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Sainthood or Domesticity : Two Interpretations of Griselda in the Mid-Sixteenth Century

Tetsuko Nakamura

When Petruchio embarrasses the shrewish Katherina by lavishing praise on her as he announces their future marriage in *The Taming of the Shrew* (c. 1593), he compares her to Patient Griselda, the legendary obedient wife of the medieval era: 'For patience she [Katherina] will prove a second Grissel'.(1) This reference to Griselda as a contrasting type to the shrew suggests the context in which this patient wife was commonly accepted by ordinary theatregoers towards the end of the sixteenth century. Griselda was an indispensable figure in the secular controversy over 'sovereignty' in marriage. In fact, when Chaucer vernacularised Petrarch's Latin version of the Griselda story two centuries before, he had already skilfully presented his Griselda as opposed to the Wife of Bath and May in *The Canterbury Tales*, thus providing the reader with an arena in which a worldly debate on marriage could take place. However, Chaucer's inclusion of Petrarch's analogy between Griselda's patience towards the Marquis and human patience towards God at the end of *The Clerk's Tale* indicates Chaucer's intention of conveying a gender-neutral message of the importance of Christian patience, in spite of his ironical negation of this serious reading in 'Lenvoy de Chaucer'. It was this Christian lesson which seems to have haunted those who revived Griselda for the first time after Chaucer as the heroine of new versions of the story in the mid-sixteenth century. It took a few more decades for Griselda to shed

her religious aura and plunge into the fray as a key figure in the secular battle between husband and wife.

Griselda's revival commenced with Ralph Radcliffe's lost play, *De Griseldis Chauceriane Rara Patientia* (1546?-56); this was followed by William Forrest's narrative in verse, *The History of Grisild the Second* (1558), and John Phillip's moral interlude, *The Commodye of Pacient and Meeke Grissill* (1558-61). We can infer from entries in the Stationers' Register that at least one of the songs sung by Griselda in Phillip's play was even sold separately. By the end of the century, a ballad, a prose narrative, and another narrative including the same ballad seem to have been widely available, although all the extant copies were in fact produced in the seventeenth century. Lastly, Thomas Dekker created *The Pleasant Comodie of Patient Grissill* (1599) in collaboration with Henry Chettle and William Haughton.

Forrest's *Grisild the Second* is unique among all these versions of the Griselda story, in that it does not precisely narrate the life of the medieval Griselda, but that of Katherine of Aragon (1485-1536) by means of an analogy with Griselda.(2) It is also unusual in that it was dedicated to Mary Tudor by Forrest, her Chaplain, and was presented to her in a manuscript form, so it hardly received any public appreciation in those days. This poem is therefore apt to be neglected in the history of post-Chaucerian Griselda stories.(3) It discloses, however, the difficulties Forrest has in characterising a figure of Christian patience in the framework of the story in which a wife submissively obeys her husband. These difficulties are shared by Forrest's contemporary, Phillip, whose moral drama basically follows medieval stories of Griselda.(4) An examination of the ways in which patience is presented in these two versions clarifies the images attached to Griselda when the religious approach was taken in the mid-sixteenth

century.

Forrest begins his narrative with the portrayal of the young Katherine under the name of Grisilde, and proceeds to her marriage with Prince Arthur and his death; her second marriage with his brother Walter, who represents Henry VIII; the birth and death of their son, Arthur, and the ensuing birth of Mary; the discord over their divorce; and Grisilde's death, followed by Mary's lamentation. This Grisilde in fact cannot retrieve queenhood; however, the close resemblance of this poem to the original medieval tales is notable. At the end of the poem, Forrest condenses the message he wishes to convey through the life of his own Grisilde. He summarises her qualities of excellence: her nobleness and meekness; her rejection of pride; her conscientious care of the poor; her involvement in devotional activities; her uncomplaining suffering; and her magnanimity and humility.(5) Grisilde is called 'this noble and godlye woman', and it is affirmed that she is pious enough to be blessed with divine mercy (146). Her faith in God and charitable activities are the attributes which lead her to eternal salvation.

