer |
|--------------|---|-------|---|-----------------|
| 26 June 1590 | entered by Thomas Gubbin & Thomas Newman | 23685 | printing stuff from the widow of Middleton | Robert Robinson |
| | | | a shop from Henry Middleton | |
| 1606 | | | Robinson's widow remarried to Richard Braddock his printing house was bought John Haviland and William Hall | |
| 1609 | | | resold to John Beale and John Pindley | |
| 1613 | | | Pindley's widow married to George Purslowe | |
| 1614 | by Thomas East | | | |
| 1630 | sold by Francis Grove | 23687 | | George Purslowe |

Tarlton's News out of Purgatory (1593) from Robert Robinson to Edward Allde

| date | publisher(s) | STC | event & indicator person | printer |
|-------|--------------|--------|---|--------------|
| 1593? | Edward White | 23685a | The device on the title page is common to the first edition by Robert Robinson in 1590. Richard Braddock also used the same device. | Edward Allde |

Table 11: The Transmission of *The Cobbler of Canterbury**The Cobbler of Caunterbury* from John Newbery to Nathaniel Butter

| date | publisher(s) | STC | event & indicator person | printer |
|------------------|-------------------------|--------|--|--|
| 1590 | | 4579 | The device on the title page is used by Robert Robinson. | by Robert Robinson |
| 12 June, 1600 | entered by John Newbery | | Joan Newbery, Nathaniel Butter's mother had already remarried John Newbery | |
| 1608 | for Nathaniel Butter | 4580 | | by Nicholas Okes |
| 1614 | for Nathaniel Butter | 4580.5 | | by Thomas Snodham, adoptive son of Thomas East |
| | | | | |
| 1630 | by Nathaniel Butter | 4581 | renamed with <i>The Tinker of Turvey</i> | |

Table 12: *Tarlton's Jests***Tarltons Court-Witty Jests.**

- 1 How Tarlton plaid the Drunkard before the Queene.
- 2 How Tarlton deceiued the Watch in Fleetstreet.
- 3 How Tarlton flowted a Lady in the Court.
- 4 Tarltons opinion of Oysters.
- 5 Tarltons resolution of a question
- 6 How a parsonage fell into Tarltons hands.
- 7 How Tarlton Proued two Gentlewomen dishonest by their owne words.
- 8 How Tarlton answered a wanton Gentlewoman.
- 9 How Tarlton dared a Lady.
- 10 How Tarlton landed at Cuckolds haven.
- 11 How Tarlton fought with blacke Davie.
- 12 How Tarlton answered the VVatchmen, comming from the Court.
- 13 Tarltons answer to a Courtier.
- 14 Tarltons quip for a yong Courtier.
- 15 Tarltons answeare to a Noblemans question.
- 16 Tarltons Iest to an vnthrifty Courtier.
- 17 How Tarlton flouted two Gallants.

Tarltons sound City Jests.

- 18 Tarltons iest of a red face.
- 19 A sudden and dangerous fray, twixt a Gentleman and Tarlton, which he put off with a iest.
- 20 Tarltons Iest of a Pippin.
- 21 A iest of an Apple hitting Tarlton on the face.
- 22 How Tarlton and one in the Gallery fell out.
- 23 How Fiddlers fiddled away Tarltons apparell.
- 24 Of Tarlton and a beggar.
- 25 How Tarlton deceived a Doctor of Physicke.
- 26 How Tarlton frighted a Country fellow.
- 27 How Tarlton was deceiued by his Wife in London.
- 28 One askt Tarlton what country man the Diuell was.
- 29 A Cheese-mongers question to Tarlton.
- 30 Tarltons answeare to a rich Londoner.
- 31 How Tarlton gaue away his dinner.
- 32 Tarltons answeare to a boy in a Rime.
- 33 How Tarlton bad himselfe to dinner to my Lord Maiors.
- 34 Tarltons Iest of a box on the eare.
- 35 Tarltons Iest to two Tailors.
- 36 How Tarlton iested at his wife.
- 37 How Tarlton committed a Rakers horse to ward.

- 38 How Tarlton made Armin his adopted sonne to succeed him.
 39 Tarltons greeting with Banks his Horse.
 40 An excellent Iest of Tarlton suddenly spoken.
 41 Tarltons Iest with a Boy in the street.
 42 A Iest of Tarlton, prouing Mustard to haue wit.
 43 How Tarlton tooke Tobacco at the first comming up of it.
- Tarltons pretty Countrey Iests.**
- 44 Tarltons wit betweene a Bird and a Wood-cock.
 45 Tarltons Iest of a Gridiron.
 46 Tarltons answer in defence of his flat nose.
 47 Tarltons Iest of a Bristow man.
 48 A Iest broke of Tarlton by a Country Gentleman.
 49 How Tarlton made one of his company utterly forswear drunkenness.
 50 How Tarlton saued his head from cutting off.
 51 How Tarlton escaped imprisonment.
 52 How Tarlton deceived a Country Wench.
 53 How Tarlton went to kill Crowes.
 54 How a poore Begger-man ouer-reached Tarlton by his wit.
 55 Of Tarltons pleasant answer to a Gallant by the high-way side.
 56 How Tarlton would haue drowned his Wife.
 57 How Tarlton made his Will and Testament.
 58 How Tarlton called a Gentleman knave by craft.
 59 Tarltons Iest of a Country Wench.
 60 How Tarlton deceived an Inne-holder at Sandwich.
 61 Of Tarltons Wrongfull accusation.
 62 Tarlton deceived by a Country wench.
 63 How Tarlton could not abide a Cat, and deceiued himselfe.
 64 How Tarlton and his Oastesse of Waltham met.
 65 Tarltons meeting with his Countrey acquaintance at Ilford.
 66 How a Maid drave Tarlton to a Non-plus.
 67 Tarltons answer to a question.
 68 Tarltons desire of enough for money.
 69 How Tarltons Dogge lickt vp six pence.
 70 Tarltons Iest of a Horse and a Man.
 71 Tarltons talke with a pretty Woman.
 72 A Iest of Tarlton to a great man.
 73 Tarltons Iest to a maid in the darke.
 74 Tarltons Iest to a Dogge.

Source: Anon, *Tarlton's Jests*, (London: Printed by J[ohn] H[aviland] for Andrew Crook [etc.], 1638).

Appendix B: Figures

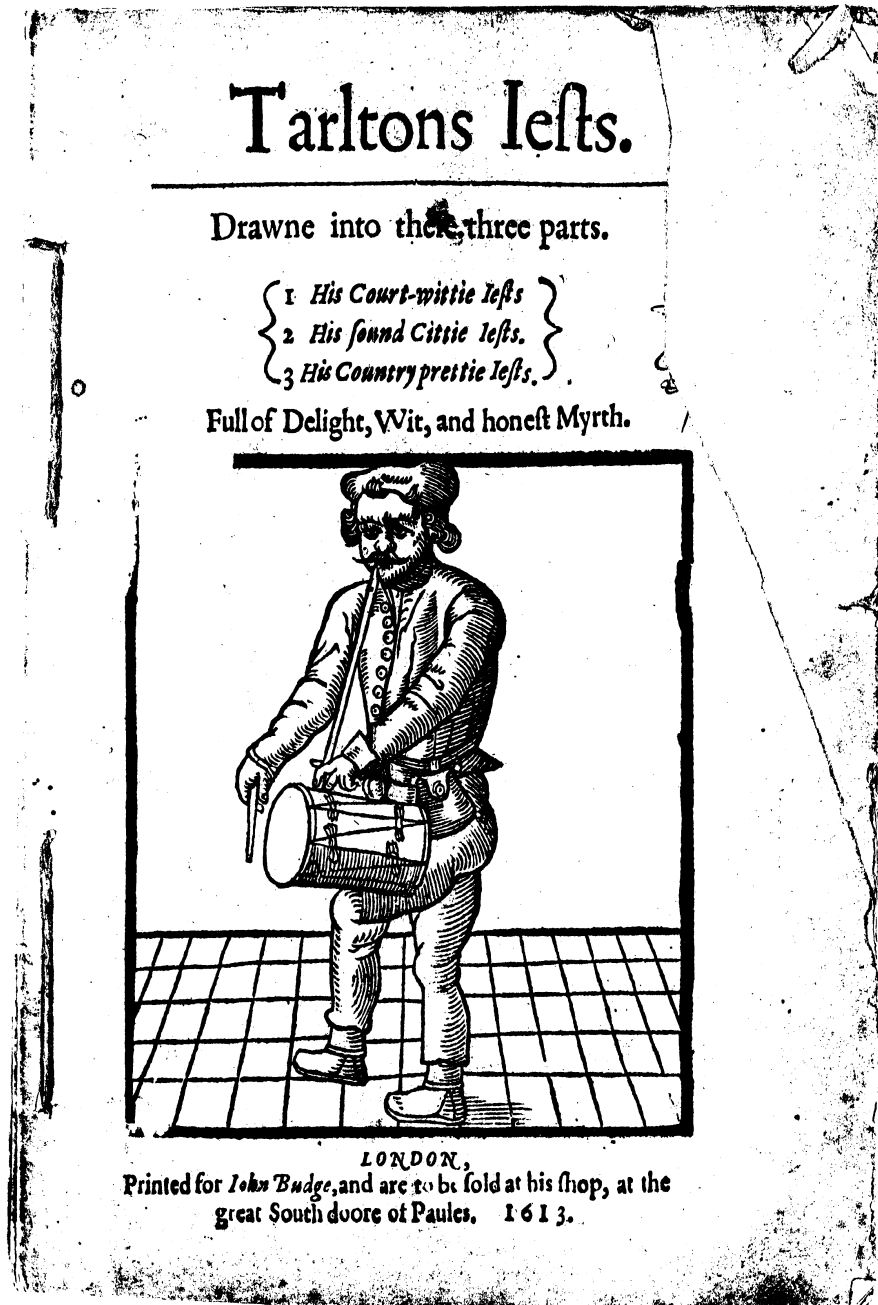
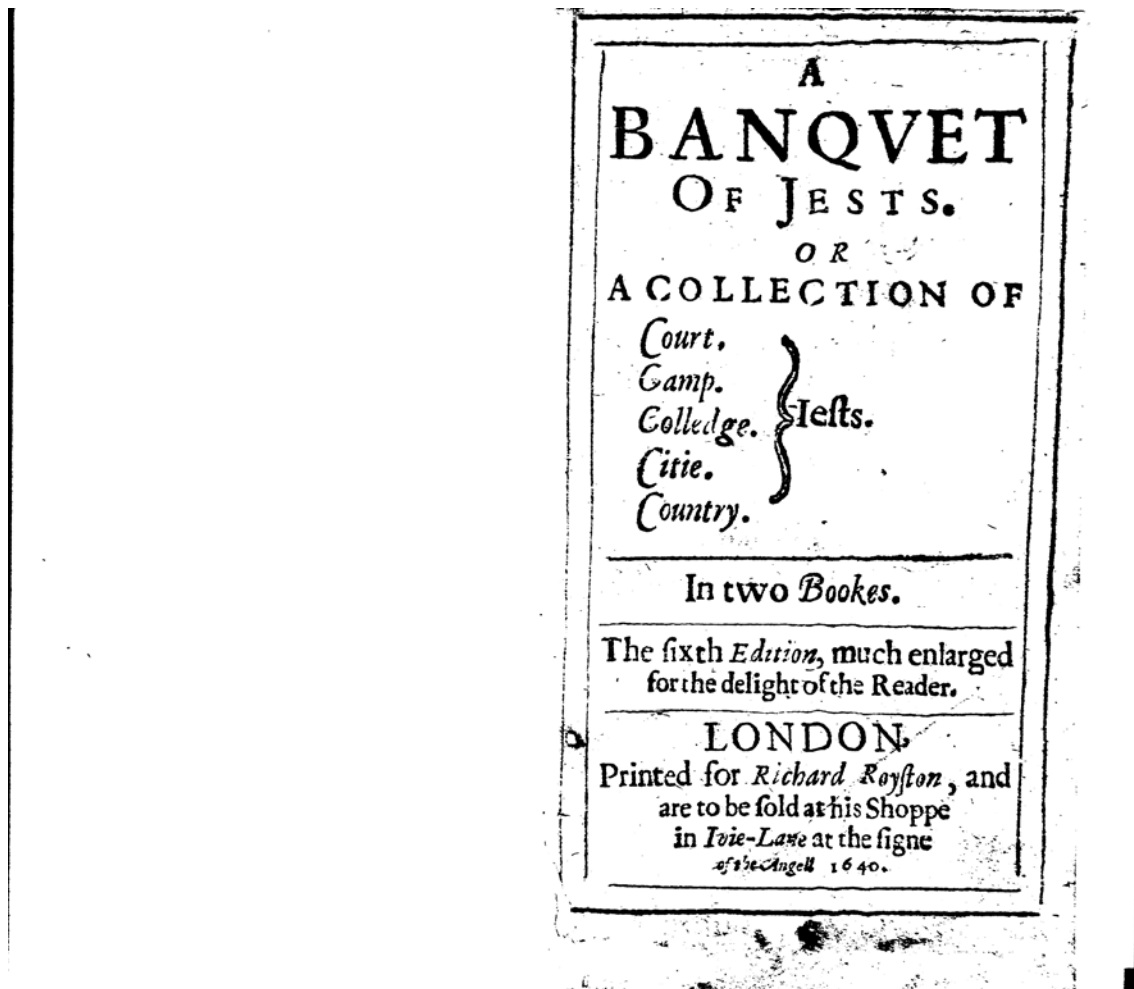
Figure 1: The Title Page of *Tarlton's Jests* (1613)Anon, *Tarlton's Jests* (London: Printed [by Thomas Snodham] for John Budge, 1613), sig. A1.

