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### Editing Boys: Gender, Eroticism, Performance, Print

For when yeares thrée times fiue and one he fully lyued had,  
So that he séemde to stande béetwene the state of man and Lad,  
The hearts of dyuers trim yong men his beautie gan to moue  
And many a Ladie fresh and faire was taken in his loue.

--Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, trans. Golding<sup>1</sup>

Neither a borrower nor a lender boy,

--*Hamlet*, "Good Quarto," (1604)<sup>2</sup>

#### 1. Boys on stage

Why did the English stage take boys for boys?<sup>3</sup> Better yet, what did the English stage take boys for, as boys?<sup>4</sup> To begin to think about these questions, allow me to catalogue some of the terms used to address and describe Viola when she becomes Cesario in *Twelfth Night*. Of course, to refer to this figure on stage as Viola is already to get ahead of ourselves, since, as is well known, Viola is not named in the dialogue as "Viola" until 235 lines into the play's fifth act; in her first scene, she is simply "lady," and "madam."<sup>5</sup> Like Violenta, the ghost-name of which she is apparently the subject in an entrance direction in the folio text, one might say that the name "Viola" is an effect of print—of stage directions and speech prefixes and only eventually of

dialogue.<sup>6</sup> In performance, in her female gender, she has no name until the end of the play. Whatever we may make of this apparent lacuna, the terms of address and description are only more variable after her first appearance:

Concealing herself, this lady becomes “an eunuch” in 1.2, “a gentleman” in 1.5, and self-addresses “As I am a man” and “As I am a woman” in 2.2. The dialogue first refers to this figure as “Cesario” in 1.4. He speaks of himself as part of the group “We men” in 2.4—a label Orsino corrects or amends by addressing him as “boy” almost immediately thereafter. He speaks as a “friend” to the adult Feste in 3.1 (thus presuming a kind of equity), swears by his “youth,” and is “almost sick” for a beard in the same scene.

Orsino calls him “good youth” (1.4.15), “good Cesario” (2.4.2), and “Dear lad”—[not yet] “a man” in 1.4 (29-31). He often addresses him directly as “boy”: “Come hither, boy” (2.4.14); “Hath it not, boy?” (24, also 31); “died thy sister of her love, my boy?” (2.4.119); and then, threatening to kill him in act 5, “Come, boy, with me, my thoughts are ripe in mischief” (5.1.125).<sup>7</sup> Once Olivia has disclosed her marriage with (it seems) this boy, Orsino hails him as “your minion” (5.1.121); he is also “the lamb that I do love” (5.1.127). The diminutives continue with “sirrah” and “thou dissembling cub” shortly thereafter (5.1.141, 5.1.160).<sup>8</sup> Moments later, Orsino refers to him as “My gentleman, Cesario” (5.1.177), and the play famously concludes with Orsino insisting on the future use of this name “while [he is] a man” (5.1.375-76).

Olivia, for her part, calls him several times “this youth” (1.5.286, 295), directly addresses him as “youth” and “good youth” (3.1.98, 129), but also “The County’s man” (1.5.290)—though in 3.1, she implies that he is not yet “reap[ed]” as “a proper man” (3.1.131). Mistaking Sebastian, she addresses him as “dear Cesario” and “gentle friend” (3.4.48-49). Later it is “Cesario, husband” (5.1.139, 140)—though just a few lines later “this youth” (5.1.151, referring to Cesario, but mistaking for Sebastian). In the end, still called “Cesario” while he is a man by Orsino, she is to Olivia “[a] sister” (5.1.317).<sup>9</sup>

Who is Cesario, what is he, that all our swains and more commend him, and in such disparate terms? Man, boy, eunuch, youth; there is still more: Maria sees “a young gentleman” (1.5.94), “a fair young man” (1.5.97), but also “the youth of the Count’s” (2.3.123-24). Sir Toby sees “A gentleman” (1.5.113-15), but also “the Count’s youth” (3.2.31), “the youth” (3.2.55-56, 3.4.183, 3.4.186), and yet “the gentleman” (3.4.186, 3.4.294) and “the young gentleman” (3.4.179). Sir Toby refers obliquely to Cesario’s “manhood” (3.4.174), and in jest to “such a virago” (3.4.265), but also to “[a] very dishonest, paltry boy” (3.4.376). Fabian sees “the youth” (3.2.60), as does Sir Andrew (3.1.84), who also sees “the Count’s servingman” (3.2.5), and later (mistaking Sebastian) “The Count’s gentleman, one Cesario” (5.1.175).<sup>10</sup>

Describing him initially as “yon young fellow” (1.5.133), Malvolio provides the most extensive gloss. Olivia asks, “What kind o’ man is he?” and Malvolio replies, “Why, of mankind” (1.5.144-5)--like a man, of man’s kind or likeness.

Olivia: What manner of man?

Malvolio: Of very ill manner: he’ll speak with you, will you or no.

(1.5.146-47)

However frustrating to Olivia, Malvolio’s semiotic riffs on her terms only further complicate any attempt firmly to distinguish or categorize Cesario. He is “of mankind,” which is to say: like any man, but also, of a man’s mere kind or likeness, perhaps a little less than kin. He is also a man who is of an ill manner: ill-mannered, certainly, but also perhaps only able to man, to be or play man, in an ill fashion. The question, “What manner of man?”, may come to signify, after Malvolio’s reply: how does one man (how does one manner, or play) a man? Undeterred, Olivia continues to refine her question: “Of what personage and years is he?” Malvolio:

Not yet old enough for a man, nor young enough for a boy: as a squash is before ‘tis a peascod, or a codling when ‘tis almost an apple. ‘Tis with him in standing water between boy and man. He is very well-favoured, and he speaks very shrewishly. One would think his mother’s milk were scarce out of him. (1.5.150-55)

Malvolio's analysis points attention to the proliferation of the list I have so far recited—that is, to the procession of conflicting, overlapping terms the play uses to refer to this figure in its male gender—but it also establishes a set of metaphoric associations for the boy or man or young fellow upon his second entrance in boy's, or man's, or young fellow's clothes. On the one hand, the lines establish a developmental model of boyhood: not *yet* a man, though no longer a boy; a squash *before* it is a peascod, a codling *before* an apple; in “standing water”—at the turning of the tide, say the glosses in almost all the editions—between boy and man. The tide will turn: boys will be men.

And yet, on the other hand--a hand that may seem more metonymic in its gestures than metaphoric, and potentially running athwart this developmental sense--Malvolio's lines, when lifted out of editorial attempts to pin them down and instead opened out into the context of the other early modern discourses they engage, set off a chain of associations that here only *intensify* the problematic of the figure he describes. *The Oxford English Dictionary*, for example, has no evidence, outside Shakespeare's own usage, for the typical gloss of “squash” as “undeveloped pea-pod (*peas-cod*)”<sup>11</sup>—and thus for boy as not-yet-developed man (or more accurately, shell or husk of a man). The dictionary has no etymological explanation for why this sense developed, as it argues, “[r]elated to, or directly from,” the verb *to squash*, and this development apparently dies out with William Shakespeare in any event—if indeed it ever lived: one of the other Shakespearean uses of the term cited by the *OED*, in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, sees the relation of squash to peascod as gendered, not developmental: “I pray you commend mee to mistresse *Squash*, your mother,” Bottom says, “and to master *Peascod* your father.”<sup>12</sup> Thus Malvolio's comment may gesture toward the gender instabilities I take to be axiomatic in the play's denotations of Cesario, a transitivity already well-described in the play's criticism, especially in Stephen Greenblatt's, Jean E. Howard's, Lisa Jardine's, and Stephen Orgel's formative work on the play.<sup>13</sup>

Stripped of an editorial desire to delimit and stabilize their meaning, the passage's other terms similarly ramify outward: *codling* seems to take off from *peascod* and signifies not only an unripe apple, but also (as one might expect) a small fish, and also, since *cod* means "bag" and thus "scrotum," "a small bag, or testicles." Denoting Cesario seems to require mixing apples and apricocks.<sup>14</sup>

