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Staging Early Modern Romance

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9 Romancing the Wager
Cymbeline's Intertexts

Valerie Wayne

As productive as the identification of sources for Shakespeare's plays has been, especially in appreciating what he read and which literary and cultural traditions he drew on, that nineteenth- and twentieth-century preoccupation has sometimes prevented our seeing the forest for the trees. In this essay I explore *le cycle de la gageure*, the cycle of European stories about a wager, in relation to Shakespeare's *Cymbeline*. This narrative tradition included at least forty-one European stories (Paris), a number that does not even take into account the many folktale versions. Most of these are unlikely to be sources for Shakespeare's play in any conventional sense; only two, Boccaccio's story from day two, number nine in *The Decameron*, and the anonymous story called *Frederyke of Jennen*, are generally agreed on as the play's sources. Although I do not suggest in what follows that Shakespeare had most of these versions of the wager to hand, I argue that the parallels between some of them and *Cymbeline* qualify them as significant intertexts for the play. One of them shows a god figure descending to the repentant husband; another includes a malicious female magician and her ugly, inept son; two liken the heroine's body mark to a flower; most stage combat between the husband or lover and the woman's accuser. None of these events occurs in *The Decameron* or *Frederyke*. The parallels between these intertexts and *Cymbeline* are not evident as verbal echoes, but they do occur as reiterated motifs within an extensive narrative tradition that Shakespeare had reason to know about. Recounted orally over a period of at least five centuries, these stories conveyed the cultural stakes associated with women's fidelity and men's trust, performing, reproducing, and reinventing those investments for multiple and changing audiences.

Although we cannot be certain which of these stories Shakespeare had heard or heard about, it is likely that he knew the breadth of the narrative tradition within which he was working. Wager stories exhibit primary affinities with medieval, chivalric romances and attest to what Barbara Fuchs calls the "iterability" of romance, its continuous and varied repetition, which is "a key sign of its cultural currency and historical importance" (38). *Cymbeline* also draws on another narrative tradition in the form of Greek romance, but Shakespeare's indebtedness to those stories in his late romances has also not

been established on the basis of verbal echoes. His use appears instead through the reiteration of various motifs or incidents, such as the lamentation over a body mistakenly taken to belong to the beloved, and the misrecognition and striking of the beloved by her lover just when they are about to be reunited. It is difficult to determine whether Shakespeare encountered these incidents in Heliodorus's *Aethiopian History*,[1] or drew on the former in Achilles Tatius's *Clitophon and Leucippe*,[2] or the latter in the two intertexts for *Pericles* in which the father strikes his daughter, Laurence Twyne's *Patterne of Painefull Adventures* and George Wilkins's *Painfull Adventures of Pericles* (Newcomb, this volume). Yet just as the importance of Greek romance to his late plays—and especially *Cymbeline*[3]—has met with considerable acceptance although it cannot be confirmed through verbal echoes, so the reiteration of incidents in the wager cycle suggests we should look at that broader narrative tradition rather than just two of its texts. If we move beyond the realm of certainty that has been maintained by a positivist approach to sources, we can see how productively this play draws on both the Hellenic and medieval traditions of romance and then transforms the wager into a distinctively British story.

DECENTERING THE SOURCE

One way of considering the relation of stories in the wager cycle to *Cymbeline* is to assume with Julia Kristeva that texts are produced by discursive systems as well as individuals. If we grant "that every signifying practice is a field of transpositions of various signifying systems (an inter-textuality)," as Kristeva proposes, then we may accept "that its 'place' of enunciation and its denoted 'object' are never single, complete, and identical to themselves, but always plural, shattered, capable of being tabulated" (60). "Intertextualité" has been variously applied since Kristeva first introduced it in 1966, and Elizabeth Harvey's interpretation is especially relevant to my own project:

> rather than describing the bounded property of a stable author, as source studies or influence studies do, then, intertextuality focuses on utterances whose possible sources are illusionary points of origin, or whose origins are either infinitely regressive or at least multiple, so that they cannot be identified as belonging either solely to a particular author or even to a particular historical moment.[4]

This approach enables what I want to call a decentering of the source, which is one consequence of "a semiotic polyvalence" of texts (Kristeva 60). Decentering sources seems especially appropriate to the ways in which romance narratives draw on diverse and overlapping stories in nonlinear, recursive, and often untraceable ways.

I hope to convey here the plentitude of this gathering of stories while resisting "critical axiologies that raise Shakespeare's plays above their sources" (Newcomb, *Reading* 13) by decentering *Cymbeline* and viewing even its sources within the larger context of romance wagers on women's chastity. That story tradition is sufficiently large and unwieldy that I cannot begin to treat all of its versions, which extend to folktales in Finnish, Hungarian, Iranian, Turkish, Indian and many other languages (Uther ATU 882). I discuss here ten of the oldest recorded versions, which appear first in Old French, then in Middle French, Italian, German, Spanish, Welsh and English variants, as well as the two recognized sources for Shakespeare's wager plot. Geoffrey Bullough claimed that "the wager-story basic to *Cymbeline* is almost as widespread in folk-lore and literature as the 'terrible bargain' of *Measure for Measure*" (8.12). When Shakespeare took up the narrative, it had already been rewritten by Boccaccio and Christine de Pizan, staged as a fourteenth-century miracle play by Parisian goldsmiths, revised for the sixteenth-century German stage by Hans Sachs and Jacob Ayrer, for the Spanish stage by Lope de Rueda, and redacted from an oral tale into a sixteenth-century Welsh chronicle. These versions comprised an oral as well as written tradition that included narrative and dramatic romances in verse and in prose. *Cymbeline* is also related to the dramatic romances that were popular in the 1570s and 1580s, specifically *Clyomen and Clamydes*, *The Rare Triumphs of Love and Fortune*, and the later *Mucedorus*, which was revised and revived by the King's Men in 1610, the year that Shakespeare probably wrote this play.[5] These romances were "simultaneously dramatized romances and tragicomedies"; their nondramatic prototypes are the Greek romances of Heliodorus and Achilles Tatius (Mowat, "'What's'" 135–36), so they offer indirect means of relating *Cymbeline* to Greek romance.

The wager cycle, however, appears more directly indebted to medieval, chivalric romance. Shakespeare's own contribution to it was not, until relatively recently, considered the most significant version of the story. The French and Italian versions had a very wide influence on subsequent retellings from the fourteenth through the sixteenth centuries, as is evident from an impressive Italian website[6] that charts the *fonti* (sources) and *fortuna* (literary fortunes) of the *Intertestualità* (intertextuality) of "La Novella di Zinevra" by Boccaccio. Two charts on this site list six sources of the novella and twenty-nine European descendants, positioning it at the center and effectively decentering Shakespeare's play. Viewing this site is a useful way to dislodge some of the assumptions that Shakespeareans bring to this material, and in the rest of this essay I will try to decenter the sources as well as the play by repositioning *The Decameron* and *Frederyke* in relation to some of the other wager stories. We can get a fuller sense of this part of the forest of romance if we do not dwell too long on any particular item and do not assume the superiority of a romance authored by Boccaccio or Shakespeare. The critical axiologies that position Shakespeare's plays above his sources also privilege his sources in contrast to other texts and privilege texts over oral narratives. Instead of trying to locate the points of origin for any given story, I hope to convey the interconnections between narratives in this textual community and consider

the cultural work those stories may have been doing. This way into the forest is more speculative and distanced than source study and offers fewer certainties, but it is informed by a genealogical approach that opposes a search for ultimate origins or essences.