Figure 2: The Title Page of *Tarlton's Jests* (1638)



Anon, *Tarlton's Jests* (London: Printed by J[ohn] H[aviland] for Andrew Crook, 1638), sig. A1.

Figure 3: The Title Page of *A Banquet of Jests* (1640)

Anon, *A Banquet of Jests* (London: Printed [by M. Flesher] for Richard Royston, 1640), sig. A2.

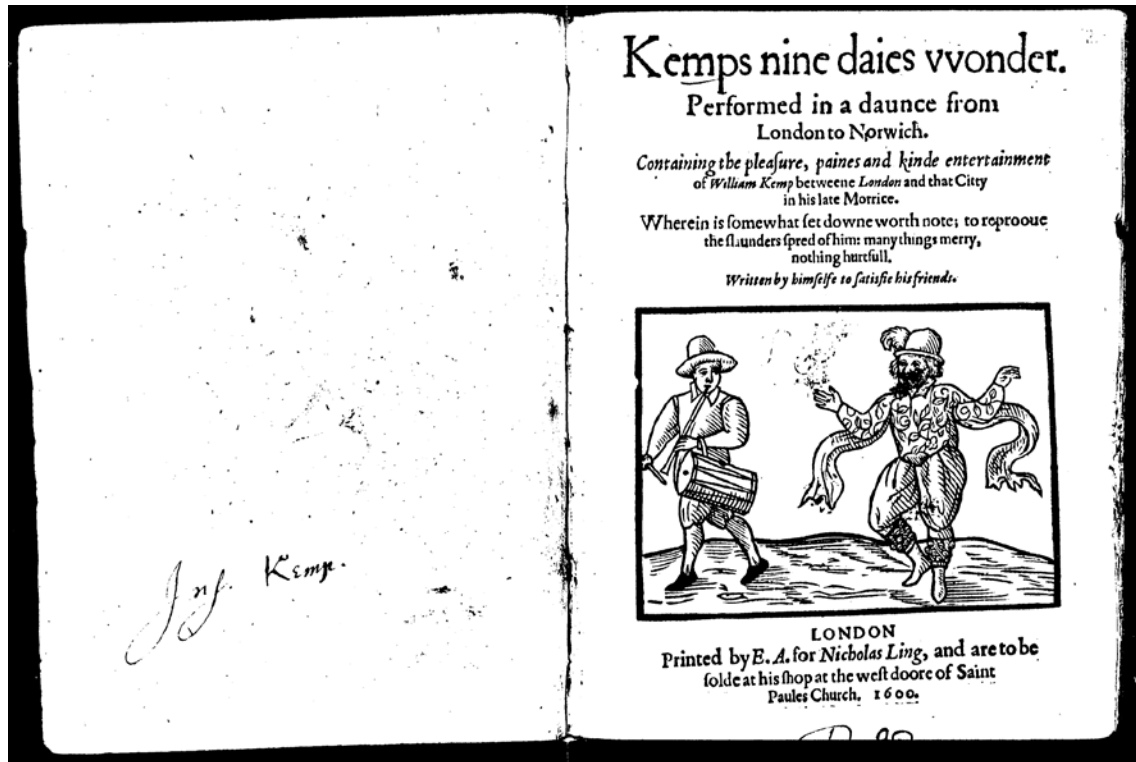
Figure 4: The Title Page of Kemp's *Nine Days' Wonder*William Kemp, *Nine Days' Wonder* (London: Printed by E. A[llde] for Nicholas Ling, 1600), sig. A1.

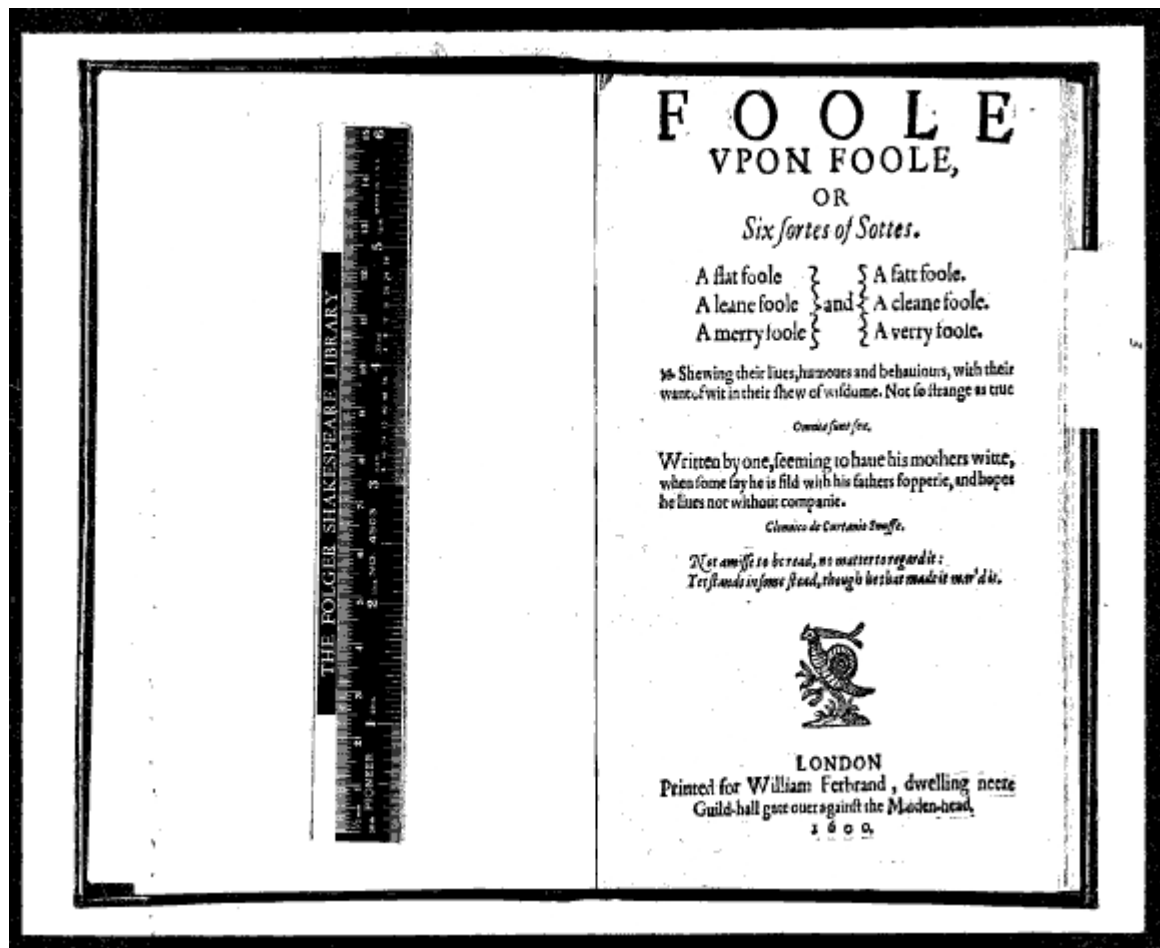
Figure 5: The Title Page of the 1600 edition of *Fool upon Fool*Robert Armin, *Fool upon Fool* (London: Printed [by E. Alde] for William Ferbrand, 1600), sig. A1.

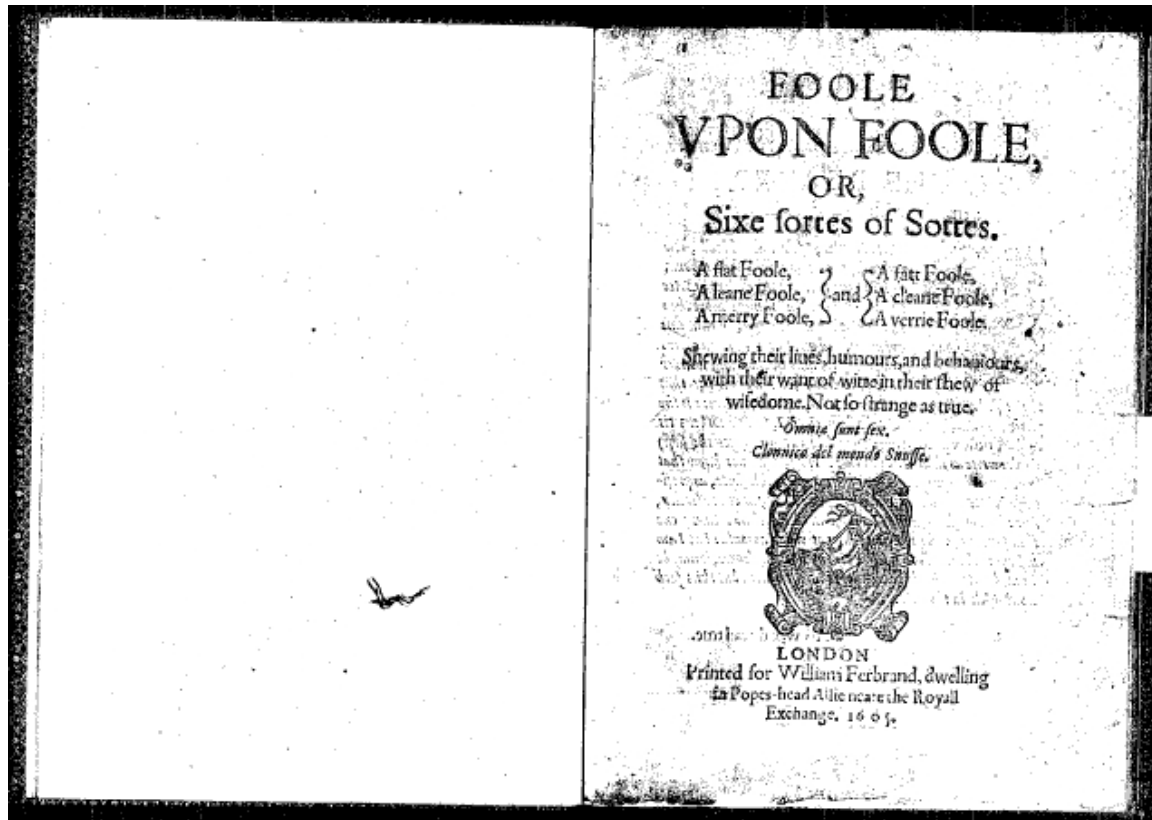
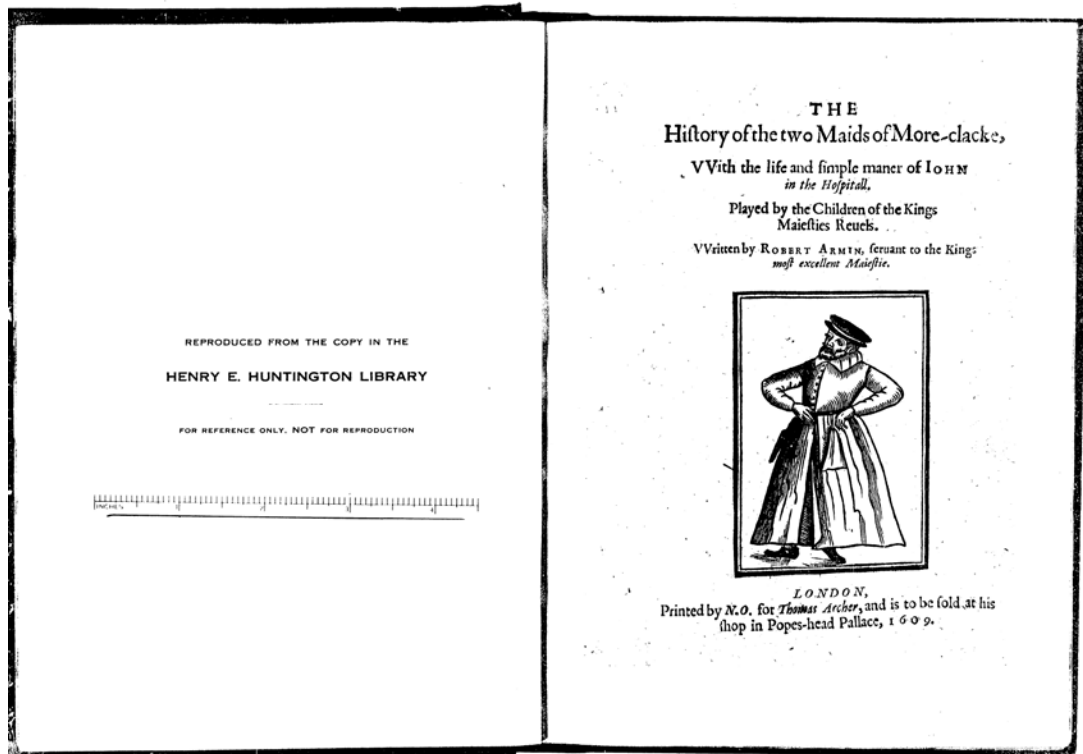
Figure 6: The Title Page of the 1605 edition of *Fool upon Fool*Robert Armin, *Fool upon Fool* (London: printed [by W. White and S. Stafford] for William Ferbrand, 1605), sig. A1.

Figure 7: The Title Page of *The Two Maids of More-Clack*

Robert Armin, *The History of the Two Maids of More-Clack* (London: Printed by N[icholas] O[kes] for Thomas Archer, 1609), sig. [2].