A final example: as W. Roy Mackenzie pointed out in a 1926 note unregistered in recent editions of the play,<sup>15</sup> there is no period evidence for reading the line "in standing water between boy and man" to mean "at the turn of the tide"<sup>16</sup>—the identical gloss in all the major recent editions. The line is much more likely to have meant a stagnant or standing pool or pond, a swamp between the states of land and water. In the use of the phrase Shakespeare, his fellow-actors, and his audiences were most likely to know, God in Psalm 107 "reduceth a wyldernes into a standing water: and a drye ground into water springes," and in Psalm 114, God is said to have "turned the harde rocke into a standing water: and the flint stone into a springing well of waters"—translations that persist from the Bishops Bible through the Authorized Version.<sup>17</sup> "*Standing waters*," writes Robert Burton in *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, are

thick and ill-coloured, such as come forth of pools, and moats, where hemp hath been steeped, or slimy fishes live, are most unwholesome, putrified, and full of mites, creepers, slimy, muddy, unclean, corrupt, impure, by reason of the sun's heat, and *still-standing* . . .<sup>18</sup>

"The fattest standing water is always the best," writes William Harrison in *The Description of England*, "whereon the sun lieth longest, and the fattest fish is bred."<sup>19</sup> Clearly this phrase is part of Malvolio's vocabulary of derision, but it also suggests a Cesario between water and land, liquid and solid. In a pool not subject to tides or flow, he is *categorically*, not *temporally*, between boy and man. As the fish in these contextualizing quotations may also suggest, "standing water" may emerge into the text here not as yet another metaphor for developmental boyhood-as-incipient manhood, but as a metonymic connection to the *codling*—the little fish, the

little testicle—above. If so, then we may also hear in this passage a further phallic insult in the oxymoronic sense of “standing water.” Can standing water “stand,” get it up?

I have gone fairly deep (as it were) into the text’s historical resonances here in part because I want to remind us that Cesario—this boy played by a woman played by a boy—is indicated in the play through a range of categories, from “boy” to “man” (including “youth”), categories whose relation to each other is neither mutually exclusive, nor always logically developmental (boy *to* man), nor entirely systematic. The inability to categorize Cesario—or, more precisely, the ability of this figure seemingly to call forth repeated and divergent categorizations—exceeds, I argue, the often critically discussed gender transitivity of the figure (a “fellow” who “speaks shrewishly”; a “lad” whose “small pipe / Is as the maiden’s organ” and “semblative a woman’s part”), since this bundle of categories is, as the play emphasizes, entirely and repeatedly also misrecognized, or simply *recognized*, as “Sebastian.”<sup>20</sup> Insofar as these multiple categorizations, recognitions, and hailings figure the responses of a variety of represented persons to this performing figure, I suggest that they may also figure what an early modern audience saw, in all its multiplicity, when it saw boy actors playing women, sometimes playing boys and men.

My attention to such questions of categorization in part stems from a desire to historicize understandings of masculinity in early modern England, a critical project that has obviously been ongoing in the field for some time. But I am also suggesting that we need to pursue this project not only between genders (or within the one-sex model, to use Thomas Laqueur’s terms<sup>21</sup>), but even more carefully “*within*” them. As Ilana Krausman Ben-Amos’s book *Adolescence & Youth in Early Modern England* argues:

. . . the boundaries between childhood and youth on the one hand and between youth and adulthood on the other could become extremely imprecise. Even in scientific theories which aimed at explaining the passage from childhood to old age, and which abounded in numeric divisions and categories, there was no

universally accepted division between childhood, adolescence, youth, and so on. . . . a person might be considered mentally and emotionally mature for specific rights and obligations at different times during his teens, as well as legally mature at 21; but in terms of social experience, the requirements of some professions, or responsibility for a family, he could be considered, at 18, 20, or even 25, as still quite young.<sup>22</sup>

As Ben-Amos's book suggests, our modern Anglo-American default sense of something called adolescence is strongly inflected by our own institutionalized and routinized educational system, a set of transitions the early modern system cuts across both in terms of age and in the variabilities of social class, geography, and other factors. In a culture where life-expectancy was, comparatively speaking, quite low and the mean age of marriage for men (one indicator of full entrance into adulthood) "fluctuated between 27.6 and 29.3,"<sup>23</sup> non-adulthood could in fact occupy the majority of a life. Further, as Bruce Smith has importantly shown, the range of reference for the term "boy" was itself hugely elastic from our point of view, including, in one sodomy trial, a "boy" described as "aged 29 years or thereabouts."<sup>24</sup>

My point is not only to ask that, in thinking about figures like Cesario and Sebastian in plays like *Twelfth Night*, we develop more subtle and historically appropriate ideas of masculinity, its ages and modes. I am also urging that we think about the relation of this definitional and categorical fluidity to the perceived erotic desirability of boys, youths, and men in this culture.<sup>25</sup> As Stephen Orgel summarizes: "boys were, like women—but unlike men—acknowledged objects of sexual attraction for men. . . . [T]he homosexual, and particularly the pederastic component of the Elizabethan erotic imagination is both explicit and for the most part surprisingly unproblematic."<sup>26</sup> Pressing Orgel's point further, a consensus of critics has begun to recognize the category of the boy or youth or young man as a "universal object of desire"—a figure of erotic and affective attraction and availability for men and women alike.<sup>27</sup> Golding's Ovid's Narcissus is in this sense exemplary: at the age of 16, "The hearts of dyuers trim yong

men his beautie gan to moue / And many a Ladie fresh and faire was taken in his loue.”

Standing water has its attractions for everyone, including, of course, Narcissus himself.

What might a renewed attention to the categories “boy,” “youth,” “man” (and so forth) tell us about the erotic possibilities in early modern English culture? In his essay “How to Do the History of Male Homosexuality,” David M. Halperin has brilliantly delineated a set of pre-homosexual discourses or structures that circulate from classical antiquity through the early modern period and into the present, representing structures or configurations of homoeroticism that eventually contribute to, but are not the same as, the category of modern “homosexuality.”<sup>28</sup> Several of these structures, including pederasty, are constituted through hierarchies of age, status, or gender-affinity. Building on Halperin’s formulation, I want, in emphasizing the categorical unfixity of “the boy,” both to highlight the complexity of a structure like pederasty as its attractions are enacted in plays like *Twelfth Night* (the way in which the “ped” in “pederasty” is a moving target, and thus the way in which the term, at least if understood in its ostensible modern self-evidentness, is not precisely what we are seeing here), *and also* to indicate the ways in which pederasty overlaps with, slides into, sometimes becomes or comes from, other kinds of love, attraction, affection.<sup>29</sup> To further explore these issues, and to consider how they might differently figure in performance and in print, I turn now to the roughly contemporaneous *Philaster, or Love Lies A-Bleeding*, another King’s Men’s play (written around 1609, acted at the Globe and the Blackfriars, and at court in 1612-13).

## 2. Love of boys

“The love of boys unto their lords is strange,” Philaster says, near the beginning of act 2 of the play that bears his name (2.1.57).<sup>30</sup> Speaking of Bellario, the boy “[s]ent by the gods” whom he found in the woods while hunting, Philaster enlarges on this strange boy-man love: “I have read wonders of it, yet this boy / For my sake (if a man may judge by looks / And speech) would outdo story” (1.2.112, 2.1.57-60). Philaster’s speech both registers this structure as

normative (a love whose name he's seen spoken before) and as (in this case) willfully exceeding the wonder-full, outgoing the standard accounts. "Strange," but not unprecedented--and perhaps also strange because Philaster is accustomed in the classical sources to seeing the affection flow in the other direction.<sup>31</sup>

The boy Bellario is, in fact, the object of concerted erotic interest in *Philaster*, and not only *from* Philaster. Or more precisely (and this bears comparison with *Twelfth Night*), the boy functions as a figure for the possibility of eroticism, a figure always on the verge of eroticization. There is, first, the long pastoral monologue that interrupts the action, in which Philaster introduces Bellario--in Philaster's superlative terms, "[t]he trustiest, loving'st, and the gentlest boy / That ever master kept" (1.2.138-39). In fact, the boy's value in the play seems to be that he can, at whatever point, be invested with meaning. Dion is only one of many characters to dwell upon the word *boy* in the play, and, as he says after Philaster has given Bellario to his beloved, the princess Arethusa, Bellario is "that boy, that Princess' boy; that brave, chaste, virtuous lady's boy; and a fair boy, a well-spoken boy!" (2.4.189-91). The courtesan Megra, however, invests the boy with less chaste erotic meaning; "The Princess has a Hylas, an Adonis" (2.4.19), she says, thus citing the boy's classical availability as the subject of erotic interest for both Hercules and Venus, men and women. Bellario himself cites another classical scene of erotic investment (the story of Ganymede, a figure hovering over the whole play), and thematizes his own tractability, when he notes to Philaster early on:

Sir, you did take me up when I was nothing,  
And only yet am something by being yours;  
You trusted me unknown . . . .  
(2.1.6-8)

Defined, constituted by, his relation to the master who has taken him up,<sup>32</sup> Bellario emphasizes a few lines later his availability for pedagogic instruction and transformation:

Sir, if I have made  
A fault of ignorance, instruct my youth.