Foucault claims that "what is found at the historical beginning of things is not the inviolable identity of their origin; it is the dissension of other things. It is disparity" (79). Later he adds, "the genealogist needs history to dispel the chimeras of the origin" (80). Part of my project, then, is to historicize the diversity among the wager stories preceding *Cymbeline*. The dissension foundational to this genealogical model is worth combining with another approach to romance advocated by Barbara Mowat when she uses Alastair Fowler's reworking of Wittgenstein's "theory of family resemblances" to approach generic classifications as "more like families than classes" ("'What's'" 134) because their members are related in some ways without having any one feature in common. Mowat applies Fowler's model to the resemblances between romance and tragicomedy. While Foucault's approach helps us recognize intertextual diversity, Mowat's provides for intertextual resemblances. Lori Newcomb's chapter in this book adds a further component to the method used here by proposing the language of "pattern" as preferable to that of source in approaching Shakespeare's romances because "pattern confounds the assignment of primacy. . . . It thus perfectly captures the way that romance intertextuality defeats issue" (38) and disrupts the "patrilinear logic that the source model tries to impose" (23). My approach focuses on the reiteration of patterns or motifs between the wager stories and the play rather than relying on linguistic parallels to confirm their connections.

The language used by each of these critics—genealogy, family resemblances, patriarchy and its disruptions, and Helen Cooper's adaptation of Richard Dawkins's concept of "meme" referred to below—draws on generative, familial and biological models for exploring relations among texts. These affiliations create the larger field through which individual texts are read and interpreted. Exploring such a field may be especially helpful for approaching premodern works that have survived centuries of retelling. Geraldine Heng stresses that medieval romances were both the inheritors and transmitters of a collective culture:

> Because it is the sedimented repository of what medieval culture has sought to retain across vast temporal divides, each romance that survives communicates the resultant aggregated will of a collective culture, and transmits the cumulative purposiveness of a diachronous endeavor in a way that is almost unimaginable to moderns habituated to the signed cultural works of mere single individuals. (8)

Decentering the source requires a decentering of the signed works of individuated authors to help us recognize the collective cultures, the family resemblances and the diversities that intertexts exhibit in relation to one another. That decentering brings into view the various literary, cultural and oral traditions that texts generate and transmit. Conversely, approaching a text and its sources apart from their intertexts or the literary and historical communities that also created them requires reading them in isolation from their linguistic and cultural affiliations. Much is lost through that analytic isolation.

LE CYCLE DE LA GAGUERE

Stories in the wager cycle focus on a woman, usually a wife, whose chastity is called into question when her husband or lover boasts about her fidelity and ends up making a bet with another man, who claims he can seduce her. When that villain of the story is rejected by the faithful woman and unable to win the wager honestly, he presents the husband or lover with false evidence in the form of his knowledge of a mark on the woman's body in a location that implies intimacy, or special tokens associated with her, or both. The husband or lover becomes convinced by the evidence and tries unsuccessfully to kill her or to have her killed. Then he becomes despondent at having lost her and his belief in her, causing each of them to wander separately far and wide until some event occurs to reunite them. Most frequently, the woman identifies the villain through one of the tokens he has stolen from her, brings her husband or lover to her location, and discloses the villain's identity to both men and an authority figure whom she has come to serve. The villain is then punished, the woman's chastity is confirmed, and she is reunited with the man she loves. This story comprises most of the first two acts of Shakespeare's play; it is briefly touched on during acts three and four, and it returns in full during act five.

Wager stories are a subset of what Helen Cooper in *The English Romance in Time* calls "the calumny romance," the story of the falsely accused woman (274), where "the text constitutes a kind of trial" and the "'sentence' in the forensic sense exonerates the heroine" (270). Cooper sees the emergence of medieval romances in the twelfth century as a reaction against the enforcement of universal clerical celibacy imposed by Pope Gregory VII one century earlier, and posits that "one element in its rise may have been a secular backlash against the anti-sexual attitudes that accompanied that imposition." The approach to sexuality and women advocated by those romances would then have functioned in the "vested interests of the great secular majority of the population" (272), an observation that seems particularly appropriate to the calumny romance, which provided occasions for articulating, as well as opposing, the antimatrimonial, antisexual, and antifeminist positions often taken up in support of celibacy. Cooper cautions that romances of this sort make no pretence to "sexual liberation" for women and do not try to undermine "the system of patrilinear descent that made a wife's chastity a matter of crucial political and economic import," but she argues that they do resist the sexual double standard and the denigration of women's sexuality (272).[7]

According to Cooper, many variants of the "meme"[8] of the falsely accused woman appeared during the later Middle Ages and Renaissance (275).

Shakespeare bases five of his plays on the meme (*The Merry Wives of Windsor, Much Ado About Nothing, Othello, Cymbeline, The Winter's Tale*) and makes further use of it in *Henry VIII, or All is True* (276), where the king's treatment of his first two wives reminds us that "the frequent threat to burn an adulterous queen in romance may sound like a fantasy element; it was not" (278). The version of the meme in which a husband bets on his wife's chastity is "most familiar now from *Cymbeline*" (275). If the imposition of clerical celibacy affected the development of continental romances in general from the twelfth century on, then the proliferation of the calumny romance in England in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries was also influenced by the accusations of adultery that led to the executions of Anne Boleyn and of Henry's fourth wife, Catherine Howard. Cooper argues that the stories of accused wives "must have read very differently after those events than they had done before" (278). In this context it is appropriate that both Innogen in *Cymbeline* and Hermione in *Winter's Tale* are royal women.

Bullough's remark that the wager story "is almost as widespread in folklore and literature as the 'terrible bargain' of *Measure for Measure*" (8.12) relates especially well to the narrative gathering of *le cycle de la gaguere* because some of its versions include a bed trick in which the woman or wife substitutes another woman in her place; the proofs adduced by the villain to support his claim that he has slept with her in these instances are most often "a finger, finger-ring, and head, or braid, of hair (one of these, or more)" (Child 5.23). The intersection between a storyline that Shakespeare drew on for *Measure for Measure* and *All's Well That Ends Well* with another that he used in *Cymbeline* and for the wager on wives' obedience at the end of *The Taming of the Shrew*[9] confirms how productive this narrative material was for Shakespeare throughout his career, and shows how interwoven its various strands could be. The critic who most extensively categorized this narrative material was Gaston Paris, whose seventy-page article on wagers, "Le Cycle de la *Gageure*," published in 1903, built on seven previous studies in French, German and English and established a thematic classification for distinguishing some forty-one variants based on characterizations of the primary figures.[10]

In addition to the literary texts of the wager, there exists a folktale tradition that may go back as far as the fourteenth century (Rosenberg 64). "The Wager on the Wife's Chastity" is folktale type ATU 882, and its extensive variants were recorded most recently by Hans-Jorg Uther in 2004. He lists versions from fifty-five different cultures. The primary motifs include the high stakes of the wager, the steadfastness of the woman, tokens of the alleged seduction (ring, hair) procured by bribing a maid, expulsion of the wife and a design to kill her, the journey of the despairing husband, and the unmasking of the traitor (Moser-Rath 190–91). This type also overlaps with folktale type ATU 892, the bed trick. Two entries in the distinguished German encyclopedia of folktales, *Enzyklopädie des Märchens*, explore the connections between these tales and *Cymbeline*, the most detailed being E. Moser-Rath's article of 1981, which emphasizes the mutual relations between

literary and oral versions.[11] Most versions of the story, including a Welsh variant, *Hanes Taliesin*, reflect both forms of transmission. The ubiquitous distinction between oral and written versions breaks down with this material, since "there is no question that oral reading and recitation were common means by which medieval audiences received romances" (Huot 73), and "it was clearly as popular performance art, with strong elements of mimicry and burlesque, that [medieval chivalric romances] initially brought pleasure to the majority of their earliest listeners" (Hahn 230). Many of the wager texts present the story as being told orally, sometimes by a woman, to a group that includes women, as in Boccaccio's version, or is directed to an audience of women, as in *Roman de la Violette* and Christine de Pizan's version.