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Early Printed Materials

by authors, then title used throughout, with STC (*STC*, 2nd edn) or WING (*The Wing STC*, 2nd edn) reference number

Bibliographic entries match the name, the title, and the publication data exactly as given in the ESTC database

Anon, *A Banquet of Jests*, STC 1368.5

Anon, [*A banquet of ieasts. Or Change of cheare. Being a collection of moderne jests. Witty ieeres. Pleasant taunts. Merry tales*] ([London: printed for Richard Royston, 1632])

Anon, *A Banquet of Jests*, STC 1372

Anon, *A banquet of jests: or, Change of cheare. Being a collection, of moderne iests. Witty ieeres. Pleasant taunts. Merry tales. The second part newly published* (London: printed by M. Flesher for Richard Royston dwelling in Ivy Lane, 1633)

Anon, *A Banquet of Jests*, STC 1369

Anon, *A banquet of iests. Or Change of cheare. Being a collection of moderne jests. Witty ieeres. Pleasant taunts. Merry tales* (London: Printed [by M. Flesher] for Richard Royston, and are to be sold at his shoppe in Ivie-Lane next the Exchequer Office, 1634)

Anon, *A Banquet of Jests, Part 1*, STC 1369.5

Anon, *A banquet of jests: or, change of cheare, the first part. Being a collection, of moderne iests. Witty leeres. Pleasant taunts. Merry tales. Newly published* (London: printed by M. Flesher for Richard Royston, dwelling in Ivie Lane, 1636)

Anon, *A Banquet of Jests, Part 2*, STC 1373

Anon, *A banquet of jests: or, Change of cheare. The second part. Being a collection, of moderne iests. Witty ieeres. Pleasant taunts. Merry tales. Newly published* (London printed by M. Flesher for Richard Royston, dwelling in Ivie Lane, 1636)

Anon, *A Banquet of Jests*, STC 1370

Anon, *A banquet of jests. Or Change of cheare. Being a collection of moderne jests. Witty jeeres. Pleasant taunts. Merry tales* (London: Printed [by Thomas Cotes] for Richard Royston, and are to be sold at his shoppe in Ivie-Lane at the signe of the Angell, 1639)

Anon, *A Banquet of Jests*, STC 1371

Anon, *A banquet of jests. Or a collection of Court. Camp. Colledge. Citie. Country. Iests. In two bookes* (London: Printed [by M. Flesher] for Richard Royston, and are to be sold at his shoppe in Ivie-Lane at the signe of the Angell, 1640)

Anon, *A Banquet of Jests*, WING A3705

Anon, *A banquet of jests new and old. Or Change of cheare. Being a collection of modern jests witty jeeres pleasant taunts merrie tales* (London: printed for R. Royston at the Angell in Ivy-lane, 1657)

Anon, *The Cobbler of Canterbury*, STC 4579

Anon, *The cobler of Caunterburie, or An inuectiue against Tarltons newes out of purgatorie. A merrier iest then a clownes iigge, and fitter for gentlemens humors. Published with the cost of a dickar of cowe hides* (London: Printed by Robert Robinson, 1590)

Anon, *The Cobbler of Canterbury*, STC 4580

Anon, *The cobler of Canterburie. Or An inuectiue against Tarltons newes out of Purgatorie. A merrier iest then a clownes iigge, and fitter for gentlemens humors. Published with the cost of a dickar of cow-hides* (London: Printed by Nicholas Okes for Nathaniel Butter, and are to be sold at the signe of the pide Bull neere to Saint Austins gate, 1608)

Anon, *The Cobbler of Canterbury (The Merry Tales of the Cobbler of Canterbury)*, STC 4580.5

Anon, *The merry tales of the cobler of Canterburie. As hee passed from Billings-gate to Graues-end. With an inuectiue against Tarltons newes out of Purgatory. Together vvith his description of the eight orders of Cuckolds. Newly published at his owne cost: without the helpe of th shoemakers* (London: Printed [by T. Snodham] for Nathaniel Butter, and are to be sould at the signe of the Pide-Bull neere to Saint Austins gate, 1614)

Anon, *Dobson's Dry Bobs*, STC 6930

Anon. *Dobsons drie bobbes: sonne and heire to Skoggin. Full of mirth and delightful recreation* (London: Printed by Valentine Simmes, 1607)

Anon, *Hind's Jests*, WING N1177

Anon, *No jest like a true jest being a compendious record of the merry life and mad exploits of Capt James Hind the great robber of England: together with the close of all at Worcester where he was drawn, hang'd and quartered for high-treason against the common-wealth, Septemb. 24 1652* (London: Printed for J. Deacon, 1657)

Anon, *Howleglas*, 10563.5

Anon, [Here beginneth a merye iest of a man that was called Howleglas] (London: W. Copland, 1555?)

Anon, *A Hundred Merry Tales*, STC 23663

Anon, *A, C, mery talys* ([London: J. Rastell, 1526?])

Anon, *A Knack to Know a Knave*, STC 15027

Anon, *A most pleasant and merie nevv comedie, intituled, A knacke to knowe a knaue. Newlie set foorth, as it hath sundrie tymes bene played by Ed. Allen and his companie. VVith Kemps applauded merrimentes of the men of Goteham, in receiuing the King into Goteham* (Imprinted at London: By [i.e. for] Richard Iones, dwelling at the signe of the Rose and Crowne, nere Holborne bridge, 1594)

Anon, *The Mad Men of Gotham*

See under **Boorde**

Anon, *Mar-Martine*, STC 17461

Anon, *Mar-Martine, I know not why a trueth in rime set out maie not as wel mar Martine and his mates, as shamelesse lies in prose-books cast about marpriests, & prelates, and subvert whole states. For where truth builds, and lying overthroes, one truth in rime, is worth ten lies in prose* (London?: s.n., 1589)

Anon, *Mery Tales and Quick Answers*, STC 23665

Anon, *Tales, and quicke answers, very mery, and pleasant to rede* (Imprinted at London: In Fletestrete, in the house of Thomas Berthelet, nere to the Cundite, at the sygne of Lucrece, [1532?])

Anon, *The Merry Tales of Skelton*, STC 22618

Anon, *Merie tales newly imprinted [and] made by Master Skelton Poet Laureat* (Imprinted at London: In Fleetstreat beneath the Conduit at the signe of S. Iohn Euangelist, by Thomas Colwell, [1567])

Anon, *The Milner of Abington*

See under **Boorde**

Anon, *The Odcombian Banquet*, STC 5810

Anon, *The Odcombian banquet: dished forth by Thomas the Coriat, and serued in by a number of noble wits in prayse of his Crudities and Crambe too. Asinus portans mysteria* ([London]: Imprinted [by George Eld] for Thomas Thorp, 1611)

Anon, *The Parson of Kalenborow*, STC 14894.5

Anon, [*The parson of Kalenborowe*] (Antwerp: J. van Doesborch?, ca. 1520)

Anon, *Peele's Jests*, STC 19541

Anon, *Merrie conceited iests of George Peele Gentleman, sometimes a student in Oxford. VVherein is shewed the course of his life how he liued: a man very well knowne in the Citie of London and elsewhere* (London: Printed by Nicholas Okes for Francis Faulkner and Henrie Bell, and are to be sold at his shop in new Fish-streete neere to East-cheape, 1607)

Anon, *The 1626 Scoggin's Jests, (Scoggin's Jests, Part 1)*, STC 21850.7

See under **Boorde**

Anon, *The 1613 Scoggin's Jests, (Scoggin's Jests, Part 2)*, STC 21851

Anon, *Scoggins iestes. Wherein is declared his pleasant pastimes in France, and of his meriments among the fryers: full of delight and honest mirth* (London: Printed by Raph Blower, dwelling in Lambert hill neare old Fish street, 1613)

Anon, *The Sinner's Sacrifice*, 22577

Anon, *The sinner's sacrifice. Certeine prayers and godly meditatyons very nedefull for euery Christen* (Imprinted at London: By the Widdow Simson, for Thomas Pauier, 1601)

Anon, *Tarlton's Jests*, STC 23683.3

Anon, *Tarltons iests. Drawne into these three parts. 1 His court-wittie iests 2 His sound cittie iests. 3 His country prettie iests. Full of delight, wit, and honest myrth* (London: Printed [by Thomas Snodham] for Iohn Budge, and are to be sold at his shop, at the great South doore of Paules, 1613)

Anon, *Tarlton's Jests*, STC 23684

Anon, *Tarltons jests. Drawne into these three parts. 1 His court-witty iests. 2 His sound city iests. 3 His countrey pretty iests. Full of delight, wit, and honest mirth* (London: Printed by I[ohn] H[aviland] for Andrew Crook, and are to be sold in Pauls Church-yard, at the signe of the Beare, 1638)

Anon, *Tarlton's Jests*, STC 23683.5

Anon, [*Tarltons jests. Drawne into these three parts.*] (London: s.n., ca. 1620)

Anon, *Tarlton's Jests*, STC 23683.7

Anon, [*Tarltons jests. Drawne into these three parts.*] (London: G. Purslowe, 1630?)

Anon, *Tarlton's News out of Purgatory*, STC 23685

Anon, *Tarltons newes out of purgatorie. Onely such a iest as his iigge, fit for gentlemen to laugh at an houre, &c. Published by an old companion of his, Robin Goodfellow* (At London: Printed [by R. Robinson] for T. G[ubbin] and T. N[ewman], 1590)

Anon, *Tarlton's News out of Purgatory*, STC 23685a

Anon, *Tarltons newes out of purgatorie. Onelye such a iest as his iigge, fit for gentlemen to laugh at an houre, &c. Published by an old companion of his, Robin Goodfellow* (At London: Printed [by Edward Allde] for Edward VVhite, [1593?])

Anon, *Tarlton's News out of Purgatory*, STC 23686

Anon, *Tarltons nevves out of purgatory. Onely such a iest as his iigge, fit for gentlemen to laugh at an houre, &c. Published by an old companion of his, Robin Goodfellow* (London: Printed by George Purslowe, and are to be sold by Francis Groue, on Snow-hill, at the signe of the Wind-mill, neere vnto St. Sepulchres Church, 1630)

Anon, *Tarlton's Tragical Treatises*, STC 23687.5

Anon, *Tarletons tragical treatises, contaynyng sundrie discourses and prety conceytes, both in prose and verse* (Imprinted at London: By Henry Bynneman, An. 1578)

Anon, *Till Eulenspiegel*, STC 10563

Anon, [Howe Howleglas deseyued a wynedrawer in Lubeke] ([Antwerp] J. van Doesborch?, ca. 1510?)

Anon, *The Tinker of Turvey*, STC 4581

Anon, *The tincker of Turuey, his merry pastime in his passing from Billingsgate to Graues-end. The barge being freighted with mirth, and mann'd with these persons Trotter the tincker. Yerker, a cobler. Thumper, a smith. Sr. Rowland a scholler. Bluster a sea-man. And other mad-merry fellowes, euery-one of them telling his tale ... The eight seuerall orders of cuckolds, marching here likewise in theyr horned rankes*

(London: Printed for Nath: Butter, dwelling at St. Austins Gate, 1630)

Anon, *Whip for an Ape*, STC17464

Anon, *A vvhip for an ape: or Martin displaid* (London?: Printed by T. Orwin?, 1589?)

Aray, *The Discovery and Confutation of a Tragical Fiction*, STC 9

Aray, Martin, *The discoverie and confutation of a tragical fiction, deuysed and played by Edward Squyer yeoman soldiari, hanged at Tyburne the 23. of Nouemb. 1598. Wherein the argument and fable is, that he should be sent from Spaine by William Walpole Iesuit, to poyson the Queen and Earle of Essex, but the meaning and moralization therof was, to make odious the Iesuites, and by them all Catholiques. ... VVritten for the only loue and zeale of truth against forgerie, by M.A. preest, that knew and dealth with Squyer in Spayne* ([Antwerp]: Imprinted vvith licence [by A. Coninx], Anno M.D.XCIX. [1599])

Armin, *Fool upon Fool*, STC 772.3

Armin, Robert, *Foole vpon foole, or Six sortes of sottes. A flat foole a leane foole a merry foole and a fatt foole. A cleane foole. A verrie foole. Shewing their liues, humours and behauours, with their want of wit in their shew of wisdom. Not so strange as true omnis sunt sex. Written by one, seeming to haue his mothers witte, when some say he is fild with his fathers fopperie, and hopes he liues not without companie. Clonnico de Curtanio Snuffe* (London: Printed [by E. Allde] for William Ferbrand, dwelling neere Guild-hall gate ouer against the maiden-head, 1600)

Armin, *Fool upon Fool*, STC 772.5

Armin, Robert, *Foole vpon foole, or Sixe sortes of sottes. A flat foole, a leane foole, a merry foole, and a fatt foole, a cleane foole, a verrie foole. Shewing their liues, humours, and behauours, with their want of wit in their shew of wisdom. Not so strange as true* (London: printed [by W. White and S. Stafford] for William Ferbrand, dwelling in Popes-head Allie neare the Royall Exchange, 1605)

Armin, *The Italian Taylor, and His Boy*, STC 774

Armin, Robert, *The Italian taylor, and his boy. By Robert Armin, seruant to the Kings most excellent [sic] Maiestie* (At London: printed for T. Pavier?, 1609)

Armin, *A Nest of Ninnies*, STC 772.7 (The Folger copy)

Armin, Robert, *[A nest of ninnies. Simply of themselues without compound. Stultorum plena sunt omnia. By Robert Armin]* (London: Printed by T. E[ast] for Iohn Deane, 1608)

