type for an extended time, and at others both laboured simultaneously.' It emerges that either one or other compositor was free for varying periods from time to time, perhaps while printing was taking place or type had been redistributed, and it may be surmised that on occasion one or other might assist his colleague by reading out the manuscript, either to facilitate the work or to fill in the time agreeably.

Whoever the reader was, the question of whether there are any other faults in Q which might have been caused by the compositor not having the manuscript in front of him is answered in sonnet 144. Cook states[4] that the only other serious error in Q occurs in line 6 of this sonnet, where lines 5 to 8 read:

> To win me soone to hell my femall evill,
> Tempteth my better angel from my sight,
> And would corrupt my saint to be a divel:
> *Wooing his purity with her fowle pride.*

It was Malone[5] who first observed that the compositor has substituted the word 'sight' for the word 'side', referring to *The Passionate Pilgrim* version of the sonnet, and again it seems unlikely that he could have had the manuscript in front of him, as the three letters '-ght' can hardly have been a misreading of '-de', whether written in a secretary or an italic hand. It is a reasonable deduction therefore that the word 'side' was read out by the compositor's reader, and misheard as 'sight'.

What these two errors have in common is that they both occur on the same page, I3^r, and it may be asserted with some confidence that for the duration of this page, or most of it, the compositor relied on a reader, who may or may not have been his colleague. According to Cook,[6] this page was set by compositor Eld A, whose mistakes were more serious than those of Eld B,[7] although he has been described as the more intelligent of the two workmen.[8]

Whoever this reader was, Eld A's fidelity to his text was thereby compromised. If other mistakes were made, they were caught in time and corrected, but these two went through unchanged, as a monument to a bad day in the printing house.

JOHN M. ROLLETT

Ipswich

[4] Hardy M. Cook, ibid., 1, 1.

[5] Edmond Malone (ed.), *The Plays and Poems of William Shakespeare etc.* (London, 1821), 20, 239.

[6] Hardy M. Cook, ibid., 3, 18.

[7] G. Blakemore Evans, *The Sonnets* (Cambridge, 1996), 280.

[8] MacD. P. Jackson, ibid., 10.

BOTTOM'S DREAM

WHEN Shakespeare makes Bottom say, 'It shall be call'd 'Bottom's Dream', because it hath no bottom' (*A Midsummer Night's Dream*, IV.i.216–17), it has long been acknowledged that the dramatist probably intends a glancing allusion to the old chestnut of 'inverse nomenclature': *lucus a non lucendo* ('It is called a 'wood' – *lucus* – because there is no light – *lux* – there'). Quintilian refers to it in his *Institutio Oratoria* (I.6.34) and it is discussed by numerous ancient grammarians, including Holofernes' favourite, Priscian ('Priscian a little scratched') in his *Institutio Grammatica*, IV.32 (in H. Keill's *Grammatici Latini* (Leipzig, 1855), II, 136). I write because it has suddenly struck me that the allusion may be less casual, more central to the play than we thought. If we pause on the thought of a wood – perhaps a sacred wood – without light, we are thinking about the distinctive world of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* – a darkened pastoral excursion where the trees grow closer together than they will later, in the Forest of Arden. It is deeply appropriate that this thought should be secretly planted in the foolish, unfathomably profound speech of Bottom, at this point in the play.

A. D. NUTTALL

New College, Oxford

HEROD'S CITIES: CESAREA AND SEBASTE IN *TWELFTH NIGHT*

IN Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night*, when Viola is separated from her twin, Sebastian, by a shipwreck, she seeks work at the court of Orsino, disguised as a eunuch named Cesario. The name 'Cesare' was chosen by the cross-dressed heroine of one of Shakespeare's sources for the play, Gonzaga's *Gl'Inganni.*[1] The name of her brother, Sebastian, the androgynous, athletic, boy-saint left for dead and miraculously

[1] See the discussion in Geoffrey Bullough, *Narrative and Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare* (London, 1958), II, 269–86.

revived, explains both Sebastian's attractiveness of the sea-captain, Antonio, and the epicoene qualities that Olivia finds so appealing in him (and his twin). As a pair, however, the names Sebastian and Cesario refer to the twin cities built by Herod, King of Judea. The feast of the Holy Innocents, on 28 December, which commemorates the Massacre of the Innocents ordered by King Herod, comes just eight days before the feast that celebrates the arrival of the Magi at Bethlehem: Twelfth Night.