The intertexts I will discuss further in this essay are presented in clusters below to convey their linguistic, national and geographic affinities.[12] Most of these stories were "romanced" in the sense of being written in vernacular, frequently romance, languages (Fuchs 37). They were resituated geographically within the country associated with the language of the narrative as well, creating a connection between the language of the text, the place of the action, and the nationality of the characters. This means of categorizing them is also an attempt to resist implying any simply linear, chronological pattern of intertextual succession between them, for their interconnections are far more complicated.[13]

French Texts

Le Roman du Comte de Poitiers, c. 1170–1240. Old French. (*Poitiers*)
Le Roman de la Rose ou de Guillaume de Dole, by Jean Renart, c. 1209–1228. Old French. (*Guillaume*)
Roman de la Violette ou de Gerart de Nevers, by Gerbert de Montreuil, c. 1227–1230. Old French. (*Violette*)
Le Roi Flore et Belle Jehanne, c. 1250. Old French.[14] (*Flore et Jehanne*)
Ostes, Roy d'Espaigne, from *Les Miracles de Nostre Dame par personnages*, performed between 1339 and 1382. Middle French. (*Ostes*)[15]
Gérard de Nevers, 1435–1464, later French editions in 1520, 1526, and 1586.[16] Middle French. (*Gérard*)

Italian(ate) Texts

Decameron II, 9, by Boccaccio, 1349–1351. Italian. (*Decameron*)
Le Livre de la Cité des Dames, II, 52, by Christine de Pizan, 1405, published in English in 1521. Middle French. (*Cité de Dames*)

Germanic Text

Frederyke of Jennen, published in German in Nuremberg c. 1478 as *Historie von vier Kaufmännern* (Tale of Four Merchants) and in four more editions by 1510, then in English in 1517?, 1518, and 1560?[17] (*Frederyke*)

Spanish Text

Eufemia, by Lope de Rueda, 1567.[18] (*Eufemia*)

British Texts and Tales

Hanes Taliesin, a tale first recorded in Elis Gruffydd's sixteenth century Welsh manuscript of a world chronicle, c. 1552–1553.[19] (*Taliesin*)

Cymbeline, by William Shakespeare, performed c. 1610, published 1623. English. (*Cymbeline*)

Westward for Smelts, by Kinde Kit of Kingstone (pseud.), 1620. Second story, told by the Wife of Stand-on-the-Green. English. (*Smelts*)

When Boccaccio takes up the older French narrative in *The Decameron*, he retains the wager in Paris but recasts the participants as "great Italian Merchants" and then shifts the action to Genoa ("Jennen"), the home of the husband (Bullough 8.51). Christine de Pizan follows suit even though she is writing in French. The Spanish *Eufemia* moves the events to Spain among Spaniards, *Taliesin* moves them to Wales, *Cymbeline* to ancient Britain among Britons and Romans/Italians, and *Smelts* to England.[20] The linguistic, national and geographic alignments among most of these versions are significant.

The first of the French texts antedates Boccaccio by at least a century, and all but the last of them were extensive verse narratives. *Guillaume de Dole* varies the story by having the woman send tokens to the villain after he has reported the mark on her body as proof that she is unchaste. She then accuses him of rape and theft, adducing the tokens he possesses as proof, and conducts her own defense. This resolution through "the heroine's ingenious verbal manipulation" makes *Guillaume* perhaps the most proto-feminist of all the stories here.[21] *Roman de la Violette* does not include any tokens, but the proof offered is a body mark, shaped like a violet, on the woman's breast. In *Guillaume*, whose original title was *La Roman de la Rose*,[22] the mark is a "crimson rose on her soft white thigh" (64). The mark on Innogen's body in *Cymbeline* is a mole on her left breast, which is "cinque-spotted, like the crimson drops / I'th'bottom of a cowslip" (2.2.38–39),[23] the familiar English wildflower. There is no association between the mark and a flower in either *The Decameron* or *Frederyke*,[24] and in both it is a wart instead of a mole.[25] *Roman de la Violette* was put into prose and published in three sixteenth-century French editions as *Gérard de Nevers*, so the text or story could have been accessible to Shakespeare. As much as two centuries later, *Violette* became the basis for Carl Maria von Weber's opera *Euryanthe*, which premiered in Vienna in 1823 (Moser-Rath 192). When read in relation to these intertexts, *Cymbeline*'s simile conjoining the mole with the flower "opens [the] text to other voices and echoes of other texts" (Harvey 10), echoes that can be heard even if they cannot be located with precision. The titles alone of these two French texts could have conveyed the body mark's association with a flower.

Many parallels between the fourteenth-century miracle play, *Ostes*, and *Cymbeline* have already been observed by Collier, Hazlitt, Dowden, Furness, Hunter, Salingar, Bullough, and Gibbons.[26] W. C. Hazlitt first noted that the villain's proposed deadline for the bet is very close in both texts (merely two conferences with the wife), and part of his seduction is a lie that her husband has had another lover while in Rome (2.188–89). Salingar argues that where Shakespeare "changes the wager story as he found it in the *Decameron* and *Frederyke*, removing the mercantile setting and altering the wife's adventures, he brings it much nearer to the old romance" (57)[27] and, it must be added, to some of the other French romances. Salingar notes a series of significant parallels in both plays.[28] Perhaps the most important of these is that both dramatize a form of divine intervention: when Ostes repents his denial of Christianity to fight the Saracens and asks God for pardon, God descends with the Virgin Mary to console him, tells him his wife is innocent, and requires his return to Rome to do penance for his sin. This event has parallels with Jupiter's descent to Posthumus in 5.3 after he has repented Innogen's death at the opening of 5.1 and decided to fight for Britain instead of Rome. *Ostes* turns the secular story into a form of "religious romance," which makes it more appropriate to the 39 other miracle plays performed by the Parisian goldsmiths in their guild's hall between 1339 and 1382 (Runnalls 3–4, 10) and gathered together in manuscript as *Les Miracles de Nostre Dame par personnages* (Frank). Its religious focus relates it to the Corpus Christi cycle plays that Gloria Olchowy discusses in her chapter in this book, making this perhaps the first dramatic romance developed from the wager narratives. Brian Gibbons concludes that "the relevance of this romance to *Cymbeline* . . . seems indisputable" (29).