Armin, *Quips upon Questions*, STC 775.5

Armin, Robert, *Quips vpon questions, or, A clownes conceite on occasion offered. bewraying a morrallised metamorphoses of changes vpon interrogatories: shewing a litle wit, with a great deale of will; or in deed, more desirous to please in it, then to profite by it. Clapt vp by a clowne of the towne in this last restraint, hauing litle else to doe, to make a litle vse of his fickle muse, and carelesle carping. By Clunnyco de Curtanio Snuffe. . .* (Imprinted at London: [By W. White] for W. Ferbrand, and are to be sold at the signe of the Crowne ouer against the Mayden head neare Yelehall, 1600)

Armin, *The Two Maids of More-Clack*, STC 773

Robert Armin, *The history of the two maids of More-clacke, vvith the life and simple maner of Iohn in the hospitall. Played by the Children of the Kings Maiesties Reuels. VVritten by Robert Armin, seruant to the Kings most excellent Maiestie* (London: Printed by N[icholas] O[kes] for Thomas Archer, and is to be sold at his shop in Popes-head Pallace, 1609)

Bastard, *Chrestoleros*, STC 1559

Bastard, Thomas, *Chrestoleros. Seu en bookes of epigrames written by T B.* (Imprinted at London: By Richard Bradocke for I[ohn] B[roome] and are to be sold at her shop in Paules Church-yarde at the signe of the Bible, 1598)

Blaeu, *The Sea-mirror*, STC 3113

Blaeu, Willem Janszoon, *The sea-mirroure containing, a briefe instruction in the art of navigation; and a description of the seas and coasts of the easterne, northerne, and vvesterne navigation; collected and compiled together out of the discoueries of many skilfull and expert sea-men, by Willia Iohnson Blaeuw; and translated out of Dutch into English, by Richard Hynmers* (Amsterdam: Printed by VVilliam Iohnson Blaeuw, dvvelling vpon the water, by the Old Bridge, at the signe of the Golden Sunne-Dyall, 1625)

Bohun, *Character of Queen Elizabeth*, WING B3448

Bohun, Edmund, *The character of Queen Elizabeth. Or, A full and clear account of her policies, and the methods of her government both in church and state. Her virtues and defects. Together with the characters of her principal ministers of state. And the greatest part of the affairs and events that happened in her times. Collected and faithfully represented, by Edmund Bohun, Esquire* (London: printed for Ric. Chiswell, at the Rose and Crown in St. Paul's Church-yard, 1693)

Boorde, *The Breviary of Health*, STC 3373.5

Boorde, Andrew, *The breuiary of helthe, for all maner of syckenesses and diseases the whiche may be in man, or woman doth folowe. Expressynge the obscure termes of Greke, Araby, Latyn, and Barbary. [sic] in to englysh concerning phisicke and chierurgye compyled by Andrewe Boord of phisicke Doctour an englysh man* (Imprynted at London: in Fletestrete at the sygne of the George next to saynt Dunstones church by Wylllyam Myddelton, in the yere of our Lorde M.CCCCC. xlvii., the. xv. daye of Iuly. [15 July, 1547])

Boorde, *The Breviary of Health*, STC 3374

Boorde, Andrew, *The breuiary of healthe, for all maner of sicknesses and diseases the which may be in man or woman, doth folowe. Expressyng the obscure termes of Greke, Araby, Latyn, and Barbary, in Englishe concernyng phisicke and chierurgerie, compyled by Andrewe Boorde, or phisicke Doctour, an Englishe man* ([Imprinted at London In Fletestrete at the signe of the George next to saynt Dunstones Church by Wylllyam Powell], Anno. MD.LII. [1552])

Boorde, *The Breviary of Health*, STC 3375

Boorde, Andrew, *The breuiary of healthe, for all maner of syckenesses and diseases the which may be in man or woman, doth folowe. Expressynge the obscure termes of Greke, Araby,*

Latyn, and Barbary, in English concernyng phisicke and chierurgerie, compyled by Andrewe Boorde, of phisycke doctoure, an Englishe man (Imprynted at London: In Fletestrete by Wylliam Powell, Anno. 1557)

Boorde, *The Breviary of Health*, STC 3376

Boorde, Andrew, *The breuiarie of health: vvherin doth folow, remedies, for all maner of sicknesses and diseases, the which may be in man or woman. Expressing the obscure termes of Greke, Araby, Latin, Barbary, and English, concerning phisicke and chirurgerie. Compyled by Andrewe Boorde, doctor of phisicke: an English man* (1575. Imprinted at London: By Thomas East, [1575])

Boorde, *The Breviary of Health*, STC 3377

Boorde, Andrew, *The breuiarie of health: vvherin doth folow, remedies, for all maner of sicknesses & diseases, the which may be in man or woman. Expressing the obscure termes of Greke, Araby, Latin, Barbary, and English, concerning phisick and chirurgerie. Compyled by Andrew Boord, Doctor of phisicke: an English-man* (Imprinted at London: By Thomas East, 1587)

Boorde, *The Breviary of Health*, STC 3378

Boorde, Andrew, *The breuiarie of health: vvherin doth folow, remedies, for all maner of sicknesses & diseases the which may be in man or woman. Expressing the obscure termes of Greeke, Araby, Latin, Barbary, and English, concerning phisick and chirurgerie. Compiled by Andrew Boord, Doctor of phisicke: an English-man* (Imprinted at London: By Thomas Este, 1598)

Boorde, *A Dietary of Health*, STC 3378.5

Boorde, Andrew, *Hereafter foloweth a compendyous regyment or a dyetary of helth, made in Mou[n]tpyllier, compyled by Andrew Boorde of phisycke doctour, dedycated to the armypotent prynce, and valyaunt Lorde Thomas Duke of Northfolche* (London: Imprynted by me Robert Wyer, dwellynge in seynt Martyns parysshe besyde charynge Crosse, at the sygne of seynt Iohn Euangelyste. for Iohn Gowghe, 1542)

Boorde, *A Dietary of Health*, STC 3387.7

Boorde, Andrew, *Hereafter foloweth a compendyous regyment or a dyetary of healthe, made in Moutpyllier* (London: [W. Myddylton,] [1544])

Boorde, *A Dietary of Health, Selections*, STC 3373

Boorde, Andrew, *The boke for to learne a man to be wyse in buyldyng of his howse for the helth of body [and] to holde quyetnes for the helth of his soule, and body. The boke for a good husbande to lerne* ([London?]: Imprynted by me Robert Wyer, dwellynge at the [sy]gne of S. Iohn Euangelyst, by s. Martyns parysshe in the felde besyde the Duke of Suffolkes place, at Charynge Crosse, [1550?])

Boorde, *A Dietary of Health*, STC 3380

Boorde, Andrew, *A compendyous regyment or a dyetary of healthe made in Mountpyllyer, by Andrewe Boorde of phisycke doctour, newly corrected and imprynted with dyuers addycyons dedycated to the armypotent Prynce and valyent Lorde Thomas Duke of Northfolke* (Imprynted at London: In Fletestrete at the sygne of the George nexte to

saynte Dunstones church by Wylllyam Powell, In the yere of our Lorde god. M. CCCCC. LXVII. [1567 i.e. 1547])

Boorde, *A Dietary of Health*, STC 3380.5

Boorde, Andrew, *Here foloweth a compe[n]dyous regymente or a dyetary of helth, made in Mou[n]t pyllor: compyled by Andrewe Boorde, of physicke doctor* ([London]: Imprynted by me Robert Wyer: dwellynge at the sygne of seynt Iohn Euangelyst, in S. Martyns parysshe, besyde Charynge Cross, [ca. 1554?])

Boorde, *A Dietary of Health*, STC 3381

Boorde, Andrew, *Here foloweth a compendyouys regimete or dyetary of health, made in Mount pyllor: compyled by Andrewe Boorde, of physycke doctor* ([London]: Imprinted by me Thomas Colwel. Dwellynge in the house of Robert Wyer, at the signe of S. Iohn Euangelyst besyde Charynge Crosse, Anno Domini. M. D. LXII. [1562] XII. die mensis Ianuarii])

Boorde, *A Dietary of Health*, STC 3382

Boorde, Andrew, *Here followeth a compendious regiment, or dietarie of health. Made in Mount Pyllor: compyled by Andrewe Boord, of phisick doctor* (Imprinted at London: In Fleetestrete, beneath the conduite, at the signe of S. Iohn Euangelist, by H. Iackson, 1576)

Boorde, *A Dietary of Health*, STC3382.5

Boorde, Andrew, *A compendyouys regiment or dyatorye of healthe. Used at Mountpylour, compyled by doctour Lynacre, and other doctours in physycke* ([London]: Imprynted by me Robert Wyer, dwellyng at the sygne of S. Iohn Euangelyst, in the Duke of Suffolkes tentes, besyde Charynge Crosse ..., [ca. 1550])

Boorde, *The First Book of the Introduction of Knowledge*, STC 3383

Boorde, Andrew, *The fyrst boke of the introduction of knowledge. The whych dothe teache a man to speake parte of all maner of languages, and to knowe the vsage and fashion of al maner of countreys. And for to knowe the moste parte of all maner of coynes of money, the whych is currant in euery region Made by Andrew Borde, of Physycke Doctor. Dedycated to the right honorable [and] gracio[us] lady Mary doughter of our souerayne lorde king Henry the eyght* (Imprynted at London: In fleetestrete, at the signe of the Rose Garland, by me William Copland, [1555?])

Boorde, *The First Book of the Introduction of Knowledge*, STC 3385

Boorde, Andrew, *The fyrst boke of the introduction of knowledge. The which doth teache a man to speake parte of all maner of languages. and to knowe the vsage and fashion of al maner of cou[n]treys. And for to knowe the moste parte of all maner of coynes of money, [et] which is curraunt in euery region. Made by Andrew Borde, of Phisicke Doctor. Dedicated to the right honorable and gracio[us] lady Mary doughter of our souerayne lord kyng Henry the eyght* (Imprynted at London: In Lothbury ouer agaynste Sainct Margarytes church by me Wylllyam Copland, [1562?])

Boorde, *The Mad Men of Gotham*, STC 1020.5

Boorde, Andrew, *Merie tales of the made men of Gotam gathered to gether by A.B. of phisike*

doctour ([London]: Imprinted at London in Fletstret, beneath the Conduit, at the signe of S. John euangelist, by Thomas Colwell, [1565])

Boorde, *The Milner of Abington*, STC 79

Boorde, Andrew, *A ryght pleasaunt and merye historie, of the mylner of Abyngton, with his wife, and his fayre daughter: and of two poore scholers of Cambridge. Wherevnto is adioyned another merye Iest, of a sargeaunt that woulde haue learned to be a fryar* (Imprinted at London: [I. Charlewood for] By Rycharde Ihones, [c. 1576])

Boorde, *The Principles of Astronomy*, STC 3386

Boorde, Andrew, *The pryncyple of astronamy the whiche diligently perscrutyd is in maners pronosticacyon to the worldes end compyled by andrew Boorde of phisick Doctor* ([Enprynted at Londo: In [the] fletestrete at the sygne of the rose garland by Robert Coplande, [1547?])

Boorde, *A Prognostication*, STC 416.5

Boorde, Andrew, *A pronostycacyon or an almanacke for the yere of our lorde, M. CCCCC. xlv. made by Andrewe Boorde of physycke doctor an Englyshe man of the vunversite of Oxforde* ([London: s.n., 1545])

Boorde, *Scoggin's Jests*, STC 21850.7

Boorde, Andrew, *The first and best part of Scoggins iests: full of witty mirth and pelasant shifts, done by him in France, and other places: being a preseruatiue against melancholy. Gathered by Andrew Boord, Doctor of Physicke* (London: Printed [by Miles Flesher] for Francis Williams, 1626)

Brathwaite, *The Good Wife: or, A Rare One amongst Women*, STC 3568.5

Brathwaite, Richard, *The good vvife: or, A rare one amongst women. VVhereto is annexed an exquisite discourse of epitaphs: including the choisest thereof, ancient or moderne. Musophilus* (At London: Printed [by John Beale] for Richard Redmer, and are to be sold at his shop at the west end of St Pauls Church, 1618)

Breton, *A Bower of Delights*, STC 3633

Breton, Nicholas, *Brittons boovre of delights. Contayning many, most delectable and fine deuices, of rare epitaphes, pleasant poems, pastorals and sonets by N. B. Gent* (Imprinted at London: By Richard Ihones, at the Rose and Crowne neere Holborne Bridge, 1591)

Breton, *A Flourish upon Fancy*, STC 3654

Breton, Nicholas, *A floorish vpon fancie. As gallant a glose vpon so triflinge a text, as euer was written. Compiled by N. B. Gent. To which are annexed, manie pretie pamphlets, for pleasant heads to passe away idle time withal. By the same authour* (Imprinted at London: By [W. How for] Richard Ihones, 1577)

Breton, *A Flourish upon Fancy*, STC 3655

Breton, Nicholas, *A floorish vpon fancie. As gallant a glose, vpon so trifling a text as euer, was written. Compiled by N. B. Gent. To which are anuexed [sic] the toyes of an idle head: containing, many pretie pamphlets, for pleasaunt heads to passe away idle time*

withall. By the same authour (At London: Printed by Richarde Ihones: dwelling at the Signe of the Rose and Crowne, neere Holborne Bridge, 1582)

Breton, *The Pilgrimage to Paradise*, STC 3683

Breton, Nicholas, *The pilgrimage to paradise, ioyned with the Countesse of Penbrookes loue, compiled in verse by Nicholas Breton Gentleman* (At Oxford: Printed, by Ioseph Barnes, and are to be solde in Paules Church-yard [, London, by Toby Cooke], at the signe of the Tygres head, 1592)