I shall be willing if not apt to learn;  
 Age and experience will adorn my mind  
 With larger knowledge; and if I have done  
 A wilful fault, think me not past all hope  
 For once. What master holds so strict a hand  
 Over his boy that he will part with him  
 Without one warning? Let me be corrected . . . .  
 (2.1.29-37)

As the work of Elizabeth Pittenger, Alan Stewart, and Wendy Wall on the prevalence of pedagogic beating in early modern schools has shown, this imagined scene of correction is itself not necessarily separate from or devoid of eroticism in this period.<sup>33</sup> Taking up Bellario's willful multi-valence, I argue that the play records and extends the erotic slippage available in the figure of the boy, the page, the servant, as the pedagogical scene and classical resonances that get attached to him begin to suggest: a Ganymede "taken up," "a Hylas," "an Adonis."<sup>34</sup> This is so much the case that, when Megra finally articulates a specific erotic allegation against Bellario, the charge is immediately assimilable by other characters in the play: "I know the boy / She keeps, a handsome boy, about eighteen; / Know what she does with him, where and when" (2.4.157-59).

As I have already noted, the term *boy* has a capaciousness of reference in this period that may in fact bear some discursive responsibility for Bellario as a site of definitional struggle—denoting age (a *young* boy), but also often denoted servitude and/or social inferiority. Some of this breadth of reference may replay a more specific cultural ambiguity: to take one possible site of boy (in)definition, the ecclesiastical canons of 1604 ambiguated the age of marital consent, continuing to allow marriage at fourteen for boys, while adding the requirement of parental or guardian consent until age 21.<sup>35</sup>

Bellario's eroticization is not only the product of his age--though his age comes to function as a marker of his erotic availability--but also of his clothes. "'Tis a sweet boy" says

Dion, "how brave she keeps him!" (2.4.28). "Where's the boy?" Arethusa asks her waiting-woman.

*Lady.* Within, madam.

*Are.* Gave you him gold to buy him clothes?

*Lady.* I did.

*Are.* And has he done 't?

*Lady.* Yes, madam.

*Are.* 'Tis a pretty sad-talking boy, is it not?

(2.3.1-7)

Bellario becomes here a liveried servant of the princess--a point made emphatically at the beginning of the scene--and this "brave" livery itself becomes a further mark of his eroticization, in a way that the text suggests as potentially excessive: "she has made thee brave," accuses Philaster (who has himself earlier made Bellario something out of nothing). "My lord," Bellario replies, "she has attired me past my wish, / Past my desert" (3.1.162-64). The liveried status of Bellario--his mark, badge, habit of service--becomes even more controversial, as the King's interrogation of Arethusa on the charge of boy-love hints:

*King.* Tell me, have you not a boy?

*Are.* Yes, sir.

*King.* What kind of boy?

*Are.* A page, a waiting boy.

*King.* A handsome boy?

*Are.* I think he be not ugly.

...

*King.* He speaks and sings and plays?

*Are.* Yes, sir.

*King.* About eighteen?

*Are.* I never asked his age.

*King.* Is he full of service?

*Are.* By your pardon, why do you ask?

...

*King.* Put him away, I say, 'has done you that good service

Shames me to speak of.

(3.2.11-28)

In this play, the erotic risk posed by Bellario's clothing here is a result of a gendered structure: to be the kept boy of Philaster--to be the "trustiest, loving'st, and the gentlest boy / That ever master kept"--is to be endowed with affect apparently without risk, as Philaster's long introductory aria on Bellario suggests. But to be the kept-boy/man (the eighteen-year-old liveried servant) of the princess is to open the possibility of multiple kinds of "service," and a service, as Philaster jealously fantasizes, in which the servant may become a kind of master to the princess who is said to "yield thee [Bellario] all delights / Naked as to her bed." "I took her oath," Philaster lies, "Thou shouldst enjoy her" (3.1.207-09)

Fantasized here, and alluded to in *Twelfth Night*, in Orsino's sending his page to Olivia, this kind of erotic danger is enacted in the Act IV hunting sequence of *Philaster*, a phantasmatically isolated forest space first set up in Arethusa's speech in the last lines of Act III. The forest and this speech explicitly ally the hunt with sexual desire and wounding with penetration, as R.A. Foakes notes,<sup>36</sup> even as the speech encodes the prospective polymorphous perversity of the multiple erotic woundings that will follow:

I am in tune to hunt.

Diana, if thou canst rage with a maid

As with a man, let me discover thee

Bathing, and turn me to a fearful hind,

That I may die pursued by cruel hounds,

And have my story written in my wounds.

(3.2.182-87)

The hunt imagined here by Arethusa is multi-valent and multi-directional. Like Orsino in the first scene of *Twelfth Night*, Arethusa writes herself as Actaeon and thus, if only in the conditional (“if thou canst rage with a maid”), within a scene of self-endangering female-female voyeurism and desire. This is a scene in which, moreover, she imagines viewing the bathing Diana—to whom Arethusa’s classical namesake was originally bound in service, before she (Arethusa) was herself hunted by Alpheus and turned into a fountain. The passage is explicit in linking desire with what we might call unsafe hunting practices, and it suggests that the resulting wounds themselves will become the text of the tragedy the play at this point threatens to unfold.

Let me quickly recount the woundings of Act IV of *Philaster*. Philaster wounds Arethusa. A “Country Fellow,” whom the wounded Arethusa accuses of “intrud[ing] [him]self / Upon our private sports, our recreations” (4.5.90-91), then wounds Philaster. Philaster, fleeing, finds Bellario asleep, and, in an attempt to thrust guilt for Arethusa’s wounding upon him, wounds *him* by replicating his own wounds: “Sword, print my wounds / Upon this sleeping boy” (4.6.23-24). To use the words of the play’s subtitle, all “loves” lie “a-Bleeding” in Act IV of this play.

The end of *Philaster*, of course, binds up these wounds, and in doing so reintegrates Bellario, the figure of the “boy,” into the combined household of the betrothed Philaster and Arethusa.<sup>37</sup> The text is careful to make prophylactic at least some of the eroticism it had earlier worried about, by disclosing that Bellario is “really” Euphrasia, a maiden apparently chastely devoted to Philaster.<sup>38</sup> If the play has, in other words, significantly expanded the erotic availability and meaning of “the boy” over the course of the play, it seems here largely to shut down that experimentation by the last-minute disclosure—news to everyone but herself, including the audience—that the boy Bellario is in fact the woman Euphrasia.

### 3. The habit of a boy

That is at least one of the stories one might derive from *Philaster*, though we should notice that the play also simultaneously leaves open some of the possibilities it had earlier

exhibited. The disclosure of the truth of Euphrasia's gender is, for example, greeted with significant ambiguity:

*Dion.* *It is a woman; let her speak the rest.*

*Phi.* How? That again.

*Dion.* *It is a woman.*

...

*Phi.* *It is a woman, sir! Hark, gentlemen,*

*It is a woman! ...*

*It is a woman!*

...

But Bellario

(For I must call thee still so), tell me why

Thou didst conceal thy sex.

(5.5.137-154, emphasis added)

Philaster's request in turn produces another narrative which is *simultaneously* a genealogy of his/her true gender *and* a second version of Philaster's earlier speech explaining the love of boys unto their lords, with Euphrasia's now "female" version of her story nevertheless still structured by the rhetoric of "taking up" associated with the shepherd Ganymede:

*I saw a god,*

*I thought (but it was you), enter our gates.*

*My blood flew out and back again ...*

...