Christine de Pizan's version of the story has never been discussed before in relation to *Cymbeline*. She may have known about *Ostes* and the earlier French romances as well as Boccaccio's version: she draws on *Les Miracles* for the story in *Le Livre de la Cité des Dames* that precedes her account of the Wife of Bernabo the Genovan (no. 52 in Book II). In creating her defensive fortress of a city to resist medieval misogyny by recounting the lives of virtuous women, she extensively revised the lives in Boccaccio's *De Mulieribus Claris* and, in a few instances including this one, his *Decameron*. Her story is briefer than Boccaccio's but grants the wife a much stronger voice in condemning both the villain and her husband. When Bernabo admits he was convinced of his wife's infidelity based on the description of the wart on her breast and the tokens of her purse and belt, the wife, still in male disguise, calls Bernabo a "beest" and says he deserves to die for killing his wife with insufficient proof.[29] There is no such speech from the wife in *The Decameron* or *Frederyke*, although Boccaccio's husband does ask his wife "to forgive his rash transgression" (Bullough 8.62).[30] Maureen Quilligan remarks of all the lives in *Cité des Dames* that "Christine rewrites Boccaccio to insert an active female subjectivity within each story" (256), and the observation applies fully to this one. Christine also reduces the voyeurism of the narrative. In versions

from *Flore et Jehanne* on, the cross-dressed wife's display of her female body was a crucial event in the anagnorisis. The wife in Christine's version shows her breasts, but only to her husband; in *Ostes*, she displays them to her husband, her father, and the Emperor.[31] In *Decameron*, however, she reveals her breasts to the Sultan and his assistants, and in *Frederyke* she appears naked before the king and his lords except for a kercher of silk before her members, an event illustrated in a woodcut in the 1560? edition (sig. D3^{v}). No such display of the female body was possible for Shakespeare's boy actor, so Pisanio rushes to identify Innogen to others on stage and Cymbeline acknowledges the sound of her voice (5.4.231, 238). Shakespeare's voyeuristic staging of the female body occurs in the bedroom scene (2.2) but not in this final scene, and Christine's version moderates both. Hers is the only version of the wager definitely written by a woman. While her works were better known in England than we have generally assumed (Malcolmson, Summit, Coldiron), this intertext does not exhibit any clear connections with *Cymbeline*, although it does show how the story could be changed to appeal to an audience of women and attests more generally to its popularity.

In the two texts traditionally identified as sources for Shakespeare's use of the wager, *Decameron* and *Frederyke*, the participants are all merchants and the story is given a largely bourgeois focus.[32] Boccaccio initiated this shift to the mercantile context of Renaissance Europe, and the change probably increased the popularity of the story. According to Sean McDaniel, the considerable range of merchant portrayals in the entire *Decameron* "has led one critic to call the text 'the epic of the Italian merchant.'"[33] The more trade grew over the centuries, the more the wager involved persons of the merchant class. Boccaccio also appears to have introduced the trunk into this narrative tradition: it is a "faire and artificiall Chest" (Bullough 8.54) thought to contain wealthy goods but instead holding the threat of the villain himself. Older versions of the story, however, were not about wagering merchants who met at an inn but about aristocratic men at court. *Roman de la Violette*'s central male character, Count de Nevers, is at the court of King Louis; Guillaume de Dole is a knight invited to the court of Emperor Conrad; Ostes is a nephew of Lotaire, the Roman emperor. *Taliesin* opens with Ceridwen, the wife to a nobleman during the days of King Arthur, and later moves to the court of King Maelgwn Gwynedd. Robin in *Flore et Jehanne* is a squire to a knight in Flanders, but he is knighted and given lands before his marriage to his master's daughter in order to make him worthy of her; in some respects the problems of his rank parallel those of Posthumus.

Most of *Cymbeline* is closer in its setting, characters and incidents to these aristocratic romances than to the stories of merchants initiated by Boccaccio. Fuchs's remark that medieval romances constituted an "elite court genre" in which "the court is more than a setting: it often anchors the narrative with an almost centripetal force," also seems relevant to Shakespeare's play (39). Yet when he stages the wager between gentlemen[34] in the more mercantile context of Renaissance Italy, his Boccaccian setting is a marked departure in

time, place and tone from ancient Britain. This disjunction follows the shift in *le cycle de la gageure* from an aristocratic to a mercantile context. The difference between the primarily French aristocratic wagers and the Italian/Germanic merchant wagers goes far to account for the anachronistic disjunction in *Cymbeline* between the royal characters of Roman Britain and the contentious gentlemen of Renaissance Italy. The wide gap of time as well as place in the play's locations replicates the two major strands of wager stories.

The aristocratic emphasis in most of the older versions is sustained by a scene of combat between the lady's husband or lover and the villain,[35] just as *Cymbeline* stages combat between Posthumus and Iachimo during the battle between Britain and Rome. Although no combat occurs in *Decameron* or *Frederyke*, this event was a staple of the French romances. *Comte de Poitiers* includes combat between the Count de Nevers and the Duke of Normandy. In *Roman de la Violette*, Gerart engages in a duel with Lisiart, his *amie*'s accuser. Robin of *Flore et Jehanne* does battle with the villain in that story, although his cross-dressed wife Jehanne wants to fight instead. In *Ostes*, the cross-dressed Denise/Denis challenges the villain Berengier, but her husband arrives just in time to take her place. Posthumus's physical triumph over Iachimo in the context of battle demonstrates his increasing worthiness to resume his role as Innogen's husband, and his victory is extended to all the Roman forces when he fights alongside Belarius and the king's sons in the narrow lane. Combat was the primary means by which the villain was put down in most aristocratic versions of the wager and the means by which the husband became worthy of reuniting with his wife.

Citationality is a way of affirming resemblances between texts, just as the need to make them new or update them ensures their diversity. The prose tale called *Frederyke of Jennen* was named after the pseudonym that the wife takes when she assumes a male disguise, and it gives that character considerably more independence than Boccaccio's version. *Frederyke* was an English translation of a German text, *Historie von vier Kaufmännern* (Tale of Four Merchants), printed at Nuremberg in 1478 and four more times by 1510. Bullough says the anonymous story "became well known in the Netherlands, Scandinavia, and Britain" (15), which may account for the 1518 Antwerp publication of an English translation and another in England from Wynken de Worde around the same time.[36] Still another appeared in England about 1560.[37] Unlike the previous versions of the wager, where the participants are from different provinces within the same country,[38] *Frederyke*'s four rich merchants come from France, Spain and the Italian provinces of Florence and Genoa. The inclusion of participants from different countries may be an allusion to the places where the wager stories were known to have been retold: France, Italy and Spain.[39] The merchants present for the wager in *Frederyke* appear to serve as traces of its earlier retellings. *Cymbeline*'s first wager scene (1.4) includes a Frenchman, Italians, a Spaniard and a Dutchman. The Spaniard and Dutchman do not speak, but most scholars follow Thrall (115) and J. M. Nosworthy (note to 1.5) in claiming they attest to Shakespeare's

dependence in this respect on *Frederyke of Jennen* as distinct from Boccaccio. Yet no one has remarked that Shakespeare's Dutchman adds still another national representative to this gathering. I would argue that *Cymbeline* follows *Frederyke* in alluding to previous versions of the story through the presence at the wager of men from three places of its previous retellings and then includes still another character to mark that text's Dutch associations.[40] By including this nonspeaking character, Shakespeare replicates the citationality of another text in *le cycle de la gageure* while extending it to allude to his own source. He may also allude to those earlier versions in which a woman, usually a servant, is bribed to provide the villain with tokens (*Poitiers*) and/or information about the body mark (*Guillaume, Violette, Flore et Jehanne, Ostes*) when Philario objects to the presentation of the ring as adequate evidence by asking, "Who knows if one her women, being corrupted / Hath stol'n it from her?" (2.4.116–17).[41]