Although Jonathan Crewe, the editor of the most recent Penguin edition of *Twelfth Night*, insists that the play's title 'has no obvious relevance to the plot', the names Cesario and Sebastian underscore its close relationship to Yuletide celebrations.[2] The journeys that begin the play and the miraculous discoveries that conclude it underscore, in particular, the play's close thematic connection to the feast of Epiphany. King Herod plays an important role in the story: in Matthew 2, he encounters the Magi on their journey to Bethlehem, and, hearing from them of the birth of Christ, he orders the death of all children, under the age of two, in the kingdom of Judea.

Herod was the arch-villain of medieval Christmas plays: his opulent court, duplicitous hospitality toward the Magi, energetic fury over the birth of Christ, and raucous orders to massacre the children (144,000, according to tradition) provide a highly theatricalized foil for the reverential stillness of the Nativity. In *Hamlet*, written just after *Twelfth Night*, the dramatic conventions for portraying Herod are recalled by Hamlet's concern that his players will lapse into the kind of over-acting that 'out-Herods Herod' (*Hamlet*, III.ii.14). In *Twelfth Night*, Herod's legacy may be located in the exotic-erotic luxuria at Orsino's court, which recalls medieval dramatizations of Herod's court; the frantic fury that Malvolio unleashes on his captors, 'I'll be revenged on the whole pack of you' (V.i.371), which evokes Herod's passionate remonstrances; and the mischief that Sir Toby, Sir Andrew, and Maria work at Malvolio's expense, which is of a piece with the overarching sense, in the Christmas plays, that the joke is, ultimately, on Herod.

The historical King Herod built temples to Roma and to the imperial cult of Augustus at cities which he named, respectively, Cesarea and Sebaste. Herod chose the name Sebaste for the city of Samaria, which he fortified as a way of displaying his wealth and improving his personal security (he was anything but a popular ruler). According to Josephus's *Jewish Antiquities*, Herod renovated the old fortress and tower of Strato, and renamed it Cesarea, in honour of the Roman emperor, to demonstrate his primary allegiance to Rome. This city is located on the shores of the Mediterranean: shores that, with the 'impetuous south winds that beat upon them – which, rolling the sands that come from sea against the shores, do not admit of ships lying in their station' (*Jewish Antiquities* XV.ix; see *The Genuine Works of Flavius Josephus*, trans. William Whiston (Edinburgh, 1777)), are perfectly suited to the kind of shipwreck that separates Viola and Sebastian.

Josephus' description of Herod's cities looks forward to the renamings that take place, in *Twelfth Night*, when strangers in a strange land seek to protect themselves. It is, however, unlikely that Shakespeare actually read Josephus: although there were French, Italian, and Latin translations available, Thomas Lodge's English version did not appear until 1602, the year following the composition of *Twelfth Night*. It is more likely that Shakespeare got the names from John Lydgate's *Fall of Princes* (1431–8).[3] As Bochas explains, in his account of the 'greuous fall' of King Herod: 'Four statli cites he hath edefied, /Of which the names been heer specefied:/Cesaria Sebasten, cities souereyne/ Antipadra, Cipre, the othir tweyne' (VII.165–8). These lines, which Lydgate translated directly from Boccaccio's *De casibus virorum illustrium*, bring the two cities together: 'tweyne' hints at their status as twins; and 'Antipadra' supplies an intimation of the name of Antonio, the sea-captain, and of the passing of the twin's father (they are, *anti*, after, *padra*, the father).

The Fall of Princes is organized with a frame narrative in which the gloomy Bochas is inspired by the sunny seductive Petrarch, who dispels the old clerk's paralysing lethargy, allowing him to pen a series of tales that all end in tears. As Seth Lerer argues, this narrative is emblematic of the fifteenth-century English nostalgia for 'that

[2] See *Twelfth Night* (New York and London, 2000), xxxii.