Bridges, *A Defence of the Government*, STC 3734

Bridges, John, *A defence of the gouernment established in the Church of Englande for ecclesiasticall matters. Contayning an aunswere vnto a treatise called, The learned discourse of eccl. gouernment, otherwise intituled, A briefe and plaine declaration concerning the desires of all th faithfull ministers that haue, and do seeke for the discipline and reformation of the Church of Englande. Comprehending likewise an aunswere to the arguments in a treatise named The iudgement of a most reuerend and learned man from beyond the seas, &c. Aunsvvering also to the argumentes of Caluine Beza, and Danaeus, with other our reuerend learned brethren, besides Cænaiis and Bodinus, both for the regiment of women, and in defence of her Maiestie, and of all other Christian princes supreme gouernment in ecclesiasticall causes ... Aunsvvered by Iohn Bridges Deane of Sarum* (At London: Printed by Iohn VVindet [and T. Orwin], for Thomas Chard, 1587)

Bright, *A Treatise of Melancholy*, STC 3747

Bright, Timothie, *A treatise of melancholie. Containing the causes thereof, & reasons of the strange effects it worketh in our minds and bodies: with the phisicke cure, and spirituall consolation for such as haue thereto adioyned an afflicted conscience. ... By T. Bright doctor of phisicke* (Imprinted at London: By Thomas Vautrollier dwelling in the Black-Friers, 1586)

Brome, *The Antipodes*, STC 3818

Brome, Richard, *The antipodes: a comedie. Acted in the yeare 1638. by the Queenes Majesties Servants, at Salisbury Court in Fleet-street. The author Richard Brome* (London: printed by I. Okes, for Francis Constable, and are to be sold at his shops in Kings-street at the signe of the Goat, and in Westminster-hall, 1640)

Burdet, *The Refuge of a Sinner*, STC 4104

Burdet, Robert, *The refuge of a sinner, wherein are briefly declared the chieftest poinctes of true saluation* (Imprinted at London: By [T. Colwell for] Richarde Iohnes: and are to be solde at his shoppe in Paules Churchyearde, at the southwest doore of Paules Church, Anno. 1565. Aprilis. 14)

C. S., *A Brief Resolution of a Right Religion*, STC 21482

C. S., *A briefe resolution of a right religion. Touching the controuersies, that are nowe in England. Written by C. S.* (London: Printed by Roger Ward, for Iohn Proctor, and are to be sold at his shop upon Holborne Bridge, 1590)

Chapman, *The Blind Beggar of Alexandria*, STC 4965

Chapman, George, *The blinde begger of Alexandria, most pleasantly discoursing his variable humours in disguised shapes full of conceite and pleasure. As it hath been sundry times publickly acted in London. by the right honorable the Earle of Nottingham, Lord high Admirall his seruantes. By George Chapman: Gentleman* (Imprinted at London: [By J. Roberts] for William Iones, dwelling at the signe of the Gun, neere Holburne Conduict, 1598)

Chaucer, *The Works of Our Ancient, Learned, and Excellent English Poet, Jeffrey Chaucer*, WING C3736

Chaucer, Geoffrey, *The vvorks of our ancient, learned, [and] excellent English poet, Jeffrey Chaucer: as they have lately been compar'd with the best manuscripts; and several things added, never before in print. To which is adjoyn'd, The story of the siege of Thebes, by John Lidgate, monk of Bury. Together with the life of Chaucer, shewing his cuntry, parentage, education, marriage, children, revenues, service, reward, friends, books, death. Also a table, wherein the old and obscure words in Chaucer are explained, and such words (which are many) that either are, by nature or derivation, Arabick, Greek, Latine, Italian, French, Dutch, or Saxon, mark'd with particular notes for the better understanding their original* (London: [s.n.], 1687)

Chettle, *Kind-Hart's Dream*, STC 5123

Chettle, Henry, *Kind-harts dreame. Containing fiue apparitions, vvith their inuectiues against abuses raiging. Deliuered by seuerall ghosts vnto him to be publisht, after Piers Penillesse post had refused the carriage. Inuita inuidiæ. by H.C* (Imprinted at London: [By J. Wolfe and J. Danter] for William Wright, [1593?])

Churchyard, *A Warning for the Wise*, STC 5259

Churchyard, Thomas, *A warning for the wise, a feare to the fond, a bridle to the lewde, and a glasse to the good. Written of the late earthquake chanced in London and other places, the. 6. of April 1580. for the glorie of God, and benefite of men that warely can walke, and wisely can iudge. Set forth in verse and prose, by Thomas Churchyard Gentleman. Seen and allowed* (Imprinted at London: By Iohn Allde, and Nicholas Lyng [and Henry Bynneman?]: and are to be solde [by Nicholas Ling] at the weast dore of Paules Church, Anno 1580. April. 8)

Cowper, *The Bishop of Galloway His Apology*, STC 5914

Cowper, William, *The Bishop of Gallovvay his apologie* (London: Printed by Thomas Snodham for John Budge, 1614)

Cowper, *The Bishop of Galloway His Dikaiology*, STC 5915

Cowper, William, *The Bishop of Gallovvay his dikaiologie: contayning a iust defence of his former apologie. Against the iniust imputations of Mr. Daudid Hume* (London: Printed by Thomas Snodham for Iohn Budge, and are to be sould at the great south-dore of Paules, and at Brittaines-Bursse, 1614)

Cowper, *Three Heavenly Treatises upon the Eight Chapter to the Romans*, STC 5919.5

Cowper, William, *Three heauenly treatises vpon the eight chapter to the Romanes. Viz. 1 Heauen opened. 2 The right way to eternall glory. 3 The glorification of a Christian. VVherein the counsaile of God concerning mans saluation is so manifested, that all*

men may see the Ancient of dayes, the Iudge of the World, in his generall iustice court, absolving the Christian from sinne and death. Which is the first benefit wee haue by our lord Iesus Christ. Written by Mr. William Cowper, minister of Gods word (London: Printed by Thomas Snodham for William Firebrand, and Iohn Budge, and are to be sould at his shop at the great Southdoore of Paules, 1609)

Crooke, *Mikrokosmographia*, STC 6062

Crooke, Helkiah, *Mikrokosmographia: a description of the body of man. Together vvith the controuersies thereto belonging. Collected and translated out of all the best authors of anatomy, especially out of Gasper Bauhinus and Andreas Laurentius. By Helkiah Crooke Doctor of Physicke, physitian to His Maiestie, and his Highnesse professor in anatomy and chyrurgerie. Published by the Kings Maiesties especiall direction and warrant according to the first integrity, as it was originally written by the author* (London: Printed by William Iaggard dwelling in Barbican, and are there to be sold, 1615)

Davies, *The Scourge of Folly*, STC 6341

Davies, John, *The scourge of folly. Consisting of satyricall epigramms, and others in honor of many noble and worthy persons of our land. Together, with a pleasant (though discordant) descant vpon most English prouerbes: and others* (At London: Printed by E[dward]: A[lldel]: for Richard Redmer sould at his shop at ye west gate of Paules, [1611])

Dekker, *The Gull's Horn-book*, STC 6500

Dekker, Thomas, *The guls horne-booke: by T. Deckar* (Imprinted at London: [By Nicholas Okes] for R. S[ergier?], 1609)

Dekker, *Jests to Make You Merry*, STC 6541

Dekker, Thomas, *Iests to make you merie: with the coniuring vp of Cock VVatt, (the walking spirit of Newgate) to tell tales. Vnto which is added, the miserie of a prison, and a prisoner. And a paradox in praise of serieants. Written by T. D. and George Wilkins* (Imprinted at London: By N[icholas] O[kes] for Nathaniell Butter, dwelling neere to St. Austins Gate, at the signe of the pide Bull, 1607)

Dekker, *A Knight's Conjuring*, STC 6508

Dekker, Thomas, *A knights coniuring. Done in earnest: discouered in iest. By Thomas Dekker* (London: Printed by T[homas] C[reede] for VVilliam Barley, and are to be solde at his shop in Gratiuous streete, 1607)

Dekker, *News from Hell*, STC 6514

Dekker, Thomas, *Nevves from hell; brought by the Diuells carrier. Tho: Dekker* (London: Printed by R. B[lower, S. Stafford, and Valentine Simmes] for VV. Ferebrand, and are to be sold at his shop in Popes head Alley, neere vnto the Royall Exchaunge, 1606)

Dering, *A Brief & Necessary Instruction*, STC 6679

Dering, Edward, *A briefe & necessary instruction, verye needefull to bee knowen of all housholders, whereby they maye the better teach and instruct their families in such points of Christian religion as is most meete. Not onely of them throughly to be*

vnderstood, but also requisite to b learned by hart of all suche as shall bee admitted vnto the Lordes Supper ([London: J. Awdely], 1572)

Dugdale, *A True Discourse of the Practices of Elizabeth Caldwell*, STC 7293

Dugdale, Gilbert, *A true discourse of the practises of Elizabeth Caldwell, Ma: Ieffrey Bownd, Isabell Hall widdow, and George Fernely, on the parson of Ma: Thomas Caldwell, in the county of Chester, to haue murdered and poysoned him, with diuers others. Together with her manner of godly life during her imprisonment, her arrainement and execution, with Isabell Hall widdow; as also a briefe relation of Ma: Ieffrey Bownd, who was the assise before prest to death. Lastly, a most excellent exhortorie letter, written by her own selfe out of the prison to her husband, to cause him to fall into consideration of his sinnes, &c. Seruing like wise for the vse of euery good Christian. Beeing executed the 18. of Iune. 1603. VVritten by one then present as witnes, their owne country-man, Gilbert Dugdale* (At London: Printed by Iames Roberts for Iohn Busbie, and are to be sold at his shop vnder Saint Peters Church in Cornewell, 1604)

Fitz-Geffry, *Caroli Fitzgeofridi Affaniae*, STC 10934

Fitz-Geffry, Charles, *Caroli Fitzgeofridi affaniae: sive epigrammatum libri tres: ejusdem cenotaphia* (Oxonïæ: Excudebat Iosephus Barnesius, 1601)

Fuller, *The History of the Worthies of England*, WING F2441

Fuller, Thomas, *The history of the vvorthies of England, vvho for parts and learning have been eminent in the several counties. Together with an historical narrative of the native commodities and rarities in each county. Endeavoured by Thomas Fuller, D. D.* (London: printed by J. G[rismond]. W. L[eybourne]. and W. G[odbid]. for Thomas Williams, and are to be sold at the sign of the Bible in Little Britain, 1662)

G. S. (George Sandys), *Anglorum Speculum, or The Worthies of England*, WING S22B

G. S. [George Sandys], *Anglorum speculum, or The vvorthies of England, in church and state. Alphabetically digested into the several shires and counties therein contained; wherein are illustrated the lives and characters of the most eminent persons since the conquest to this present age. Also an account of the commodities and trade of each respective county, and the most flourishing cities and towns therein.* (London: printed for Thomas Passinger at the three Bibles on London-Bridge, William Thackary at the Angel in Duck-lane, and John Wright at the Crown on Ludgate-Hill, 1684)

Gerard, *The Herbal*, STC 11750

Gerard, John, *The herball or Generall historie of plantes. Gathered by Iohn Gerarde of London Master in Chirurgerie* (Imprinted at London: by [Edm. Bollifant for [Bonham Norton and] Iohn Norton, 1597)

Giovio, *The Worthy tract of Paulus Jovius*, STC 11900

Giovio, Paolo, *The vvorthy tract of Paulus Iouius, contayning a discourse of rare inuentions, both militarie and amorous called imprese. VVhereunto is added a preface contayning the arte of composing them, with many other notable deuises. By Samuell Daniell late student in Oxenforde.* (At London: Printed [by G. Robinson] for Simon Waterson, 1585)

Gosson, *The School of Abuse*, STC 12097.5

Gosson, Stephen, *The schoole of abuse, conteining a plesaunt [sic] inuectiue against poets, pipers, plaiers, iesters, and such like caterpillers of a co[m]monwelth; setting vp the flagge of defiance to their mischieuous exercise, [and] ouerthrowing their bulwarkes, by prophane writers, naturall reason, and common experience: a discourse as plesaunt for gentlemen that fauour learning, as profitable for all that wyll follow virtue. By Stephan Gosson. Stud. Oxon* (Printed at London: [by T. Dawson] for Thomas VWoodcocke, 1579)

Goulart, *Admirable and Memorable Histories*, STC 12135

Goulart, Simon, *Admirable and memorable histories containing the wonders of our time. Collected into French out of the best authors. By I. [sic] Goulart. And out of French into English. By Ed. Grimeston. The contents of this booke followe the authors aduertisement to the reader* (Imprinted at London: by George Eld, 1607)

Greene, *Greene's Never Too Late*, STC 12253

Green, Robert, *Greenes neuer too late. Or, A powder of experience: sent to all youthfull gentlemen; to roote out the infectious follies, that ouer-reaching conceits foster in the spring time of their youth. Decyphering in a true English historie, those particular vanities, that with thei frostie vapours nip the blossoms of euery ripe braine, from attaining to his intended perfection. As pleasant, as profitable, being a right pumice stone, apt to race out idlenesse with delight, and follie with admonition. Rob. Greene in artibus Magister* (London: Printed by Thomas Orwin for N[icholas] L[ing] and Iohn Busbie, 1590)