The Welsh version of the wager is of particular interest to *Cymbeline* because part of the play is set in Wales, it grants repeated attention to Milford Haven, and it may have been influenced by events associated with the investiture of Henry as Prince of Wales in June of 1610, all of which suggest to Martin Butler that Shakespeare "had suddenly become preoccupied with the iconography and cultural significance of Welshness" (5). *Hanes Taliesin* (The Tale of Taliesin)[42] includes two tales, of Gwion Bach and Taliesin, which create a myth associated with the birth of the historical sixth-century Welsh poet whose creative work was first commemorated in the *Historia Brittonum*[43] and published as *The Book of Taliesin* (Haycock). The wager story is part of *Hanes Taliesin* and includes two characters who parallel the Queen and Cloten, because the tale begins when a maternal magician, Ceridwen, gathers herbs for a cauldron and brews it for one year so that its drops will endow her hideous son, Morfran, with some much-needed wisdom. In the event, the drops fall instead on her assistant, Gwion Bach, who is eventually reborn as an infant, found by Elphin, a member of the Welsh court, and named by him Taliesin for his radiant forehead. Years later, Elphin boasts that his wife and his bard are superior to King Maelgwyn Gwynedd's, for which the king throws him in prison. This version of the wager includes the substitution of a servant for her mistress and the presentation of her finger with a ring on it as proof of the seduction, but unlike other husbands in the wager cycle, Elphin refuses to believe his wife has been unfaithful. When Taliesin sings songs to prove himself a superior bard and produces the wife with all fingers intact, he gains his patron's release. The tale closes with Taliesin's prophetic song about Britain's Trojan past that laments the loss of British lands to the Saxons—all except for wild Wales[44]—and predicts their eventual recovery. The tale was written down in the early sixteenth century as part of a "Chronicle of the Six Ages of the World" composed by Elis Gruffydd, a Welsh soldier and scholar (Jones, *Oxford DNB*). Two dozen manuscripts of the prose tale as well as "a lively oral tradition . . . coexisting with the manuscript tradition" date from the sixteenth through the nineteenth centuries.[45]

Cymbeline's Queen and Cloten parallel this version's female magician with her strong ambitions for her ugly son, and the play devotes an entire scene (1.5) to the Queen's herb-gathering and her creation of drugs, including one that causes Innogen's apparent death. Gruffydd's sixteenth-century chronicle characterizes Henry VII as "the long-prophesied deliverer of the Welsh" and a descendant of Cadwallader, "the last supreme ruler of the Britons" (Jones 16); that historical figure was also the source of Arviragus's pseudonym, Cadwal. The bard's prophetic song predicting that Britons will recover their land and crown after a long period of servitude (Ford, *Mabinogi* 181, Guest 152) is in some respects similar to Jupiter's prophecy, read out twice in the play, that Britain will eventually be fortunate and "flourish in peace and plenty" (5.3.207, 5.4.440). *Taliesin* combines the wager story with attention to Wales' mythic past and Britain's national future. It is the only text to do that: Holinshed and the other historical texts associated with *Cymbeline* do not recount the wager, and other versions of the wager do not engage with British history. Given the mythic importance of Taliesin in Welsh culture (Humphreys 3), its conjoining of the wager with Welsh and British history, and the lack of other counterparts for the Queen and Cloten,[46] this intertext has a particularly provocative relation to Shakespeare's play.[47]

While there is evidence that this Welsh version of the tale was transmitted orally even before the sixteenth century, *Westward for Smelts*, a text of 1620, presents the wager as a tale still being told a decade after Shakespeare wrote his play. In this frame tale, six fishwives recount stories to one another on a ferry while returning to their homes between London and Kingston after having sold their smelts in the city during Lent (Figure 2). Most of these stories come from novella and fabliau (Brown 105–10, Relihan); all of the wives are not old, but the association with old wives' tales is also close (see Lamb, this volume). The wife from Stand-on-the-Green tells the familiar story of the wager, relocating it to England during the Wars of the Roses and, when she is finished, invites responses to her story. The wife from Brainford[48] remarks of Mistress Dorrill, the central character of this version, "I like her as a garment out of fashion; shee shewed well in that innocent time, when women had not the wit to know their owne libertie: but if she liued now, she would shew as vild as a paire of Yorkeshire sleeues in a Goldsmithes shop" (sig. C4^{v}). Brainford's comparison of this story from an "innocent time" to her seventeenth-century moment objects that Mistress Dorrill does not sufficiently claim her own freedom. Her remark about a goldsmith's shop may refer to the goldsmiths' guild that had performed *Ostes* over two centuries earlier;[49] or it may just mark the wide difference in fashion between provincial Yorkshire, where some of the story takes place, and urban London, where the story is retold. In any case, although some of the other wives "praised her . . . extraordinarily" (sig. C4^{v}), Brainford is not fully pleased with Mistress Dorrill and implies that the story has not been sufficiently updated to create an independent wife. One wonders whether Shakespeare's play had met with a comparably mixed response from some wives in his audience ten years earlier,[50] especially since *Smelts*' Mistress

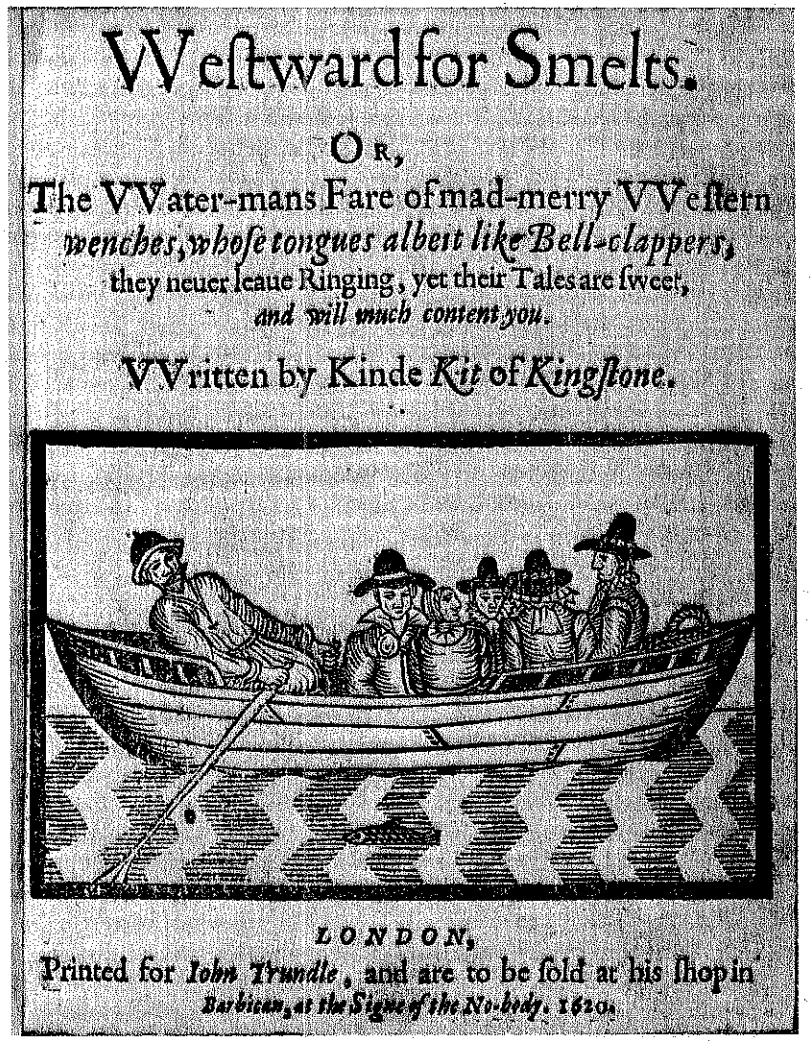

Figure 2 Westward for Smelts title page. Used by permission of the Folger Shakespeare Library.