In this presentation of a Christian Grisilde, Forrest, unlike Petrarch, does not directly praise her 'patience', although it is clear that he regards Petrarch's version as reliable.(6) His concluding portrayal of Grisilde, in fact, illustrates her Christian patience. In medieval Christianity, as Hanna explains, patience was considered a virtue which was actuated not only in adversity but also in prosperity in an attempt to attain the ideal of indifference even to wealth or high estate.(7) In keeping with this view of patience, Forrest draws the reader's attention to Grisilde's shunning of pride by his emphasis on her benevolence. This portrayal reflects a specifically Christian patience which, as Schiffhorst states, emphasises 'charity, forgiveness, meekness, and humility' in contrast with Stoic patience, which is generally defined as 'a controlled,

unemotional indifference to *the adversities of life*, with a contempt for worldly goods' (emphasis mine).[8] Forrest does not restrict his Grisilde within a virtuous woman who subserviently withstands adversity.

Forrest's adherence to the Christian nature of the patience exhibited by Grisilde is in fact reinforced at the very end of his praise for her; he concludes by defining Grisilde as a martyr:

> Fightynge againste theis stowte Capytayns three,
> The Dyuyll, the Flesche, and this Worldys vayne delyte,
> Withestandynge their meanys to iniquytee,
> Whearto the Enemye the mynde dothe exite,
> A Martyrdome maye bee called suche fight;
> Of whiche kynde Martyrdome, as I dooe gesse,
> The lyfe of *Grisild* for her can expresse. (147)

The analogy between Grisilde's life and a martyrdom in the struggle against evil creates for the reader a strong impression of the active quality of her character. In fact, her energetic confrontation with evil is conceptually supported by the Christian virtue of patience, something 'more than passive acquiescence in the face of temporal evils',[9] which requires of man, as the proper response to original sin, 'a continual inner effort' to control himself.[10] Grisilde is a woman who has sufficient energy and passion not only to actively withstand vice but also to behave with true Christian charity. Thus, in the earlier part of the narrative, soon after her marriage with Walter, Grisilde helps the poor because of 'the deuotion she specially had / In the remembraunce of Christes Passion deere' (47). The source of her motivation is Christ, the ultimate figure who represents the perfection of patience.[11]

Naturally, when Walter summons Grisilde to request her to abdicate as Queen, she is not passively submissive, but shows her dauntless attitude. Although Forrest does not include any direct

quotations of what Grisilde says in front of the King, he employs indirect speech to report what she proclaims. She insists on the sanctity of Walter's marriage to her, on their long-continued love and on her obedience to Walter. Her fortitude is described:

> So made she answeare, this noble woman,
> At sendynge to her her Crowne to resigne,
> Withe muche moe reasons then I rehearse can,
> For she was lyghtened withe grace dyuyne;
> But by no maner meanys she wolde inclyne
> Her Crowne to surrendre for weale or woe,
> Thoughe *Walter* neauer maligned her so. (84)

The image of a woman of reason and active patience is effectively evoked, although, unlike Shakespeare's Katherine in *Henry VIII* (1613), she is not so aggressive as to accuse those who have done injustices to her.(12)

In contrast with this firm Grisilde, the succeeding scene depicts her voicing bitter complaints about the forced separation from her daughter, Mary:

> 'I am no Traytores, I let all men weeite,
> No more is my *Marye*, I dare protest;
> Wee are moste readye to all that is meeite;
> Whye then shoulde anye vs wrongefully moleste?
> Whye may not bee had this rightfull requeste,
> The *Mother* and *Dowghter* togeathers bothe twayne,
> Agreeued á like, theyr greefis to complayne? (86)

Grisilde's vexation, grief and tears are fully described, and the passage concludes with her prayers for God's benevolence. Her protest and lament apparently contradict the quiet suffering Forrest respects in his conclusion of the poem. However, he insists that her complaints are not

derived from her selfish desire, but from her motherly love, which is associated with Christian patience. He enhances Grisilde's appeal as an image of patience by introducing her femininity. Grisilde's direct speech in this expression of her grief is deliberately contrasted with the factual report of her fortitude in the previous scene, in spite of the fact that Forrest could have more effectively shown her saintly character by means of direct speech in her encounter with Walter. Forrest is in fact using the excuse of motherly love to justify Grisilde's discontent with Walter, a discontent which he feels is a psychologically necessary component of his portrait if he is to pre-empt any questioning on the part of the reader of Grisilde's incredible endurance. This rationalisation supplements the criticisms of Walter and the wondering comments on Grisilde's obedience which the narrator scatters in the poem.(13)