Greene, *Greene's Vision*, STC 12261

Greene, Robert, *Greenes vision: vvritten at the instant of his death. Conteyning a penitent passion for the folly of his pen* (Imprinted at London: [By E. Allde] for Thomas Newman, and are to be sould at his shop in Fleetestreete, in Saint Dunstons Churchyard, 1592)

Guild, *Moses Unvailed*, STC 12485

Guild, William, *Moses vnuailed: or Those figures which serued vnto the patterne and shaddow of heauenly things, pointing out the Messiah Christ Iesus, briefly explained. Wherevnto is added the harmony of all the prophets, breathing with one mouth the mysterie of his comming, and of that redemption which by his death he was to accomplish ... By William Guild, minister of Gods Word at King-Edward in Scotland* (London: Printed by G[eorge] P[urslowe] for Iohn Budge: and are to be sold at his shop in Pauls Churchyard, at the signe of the Greene Dragon, 1620)

Guild, *Moses Unvailed*, STC 12486

Guild, William, *Moses vnuailed: or Those figures which serued vnto the patterne and shaddow of heauenly things, pointing out the Messiah Christ Iesus, briefly explained. Wherevnto is added the harmony of all the prophets, breathing with one mouth the mysterie of his comming, and of that redemption which by his death he was to accomplish ... By William Guild, minister of Gods Word at King-Edward in Scotland* (London: Printed by G[eorge] P[urslowe] for Iohn Budge: and are to be sold at his shop in Pauls Churchybrd [sic], at the signe of the Greene Dragon, 1623)

Guilpin, *Skialetheia*, STC 12504

Guilpin, Edward, *Skialetheia. Or, A shadowe of truth, in certaine epigrams and satyres* (At London: printed by I[ames] R[oberts] for Nicholas Ling, and are to bee solde at the little west doore of Poules, 1598)

Hannay, *A Happy Husband*, STC 12747

Hannay, Patrick, *A happy husband or, Directions for a maide to choose her mate. As also, a wiues behauiour towards her husband after marriage. By Patricke Hannay, Gent. To which is adioyned the Good wife, together with an exquisite discourse of epitaphs, including the choyssest thereof, ancient or moderne. By R.B. Gent* (Printed at London: [By John Beale] for Richard Redmer, and are to be sold at his shop at the vvest end of Saint Pauls Church, 1619)

Harington, *Metamorphosis of Ajax*, STC 12779.5

Harington, John, *A nevv discourse of a stale subiect, called the metamorphosis of Aiax: vvritten by Misacmos, to his friend and cosin Philostilpnos* (At London: printed by Richard Field [and Eliot's Court Press], dwelling in the Black-friers, 1596)

Harvey, *Four Letters*, STC 12900

Harvey, Gabriel, *Foure letters, and certaine sonnets: especially touching Robert Greene, and other parties, by him abused: but incidently of diuers excellent persons, and some matters of note. To all courteous mindes, that will voutchsafe the reading* (London: Imprinted by Iohn Wolfe, 1592)

Harvey, *Pierce's Supererogation*, STC 12903

Harvey, Gabriel, *Pierces supererogation or A new prayse of the old asse. A preparatiue to certaine larger discourses, intituled Nashes s. fame. Gabriell Haruey* (London: Imprinted by Iohn VVolfte, 1593)

Heywood, *An Apology for Actors*, STC 13309

Heywood, Thomas, *An apology for actors. Containing three briefe treatises. 1 Their antiquity. 2 Their ancient dignity. 3 The true vse of their quality. Written by Thomas Heywood* (London: Printed by Nicholas Okes, 1612)

Heywood, *The Fair Maid of the West*, STC 13320

Heywood, Thomas, *The fair maid of the vvest. Or, A girle worth gold. The first part. As it was lately acted before the King and Queen, with approved liking. By the Queens Majesties Comedians. Written by T.H* (London: Printed [by Miles Flesher] for Richard Royston, and are to be sold at his shop in Ivie Lane, 1631)

Heywood, *The Four Prentices of London*, STC 13321

Heywood, Thomas, *The foure prentises of London. VVith the conquest of Ierusalem. As it hath bene diuerse times acted, at the Red Bull, by the Queenes Maiesties Seruants. Written by Thomas Heyvvood* (Printed at London: [By Nicholas Okes] for I. W[right], 1615)

Heywood, *The Golden Age*, STC 13325

Heywood, Thomas, *The golden age. Or The liues of Iupiter and Saturne, with the deifying of*

the heathen gods. As it hath beene sundry times acted at the Red Bull, by the Queenes Maiesties Seruants. Written by Thomas Heyvwood (London: Printed [by Nicholas Okes] for William Barrenger, and are to be sold at his shop neare the great north-doore of Pauls, 1611)

Heywood, *If You Know Not Me, You Know Nobody*, STC 13328

Heywood, Thomas, *If you knowv not me, you know no bodie: or, The troubles of Queene Elizabeth* (At London: Printed by T[homas]. P[urfoot]. for Nathaniel Butter, 1605)

Heywood, *The Royal King, and Loyal Subject*, STC 13364

Heywood, Thomas, *The royall king, and the loyall subject. As it hath beene acted with great applause by the Queenes Maiesties Servants. Written by Thomas Heywood* (London: printed by Nich. and Iohn Okes for Iames Becket, and are to be sold at his shop at the inner Temple neare the Gate, 1637)

Heywood, *A Woman Killed with Kindness*, STC 13371

Heywood, Thomas, *A woman kilde with kindnesse. Written by Tho. Heywood* (London : Printed by William Iaggard dwelling in Barbican, and are to be sold in Pauls Church-yard. by Iohn Hodges, 1607)

Holinshed, *The Chronicles*, STC 13569

Holinshed, Raphael, *The first and second volumes of Chronicles, comprising 1 The description and historie of England, 2 The description and historie of Ireland, 3 The description and historie of Scotland: first collected and published by Raphaell Holinshed, William Harrison, and others: now newlie augmented and continued (with manifold matters of singular note and worthie memorie) to the yeare 1586. by Iohn Hooker aliàs Vowell Gent. and others. With conuenient tables at the end of these volumes* ([London]: Finished in Ianuarie 1587, and the 29 of the Queenes Maiesties reigne, with the full continuation of the former yeares, at the expenses of Iohn Harison, George Bishop, Rafe Newberie, Henrie Denham, and Thomas VVoodcocke. At London printed [by Henry Denham] in Aldersgate street at the signe of the Starre, [1587])

J. C., *Two Merry Milk-maids*, STC 4281

J. C., *A pleasant comedie, called the tvvo merry milke-maids. Or, the best words weare the garland. As it was acted before the King, with generall approbation, by the Companie of the Reuels. By I.C* (London: Printed by Bernard Alsop, for Lawrence Chapman, and are to be sold at his shop in Holborne, ouer against Staple Inne, hard by the Barres, 1620)

Jones, *The Book of Honor and Arms*, STC 22163

Jones, Richard, *The booke of honor and armes* (At London: Printed by [Thomas Orwin for] Richard Ihones, dwelling at the signe of the Rose and Crowne neere Holburne Conduit, 1590)

Jonson, *Bartholomew Fair*, STC 14753.5

Jonson, Ben, *Bartholmevv fayre: a comedie, acted in the yeare, 1614. by the Lady Elizabeths seruants. And then dedicated to King Iames, of most blessed memorie; by the author, Beniamin Iohnson* (London: Printed by I. B[eale]. for Robert Allot, and are to be sold at

the signe of the Beare, in Pauls Church-yard, 1631)

Jonson, *The Case Is Altered*, STC 14757

Jonson, Ben, *Ben: Ionson, his Case is alterd. As it hath beene sundry times acted by the children of the Blacke-friers* (At: London: Printed [by Nicholas Okes] for Bartholomew Sutton, dwelling in Paules Church-yard neere the great north doore of S. Paules Church, 1609)

Jonson, *Everyman in His Humour*, STC 14752

Jonson, Ben, *Everyman in His Humour* in *The workes of Beniamin Ionson* (London: printed by W: Stansby, and are to be sould by Rich: Meighen, An D. 1616)

Jonson, *Every Man Out of His Humor*, STC 14767

Jonson, Ben, *The comicall satyre of euery man out of his humor. As it was first composed by the author B.I. Containing more than hath been publickely spoken or acted. VVith the seuerall character of euery person* (Lonson: Printed [by Adam Islip] for William Holme, and are to be sold at his shop at Sarjeants Inne gate in Fleetstreet, 1600)

Jonson, *The Fortunate Isles and Their Union*, STC 14772

Jonson, Ben, *The fortvnate isles and their vnion. Celebrated in a masqve design'd for the court, on the Twelfth night. 1624* (London: s.n., 1625)

Jonson, *The Works of Benjamin Jonson*, STC 14752

Jonson, Ben, *The workes of Beniamin Ionson* (London: Printed by W: Stansby, and are to be sould by Rich: Meighen, An D. 1616)

Kemp, *Nine Days' Wonder*, STC 14923

Kemp, William, *Kemps nine daies vvonder. Performed in a daunce from London to Norwich. Containing the pleasure, paines and kinde entertainment of William Kemp betweene London and that citty in his late morrice. Wherein is somewhat set downe worth note; to reprocue the slaunders spred of him: many things merry, nothing hurtfull. Written by himselfe to satisfie his friends* (London: Printed by E. A[lldes] for Nicholas Ling, and are to be solde at his shop at the west doore of Saint Paules Church, 1600)

Laneham, *A Letter*, STC 15190.5

Laneham, Robert, *A letter whearin part of the entertainment vntoo the Queenz Maiesty at Killingwoorth Castl in Warwik sheer in this soomerz progress 1575 is signified from a freend officer attendant in coourt vntoo hiz freend a citizen and merchaunt of London* (London: s.n., 1575)

Langbaine, *An Account of the English Dramatic Poets*, WING L373

Langbaine, Gerard, *An account of the English dramattick poets. Or, some observations and remarks on the lives and writings, of all those that have publish'd either comedies, tragedies, tragi-comedies, pastorals, masques, interludes, farces, or opera's in the English tongue. By Gerard Langbaine* (Oxford: Printed by Leon. Lichfield, for George West, and Henry Clements, booksellers, 1691)

Langbaine, *The Lives and Characters of the English Dramatic Poets*, WING L375

Langbaine, Gerard, *The lives and characters of the English dramattick poets. Also an exact account of all the plays that were ever yet printed in the English tongue; their double titles, the places where acted, the dates when printed, and the persons to whom dedicated; with remarks and observations on most of the said plays. First begun by Mr. Langbaine, improv'd and continued down to this time, by a careful hand* (London: Printed for Tho. Leigh at the Peacock against St. Dunstan's-Church, and William Turner at the White Horse, without Temple-Bar, 1699)

Lodge, *Protogenes Can Know Apelles*, STC 16663

Lodge, Thomas, *Protogenes can know Apelles by his line though he se him not, and wise men can consider by the penn the auctoritie of the writer though they know him not*..(London: Printed by H. Singleton?, 1579)

Lyly, *A Whip for an Ape*

See under **Anon**

M. P. (Martin Parker), *An Excellent Medley*, STC 19231.5

M. P. (Martin Parker), *An excellent medley, which you may admire (without offence) for every line speakes a contrary sence. The tune is, Tarletons Medley* (Printed at London: [for F. Grove], [ca. 1630])

M. P. (Martin Parker), *An Excellent New Medley*, STC 19231

M. P., *An excellent new medley, which you may admire at (without offence) for euery line speakes a contrary sences to the tune of, Tarletons medley* (Printed at London: For H.G., [ca. 1625])

Markham, *Health to the Gentlemanly Profession of Servingmen*, STC 17140

Markham, Gervase, *A health to the gentlemanly profession of seruimgmen; or, The seruimgmans comfort: With other thinges not impertinent to the premisses, as well pleasant as profitable to the courteous reader* (Imprinted at London: By W. White, 1598)

Marlowe, *Tamburlaine*, STC 17425

Marlowe, Christopher, *Tamburlaine the Great. Who, from a Scythian shepheard, by his rare and woonderfull conquests, became a most puissant and mightye monarque. And (for his tyranny, and terrour in warre) was tearmed, the scourge of God. Deuided into two tragicall discourses, as they were sundrie times shewed vpon stages in the citie of London. By the right honorable the Lord Admyrall, his seruauntes* (London: Printed by Richard Ihones: at the signe of the Rose and Crowne neere Holborne Bridge, 1590)

Marprelate, Martin, pseud., *Hay Any Work for Cooper*, STC 17456

Marprelate, Martin, pseud., *Hay any worke for Cooper: or a briefe pistle directed by waye of an hublication to the reverende byshopps, counselling them, if they will needs be barrellled vp, for feare of smelling in the nostrils of her Maiestie [and] the state, that they would vse the aduise of reuerend Martin, for the providing of their cooper. Because the reuerend T.C. (by which misticall letters, is vnderstood, eyther the bousing parson of Eastmeane, or Tom Coakes his chaplaine) to bee an vnskilfull and a*

beceytfull [sic] tubtrimmer. Wherein worthy Martin quits himselfe like a man I warrant you, in the modest defence of his selfe and his learned pistles, and makes the coopers hoopes to flye off, and the Bishops tubs to leake out of all crye. Penned and compiled by Martin the Metropolitane (Printed in Europe [i.e. Coventry: By Robert Waldegrave], not farre from some of the bousing priestes, 1589)