Dorrill—who becomes a favorite of King Edward, uncovers the villain's deception on her own, and determines her husband's fate—has more agency than Innogen after she cross-dresses. *Smelts* suggests that some members of Shakespeare's audience might have felt that this old tale posed problems for its reception, especially by women, in the early seventeenth century.

One obstacle to considering many of these versions in relation to *Cymbeline* has been how distant they are in time from the play and how inaccessible the texts probably were. However, most scholars including Bullough were not aware that the story of *Violette* was retold in prose as *Gérard de Nevers* and appeared in three French editions during the sixteenth century, the last as late as 1586 (see note 16). *Gérard* extends the travels of the heroine and adds an additional episode, but it is otherwise close to the Old French version.[51] Shakespeare probably had "passable French" (Gillespie, *"Shakespeare's Reading"* 101) and may have read *The Decameron* in a French translation by Maçon since there was no English translation until 1620 (Wright), so he could have read *Gérard* as well.[52] Yet he would not have had to read it at all to make use of it in the ways proposed here. *Hanes Taliesin* was even closer to hand: it was circulating in oral as well as manuscript versions from the sixteenth century on, and three of the manuscripts date from the seventeenth century, one around 1607 by John Jones of Gellilyfdy (Ford, *Ystoria* 55–56, 58). News of the sixteenth-century German plays by Hans Sachs and Jacob Ayrer and the Spanish play by Lope de Rueda might have been conveyed by traveling players. De Rueda's *Eufemia* made the story as it was told in the Old French *Guillaume* available in the sixteenth century. Both versions include the heroine's brother in the narrative. The Spanish play stages Eufemia's reading of her brother's letter accusing her of being dishonorable in a scene that recalls Posthumus's ambiguous letter to Innogen in 3.2 and his more explicit accusations in a letter to Pisanio that is read aloud by Innogen in 3.4 (Bullough 8.79–87).

The largest difference between Shakespeare's play and all of these stories is that Innogen is not given the independence and agency that she has in other versions. In Boccaccio and Christine de Pizan, the wife's disguise takes her as far away as Alexandria, where she serves a sultan and achieves great influence with him. In *Frederyke of Jennen* she travels to Cairo, is promoted to "lord and defender" of the land when the king must leave (C4^{v}), overcomes the king's enemies during an attack, and lives there for twelve years. In *Flore et Jehanne* she exhibits skill as a baker and runs a successful hostel in Marseilles. Shakespeare contracts the time frame and geographical reach of these stories, avoiding some of the episodic plotting that Sidney inveighed against when romances were put on stage, and constructing a last scene that brings the plot points more tightly together. Rather than following the wife's adventures when she was alone, he honed the rambling narrative with its later episodes associated with an "oriental tale" into a more structured dramatic romance. He also heightened the events in act five, giving Posthumus a bloody cloth as a way of staging the evidence of his wife's murder, foregrounding his regret, and writing him lines advising others in the audience—"You married ones" (5.1.2)—not to do likewise, departing from other versions as he did so. Just when Innogen is about to reveal her identity to her husband in the last scene, Shakespeare appears to draw on Greek romances or some later version of them and has Posthumus strike her down when he does not recognize her

in disguise,[53] deferring their long-delayed reunion just a little longer (Parker) and debasing her once more. This play humbles Innogen more fully than any other story, just as most of its predecessors had humbled Posthumus: both characters undergo symbolic deaths before they are reunited and, in that sense, attain a kind of low-grade parity.

This humbling seems in keeping with the passivity of Greek rather than medieval romance protagonists. However, another variation in *Cymbeline*'s version of the wager is that the wife is an heir to the British throne, and her role raises national as well as familial concerns. While the negotiations between Rome and Britain that begin the third act initially seem a marked change in tone and substance from the previous two acts, Innogen, named after the wife of Brute and sole heir (it appears) to the King, is an important link to the national plot, as G. Wilson Knight observed long ago (149ff.). Shakespeare introduces very different material into the wager story through the plot that begins in Act 3, enlarging his dramatic romance to engage with contemporary British concerns such as the relation between its colonized past and colonizing present; James's still unachieved goal of uniting England, Scotland and Wales into a British nation; and the celebration of British heroes and Tudor imperialism associated with Prince Henry's investiture in 1610.[54] The shift to national concerns enlarges the wager stories' exclusive focus on the husband and wife because Innogen is also the daughter of a king and the sister of princes. She is not an independent heroine but a member of a family with dynastic significance,[55] which makes the control of her chastity all the more important. Her future is implicated in Britain's, its future in hers, and both converge in the recovery of her family, which receives major attention in the last scene. Shakespeare follows the alignments of earlier versions of the wager between the location of the action and the language of the text by "romancing" his play into a story that is distinctively British, enlarging the reunion of husband and wife to include the recovery of their families and then extending the peace to the relations between Britain and Rome. This conclusion probably would not have pleased the Brainford wife in *Smelts*, but it is consistent with the way that Shakespeare's dramatic romances move beyond husband–wife dyads to parents and children and foster-parents and long-lost relatives in order to affirm the affiliations of family in a manner more consonant with Greek romance. It is also in keeping with Walter Cohen's observation that Shakespeare's "romances reduce the efficacy of human agency. Their virtuous, redemptive young women are less activist than emblematic. They are part of the pattern rather than its creator" (111). What distinguishes *Cymbeline* from Shakespeare's other romances is the conjunction between recovering one's familial and one's national identities, which enlarges Innogen's importance more as an enduring heroine than an independent one, while it subordinates her to Britain's larger history.

We cannot know for certain which of these intertexts Shakespeare knew or knew about, but it is likely that he was aware of some, perhaps many of them. He did not have to have them to hand to incorporate their elements into his play. These stories had circulated widely in oral forms for five centuries, and they were still being retold at the time he was writing the play: even the 1620 publication of *Smelts* presents the wager as an oral tale. Reading *Cymbeline* through them provides a larger sense of the narrative tradition that he was following and changing and contributing to. Intertexts cannot usually be confirmed through verbal echoes but, like folktales, they do become evident by the reiteration of multiple motifs or patterns. Innogen's mole being likened to a flower points to a possible awareness of the older French romances, as does the presence in *Cymbeline* of a combat between the husband or lover and the accuser. The two traditions of wager stories, aristocratic and mercantile, may account for the play's unusual conjunction between royals in Ancient Britain and wagering gentleman in Renaissance Italy. Jupiter in *Cymbeline* functions very like the visitation of God to Ostes; the Queen and Cloten are close to the magician Ceridwen and her ugly son in *Hanes Taliesin*; that text also connects the wager to Britain's past and future. These and other parallels speak to the possibility that Shakespeare knew and drew on versions of the wager story well beyond *The Decameron* and *Frederyke*, and that he was aware of the larger narrative tradition within which he was working.