A similar contradiction in Grisilde's behaviour is found after she is deprived of her regal estate. Her initial response to this situation is a brave one: 'In this to helpe and fynde some maner staye / This mercyful Matrone manfullye stoode, / Rather then womanlye to shrynke for fraye' (93). Feminine frailty is resolutely rejected. There is, however, a reference to her grief when her officers and servants take their leave of her: 'No lyttle thearfore is my inwarde woe!' (97). Furthermore, after a portrayal of Grisilde suffering pain because she is not allowed to relieve the poor, there is a scene in which her woe takes on the tone of grudge. She in fact reproves Walter's disdain for her: 'Why dothe my *Walter* at mee thus disdayne, / And I hym tenderinge, withe all feruencye, / For hym my life to put in ieoberdye?' (98). She also revolts against Cardinal Wolsey because it seems to her that he has led Walter into their divorce (99). This attitude cannot be regarded as meek and obedient, but without the expression of her discontent it

would be rather difficult to move the reader with her suffering. She should not look like an emotionally incapable puppet. Forrest's poem here discloses the difficulties in creating a believable figure of patience in the Christian tradition.

Thus Forrest intends to maintain a balance between fortitude and sensitivity in portraying Grisilde. On the one hand, he elevates Petrarch's Christian Griselda to the status of a perfect holy saint. On the other, he colours her portrait with the attributes of tenderness, emotion and feminine sensitivity; sometimes sorrow transmutes to complaint, and complaint to resentment. This exaggeration of Grisilde's softness is in conflict with her spiritual strength, which is seen as rather manly; Forrest confronts the difficulties in reconciling Petrarch's gender-neutral message with Grisilde's femininity. From Forrest's point of view, the image of a saint makes it too hard to characterise her as affectionate and amiable; therefore, the portrayal of self-pity is exaggerated to an extent which will allow the reader thoroughly to sympathise with her. This device inevitably raises a question as to why the allusion to her sainthood is such a significant element in the poem.

The association of Griselda with a saint in fact is not unique in Forrest's version. In the extensive discussion of the exemplary value of Patient Griselda, Morse points out that medieval writers thought of Griselda as a martyr and the significance of spiritual martyrdom in the middle ages.(14) In the mid-sixteenth century, Forrest produces a clear image of Griselda as a holy saint, following this medieval tradition. The fact that his Grisilde is not given a reconciliation with her husband makes the saintly presentation of Grisilde more persuasive, but his contemporary religious and social climate also seems to have contributed to this portrait of Grisilde.

In the former half of the sixteenth century, the cult of the saints

was inevitably suppressed by the coming of scriptural Protestantism. In an era in which religious conflicts between Catholics and Protestants were sharp and bloody, literary representations of the saints naturally tended to be avoided. Instead, as Love remarks, a process of secularisation of the saints began, some traditional elements of the saint's plays being handed down, although all references to martyrdom and miracles were removed.[15] Against this background, Mary Tudor, as a Catholic, fostered the resurgence of the cycle plays, even if only for a short period. Forrest, as a Catholic priest, privately provided Mary with an image of her mother as a martyr, even to the extent of portraying her in such a way as to remind the reader of Saint Katherine of Alexandria, one of the most popular saints in England. Forrest's portrayal of Grisilde can thus be seen as crucially dependent on the political and religious context in which it was composed.

This is also true of Phillip's drama, in which his Grissill appears as another devout Christian; in this case, however, his treatment of the theme is influenced by the new Protestant context after Mary Tudor's death. In this moral interlude, Polliticke Perswasion, one of the Marquis Gautier's retainers, encourages the Marquis to test his virtuous wife, Grissill. This seducer, characterised as Catholic, is typical of the Vice, who conventionally causes trouble and discord through his evil attempts at seduction in interludes. Polliticke leads Gautier to put Grissill in a confusion:

> Surelie, surely shee is worthy commendacion,
> Shee may be made *a saynte* for her good conuersacion:
> But harke my Lorde nay nowe harken in your eare,
> Try hir that waye and by myne honestie I sweare,
> You shall see hir decline from Vertues so rife,
> And alter topsie turuie *hir saintish lyfe*:

> *Hir pacyence* quicklye shall chaunged bee,
> I warrant your honor will say it is not shee.
> (994-1001, emphases mine)[16]

According to Polliticke's view, trials will reveal that Grissill's saint-like life and patience are fake.