Marprelate, Martin, pseud., *Oh Read over D. John Bridges*, STC 17453

Marprelate, Martin, pseud., *Oh read ouer D. Iohn Bridges, for it is a worthy worke: or an epitome of the fyrste booke, of that right worshipfull volume, written against the puritanes, in the defence of the noble cleargie, by as worshipfull a prieste, Iohn Bridges, presbyter, priest or elder, doctor of diuillitie, and Deane of Sarum. Wherein the arguments of the puritans are wisely prevented, that when they come to answer M. Doctor, they must needes say something that hath bene spoken. Compiled for the behoofe and overthrow of the parsous [sic], fyckers, and currats, that have lernt their catechismes, and are past grace: by the reverend and worthie Martin Marprelate gentleman, and dedicated to the confocationhouse. The Epitome is not yet published, but it shall be when the bishops are at conuenient leysure to view the same. In the meane time, let them be content with this learned epistle* (Printed oversea, in Europe [i.e. East Molesey, Surrey: By Robert Waldegrave], within two furlongs of a bousing priest, at the cost and charges of M Marprelate, gentleman, 1588)

Marprelate, Martin, pseud., *Theses Martinianae*, STC 17457

Marprelate, Martin, pseud., *Theses Martinianae: that is, certaine demonstratiue conclusions, sette downe and collected (as it should seeme) by that famous and renowned clarke, the reuerend Martin Marprelate the great: seruing as a manifest and sufficient confutation of al that euer the Colledge of Catercaps with their whole band of clergie-priests, haue, or canbring [sic] for the defence of their ambitious and antichristian prelacie. Published and set foorth as an after-birth of the noble gentleman himselfe, by a prety stripling of his, Martin Iunior, and dedicated by him to his good neame and nuncka, Maister Iohn Kankerbury: hovv the yongman [sic] came by them, the reader shall vnderstande sufficiently in the epilogue. In the meane time, vvhosoeuer can bring mee acquainted vvith my father, Ile bee bounde hee shall not loose his labour* ([Wolston, Warks.] Printed [by John Hodgkins] by the assignes of Martin Iunior, without any priuiledge of the Catercaps, [22 July 1589])

Marston, *Jack Drum's Entertainment*, STC 7243

Marston, John, *Iacke Drums entertainment: or The comedie of Pasquill and Katherine. As it hath bene sundry times plaide by the Children of Powles* (At London: Printed [by Thomas Creede] for Richard Oliue, dwelling in Long Lane, 1601)

Marston, *The Scourge of Villany*, STC 17485

John Marston, *The scourge of villanie. Three bookes of satyres* (At London: Printed by I[ames]. R[oberts]. and are to be sold by Iohn Buzbie, in Paules Church-yard, at the signe of the Crane, 1598)

Meres, *Palladis Tamia*, STC 17834

Meres, Francis, *Palladis tamia. VVits treasury being the second part of Wits common wealth. By Francis Meres Maister of Artes of both Vniuersities* (At London: printed by P. Short,

for Cuthbert Burbie, and are to be solde at his shop at the Royall Exchange, 1598)

Middleton, *The Owl's Almanac*, STC 6515.5

Middleton, Thomas, *The Owles almanacke. Prognosticating many strange accidents which shall happen to this kingdome of Great Britaine this yeere, 1618. Calculated as well for the meridian mirth of London, as any other part of Great Britaine. Found in an Iuy-bush written in old characters, and now published in English by the painefull labours of Mr Iocundary Merry-braines* (London: printed by E.G. for Lawrence Lisle, and are to be sold at his shop in Pauls Church-yard at the signe of the Tygres head, 1618)

Middleton, *A Trick to Catch the Old One*, STC 17896

Middleton, Thomas, *A trick to catch the old-one. As it hath beene lately acted, by the children of Paules* (At London: Printed by George Eld, and are to be sold at his house in Fleet-lane at the signe of the Printers-presse, 1608)

Middleton and (Dekker), *The Roaring Girl*, STC 17908

Middleton, Thomas, *The roaring girle. Or Moll Cut-Purse. As it hath lately beene acted on the Fortune-stage by the Prince his Players. Written by T. Middleton and T. Dekkar* (Printed at London: By Nicholas Okes] for Thomas Archer, and are to be sold at his shop in Popes head-pallace, neere the Royall Exchange, 1611)

Misodiaboles, *Ulysses upon Ajax*, STC 12782

Misodiaboles, *Vlysses vpon Ajax. Written by Misodiaboles to his friend Philaretus* (London: [by R. Robinson?] for Thomas Gubbins, 1596)

Nashe, *An Almond for a Parrot*, STC 534

Nashe, Thomas, *An almond for a parrat, or Cutbert Curry-knaues almes. Fit for the knaue Martin, and the rest of those impudent beggers, that can not be content to stay their stomakes with a benefice, but they will needes breake their fastes with our bishops. Rimarum sum plenus. Therefore beware (gentle reader) you catch not the hicket with laughing* (Imprinted at a place, not farre from a place [i.e. London?]: By the assignes of Signior Some-body [i.e. Eliot's Court Press?], and are to be sold at his shoppe in Trouble-knaue Stréet, at the signe of the Standish, [1590])

Nashe, *The Anatomy of Absurdity*, STC 18364

Nashe, Thomas, *The anatomie of absurditie: contayning a breefe confutation of the slender imputed prayses to feminine perfection, with a short description of the seuerall practises of youth, and sundry follies of our licentious times. No lesse pleasant to be read, then profitable to be remembred, especially of those, who liue more licentiously, or addicted to a more nyce stoycall austeritie. Compiled by T. Nashe* (At London: Printed by I. Charlewood for Thomas Hacket, and are to be solde at his shop in Lumberd street, vnder the signe of the Popes heade, Anno. Dom. 1589)

Nashe, *Mar-Martine*

See under **Anon**

Nashe, *Pierce Penniless*, STC 18373

Nashe, Thomas, *Pierce Penilesse his supplication to the diuell. Written by Tho. Nash, gent* (London: Printed by Abell Ieffes, for I. B[usby], 1592)

Nashe, *Have with You to Saffron-Walden*, STC 18369

Nashe, Thomas, *Haue vvith you to Saffron-vvalden. Or, Gabriell Harueys hunt is vp. Containing a full answere to the eldest sonne of the halter-maker. Or, Nashe his confutation of the sinfull doctor. The mott or posie, in stead of omne tulit punctum: pacis fiducia nunquam. As much to say, as I sayd I would speake with him* (Printed at London: by Iohn Danter, 1596)

Nashe, *Strange News*, STC18377

Nashe, Thomas, *Strange newes, of the intercepting certaine letters, and a conuoy of verses, as they were going priuilie to victuall the Low Countries. By Tho. Nashe Gentleman* ([London]: Printed [by J. Danter], 1592)

Nashe, *The Terrors of the Night*, STC 18379

Nashe, Thomas, *The terrors of the night or, A discourse of apparitions. Tho: Nashe* (London: Printed by Iohn Danter for William Iones, and are to be sold at the signe of the Gunne nere Holburne Conduit, 1594)

Nausea, *A Bright Burning Beacon*, STC 11037

Nausea, Friedrich, *A bright burning beacon, forewarning all wise virgins to trim their lampes against the comming of the Bridegroom. Containing a generall doctrine of sundrie signes and wonders, specially earthquakes both particular and generall: a discourse of the end of this world: a commemoration of our late earthquake, the 6. of April, about 6. of the clocke in the euening 1580. And a praier for the appeasing of Gods wrath and indignation. Newly translated and collected by Abraham Fleming. The summe of the whole booke followeth in fit place orderly diuided into chapters* ([London]: 1580. Imprinted at London by Henrie Denham, dwelling in Pater noster rowe at the signe of the Starre, [1580])

Oldham, *The Works of Mr. John Oldham*, WING O225

Oldham, John, *The vvorks of Mr. John Oldham, together with his remains* (London: printed for Jo. Hindmarsh, bookseller to his Royal Highness, at the Black Bull in Cornhil, 1684)

Partridge, *The End and Confession of John Felton*, STC 19421

Partridge, John, *The ende and confession of Iohn Felton, the rank traytour, that set vp the traiterous bull on the Byshop of London his gate. Who suffred befor the same gate, for highe treason agaynst the Queenes Maiestie: the .viii. daie of August. 1570. With an exhortacion to the papistes, to take heed of the like. By I. Partridge* (Imprinted at London: by Richard Iohnes, and Thomas Colwell, [1570])

Pasquil, *Pasquil's Jests*, STC 19451

Pasquil, *Pasquils iestes, mixed with Mother Bunches merriments. Wherevnto is added a doozen of gulles. Pretty and pleasant, [to] driue away the tediousnesse of a winters euening* (Imprinted at London: for Iohn Browne, and are to be sold at his shop in Saint Dunstones Church-yard, in Fleet-street, 1604)

Pasquil, *Pasquil's Jests*, STC 19451.5

Pasquil, *Pasquils iestes, mixed with Mother Bunches merriments. Whereunto is added a bakers doozen of guiles. Very prettie and pleasant, to driue away the tediousnesse of a winters evening* (London: Printed [by J. Windet] for Iohn Browne, and are to be sold at his shop in Saint Dunstones Church-yard, in Fleetestreete, 1609)

Pasquil, *Pasquil's Jests*, STC 19452

Pasquil, *Pasquils iests: with the merriments of Mother Bunch, vvittie, pleasant, and delightfull* (London: Printed by M[iles] F[lesher] and are to be sold by Francis Grove ouer against Saint Sepulchers Church without Newgate, 1629)

Pasquil, *Pasquil's Jests*, STC 19453

Pasquil, *Pasquils iests: vvith the merriments of Mother Bunch. VVittie, pleasant, and delightfull* (London: Printed by M[iles]. F[lesher]. and are to be sold by Francis Coles dwelling in the Old-Baily, [1632])

Pasquil, *Pasquil's Jests*, STC 19453.3

Pasquil, *Pasquils iests: with The merriments of Mother Bunch. VVittie, pleasant, and delightfull* (London: printed by M. F[lesher]. and are to be sold by Andrew Kembe, dwelling at Saint Margarets hill in Southwarke, 1635)

Peacham, *The More the Merrier*, 19511.5

Peacham, Henry, *The more the merrier. Containing: threescore and odde head-lesse epigrams, shot, (like the fooles bolt) amongst you, light where they will. By H.P. Gent* (London: printed by I[ohn]. W[indet]. for Geffrey Chorleton, and Thomas Man, and are to be sold at at [sic] the great north doore of Paules, 1608)

Peacham, *Thalia's Banquet*, STC 19515

Peacham, Henry, *Thalia's banquet: furnished with an hundred and odde dishes of newly deuised epigrammes, whereunto (beside many worthy friends) are inuited all that loue in offensiue mirth, and the Muses. By H.P* (London: Printed by Nicholas Okes, for Francis Constable, dwelling in Paules Church-yard, at the signe of the white Lyon, 1620)

Peacham, *The Truth of Our Times*, STC 19517

Peacham, Henry, *The truth of our times: revealed out of one mans experience, by way of essay. Written by Henry Peacham* (London: Printed by N[icholas] O[kes] for Iames Becket, and are to be sold at his shoppe at the middle Temple gate, 1638)

Perkins, *A Golden Chain*, STC 19646

Perkins, William, *A golden chaine: or The description of theologie, containing the order of the causes of saluation and damnation, according to Gods word. A view whereof is to be seene in the table annexed. Hereunto is adioyned the order which M. Theodore Beza vsed in comforting afflicted consciences* ([Cambridge]: Printed by Iohn Legat, printer to the Vniuersitie of Cambridge, 1600)

Phillips, *Mysteries of Love & Eloquence*, WING P2066

Phillips, Edwards, *The mysteries of love & eloquence, or, the arts of vvooving and complementing; as they are manag'd in the Spring Garden, Hide Park, the New Exchange, and other eminent places. A work, in which are drawn to the life, the deportments of the most accomlisht persons, the mod of their courtly entertainments, treatments of their ladies at balls, their accustom'd sports, drolles and fancies, the witchcrafts of their perswasive language, in their approaches, or other more secret dispatches. To compleat the young practioners of love and courtship, these following conducing helps are chiefly insisted on. Addresses, and set forms of expressions for imitation; poems, pleasant songs, letters, proverbs, riddles, jeasts, posies, devices, a la mode pastimes, a dictionary for the making of rimes, four hundred and fifty delightful questions, with their several answers. As also epithets, and flourishing similitudes, alphabetically collected, and so properly applied to their serveral [sic] subjects, that they may be rendred admirably useful on the sudden occasions of discourse or writing. Together, with a new invented art of logick, so plain and easie by way of questions and answers, that the meanest capacity may in a short time attain to a perfection in the wayes of arguing and disputing* (London: Printed for N. Brooks, at the Angel in Cornhill, 1658)

Proctor, A Gorgious Gallery, of Gallant Inuentions, STC 20402

Proctor, Thomas, *A gorgious gallery, of gallant inuentions. Garnished and decked with diuers dayntie deuises, right delicate and delightfull, to recreate eche modest minde withall. First framed and fashioned in sundrie formes, by diuers worthy workemen of late dayes: and now, ioyned together and builded vp: By T.P* (Imprinted at London: [By W. How] for Richard Iones, 1578)

Puttenham, The Art of English Poesy, STC 20519.5

Puttenham, George, *The arte of English poesie. Contriuied into three bookes: the first of poets and poesie, the second of proportion, the third of ornament* (At London: Printed by Richard Field, dwelling in the black-Friers, neere Ludgate, 1589)

Rich, Greene's News Both from Heaven and Hell, 12259

Rich, Barnabe, *Greenes newes both from heauen and hell. Prohibited the first for writing of bookes, and banished out of the last for displaying of conny-catchers. Commended to the presse by B.R.* (At London : Printed [by widow Charlewood], 1593)