*then was I called away in haste*

*To entertain you. Never was a man*

*Heaved from a sheep-cote to a sceptre, raised*

*So high in thoughts as I . . . .*

(5.5.164-71, my emphasis)

Her story, ostensibly the back-story of her true gender, simultaneously restages Ganymede's flight, legible, as Leonard Barkan has pointed out, as his ravishment and/or his education: the story of awakened desire here is also the story of rising thoughts.<sup>39</sup> Having dressed herself "[i]n habit of a boy," Euphrasia continues, she sat "by the fount, / Where first you *took me up*" (5.5.181-91).

But *why* must Philaster "call [Bellario] still so"? Is it the persistence of the boy-clothing that she still wears—the force of "habit"?<sup>40</sup> Or what Orgel describes as her "deci[sion] to remain permanently in drag"?<sup>41</sup> Even to ignore these ambiguities, to ignore the persistence of Bellario's boyhood and concentrate on Euphrasia, is not to arrive at an ending without eroticism. In the shared household, the threesome with which it concludes, the play supplies an ongoing man-boy relationship (Philaster still calls this girl "Bellario"; she still tells that story), as well as what we might see—following Valerie Traub's foundational work—as a relationship of "chaste-femme" love between Arethusa, and her former boy, now a girl, Euphrasia.<sup>42</sup> But that relationship is itself a mirror image of Arethusa's speech before the hunt, as we have already noticed: the servant girl viewing her naked, bathing mistress, who is imagined, at least, as capable of raging with maid as well as man. "O, never," says Arethusa, earlier in the play, "never such a boy again / As my Bellario." As if noting that this excess might eventually be read as a different story, Philaster responds: "all this passion for a boy?" (3.2.89-90, 95).

#### 4. Printing Bellario

Thus far, in thinking about the figure of the boy in *Philaster*, I have been working in a relatively familiar interpretive vein: noting the play's emphasis on the figure of the boy, Bellario; noting the text's seeming offering of non-heteronormative erotic possibilities; noting the foreclosure of those possibilities by the exposure of the boy's "real" gender as a woman; then noting the way in which that foreclosure is itself not closed, and in a number of directions: the residual of a man-boy attraction at the end of the play; the possibility of female-female eroticism broached by Arethusa that may persist in the play's dénouement; the unresolved erotic triangle

in the household the play sets up at its end. (In this sense, my general approach is like any number of readings of *As You Like It* that emphasize the space of erotic play in the Rosalind-as-Ganymede scenes, the seeming foreclosure of these possibilities in heterosexual marriage at play's end, the persistence of Rosalind's boy gender and what, homoerotically, it may represent, even—as Orgel and I have each argued—in the wedding scene of the play, and the erotic multivalence that many critics have located in the play's epilogue.<sup>43</sup>) In doing so, I have been relying implicitly on a model of what may have been visible and audible in a *performance* of *Philaster*, even saving my reminder that Bellario is “really” a woman, within the representation, until late in my discussion.

I have chosen the example of *Philaster*, however, because it differs from the usual suspects in discussions of cross-dressing boys in both performance and, significantly, in print. First—unlike the usual Shakespearean examples, *Philaster* presents and eroticizes a boy who is, throughout, a boy, until the last lines of the play. There is no initial scene establishing the boy actor as a woman who then dresses up; thus, in its eroticization and argument over the erotic meaning and function of the boy, this play lacks the potential prophylaxis, the protection in advance, with which plays like *As You Like It* and *Twelfth Night* present their audience (however briefly, in the latter case)—an audience that knows, yes, that this is a boy actor (and thus a Ganymede or Cesario) and simultaneously that, within the representation, he is “really” a woman. *Philaster* provides such an out only in retrospect, and it presses this possibility to the very limit of theatrical titillation in performance by emphasizing, describing, and finally threatening to reveal the body of the boy actor and boy Bellario before apparently resolving the problem. That is: the disjunction between the boy-gender Bellario has embodied throughout the play and his “real” female gender only emerges in the last scene of the play as the King, first, conjures up the image of an offstage torture and further wounding of Bellario (“Bear away that boy / To torture” [5.5.65-66]). (Just as wounding has already been set by the play within a context of Ovidian sexuality, torture has been glossed elsewhere in the play as “ravis[h]ment”

[4.5.83-86]) A few moments later, the King then proceeds to order the performance of this torture onstage, and commands, "Sirs, strip that boy," an imperative that proposes to reveal an erotic possibility the play has held out from the beginning (5.5.82). In its threat to strip both the livery of Bellario and the costume of the boy actor, the play emphasizes its absolute equation, to this point, of the player-apprentice and the liveried servant.<sup>44</sup> Unlike the Shakespearean examples often adduced, then, a performance of *Philaster* might be said to reiterate the boy-ness of the boy actor (whatever that may be) from beginning to end.

But what about *Philaster* in print? First, there is a lot of it, and an initial review of the terrain is in order: an extraordinarily popular play, there are ten quartos and an appearance in the second Beaumont and Fletcher Folio (1679) between the play's first appearance in 1620, and the end of the seventeenth century. Since Kirschbaum's 1938 census of "bad" quartos, the 1620 first quarto has usually been considered one. "Comparison of Q1 and Q2 reveals in the former," Kirschbaum writes, "all the phenomena of bad quartos: . . . 'mishearings' . . . , addition, omission, substitution, restatement, transposition, mislining, corrupt blank verse, and the giving of speeches to the wrong characters."<sup>45</sup> Q2 has been taken as the good and authoritative text, and, in the usual construal of things, according to Robert K. Turner, the editor who has studied the texts most minutely, writing in the Bowers edition of the Beaumont and Fletcher canon, "A comparison of [the later] editions reveals little more than the progressive degeneration of the text that is inevitable in a long series of reprints."<sup>46</sup> These views are shared by Dora Jean Ashe in her Regents edition of 1971 and Andrew Gurr in his Revels edition of 1969 (recently republished); Gurr calls the first quarto "botched" and "inferior," "with nonce-constructions and variants that are evident misreadings of the Q2 text's readings on an average of one line in four."<sup>47</sup>

It is not my purpose in this essay to save a "bad" quarto (as much fun as that can be); it is true that Q1 is a tough read and certainly less tidy than a modern reader might prefer, though I would also note that Q2 has its own extensive share of what is taken to be mislineation, a

number of speeches attributed to what seem like the wrong characters, and so forth. Instead, I want to suggest that one person's textual corruption and "progressive degeneration" may be another person's history of sexuality. It might be argued that this has been the case since 1622, when, in the striking and familiar address to the reader of the second quarto, Thomas Walkley, the publisher of first two quartos, wrote that "*Philaster*, and *Arethusa* his loue, haue laine so long a bleeding, by reason of some dangerous and gaping wounds, which they receiued in the first Impression . . . ."<sup>48</sup> Very early in its history, in other words, Walkley, deploying the language of wounding, inserts the text into a discourse of eroticism employed by the play itself; if editorial work on this play (including editorial work over the course of its printing in the seventeenth century) has seen itself as following the less wounded text, it may well also have been led, through Walkley's anti-wounding rhetoric (which is to say, in this context, anti-Ovidian-erotic rhetoric), to look away from other eroticisms.

I propose, then, provisionally to rename the 1620 first text of *Philaster* from "the Bad Quarto" to "the Boy Quarto."<sup>49</sup> Following Kirschbaum, this may entail a subsequent "Census of Boy Quartos," but I leave that for another time. For, though this text features, as Kirschbaum notes "addition, omission, substitution, restatement, transposition, . . . and the giving of speeches to [different, if not exactly] the wrong characters," what may be most striking about *Philaster* Q1 is the way in which some of these additions and restatements (which are, of course, actually differences and *prestatements*) figure the character I have been calling Bellario, but who is most often figured in Q1, the Boy Quarto, simply as "boy."<sup>50</sup> The first description of him, in all the texts, as I have already mentioned, occurs in *Philaster*'s speech beginning "I haue a boy, sent by the gods" (Q1, sig. C2v), and the presentation of this figure throughout the Q1 text emphasizes this generic quality. This is the case in the dialogue that Q1 predominantly shares with Q2, from which I quoted above, but it is even more emphatically the case in Q1's textual apparatus. With this figure's first entrance in 2.1, Q2 has "Enter *Philaster* and *Bellario*":

Enter *Philafter* and *Bellario*.