The natures of the sainthood and the patience which Polliticke wishes to see tested in Grissill are suggested when he describes its opposite in his warning against wives' pride to Gautier. Polliticke cynically points out the probability that this beautiful, virtuous Grissill will desire to dress herself up and to have her hair in a fashionable style once she has become a Marquise, thus committing the sin of pride, the most powerful of the Seven Deadly Sins. Female foppery was in fact a conventional element in representations of pride.[17] Gautier refutes this assertion of Polliticke's:

> I know that pryde imbrassed is, and some
> ther state exscead,
> But my ellected mate God knowes, with
> vice will not procead,
> She will obserue a modest meane, hir
> vertues shall increase,
> All hatfull hate in hyr shall end, she loueth
> perfyt peace,
>
> She feareth God, she dreads his name, she
> leades a Godly life,
> And dayly sekes for to subdue, contensyon
> and strife. . . . (388-93)

Gautier trusts that Grissill will keep pride at distance, leading 'a Godly life'. This rejection of pride is associated with patience in the Christian

tradition, in which patience had an association with humility or spiritual poverty. Listening to this praise for Grissill, Pollitick‍e sarcastically states: ‘If shee bee so hollye a saynt as you make hyr, / Refuse hyr I beseche you and I my selfe will take hyr’ (396-97). He compares Grissill to a saint, who is one of the most worshipped figures in Catholicism, when her patience and virtue are praised. In this context, unlike in Forrest's poem, Grissill's sainthood does not connote her martyrdom.

Leading ‘a Godly life’ untouched by pride is in fact included in the lesson Grissill's dying mother, a character created by Phillip, has instilled into her daughter in the preceding scene. She tells Grissill: ‘Be not hye mynded, let no Pride infeckt the, / Lest God in his wrath with his scurge correckt the’ (310-11). She further persuades Grissill to be ‘a peace maker’ without causing ‘discensyon’ and ‘contensyon’ (312-13), not make her speaking too ‘wittye’ for a maiden (314), to have ‘loue’ and ‘obedience’ filled in her heart (316), and to try to fulfill her father's wishes (318-19). As a pious Christian, Grissill's mother thus clarifies the meanings of being ‘patient’ and ‘Godly’: humility, forgiveness, demureness, love, meekness and obedience. This view evidently reflects the connotations of Christian patience which have been developed from valuing spiritual poverty. Committing this motherly advice to her memory, Grissill leads the life of a pious Christian, being modest, submissive and benign; this attitude of hers seems to be the ‘patience’ which Pollitick‍e wishes to test. The description of the poverty of Grissill's family in this scene effectively indicates that they preserve the virtue of patience because patience and poverty are twin concepts.[18]

In fact, the description of Grissill's family in this scene reflects the Protestant ideal of the household in the mid-sixteenth century. In Reformation Protestantism, the household functioned as the religious

unit; devotional activities such as daily prayers, catechism and confessions were mainly performed within a family. Each family head had to play the role of a priest in a house under the circumstances of the declining power of the Church, and so he inevitably obtained patriarchal power. This establishment of domestic hierarchy eventually contributed to the realisation of the authoritarian State.[19] Evidently, Phillip intentionally represented his own Protestant views, introducing the familial talk about 'a Godly life' and the description of a loving family and an obedient child into this moral interlude. Phillip thus insisted on the importance of the gender-neutral virtues which were valued in his contemporary Protestantism.

After a series of trials has been inaugurated, the development of the story centers on Grissill's endurance. The word 'patience', which now appears frequently, connotes purely suffering in adversity. For example, Grissill, in the face of losing her first child, wishes God to 'graunt pacience to my paine' (1207). When she is ordered to leave the court, and makes a speech in which she claims that 'These consuminge *Agonies* which so much torment the minde, / Of my singular sufferaigne, shalbe sure redresse to finde' (1610-11), Polliticke expresses his wonder at her patience: 'I haue not seene hir like, hir pacience dothe exceed' (1614).

These consistent references to patience during the test are reinforced by Grissill's passive attitudes. When the first child is abducted from her, it is not Grissill but the nurse who mainly shows resistance to Gautier's order, although the former expresses her woe at losing her daughter and shows her motherly emotions.[20] In the case of the second child, Grissill does not even appear; only the nurse expresses outrage and proposes raising him secretly herself. On leaving the court, Grissill does not exhibit any noticeable resentment towards Gautier. As

the trials proceed, Phillip seems intentionally to leave Grissill offstage and cover up her sorrow. Any references to her talent and social ability found in medieval versions are also ignored: she is portrayed as a meek and obedient wife, who is neither active nor positively expresses her own will.