Robinson, A Handful of Pleasant Delights, STC 21104.5, 21105, 21105.5

Robinson, Clement, *A handefull of pleasant delites, containing sudrie new sonets and delectable histories, in diuers kindes of meeter. Newly deuised to the newest tunes that are now in vse, to be sung: euerie sonet orderly pointed to his proper tune. With new additions of certain songs, to verie late deuised notes, not commonly knownen, nor vsed heretofore, by Clement Robinson, and diuers others* (At London: Printed by Richard Ihones: dwelling at the signe of the Rose and Crowne, neare Holburne Bridge, 1584)

Rowlands, Democritus, or Doctor Merry-man, STC 21366

Rowlands, Samuel, *Democritus, or Doctor Merry-man his medicines, against melancholy humors. Written by S.R* ([London]: Printed [by William Jaggard] for Iohn Deane, and are to be sold at his shop at Temple-barre, vnder the gate, [1607])

Rowlands, *Humor's Ordinary*, STC 21395

Rowlands, Samuel, *Humors ordinarie. Where a man may bee verie merrie, and exceeding well vsed for his six-pence* (At London: Printed by Edward Allde, for William Firebrand and are to bee sold at his shoppe in the Popes head Alley, right ouer against the Tauerne-doore, 1607)

Rowlands, *The Letting of Humour's Blood in the Head-vaine*, STC 21393.5

Rowlands, Samuel, *The lettin[g] of humours blood in the head-vaine with a new morissco, daunced by seauen satyres, vpon the bottome of Diog[e?]nes tube* (At London: Printed by W. White for W.F., 1600)

Shakespeare, *The First Folio of Shakespeare*, STC 22273

Shakespeare, William, *Mr. VVilliam Shakespeares comedies, histories, & tragedies. Published according to the true originall copies* (London: printed by Isaac Iaggard, and Ed. Blount [at the charges of W. Iaggard, Ed. Blount, I. Smithweeke, and W. Aspley], 1623)

Shakespeare, *Q1 Hamlet*, STC 22275

Shakespeare, William, *The tragicall historie of Hamlet Prince of Denmarke by William Shake-speare. As it hath beene diuerse times acted by his Highnesse seruants in the cittie of London: as also in the two vniuersities of Cambridge and Oxford, and else-where* (At London: Printed [by Valentine Simmes] for N[icholas]. L[ing]. and Iohn Trundell, 1603)

Shakespeare, *Q2 Hamlet*, STC 22276a

Shakespeare, William, *The tragicall historie of Hamlet, Prince of Denmarke. By William Shakespeare* (At London: Printed by I. R[oberts] for N. L[ing] and are to be sold at his shoppe vnder Saint Dunstons Church in Fleetstreet, 1605)

Shakespeare, *Henry IV, Part 1*, STC 22280

Shakespeare, William, *The history of Henrie the Fourth; vvith the battell at Shrewsburie, betweene the King and Lord Henry Percy, surnamed Henrie Hotspur of the north. With the humorous conceits of Sir Iohn Falstalffe [sic]* (At London: Printed by P[eter] S[hort] for Andrew Wise, dwelling in Paules Churchyard, at the signe of the Angell, 1598)

Shakespeare, *Merchant of Venice*, STC 22296

Shakespeare, William, *The most excellent historie of the merchant of Venice. VVith the extreame crueltie of Shylocke the Iewe towards the sayd merchant, in cutting a iust pound of his flesh: and the obtayning of Portia by the choyse of three chests. As it hath beene diuers times acted by the Lord Chamberlaine his Seruants. Written by William Shakespeare* (At London: printed by I[ames]. R[oberts]. for Thomas Heyes, and are to be sold in Paules Church-yard, at the signe of the Greene Dragon, 1600)

Shakespeare, *Much Ado About Nothing*, STC 22304

Shakespeare, William, *Much adoe about nothing. As it hath been sundrie times publikely acted by the right honourable, the Lord Chamberlaine his seruants. Written by William Shakespeare* (London: Printed by V[alentine]. S[immes]. for Andrew Wise, and

William Aspley, 1600)

Shakespeare, *Romeo and Juliet*, STC 22322

Shakespeare, William, *An excellent conceited tragedie of Romeo and Iuliet. As it hath been often (with great applause) plaid publicquely, by the right Honourable the L. of Hunsdon his Seruants* (London: Printed by Iohn Danter [and Edward Allde], 1597)

Shakespeare, *Romeo and Juliet*, STC 22323

Shakespeare, William, *The most excellent and lamentable tragedie, of Romeo and Iuliet. Newly corrected, augmented, and amended: as it hath bene sundry times publicquely acted, by the right Honourable the Lord Chamberlaine his Seruants* (London: Printed by Thomas Creede, for Cuthbert Burby, and are to be sold at his shop neare the Exchange, 1599)

Shirley, *The Ball*, STC 4995

Shirley, James, *The ball. A comedy, as it vvas presented by her Majesties Servants, at the private House in Drury Lane. Written by George Chapman, and Iames Shirly* (London: printed by Tho. Cotes, for Andrew Crooke, and William Cooke, 1639)

Spenser (and Harvey), *Three Proper, and Witty, Familiar Letters*, STC 23095

Spenser, Edmund, *Three proper, and wittie, familiar letters: lately passed betweene tvvo vniuersitie men: touching the earthquake in Aprill last, and our English reformed versifying. With the preface of a wellwiller to them both* (Imprinted at London: by H. Bynneman, dvvelling in Thames streate, neere vnto Baynardes Castell, Anno Domini 1580)

Stow, *Annals*, STC 23338

Stow, John, *The annales, or a generall chronicle of England, begun first by maister Iohn Stow, and after him continued and augmented with matters forreyne, and domestique, auncient and moderne, vnto the ende of this present yeere 1614. by Edmond Howes, gentleman* (Londini: [Printed by Thomas Dawson] impensis Thomæ Adams, 1615)

Stradling, *Joannis Stradlingi Epigrammatum Libri Quatuor*, STC 23354

Stradling, John, *Ioannis Stradlingi Epigrammatum libri quatuor* (Londini: [printed by Eliot's Court Press] impensis Georgii Bishop & Ioannis Norton, Dom. 1607)

Stubbes, *The Anatomy of Abuses, Part 2*, STC 23380

Stubbs, Phillip, *The second part of the anatomie of abuses, conteining the display of corruptions, with a perfect description of such imperfections, blemishes and abuses, as now reigning in euerie degree, require reformation for feare of Gods vengeance to be powred vpon the people and countrie, without speedie repentance, and conuersion vnto God: made dialogwise by Phillip Stubbes* (London: Printed by R. W[ard] for William Wright, and are to be sold at his shop ioining to S. Mildreds Church in the Poultrye, being the middle shop in the rowe, [1583])

Tarlton, *A Very Lamentable and Woeful Discourse of the Fierce Floods*, STC 23688

Tarlton, Richard, *A very lamentable and woful discours of the fierce fluds, whiche lately flowed in Bedford shire, in Lincoln shire, and iu [sic] many other places, with the great*

losses of sheep and other cattel. The v. of October. Anno Domini 1570. (Imprinted at London: At the long Shop adioyning vnto Saint Mildreds Church in the Pultrye, by Iohn Allde, 1570)

Taylor, *All the Works of John Taylor the Water-Poet*, STC 23725

Taylor, John, *All the vvorkes of Iohn Taylor the water-poet. Beeing sixty and three in number. Collected into one volume by the author: vvith sundry new additions, corrected, reuised, and newly imprinted, 1630* (At London: printed by I[ohn] B[eale, Elizabeth Allde, Bernard Alsop, and Thomas Fawcet] for Iames Boler; at the signe of the Marigold in Pauls Churchyard, 1630)

Taylor, *Great O Toole*, STC 23762

Taylor, John, *The great O Toole* (London: Printed [by Edward Allde] for Henry Gosson, 1622)

Taylor, *Odcomb's Complaint*, STC 23780

Taylor, John, *Odcombs complaint: or Coriats funerall epicedium: or death-song, vpon his late reported drowning. With his epitaph in the Barmuda, and Utopian tongues. And translated into English by Iohn Taylor* ([London]: Printed for merrie recreation [by G. Eld], and are to be sold at the salutation in Vtopia [by W. Burre?], 1613)

Throckmorton, *M. Some Laid Open in His Colours*, STC 12342

Throckmorton, Job, *M. Some laid open in his coulers: VVherein the indifferent reader may easily see, hovve vvretchedly and loosely he hath handeled the cause against M. Penri. Done by an Oxford man, to his friend in Cambridge* ([La Rochelle: R. Waldegrave, 1589])

Tourneur, *Laugh and Lie Down*, STC 24148.7

Tourneur, Cyril, *Laugh and lie dovvne: or, The worldes folly* (Printed at London: [By William Jaggard] for Ieffrey Chorlton, and are to be sold at his shop, at the great north dore of saint Paules, 1605)

Tusser, *Five Hundred Points of Good Husbandry*, STC 24376

Tusser, Thomas, *Fiue hundreth points of good husbandry vnited to as many of good huswiferie, first deuised, [and] nowe lately augmented with diuerse approued lessons concerning hopps [and] gardening, and other needeful matters together, with an abstract before euery moneth, conteining the whole effect of the sayd moneth with a table [and] a preface in the beginning both necessary to be reade, for the better vnderstanding of the booke. Set forth by Thomas Tusser gentleman, seruant to the honorable Lord Paget of Beudesert* (Impritned at London: In Flete strete within Temple barre, at the signe of the Hand [and] starre by Rychard Totell, anno. 1573)

Weelkes, *Airs or Fantastic Spirits for Three Voices*, STC 25202

Weelkes, Thomas, *Ayres or phantasticke spirites for three voices, made and newly published by Thomas Weelkes, gentleman of his Maiesties chappell, Batchelar of Musicke, and organest of the Cathedral Church of Chichester* (London: Printed by [John Windet for] William Barley, and are to be sold at his shoppe in Gracious street, 1608)

Williams, Roger, *A Brief Discourse of War*, STC 25733

Williams, Roger, *A brieft discourse of vvarre. VVritten by Sir Roger VVilliams Knight; vvith his opinion concerning some parts of the martiall discipline. Newly perused* (Imprinted at London: by Thomas Orwin, dwelling in Paternoster Row, ouer against the signe of the Checker, 1590)

Wilson, *The Three Lords and Three Ladies of London*, STC 25783

Wilson, Robert, *The pleasant and stately morall, of the three lordes and three ladies of London. With the great ioy and pompe, solempnized at their mariages: commically interlaced with much honest mirth, for pleasure and recreation, among many morall obseruations and other important matters of due regard.* by R. W (London: printed by R. Ihones, at the Rose and Crowne neere Holburne Bridge, 1590)

Wilson, *The Art of Rhetoric*, STC 25799

Wilson, Thomas, *The arte of rhetorique, for the vse of all suche as are studious of eloquence, sette forth in English, by Thomas Wilson* ([London]: Richardus Graftonus, typographus regius excudebat], Anno Domini. M. D. LIII. [1553] Mense Ianuarij)

Wither, *The Scholar's Purgatory*, STC 25919

Wither, George, *The schollers purgatory, discouered in the Stationers common-wealth, and discribed in a discourse apologeticall, asvvell for the publike aduantage of the Church, the state & vvhole common-vvealth of England, as for the remedy of priuate iniuries.* By Geo: VVither ([London]: Imprinted [by G. Wood] for the honest Stationers, 1624)

Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, WING W3382

Wood, Anthony à, *Athenae Oxonienses. An exact history of all the vvriters and bishops who have had their education in the most ancient and famous University of Oxford, from the fifteenth year of King Henry the Seventh, Dom. 1500, to the end of the year 1690. Representing the birth, fortune, preferment, and death of all those authors and prelates, the great accidents of their lives, and the fate and character of their writings. To which are added, the Fasti or Annals, of the said university, for the same time. The first volume, extending to the 16th year of King Charles I. Dom. 1640* (London: Printed for Tho. Bennet at the Half-Moon in S. Paul's Churchyard, 1691)

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Wright, Thomas, *The passions of the minde* By Th. W. (London: Printed by V[alentine]. S[immes] for W. B[urre], 1601)

Wright, *The Passions of the Mind*, STC 26040

Wright, Thomas, *The passions of the minde in generall. Corrected, enlarged, and with sundry new discourses augmented. By Thomas Wright. With a treatise thereto adioyning of the clymatericall yeare, occasioned by the death of Queene Elizabeth* (London: Printed by Valentine Simmes [and Adam Islip] for Walter Burre, [and Thomas Thorpe] and are to be sold [by Walter Burre] in Paules Churchyard at the signe of the Crane, anno. 1604)

Wright, *The Passions of the Mind*, STC 26041

Wright, Thomas, *The passions of the minde in generall. In sixe bookes.* By Thomas Wright (London: Printed by A[ugustine] M[athewes] for Anne Helme, and are to be sold at her

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Wright, Thomas, *The passions of the minde in generall. In sixe bookes. Corrected, enlarged, and with sundry new discourses augmented: by Thomas Wright* (London: printed by A[ugustine] M[athewes] for Anne Helme, and are to be sold at her shop in Saint Dunstons church-yard in Fleetstreet, 1621)

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Wright, Thomas, *The passions of the minde in generall. In six bookes. Corrected, enlarged, and with sundry new discourses augmented: by Thomas Wright* (London: Printed by Miles Flesher, and are to be sold by Robert Davvlman, at the Brasen Serpent in Pauls Church-yard, 1630)

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