*Phi.* And thou shalt finde her honourable boy :  
Full of regard vnto thy tender youth,  
For thine owne modesty : and for my sake,  
Apter to giue, then thou wilt be to aske,  
I, or deferue.

*Bell.* Sir, you did take me vp when I was nothing :  
And onely yet am something, by being yours ;

(Q2, sig. D1, p. 17)

Q1, however, instead emphasizes the boy:

Enter *PHYLASTER*, and his boy, called *BELLARIO*.

*PHI.* And thou shalt finde her honourable, boy full of regard  
Vnto thy tender youth, for thy owne modesty,  
And for my sake, apter to giue, then thou wilt be to aske,  
I or deferue.

*BOY.* Sir, you did take me vp when I was nothing,  
And I am onely yet something, by being yours,

(Q1, sig. C3v, p. 14)

As these photoquotations suggest, whereas Q2 thereafter begins its practice of using the speech prefixes “*Bell.*” and sometimes “*Bel.*” throughout, the boy called Bellario in Q1 speaks through the speech-prefix “*BOY,*” in small caps, until a moment in the last scene (to which I will return). Hailed and described in the dialogue as “boy” throughout, he is likewise “boy,” generic boy, throughout Q1’s stage-directions, appearing there by name only in his first and last entrance indications. Thus, the text is (at the level of its dialogue and its apparatus) a litany of summonses to a generic boy: “*Exit boy,*” at end of this scene, followed immediately by “The loue of boyes vnto their Lords is strange” (Q1, sig. C4v, p. 16). “*Enter boy.*” (38), “*Exit BOY.*” ([sic] 39); “*Enter BOY.*” (42); “*Exit BOY.*” ([4]3); “*She sits downe, Enter BOY.*” (45); “*Exit BOY.*” (64 [46]); “*Enter the BOY.*” (49); “*Boy falls downe.*” (50). “*Enter PHI. Princesse, BOY, with a garland of flowers on’s head.*” (55). And so forth:

Enter PHYLASTER, *Princesse*, BOY, *in prison*.  
 PRIN. Nay, faith *Phylaster*, grieue not, we are well.  
 BOY. Nay, good my Lord forbear, we are wondrous well.  
 PHIL. Oh *Archibusa* and *Bellaris*,

H 3

Leauē

(Q1, p. 53)

From a modern vantage point (particularly a modern editorial and readerly viewpoint that has tended to favor proper names over generic tags), the love of this text unto this *term* seems strange, but I hope I have begun to suggest the way in which the Boy Quarto seems, in print, to maintain and even to amplify some aspects of the play that, as I have argued above, would have been central to a performance of this play. The one departure from this rule is the list of “*The Actors Names*” which prefaces the Q1 text; there, this character is figured as

**BELLARIO a Page, LEONS daughter.**

“*The Actors Names.*” (Q1, title page verso).

This entry may well depict the emerging difference between *Philaster* in performance and *Philaster* in print (or rather, *Philaster* and what it further performs in print), for, unlike what may have been the performance experience for either of these texts in the theatre, this moment in the printed text attempts to insert into the otherwise resolutely “boy” quarto, a pre-history for the character Bellario’s “true” gender that the Boy Quarto does not otherwise share. (To put this another way: “*The Actors Names*” here acts the function of Rosalind before the forest, or the unnamed lady Viola emerging from the shipwreck—the establishment of a gender that is then thrown off or covered over for the bulk of the play.)

In the Boy Quarto of *Philaster*, Bellario as daughter emerges in the last three pages of the play, but her gender (disclosed by her kneeling to Leon and the stage direction “*discouers her haire*”) is accompanied *not* by her emergence from the speech prefix “BOY” into a named female identity (indeed, she has no female name in this text), but by her taking on, for the first time in this text, the speech prefix “BEL.” for Bellario:

That boy there ----  
 B E L. If to me ye speake Lady,  
 I must tell you, you haue lost your selfe  
 In your too much forwardnesse, and hath forgot  
 Both modesty and truth, with what impudence  
 You haue throwne most damnable asperitions  
 On that noble Princesse and my selfe: witness the world;  
 Behold me fir. *Kneeles to L E O N, and discouers her haire.*  
 L E O N. I should know this face; my daughter.  
 B E L. The same fir.  
 P R I N. How, our sometime Page, *Bellario*, turn'd woman?

(Q1, sig. I4v, p. 64)

For a reader of this quarto, this text maintains or performs a persistent ambiguity around this figure: *he* is a daughter in a list at the outset; *she* goes by her male name when she “turn[s] woman.” “How, our sometime Page, *Bellario*, turn’d woman?” asks the Princesse; “I doe beleue thee,” the Princesse says a moment later; and then (simultaneously disbelieving) “*Bellario* I shall call thee still” (65-65). (Here again the play both makes impossible and practices a same-sex female eroticism, to use Traub’s terms, since its impossibility both absolves the Princess from the accusation of having slept with a boy, and remains present in her affection for her page turned woman.<sup>51</sup>)

The second quarto--let’s call it the *Bellario* Quarto--maintains a similar ambiguity throughout, though differently articulated: there is no list of the actor’s names, but *Bellario* remains *Bellario* consistently throughout, in stage directions and speech prefixes, before and after his/her gender transformation. For a reader of the *Bellario* Quarto, the dissonance or ambiguity emerges most visibly at the moment *Bellario* speaks his/her (other name): the speech prefix announces “*Bellario*,” and *Bellario* announces “*Euphrasia*.” “What’s thy name?”: “*Bel. Euphrasia*.”

*Di.* Oh my shame, ift possible? draw neere  
That I may gaze vpon thee, art thou she,  
Or else her murderer? where wert thou borne?

*Bel.* In Siracusa.

*Di.* What's thy name?

*Bel.* Euphrasia.

*Di.* O tis iust, tis she,

(Q2, L2, p. 75)

It is perhaps useful for me to pause here in this history that attempts to avert corruption and degeneration to comment on my reconfiguring of the first two texts of *Philaster*. I bother to think about this at all because I think that, even with several relatively good twentieth century editions of the play based on the Good (Bellario) Quarto available, there is a way in which these editions fail to register aspects of the ostensibly Bad text (the Boy text)--aspects that nevertheless disclose something crucial about *Philaster* as it is registered even in the good text and in early-seventeenth-century performance practice. (This is only more the case when one observes the fact that the middle sections of these texts are, in the dialogue they inscribe, more or less identical, with only parts of the first and last acts showing marked divergence.<sup>52</sup>) I want to emphasize that I do not rename these texts as the paired "Boy Quarto" and "Woman Quarto," for *neither* text fully begins with or finally restores a female Euphrasia even in the ambiguated ways that Rosalind and Viola end their plays. Neither do these texts map easily onto something that might look like pederasty vs. heteronormativity, since the Boy Quarto of 1620 is, if anything, more resolute in marrying Bellario-turned-woman off to Trasiline at the last moment (thus both evacuating and repeating the love of this woman still dressed as a boy unto a lord).<sup>53</sup> And the Bellario Quarto of 1622--still harping on boys in its dialogue if not in its stage- and speech-directions<sup>54</sup>--leaves Euphrasia (called still Bellario) unmarried but as a chaste servant to the Princess and Philaster.

For a Euphrasia Quarto, we might well turn to the 1628 third quarto, which begins with a list of "*The persons presented*" followed in all subsequent texts, a list that for the first time

divides the characters by gender as well as social class, moving Euphrasia to the bottom of the group of women characters: “EVPHRASIA, Daughter of *Dion*, but disguised like a Page, and called *Bellario*.”<sup>55</sup> Here we have the girlhood of Beaumont and Fletcher’s boy-heroine set out, though again, still, I would want to notice that a reader would have confronted a hybrid approach to this figure. Even as the *dramatis personae* list marks the arrival here of a notion of gender-stabilized character that seems to precede, govern, and potentially outlast the fiction, it sits in considerable dissonance with the text itself as a reader must have experienced it,<sup>56</sup> for this “person presented” continues in all other respects to be presented by the text as “Bellario” (in dialogue, speech, and stage directions): not only is Euphrasia “called *Bellario*” by the play’s characters; she/he is also consistently called *Bellario* by the edition, including (again, still) at and after the moment of her disclosure as Euphrasia.