Thus, after the trials begin, Phillip describes Grissill as a wife who is fettered in domesticity, and does not develop her personality; Grissill fulfills a function as an exemplar as seen in medieval Griselda stories. Therefore, it is concluded that Phillip's original view of Grissill is in fact projected on her life before her marriage. Grissill is vividly described as a beautiful, diligent, and obedient maiden. She lives happily with her parents, loving and helping them. Her modest happiness is adequately conveyed through her singing when she is spinning. Phillip emphasises Grissill's humanness and softness and tries to make her appealing to the reader even though she quietly, passively, and indifferently endures the Marquis' trials in the latter half of the drama.

We cannot ignore here the fact that Grissill's image developed by Phillip represents the Puritan ideal of woman. Because of the sanctification of the matrimonial relationship in Protestantism, a woman's role was generally considered to be fulfilled in the household. Under the influence of the increasing power of the family head, the docile housewife, subservient to the husband, was respected.(21) According to, for example, Thomas Hoby's translation of Castiglione's *The Courtier* (1561) and Edmund Tilney's *The Flower of Friendship* (1568), a woman is expected to be a housewife and mother who is obedient to her husband and preserves a ladylike demeanor.(22) Phillip's Grissill, who is modest and obedient as a maiden and who passively endures a series of tests, reflected the widely accepted view of the ideal

woman in the mid-sixteenth century. Phillip presented Grissill as a female model rather than a gender-neutral figure. In fact, we cannot neglect the passages in which Phillip is especially conscious of female behaviour. In the lesson given by her mother, Grissill is warned against making speech too witty for a woman. Also when Polliticke characterises Grissill's patience with reference to the sin of pride, he explains that the pride of a wife makes 'the husband beare an empty purse' (371). The talkativeness and extravagance of women were commonly regarded as faults of women;[23] the image of the shrew is here being set up in contrast to Grissill, and thus sneaks into the arena of the religious interpretation of Patient Griselda.

In the mid-sixteenth century, Forrest and Phillip employed the theoretical concept of patience inherited from the middle ages in order to depict a Griselda who was bound up in the fetters of the Petrarchan-Chaucerian interpretation of her. Forrest clearly introduced Grisilde's sainthood into his poem under the circumstances of Mary Tudor's Catholic reign. His Grisilde stands out as a person of active devotion with fortitude, although her emotional tenderness is fully described. In contrast, Phillip emphasised Grissill's docility and the Protestant ideal of domesticity after Queen Elizabeth succeeded Mary Tudor. This Grissill is a gentle and obedient woman and subserviently follows her husband's order. These two versions of the Griselda story, which were almost simultaneously created, portray totally different Griseldas because of the sudden shift in the religious and political situations. Each author handles Griselda's active devotion, passive suffering, and emotional tenderness in his own way; however, both strongly maintain Christian interpretations of the story of Patient Griselda.

After religious confusion declined towards the end of the century, Griselda appeared as a patient woman portrayed from the citizen's

point of view. The popular versions such as the ballad and the prose narrative of the Griselda story offer 'a crass moral', stressing the importance of wifely patience.(24) In Dekker's drama, whose plot is more complicated, a debate on the ideal of matrimony is developed with a couple made up of a tyrannical husband and a patient wife, that of a meek husband and a shrew whose relationship is eventually reversed, and a woman who favours celibacy. The secularity of this drama is in fact typically presented in the scene in which Grissill enters the stage with her father in the earlier part of the drama. He expresses his concern that she will be wooed by courtiers with lascivious intentions and lose her fame; he tells her not to covet a life of affluence by marrying a man of exalted rank.(25) The importance of chastity and rejecting pride is here suggested, as seen in Phillip's drama, but Grissill and her father's concerns are only related to the respect they receive in their society. There is no reference to how to live a Godly life; they are no longer concerned about Christian salvation. Patient Griselda continued to flourish in different historical, social and literary contexts of the time. The image of Griselda employed in *The Taming of the Shrew* is in fact a commonplace at the end of the sixteenth century.

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NOTES

(1) William Shakespeare, *The Taming of the Shrew*, The Arden Edition of the Works of William Shakespeare, ed. Brian Morris (London and New York: Methuen, 1981), p. 212, 2.1.288.

(2) The spelling of Katherine, not Catherine, is employed in Forrest's poem.

