# STUDIES IN ENGLISH LITERATURE

Volume LXXIII

\_\_\_\_\_

# A BABBLE OF ANCESTRAL VOICES

Shakespeare, Cervantes, and Theobald

by

HARRIET C. FRAZIER

1974 MOUTON THE HAGUE • PARIS

#### © Copyright 1974 in The Netherlands Mouton & Co. N.V., Publishers, The Hague

No part of this book may be translated or reproduced in any form, by print, photoprint, microfilm, or any other means, without written permission from the publishers

## LIBRARY OF CONGRESS CATALOG CARD NUMBER: 73-83204

Printed in Belgium by NICI, Ghent

To the Memory of Joella Owens Brown (1936-1965) and Edward Emley (1916-1966)

Genius, all over the world, stands hand in hand, and one shock of recognition runs the whole circle round.

Herman Melville

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Any account of my indebtedness to others begins with my gratitude to Professor John P. Cutts of Oakland University who first acquainted me with the *Cardenio-Double Falsehood* problem and offered encouragement at every step in my research. Professor Samuel Golden of Wayne State University graciously lent me books and gave me useful advice on many occasions.

I am grateful to the librarians at Wayne State University, The University of Illinois, The University of California, Berkeley, but especially to Miss Harriet Jameson and her courteous and efficient staff in the Rare Books Department at The University of Michigan.

My thanks are also due to Professor Barbara Garcia of Mills College for particularized knowledge of Spanish; to Professor Barbara Bowen of the University of Illinois for the happy mention of the existence of Pichou's *Les Folies de Cardenio*, and to Miss Andrea Saxer of The University of Michigan for assistance in translating Pichou.

The encouragement of Professor Thomas Fairclough of Midwestern University set the writing of this book in motion. Miss Soraya Obaid of Wayne State University propelled my work by knowledge of Arabic and more importantly, her unwavering patience in the face of the many problems which the writing involved.

The University of Missouri at Kansas City is gratefully thanked for a faculty grant which paid for the typing of the revised text, and Mrs. Helen Walker has my deep appreciation for an excellent typing of that revision.

Latika Mangulkar, Gary Garrett, and Robert Eberwein assisted

#### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

me in the laborious task of proofreading, and Professor Camille Slights of Carroll College who read the manuscript in a late stage of revision is readily acknowledged as the person to whom must be due the absence, but not the presence, of any stuffiness and unwarranted pedantry in the text.

Finally, chapters of this book have appeared in *Comparative Drama* and *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, and I wish to thank the editors for permission to use them in revised form here.

Harriet C. Frazier

10

# CONTENTS

	Acknowledgements	9
	Introductory	15
1.	Writing and Floundering On, or, Prefatory Material	23
2.	Theobald's Early Interest in the Elizabethans	38
3.	Theobald as Shakespearian Editor	61
4.	Tweedledum and Tweedledee	89
5.	Don Quixote in Eighteenth Century England, or The Madness of Cardenio	107
6.	The Rifling of Beauty's Stores	127
7.	A Postscript on Motivation	146
	Appendix: A Note on the Plates	153
	Bibliography	154
	Index	160

## PLATES

Shakespeare.	opposite p. 16
Cervantes	opposite p. 17
"The History of the Slave" Illustration	opposite p. 96
"Cardenio" Illustration	opposite p. 97
"The Unfortunate Knight of the Rock"	opposite p. 113
"The Distressed Poet" (1736)	opposite p. 144
"The Distressed Poet" (1740)	opposite p. 145

## INTRODUCTORY

In recent years there has been a renewed effort to expand the Shakespeare canon. It has long been impermissible to suggest that Shakespeare authored neither *Titus Andronicus* nor the *Henry* VI plays, and the critically minded have been dispelling the legend through most of this century that Shakespeare bid farewell to his art in *The Tempest*. Instead, one finds arguments for Shakespeare's authorship of *Henry VIII* and *The Two Noble Kinsmen* cropping up with increasing regularity. Running through recent works of attribution with weed-like regularity has been the suggestion that another late possibility of the canon, a work entitled *Cardenio* (1613) may exist in altered form in Lewis Theobald's *The Double Falsehood* (1727). Indeed it may, or just as likely but not nearly so pleasing to the expansionist-minded, it may not.

Trends about the dimensions of Shakespeare's work begin to take shape in the late Sixteenth Century. To his contemporaries, most assuredly including unscrupulous stationers, he was London's most popular playwright, and his name appears on the title page of more than one play which everyone knows he never wrote. In the pioneer days, material gain would seem to have played an inordinately large part in the motives of the attributionists. The London Prodigal, The History of Thomas Lord Cromwell, Sir John Oldcastle, Lord Cobbam, The Puritan Widow, A York-Shire Tragedy, and The Tragedy of Locrine are all fluttering about during or shortly after Shakespeare's lifetime, and in 1664 they are included in the Third Folio edition of his plays. Throughout the early Eighteenth Century these additional seven plays reappear in standard editions of Shakespeare such as Rowe's in 1709 and



## SHAKESPEARE

Appeared as a frontispiece in Pope's 1723 edition of Shakespeare. Note the similarity between this plate and that of Cervantes, including such detail as the escutcheons.



### CERVANTES

Appeared as a frontispiece in the first Spanish language edition of *Don Quixote* published in London in 1738.

#### INTRODUCTORY

1714 and Pope's in 1728 and 1734-6. Theobald excludes the vagrant seven, and thereafter they are at times printed as a supplement to the widely agreed upon canon and at others neglected. Malone in 1780, Hazlitt in 1852, and Collier in 1878 are still suggesting that Shakespeare might have authored at least one of these orphans.

Meanwhile entries in the Stationers' Register which connect Shakespeare's name with yet other uncanonical plays begin to haunt the truthful-minded in the Seventeenth Century. "The History of Cardenio by Mr. Fletcher & Shakespeare" is first entered in the Stationers' Register in 1653, and it is but one of many Shakespearian entries which has no solid counterpart in the world of extant texts. By 1691, the literary historian Gerard Langbaine is confidently asserting in his An Account of the English Dramatick Poets that Shakespeare wrote about forty-six plays. Since Langbaine is unencumbered by the most rudimentary evidence, one easily forgives his imprecision in numerical matters and remembers only the plethora of seventeenth-century attributions to Shakespeare by others innocent of evidence.

The Eighteenth Century believed that poetic merit was mighty armour to take into the attribution arena, and it occurs in contemporary statements about Shakespeare's authorship of Cardenio-Double Falsehood as well as a number of other eighteenth-century arguments for an apocryphal play joining the canon. The source of the questionable play looms large in Theobald's preface to The Double Falsehood, and it also occurs in every other eighteenthcentury discussion of attribution I encountered. But the most lethal weapon of the Theobalds, Capells, Stevens, and Malones is parallel passages. The Double Falsehood abounds in them, and both Capell's arguments for Shakespeare's authorship of Edward III in 1760 and Stevens' for The York-Shire Tragedy in 1780 endlessly remind that phrasing from both these plays has its counterpart in canonical Shakespeare. Frequent reference to Elizabethan proverbs makes it perfectly obvious that so many of these so-called parallels have a common source, the proverbs. Equally significant is the certainty that Shakespeare was frequently imitated, not only by his contemporaries but by later admirers as well.

16