Juliette Wood remarks of Welsh literature that "a medieval writer's 'creativity' lies less in creating novelty than in his ability to incorporate the disparate elements into a smoothly flowing work" ("Calumniated" 25). She is alluding to a concept of imitation that applies equally well to the English Renaissance (Pigman). Few of us would describe *Cymbeline* as "smoothly flowing": it is "a difficult play to see whole," as Martin Butler remarks, although "its capaciousness is its great virtue" (1). Its assemblage of remarkably diverse material includes the reiteration of motifs from Shakespeare's own plays as well as a long and impressive finale that brings many disparate elements together. But the wager story does provide the play with a beginning and a focal point: even those versions of the wager which are not sources reiterate some of the play's motifs. The relation of that story to the play is also suggested in Iachimo's remark to the king in the last scene when, like many of his predecessors, he starts to confess what he has done, digresses from his oral tale into incoherence, is twice interrupted by his irritated auditor, and then recovers his narrative thread by saying, "Your daughter's chastity—there it begins" (5.4.179). *Cymbeline*'s way of combining diverse characters and improbable events across large gaps of time, place and culture is very true to the traditions of romance, especially to the many versions of a story that was fundamentally a romance narrative, whether in verse or prose or drama. Decentering the sources of this play in order to view its multiple intertexts enables us to see that flourishing forest rather than just a few trees, and to perceive how at home this play is within those vast expanses of Greek and medieval romance.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This essay is dedicated to the memory of my sister-in-law, Lady Sheila Moore, who was so much alive when I wrote the first draft in her home in 2007, contributed to it through her active engagement with its ideas as it developed, and was gone before I had completed the final version. Her friend Marcia Lord was also of great help in securing an illuminated page of *Ostes* from the Bibliotheque Nationale. I am very grateful to Georgianna Ziegler of the Folger Shakespeare Library for her invaluable advice on how to locate the older French romances and other materials for this essay. Betsy Walsh and the Folger staff generously assisted this work in many ways. I also benefitted from Cristina Bacchilega's expert guidance on how to research folktales; from Fernando Cioni and Daniela Minerbi's translations of Italian texts; from Bernhard Klein and John Zuern's translations of German accounts of folktales; from Anne Coldiron's, Judith Kellogg's, and Carol Symes's advice on the French texts; from Leeds Barroll's mention of John Taylor in connection with *Smelts*; and from Mary Ellen Lamb's, Barbara Mowat's, and Susan Frye's very helpful comments on earlier versions. I thank my students for the questions they posed in a graduate seminar on *Cymbeline* at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa in 2006, to which this essay is a partial answer. An earlier version was presented at a conference on "Shakespeare, le français, les France" in June, 2007 at Université Paris 7, organized by Ruth Morse, and I thank the participants for their responses.

NOTES

1. These parallels were first discussed by Wells (51), and further taken up by Gesner (98–115), Butler (9), and Pollard (40).
2. Gesner (107–8), Mowat (*Dramaturgy* 131–32), Gillespie (*Shakespeare's Books* 206).
3. Almost four decades ago, Gesner proposed that *Cymbeline* "was meant to be a Heliodoran romance" (113). Simon Reynolds made a similar observation in 2004 (48).
4. Harvey (9–10) who quotes from Kristeva's *Revolution in Poetic Language* (59–60). In his introduction to Kristeva's *Desire in Language*, Leon S. Roudiez defines intertextuality as "the transposition of one or more *systems* of signs into another, accompanied by a new articulation of the enunciative and denotative position," and observes that "it has nothing to do with matters of influence by one writer upon another" (New York: Columbia UP, 1980: 15). He is following Kristeva's objection in *Revolution* that between 1966 and 1974, intertextuality "has often been understood in the banal sense of 'study of sources,'" hence she comes to "prefer the term *transposition* because it specifies that the passage from one signifying system to another demands a new articulation of the thetic—of enunciative and denotative positionality" (60). Her own shift in usage reflects an awareness that writers do not have full control over the meanings of the words they use. By 2004, Robert Miola could explore the word's multiple meanings in "Seven Types of Intertextuality," including one in category II "traditions," where "*the originary text may never have ever been read by the author at all*" (20). The term has proved helpful for describing certain forms of textual affiliation that are not source-related, hence my use of it here. The *Oxford English Dictionary* (*OED*) defines *intertextuality* as "the need for one text to be read in the light of its allusions to and differences from the content or structure of other texts; the (allusive) relationship between esp. literary texts"; it defines *intertext* as "a text considered in the light of its relation (esp. in terms of allusion) to other texts; a body of such texts considered together."
5. Nosworthy is a strong advocate for *Love and Fortune* (xxv–xxvi), continued by Bullough (8.21–22, 90–103); Mowat ("'What's'" 139) discusses *Clyomon and Clamydes;* Gibbons (38–39) emphasizes *Mucedorus*, for which the *Short Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland and Ireland* (*STC*) lists fourteen editions from 1598 to 1639 (18230–18241). Jupin adds two later ones of 1663 and 1668 (9).
6. The web address is *http://www.rose.unizh.ch/static/decameron/seminario/II_09/*. This remarkable site was created by Sara Alloatti Boller and Barbara Kaeppeli.
7. For readings of the medieval French romances of the wager that differ substantially from Cooper's approach to the calumny romances, see Krueger's work.
8. See the "Introduction" to this book, note 5.
9. Compare *Frederyke of Jennen's* complaint by John on Florence, the story's villain, before the wager is made that men "labour dayly both in wynde and in raine and put often out [*stet*, for *our*] lives in jeopardy and in aventure on the sea for to fynde them withall, and our wyves syt at home and make good chere with other good felowes, and geve them parte of the money that we get" (Bullough 8. 65), with Katherine's last speech in *Shrew* where the husband "commits his body / To painful labour both by sea and land, / To watch the night in storms, the day in cold, / Whilst thou li'st warm at home, secure and safe, / And craves no other tribute at thy hands / But love, fair looks and true obedience—/ Too little payment for so great a debt" (5.2.148–54).
10. Subsequent work on wagers in connection with *Cymbeline* has appeared from Hulme (1909), Lawrence (1920, 1931), Thrall (1931), Koenig (1946–1947), and Bullough (1975).
11. The other article, by Thomas Kullmann, discusses all of Shakespeare's plays.
12. I have excluded from this list "The Lady of Boeme," in part because Gaston Paris does not include it in his essay, "Le Cycle de la *Gaguere*," although he writes about it elsewhere. See Lorna Hutson's chapter in this book for a full discussion of this story in Bandello and in Massinger's play, *The Picture*.
13. The texts in this list are alphabetized in the Works Cited section under the abbreviations of their titles, which appear here in parentheses. However, since I refer most often to *Cité des Dames* by the name of its author, that text appears under de Pizan. This list is selective and is not meant to imply that these are the only versions of the wager that Shakespeare could have known about.
14. The dates for *Guillaume*, *Violette* and *Flore et Jehanne* are taken from Krueger (*Cambridge Companion* xv–xvi). See Krueger (*Women Readers* 284, note 17), for the date of *Poitiers*.
15. Runnalls (3).
16. Woledge (47, n. 66), Bossuat (1143–45), Pocock (149).
17. Bullough (8.15–16).
18. Bullough (8.14, 79–87).
19. "Elis Gruffudd," *Oxford DNB* (24.144–45).
20. There are two exceptions to this pattern: *Guillaume* occurs largely in Germany, and *Ostes, Roy d'Espaigne* transposes the events to Spain and Italy.
21. Krueger (*Women Readers* 144) considers only the first four French romances on this list. Yet I would apply that assessment to all of the texts listed here. See also Krueger's earlier treatment of those French romances in "Double Jeopardy."