(3) In the arguments on the sixteenth-century versions of the Griselda

story, Forrest's poem tends to be regarded as not being in the tradition of Griselda story, as is seen in Anna Baldwin, 'From the *Clerk's Tale* to *The Winter's Tale,*' in *Chaucer Traditions: Studies in Honour of Derek Brewer*, ed. Ruth Morse and Barry Windeatt (Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 199-212; in Lee Bliss, 'The Renaissance Griselda : A Woman for All Seasons,' *Viator : Medieval and Renaissance Studies,* 23 (1992): 301-43; and also in Judith Bronfman, *Chaucer's Clerk's Tale: The Griselda Story Received, Rewritten, Illustrated*, Garland Studies in Medieval Literature, Vol. 11 (New York and London : Garland, 1994), which illustrates the transformation of the Griselda story in Britain over the centuries. Charlotte C. Morse, however, points out the significance of Forrest's poem in her discussion of the exemplary value of medieval Griseldas in 'The Exemplary Griselda,' *Studies in the Age of Chaucer*, 7 (1985): 51-86.

(4) It is not certain to what extent Phillip referred to Boccaccio's, Petrarch's, and Chaucer's Griselda stories. Bronfman (p. 82) refers to Phillip's dependence on a French drama, *L'Estoire de Griseldis* (1395), which was first printed in 1558 at Paris and was widely available in England, on the basis of the research of Charles Walter Roberts, 'An Edition of John Phillip's *Commodye of Pacient and Meeke Grissill*,' Ph.D. Diss., University of Illinois, 1938.

(5) William Forrest, *The History of Grisild the Second: A Narrative, in Verse, of the Divorce of Queen Katharine of Arragon*, ed. W. D. Macray (London: Chiswick Press, 1875), pp. 144-48. All the following references are based on this edition and the page numbers are added at the end in the parentheses.

(6) Forrest does not mention the name of Chaucer, but that of 'Petrarke' in the poem (p. 132).

(7) Ralph Hanna III, 'Some Commonplaces of Late Medieval Patience Discussions: An Introduction,' in *The Triumph of Patience : Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, ed. Gerald J. Schiffhorst (Orlando: University Presses of Florida, 1978), p. 69.

(8) Gerald J. Schiffhorst, 'Some Prolegomena for the Study of Patience, 1480-1680,' in *The Triumph of Patience*, p. 7.

(9) Schiffhorst, p. 4.

(10) Hanna, p. 77

(11) Schiffhorst, p. 4.

(12) Shakespeare intentionally makes his Katherine more aggressive than the one presented in his source, Holinshed's *Chronicles* (Vol. III, 1587). See William Shakespeare, *King Henry VIII*, The Arden Edition of the Works of William Shakespeare, ed. R. A. Foakes (London and New York: Methuen, 1957), pp. 77-79 (2.4.11-131) and pp. 195-97.

(13) Authors' criticising the Marquis is one of the common techniques they use to rationalise the story. A typical example is one of the Chaucerian additions to Petrarch's text, ll. 459-62 in *The Clerk's Tale*.

(14) Charlotte C. Morse: 73-85.

(15) Louise Love, 'The Saint's Play in England during the Protestant Transition,' Ph.D. Diss., Northwestern University, 1984, pp. 54-64.

(16) John Phillip, *The Play of Patient Grissell*, ed. Ronald B. McKerrow and W. W. Greg (Oxford: Malone Society Reprints, 1909). All the following references are based on this edition and the line numbers are added at the end in the parentheses.

(17) Another typical example of female foppery found in interludes is a portrait of Mary Magdalene in *The Life and Repentance of Mary Magdalene* (c. 1550-66).

(18) Schiffhorst, p. 4.

(19) Lawrence Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England 1500-1800* (New York: Harper & Row, 1977), pp. 123-24 and pp. 139-42.

(20) The nurse also appears in *L'Estoire de Griseldis*.

(21) Stone, pp. 202-06.

(22) Linda Woodbridge, *Women and the English Renaissance: Literature and the Nature of Womankind, 1540-1620* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1986), pp. 52-60.

(23) Woodbridge, pp. 52-66.

(24) Charlotte C. Morse: 76.

(25) Thomas Dekker, Henry Chettle and William Haughton, *Patient Grissill*, in *The Dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker*, ed. Fredson Bowers, Vol. I (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1953), pp. 216-17, 1.2.12-74.