[3] A text which was printed four times between 1494 and 1554: see Henry Bergen (ed.), (Washington, 1923–7), IV, 206.

aureate age of the trecento humanist: an age flowing with brilliance and beauty, an age of Edenic fecundity'.[4] Anticipating the effect of Viola's arrival at the morose court of Orsino, the dynamic of Petrarch's visit to Bochas highlights the chiaroscuro quality of *Twelfth Night*, in which the lighthearted elements of comedy are overshadowed by fresh memories of death, hindered by the heartless imprisonment of Malvolio, and complicated by Feste's melancholy refrain, 'for the rain it raineth everyday' (II.i.382ff.).

What is most at stake in *Twelfth Night*'s recollection of Herod is the dichotomy between dwelling on the past, like Olivia does, and getting on with life, as Viola manages to do, despite her separation from her brother and the death of her father. This is the dichotomy of the feast of the Holy Innocents. Strenuously suppressed by Henry VIII, this Christian version of the Roman Saturnalia was a day for upsetting the social order: a handsome senior choristor was named Boy Bishop, supplied with episcopal robes, and given *carte blanche* over the day's festivities, in which boys, disguised as priests or women, sang and danced as they marched from house to house.[5] Sung by Feste at the end of the play, 'when that I was and a little tiny boy', concludes the play by countering joy at the twins' reunion and the promise of a double wedding with a sober acknowledgement of the processes of life, and the inexorability of death.

Just as the little boys who perished at the hands of Herod's soldiers were memorialized, not with tears, but with lively, licentious, behaviour, so, too, does *Twelfth Night* present a double version of sadness and merriment. Recalling lost medieval and Catholic literary and dramatic traditions, the shadowy presence of King Herod in *Twelfth Night* foregrounds the tension between life and death, endings and beginnings, the past and the future, central to both the play and the triumphalism of the New Year, which observes the passing of old 'Father Time' and celebrates the succession of the 'Baby New Year'.

DEANNE WILLIAMS
York University, Toronto

[4] See *Chaucer and his Readers: Imagining the Author in Late-Medieval England* (Princeton, 1993), 35.

[5] See Maynard Smith, *Pre-Reformation England* (London, 1938), 138.

FEMININE ENDINGS AND *MORE*

PHILIP W. TIMBERLAKE remarked that 'the only plays written by 1594 which use feminine endings with greater frequency than *John a Kent* are certain of Shakespeare's'. The rate of occurrence of feminine endings in Anthony Munday's play was found on average to be 13.7 per cent by strict count, with individual scenes ranging between 7.8 and 24.0.[1] A play text in Munday's same handwriting, *Sir Thomas More*, averaged 20.7 per cent.[2]

In positing that Munday's proportion of feminine endings augmented in the course of time, and was thus influenced by Shakespeare's increasing deviations from the regular pentameter line,[3] Timberlake reasoned that *More* post-dated *John a Kent*. *More* was moved ahead to 1596 in order to account for its high incidence of feminine endings.

> The play has 20.7 per cent of feminine endings, and never drops below 18.3 per cent in long scenes, while II, 4 has 26.6 per cent. This is the scene to which Shakespeare is supposed to have contributed, but there is too little variation in feminine endings to throw any light on this question . . .
>
> The uniformly high percentage of feminine endings is additional argument for dating the play after rather than before 1596, for as we have seen, no play certainly written as we now have it before that date, whether by Shakespeare or by others, reaches the figure of *Sir Thomas More*.[4]

Timberlake did not provide data for subsequent examples of Munday's dramatic verse to confirm his reasoning for *More*'s dating. Had he done so, he would have discovered that Munday used fewer rather than more feminine endings with the passage of time in the 1590s.

[1] Philip W. Timberlake, *The Feminine Ending in English Blank Verse* (Menasha, Wisconsin, 1931), 82.

[2] Timberlake, 80.

[3] 'Whatever his models, then, Shakespeare experimented with many kinds of variant and deviant lines in his early plays, and in the later ones developed a style (or styles) in which all these resources, used without prejudice, could produce a spoken verse of unprecedented resilience, flexibility, variety and force.' George T. Wright, *Shakespeare's Metrical Art* (Berkeley, 1988), 184. It should be kept in mind that Shakespeare was almost uniquely an actor-playwright, and his exceptional experimentation with metrical irregularities reflected his professional contact with the spoken word.

[4] Timberlake, 80.