22. *Roman de la Rose* was renamed *Guillaume de Dole* by Claude Fauchet, a seventeenth-century critic, to distinguish it from the better known *Roman de la Rose* by Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun. See Terry and Durling (1, n. 3).
23. All cites to *Cymbeline* are to Martin Butler's edition except where noted.
24. In *The Decameron* the wife has a small wart under her left breast with a few golden hairs growing out of it; in *Frederyke* it is a black wart on her left arm.
25. In *Flore et Jehanne*, the mark is a black mole. See Krueger (*Women Readers* 285, n. 22), and *Flore et Jehanne* (76–77).
26. Collier (2. iii–xvi). Some of these scholars, including Collier, discuss *Ostes* in relation to other old or middle French romances. The tendency to ignore them in preference for *The Decameron* and *Frederyke* has increased over the last fifty years, especially since Nosworthy's Arden edition dismissed their relevance.
27. By "old romance," Salingar means *Ostes* or, as he refers to it using the name for the hero in later texts, *Oton*. One reason this text has not received more attention may be that scholars refer to it under different titles. Roger Warren's Oxford edition refers to it as *Otto* at 34ff.
28. In both texts the heroine serves her own kinsmen at table while in male disguise (also in *Flore et Jehanne*); she accompanies an army and helps to make peace; her husband joins the national enemy (the Saracens) after having condemned her; he repents, has a divine vision, then returns to his own people, where he is taken prisoner for a time; and he does combat with his wife's accuser (Salingar 57).
29. Sig. N1^{v} in 1521 translation.
30. I disagree with John Pitcher, who says in his headnote to 5.1 that Posthumus's regret would have surprised Jacobean audiences and that "in all versions of the wager plot before *Cymbeline* the husband's behavior goes uncriticized and unpunished" (275). Most wager stories imply some criticism; in many it comes from the king or sultan or the figure whom the wife serves in the final stages of her adventures.
31. "La Fille's" words appear to be directed to all three characters when she says, "regardez ma poitrine: j'y ai des mamelles comme une femme; it n'y a pas de honte à les montrer," Monmerqué and Michel ed. (478).
32. The title of the German work behind *Frederyke* foregrounds the merchant status of those making the bet, and the 1567 Spanish *El Patrañuelo* by Timoneda does so as well.
33. McDaniel (459) citing Vittore Branca. "L'epopea mercantile." *Boccaccio Medievale*. Florence: Sansoni, 1956. 71–84.
34. Butler notes at 1.4.0 SD that Shakespeare upgrades the merchants to gentlemen.
35. The exception here is *Guillaume*, where the heroine entraps the villain instead. See Krueger (*Women Readers* 144).
36. *STC* 11361, 11361a.
37. *STC* 11362. This was probably the edition in the collection of Captain Cox, the Coventry mason who performed with others before Queen Elizabeth at Kenilworth in 1575. See Salingar (47).
38. The exceptions are again the two texts mentioned above that do not align language, place and persons of the text, *Guillaume* and *Ostes*.
39. Feliciano's *Justa Victoria*, of 1474, may be the first Spanish version: it precedes *Frederyke*. Like *Eufemia*, it appears to be related to *Guillaume de Dole*. I do not know whether *Historie von vier Kaufmännern* includes participants from three different countries. Another Spanish connection with the story is in *Ostes, Roy d'Espaigne*.
40. The publication of the 1518 edition in Antwerp (a city in the Southern Netherlands at the time) and the spelling of the text's title could prompt associations with the Dutch.
41. *Decameron* and *Frederyke* include the bribing of an old woman, but she only claims that the chest in which the villain is hidden belongs to her and requests that it be kept in the wife's home for a short time; she provides no tokens or information and is not a servant.

42. This story is also known as *Ystoria Taliesin* (Ford *Ystoria*). It is not technically part of the Mabinogian legends but has been published in connection with them (Guest, Ford *Mabinogi*).
43. "Taliesin" (*Oxford DNB* 53.737–38), Wood, "Virgil" 98), Evans (95).
44. Ford's translation in *Mabinogi* has "Save wild Wales" (181), and Lady Guest's has "Except wild Walia" (152).
45. Ford (*Ystoria* 57, 58).The story was in Britain by the late fifteenth century because the Worcester manuscript containing tales of Alphonse's *Disciplina Clericalis* includes the wager story. See Hulme. This version also seems connected to the Tours MS 468 discussed by Paris.
46. Butler suggests a parallel between the Queen and Cecropia in Sidney's *Arcadia* (10), but that romance provides no clear counterpart for Cloten. Wells mentions a similarity with the wicked stepmother in the *Aethiopica* (51), which could have influenced Sidney.
47. Child's *English and Scottish Popular Ballads* includes a ballad close to this story called "The Twa Knights" (no. 268), where a niece substitutes for the wife and loses her ring finger, but Child suspects that story was known through print and had no currency in Scotland. He notes its similarity with the Medieval Greek story of *Maurianos*, the German *Von Zwein Kaufmännen*, Jakob Ayrer's sixteenth-century comedy, and a Danish ballad popular in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as well as with *Taliesin* (5.21–25).
48. This character may take her name from Robert Copland's *Jyl of Brentford's Testament* (c. 1560); Jyl is referred to as "the fat woman of Brentford" in *Merry Wives of Windsor*. The village of Brentford was formerly named Brainford (note to *MWW* 4.2.71–72).
49. In this version the proof of infidelity is a crucifix belonging to the wife, which might link *Smelts* to the more religious version of the wager story in *Ostes*.
50. Although George Steevens claimed in 1773 to have seen a 1603 edition of *Smelts*, no edition earlier than 1620 has been identified. The text was entered into the Stationers' Register on 15 January 1620, and there is no earlier entry. *Smelts*' publisher, John Trundle, licensed *Hic Mulier* and *Haec Vir* within the next 31 days, so he was probably trying to make money by bringing out works associated with women at a time when the *Swetnam* controversy had made them particularly popular, and when John Taylor, the "Water-Poet," had become well known for writing similar stories about a London waterman (see Capp). The English translation of *The Decameron* also appeared in 1620. Thrall notes parallels between *Smelts* and *Cymbeline* (648–49).
51. *Gérard* (xii–xvii), also Lowe.
52. The character Gérard also travels to the Forest of Orleans, unlike his counterpart in *Violette* (Lowe 47), and *Cymbeline*'s Frenchman mentions meeting Posthumus in Orleans (1.4.27).
53. See notes 1 and 2 and Newcomb (this volume) for parallels with Greek romances and the intertexts of *Pericles*.
54. These issues are too large to address adequately here, but see Butler (36–54) for an excellent overview.
55. "There is a level on which Imogen has to die as an heiress in order to be reborn as a wife," Thompson (84).

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