The folio of 1679 and all but the last of the subsequent seventeenth-century quartos (1634, 1639, 1652, c. 1661, c. 1661, 1687<sup>57</sup>) follow this hybrid or dissonant presentation of the character. Even as Turner saw the “inevitable” “progressive degeneration of the text” in these editions, we would have to say that, at least with regard to this figure of the boy/woman, something more complicated is happening: on the one hand, in the *dramatis personae* lists, this process looks like a straightening out of gender and the idea of character across the texts, and thus *potentially* of the erotic plot of this play; and, on the other, this process registers the persistence of a boy-centered eroticism that has extended well past the modes of production in the early seventeenth-century theatre that it may have emerged from and in part represented.

It may not be beside the point at all that the text in which Euphrasia first appears in a *dramatis personae* list (Q3, 1628) is also a quarto that begins to acknowledge, however tentatively, a difference between a performance audience experiencing plays in the theatre and a reading public consuming plays in print—something set out in a new preface, “THE STATIONER TO THE VNDERSTANDING GENTRIE”:

*This Play so affectionately taken, and approoued by the Seeing Auditors, or Hearing Spectators, . . . hath receiued (as appeares by the copious vent of two Editions,) no lesse acceptance with improouement of you likewise the Readers . . . (Q3, sig. A2).<sup>58</sup>*

One might then hypothesize, however tentatively, the linking here of 1) a more literate idea of the playtext quarto, related to but increasingly separable from the playhouse; 2) the straightening out, however rudimentary, of character gender and erotic trajectories in ways that depart from the ways of or available in performance; and 3) the simultaneous persistence of and tolerance for those erotic possibilities, such that they did not appear to require the fullscale re-editing or re-configuration of the text. (It is worth recalling, as I have noted elsewhere, that, in the last scene of *As You Like It*, Rosalind is still joining “his hand” with Orlando’s until the third folio edits out the remaining boy in 1664.<sup>59</sup>)

The next step on this route, which I will not take up in detail here, would be the last seventeenth-century quarto, in 1695, which, its title page says, is “Revis’d, and the Two last Acts new Written,” and has a dramatis personae list that perhaps clarifies—which is to say, reconstitutes under a new regime of production in the Restoration—the relationship of the actor and the boy the play represents.<sup>60</sup> It reads, quite simply:

*Bellarrio.*

*Mrs. Rogers.*

(Q10, “Actors Names,” sig. A4v)<sup>61</sup>

To recast Turner’s “progressive degeneration” this way—that is to say, as a movement toward a more modern sense of gender normativity (never fully accomplished) and as a movement toward a straightening out, in the modern sense, of the play’s man-boy, woman-boy love—is also to remind ourselves that these things we tend to speak of as “shifts” in the history of sexuality and of British theatre are incremental rather than instantaneous or immediately realized. There are, that is to say, persons whose experience included two different sets of performance practices in *Philaster* (the unknown, earliest, boy-acted Bellarios, through Mrs.

Rogers) and who experienced as well a reading practice that confronted various of the hybrid or dissonant texts that I have examined. Take Samuel Pepys for example, a contemporary of Quartos 4-10 of *Philaster*, who notes on 30 May 1668, after seeing a performance of the play, that

it is pretty to see how I could remember almost all along, ever since I was a boy, Arethusa's part which I was to have acted at Sir Rob. Cooke's; and it was very pleasant to me, but more to think what a ridiculous thing it would have been for me to have acted a beautiful woman.<sup>62</sup>

Here we might see even in Pepys (who seems in some other respects the very model of a modern, privatized heterosexual subject<sup>63</sup>) the conflict between the nostalgic pleasure he takes in remembering an earlier moment of theatrical cross-gendering, and the self-discipline he enacts in finding this memory now ridiculous.

## 5. Boys in print

Thinking about boys in British theatre history, I have been considering printed versions of texts originating in performance. But, in considering the meaning of boys on stage--an important concern for a variety of reasons within theatrical history, feminist scholarship, and more recently queer studies--we might usefully broaden our view to think about the category of the boy and the erotic energies that category sometimes engages in specifically *print* contexts, and not just as print products of the stage. I want to cast the net somewhat speculatively here, to suggest a somewhat telegraphic prolegomenon for considering Boys in Print.

First, we might think of the overlapping structures of familial relations and affect that may have attended master and/or mistress and apprentice relations in the printing house as well as the playhouse. I am on record as deeply skeptical of the secret lives sometimes imagined for the compositors of Shakespeare first folio, but one might pause to notice the relation sometimes assigned to Compositor E and Compositor B.<sup>64</sup> The apprentice E has "imitative

tendencies” and is said to “follow copy closely,” and he thus recapitulates some of the pedagogic structures noted above. The education and relations of apprentice compositors and other young laborers in printing and publishing houses are worth examining in greater detail.<sup>65</sup>

Second, we would want to consider the proliferation of other signs of boys in print culture. As I have mentioned elsewhere, the first two editions of *Philaster*, strangely enough, were printed “for *Thomas Walkley*, and [were] to be sold at his shop at the *Eagle and Child* in Brittaines Bursse” (1620, also 1622).<sup>66</sup> The Boy Quarto and the Bellario Quarto, that is, were sold at what must have resonated as the sign of the Rape of Ganymede, this story of both pedagogical uplift and homoerotic ravishment and adoption. In the 1620s and early 1630s, Walkley sells at the sign of the Eagle and Child in or near the New Exchange (*Othello* is among his wares, as are catalogues of nobility, the masque *Loves Triumph Through Callipolis*, some other plays by Beaumont and Fletcher, and Massinger), but this is not an unfamiliar sign either before or after him: there are several imprints of Thomas Creed printing and selling at this sign in 1600, “in the Old Change . . . neare Old Fish-streete”; there is a golden eagle and child in Pater Noster Row in 1590; Jasper Emery sells books at the Eagle and Child located in Paul’s Churchyard near Watling St. in the 1630s at least through 1642; Thomas Thornicroft sells under this sign “near the little north door” in the 1660s.<sup>67</sup> Given the variety of texts printed and sold at this Ganymedic sign, my point is not that there is some necessary thematic connection or causal relation between the printed text and the sign, though the connection in the case of *Philaster* is a tantalizing one. Rather, I want to gesture toward the ubiquity in this culture of this sign of the Ganymedic child (“sign” in all the senses of that word)—the everydayness of this image, which we, visiting from our very different culture, may have difficulty reckoning. Expanding the early modern field of our vision further, we can see the Black Boy, under which sign, near Paul’s, a number of imprints are sold in the latter half of the sixteenth century, and then, notably, a flurry of texts in 1660s-90s and thereafter.<sup>68</sup>

Finally, I want to consider another set of boys in print, the archive of images of male children and adolescents that decorate Renaissance printed texts. I hardly need to point out the swarms of *putti* that adorn a wide range of Renaissance visual materials. But the larger point is to think about the implications of an emergent print culture that thinks of partially clothed boys, youths, and sometimes men not only as decorative (though this in itself is not inconsequential) but also as framing, presenting, and emblemizing a wide variety of texts—on title pages, in printed borders, in printers' ornaments, in decorative capitals, in grotesques used as page borders, and so forth. The merest glance through R.B. McKerrow and F.S. Ferguson's lists of printing images—which is all that I will begin to do in this essay—may help us to see both the range of uses of boys in these contexts *and*, just as I began in *Twelfth Night*, the range of figures that might be included in this category. Here are five examples, only a small sampling of the possibilities of course, but these may help us to think about what play-readers and other book-readers saw when they saw boys in print:

- First, naked boys reading in the uppers margins of the title page of *Eliot's Dictionary* (Fig. 1; 1559), along with bare-breasted women.<sup>69</sup> This is a book border that, in other contexts, continues to be used through 1579.

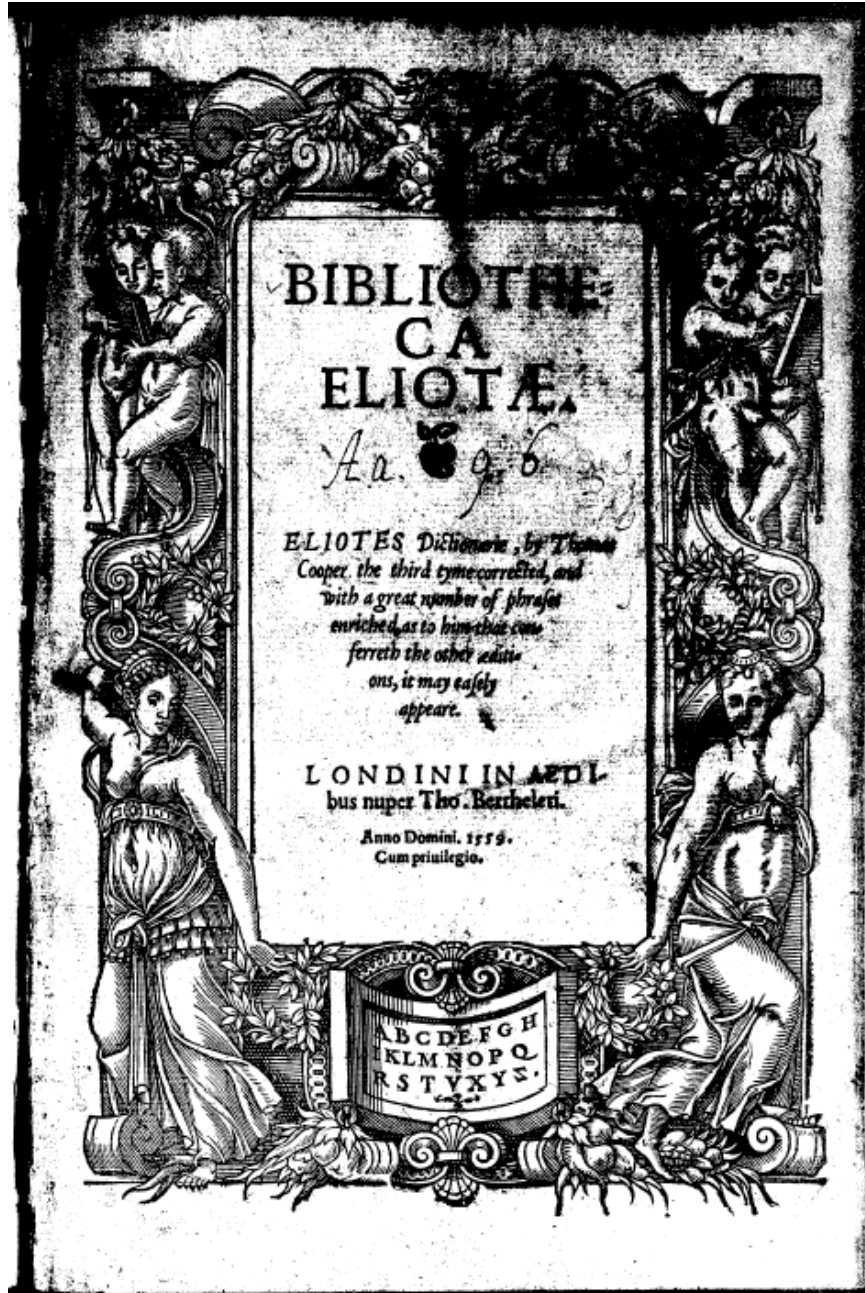


Fig. 1, Title page, *ELIOTES Dictionarie* (1559).

- Second, a somewhat older and buffer selection of boys (the lower set with wings) framing—playing musical instruments in the margins of—the title page of Golding’s

partial translation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (Fig. 2, 1565), a border that has continued use through at least 1615, where it appears on a psalter.<sup>70</sup>

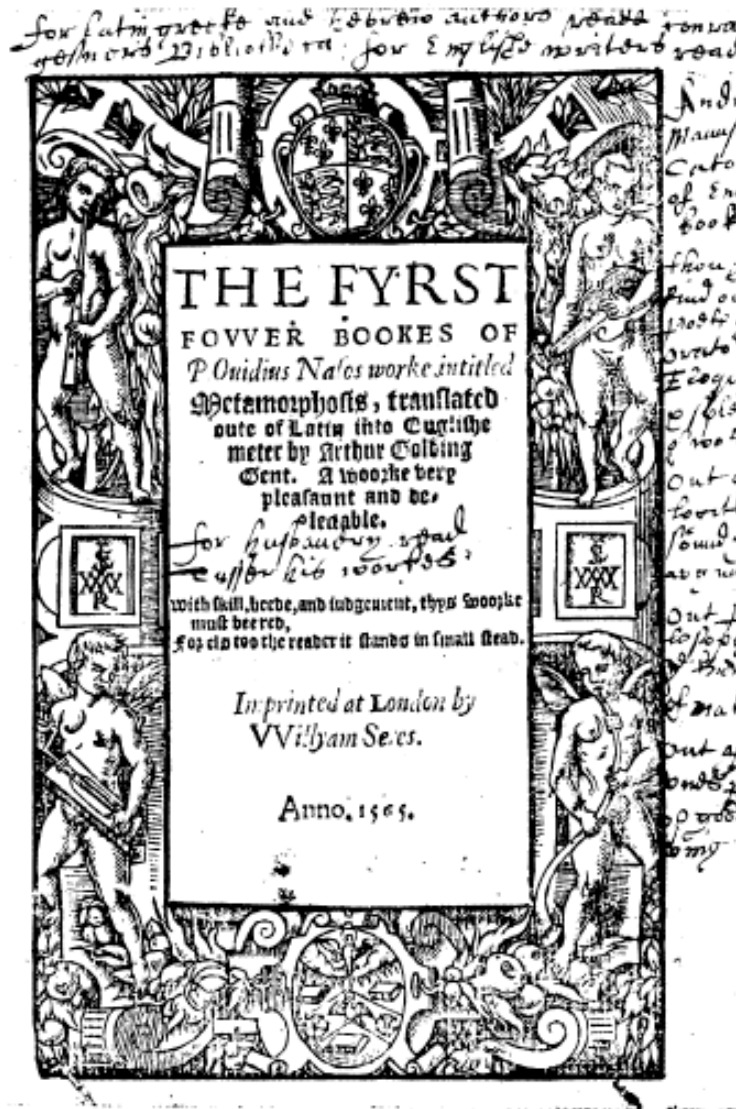


Fig. 2, Title page, Arthur Golding's translation of the first four books of Ovid's *Metamorphosis* (1565).

- Third, an ornament with motto of a boy-triton (Fig. 3)<sup>71</sup> that again brings together the ideas of boys and education,<sup>72</sup> the motto reading "IMMORTALITY IS GOTTEN BY THE STVDY OF LETTERS."



Fig. 3. Printer's emblem from John Northbrooke, *The poore mans Garden* (London: by VV. VWilliamson, 1573), [unpaginated leaf following preliminaries].

- And finally, two different versions of a similar printers' ornament, depicting a boy or youth with one winged arm, while the other arm is weighted down (Figs. 4-5).<sup>73</sup> The younger of these boys (Fig. 4) appears in England from 1563 to 1604, and late in his printed career, on the title pages of some 1597-1598 editions of *Richard II*, and the 1604 *Dr. Faustus*.<sup>74</sup>



Fig. 4, from title page, William Shake-speare, *THE Tragedie of King Richard the second* (London: by Valentine Simmes, for Andrew Wise, 1598).

Derived from an Alciato emblem signifying poverty holding talent down, and Englished in Whitney's *Choice of Emblems*, these ornaments are also the plot of Bellario/Euphrasia: "My wishe, and will, are still to mounthe alofte. / My wante, and woe, denie me my desire. . . ." <sup>75</sup> The god who summons from above in these ornaments may resonate with the Ganymede story, a connection made more emphatic when such a device was sold, as Fig. 5 was, by Jasper Emery "at his shop at the signe of the Eagle and Childe in S. *Pauls* Church-yard." <sup>76</sup>



Fig. 5, from title page, Nathaniel Holmes, *USURY IS INJURY* (London: Richard Bishop, for Jasper Emery, 1640).

These images we conventionally think of as printers' "ornaments," "devices," mere "borders" to the texts proper, but I am urging that we think about the ways in which they visualize, connect with, and re-articulate the signifiers in moveable type (e.g. "BOY") that have occupied the latter part of this paper. Part of the job, in other words, is to pull these graphics back from their separately numbered entries in musty (if indispensable) bibliographic indexes of printers' devices and put them back in conversation with the texts from which they have been excerpted, and the texts among which they circulated, including plays. Working this way--bringing the larger range of materials in this paper together—may allow us to think more specifically about the contours, activities, identifications, desires, aspirations, and so forth of readers in print culture, a readership that intersects with, is sometimes informed by, but is not identical with, the audiences for these plays in the theatres. Emblematic printers' ornaments are not simply ornamental; as emblems, they seek to inspire emulation and identification. As the dolphin ornament suggests, adult readers (of both genders) and boys are all within the circuit of letters.<sup>77</sup> In Ovid's *Metamorphosis*, a text relevant to several of the texts and signs in this paper, desired boys are at both the centers and the margins; from the upper right margin of *Eliot's Dictionary*, a boy looks out engagingly toward the reader (almost like a boy player, you might say). He is performing, among other things, learning to read and be reading.

Notes

I am indebted to Peter Holland and Stephen Orgel for the impetus and opportunity to work on the material in this essay, as well as for their suggestions. Barbara Hodgdon, Jean Howard, Gary Taylor, and participants in the 2004 Huntington Library conference on “Performance to Print: Redefining British Theatre History” provided comments on parts of this essay in earlier versions, and I am grateful. My first attempt to write about *Philaster*, on which this paper draws, was presented at the Renaissance Society of America meeting in 1996; I am grateful to Mario DiGangi for his comments at the time. On *Philaster*, I am also grateful to students in seminars at Northwestern and the University of Michigan. My thinking on the topic of early modern boys has benefited from ongoing discussions with Emily Bryan, whose forthcoming work significantly extends our knowledge of the lives and cultural meanings of boy actors.

<sup>1</sup> Ovid, *The xv. Bookes of P. Ouidius Naso, entytuled Metamorphosis, translated oute of Latin into English meeter, by Arthur Golding, Gentleman* (London: by Willyam Seres, 1567), book 3, pp. 35v-36.

<sup>2</sup> William Shakespeare, *The Tragicall Historie of Hamlet, Prince of Denmarke* (London: by I.R. for N.L., 1604), sig. C4. I am grateful to Coleman Hutchison, who first brought the sense-making possibilities of this line to my attention.

<sup>3</sup> “Why Did the English Stage Take Boys for Women?” asks Stephen Orgel, in *Impersonations: The Performance of Gender in Shakespeare’s England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 1.

<sup>4</sup> This is a question prompted for me by the forthcoming research of Emily Bryan on the treatment and representation of boys in early modern theatre companies: “In the Company of Boys: The Place of the Boy Actor in Early Modern English Culture,” Ph.D. dissertation, Northwestern University, in progress.

<sup>5</sup> Unless indicated otherwise, subsequent parenthetical line numbers refer to the text as presented in *Twelfth Night*, by William Shakespeare, eds. Roger Warren and Stanley Wells, Oxford World Classics (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994).

<sup>6</sup> Viola is apparently the subject of the stage direction “Enter Uiolenta.” See William Shakespeare, *Twelfth Night, Or what you will*, in *MR. WILLIAM SHAKESPEARES COMEDIES, HISTORIES, & TRAGEDIES* (London: by Isaac Iaggard, and Ed. Blount, 1623) p. 258, as reproduced in *The Norton Facsimile: The First Folio of Shakespeare*, prepared by Charlton Hinman (New York: Norton, 1968) TLN 461. I share with Laurie E. Osborne’s account of the text of the play a sense that much is to be learned from even the “least problematic” of Folio texts, though I would argue (as she does not) that even the “Violenta” moment carries potential import for an analysis of gender in print; see “The Texts of *Twelfth Night*,” *ELH* 57.1 (1990): 37-61.

<sup>7</sup> Orsino’s practice continues after the identity disclosure: “Boy, thou hast said to me a thousand times . . .” (5.1.261).

<sup>8</sup> Building on the proverbial craftiness of foxes, editions typically gloss “cub” as “fox cub,” but the term may also suggest a bear cub, and thus a diminutive or young version of Orsino (“little bear”) himself—or indeed, an equivalent. See *The Oxford English Dictionary Online*, *cub* n.<sup>1</sup>, 1, 3, with its somewhat self-contradictory evidence.

<sup>9</sup> On the name Cesario (as “belonging to Caesar,” and thus “cut”), see Orgel, *Impersonations*, 53-54. See also Mario DiGangi, *The Homoerotics of Early Modern Drama*, 38-42.

<sup>10</sup> See also 3.4.54-55

<sup>11</sup> Unless otherwise indicated, all dictionary references are to *The Oxford English Dictionary Online*; see *squash*, n.1. For the gloss, see Warren and Wells, eds., *Twelfth Night*, p. 110.

<sup>12</sup> William Shakespeare, *A Midsommer nights dreame* (London: for Thomas Fisher, 1600), sig. D3v.

<sup>13</sup> Stephen Greenblatt, "Fiction and Friction," *Shakespearean Negotiations: The Circulation of Social Energy in Renaissance England* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988) 66-93; Jean E. Howard, "Crossdressing, the Theatre, and Gender Struggle in Early Modern England," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 39 (1988): 418-440; Lisa Jardine, *Still Harping on Daughters: Women and Drama in the Age of Shakespeare* (Sussex, England: Harvester Press; Totowa, N.J.: Barnes & Noble, 1983); Orgel, *Impersonations*. For revisionary treatments of gender, sameness, and homoeroticism in the play, see Valerie Traub, *Desire and Anxiety: Circulations of Sexuality in Shakespearean Drama* (New York: Routledge, 1992); Laurie Shannon, "Nature's Bias," *Modern Philology* 98.2 (2000): 183-210; and Lisa Jardine, "Twins and Travesties: Gender, dependency, and sexual availability in *Twelfth Night*," chapter 4 of *Reading Shakespeare Historically* (London and New York: Routledge, 1996) 65-77.

<sup>14</sup> I mean no simply idle pun here, but rather to illustrate the ways in which such metaphoric, classificatory terms potentially open up in multiple relevant directions and meanings: "apricocks" (a seventeenth-century spelling of the fruit) plays upon the fused sense of prematurity (from Latin, *praecox*) and erotics (cocks), senses that come together in, for example, *The Duchess of Malfi* (2.1) and that are typically lost when modernized.

<sup>15</sup> W. Roy Mackenzie, "Standing Water," *Modern Language Notes* 41.5 (1926): 283-293.

<sup>16</sup> This is the gloss in the Arden, Norton, Oxford, and Riverside editions. See *Twelfth Night*, ed. J.M. Lothian and T.W. Craik, The Arden Shakespeare (London: Methuen, 1975) p. 29; *The Norton Shakespeare Based on the Oxford Edition*, ed. Stephen Greenblatt et al. (New York and London: W.W. Norton, 1997) p. 1777; Warren and Wells, p. 110; *The Riverside Shakespeare*, ed. G. Blakemore Evans et al. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1974) p. 414.

<sup>17</sup> Psalms 107:33, 114:8 (Bishops) and 107:35, 114:8 (AV). The Geneva version's translations, "hee turneth the wilderness into pooles of water, and the drie lande into water springs" (107:35), and "waterpooles" (114:8), also clearly suggests pools rather than transitional tides.

<sup>18</sup> Qtd. Mackenzie, 290.

<sup>19</sup> Qtd. Mackenzie 289; cited *OED* (*fat*, *a.* and *n.*<sup>2</sup>, 7). See William Harrison, *The description of England*, as printed in Raphael Holinshed, *The first and second volumes of Chronicles* (London, 1587), I: 170.

<sup>20</sup> On boys' vocal ambiguity and flexibility, see Gina Bloom, *Choreographing Voice: Agency and the Staging of Gender in Early Modern England* (University of Pennsylvania Press, forthcoming); and Bruce R. Smith, *The Acoustic World of Early Modern England: Attending to the O-factor* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999) 226-30.

<sup>21</sup> Thomas Laqueur, *Making Sex: Body and Gender from the Greeks to Freud* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1990).

<sup>22</sup> Ilana Krausman Ben-Amos, *Adolescence & Youth in Early Modern England*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1994) 36.

<sup>23</sup> Ben-Amos, *Adolescence*, 32. "In England as a whole the mean age of first marriage for both men and women was in the mid- to late twenties, with males generally marrying somewhat later than females," summarizes Martin Ingram, *Church Courts, Sex and Marriage in England, 1570-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987) 129.

<sup>24</sup> See Bruce R. Smith, *Homosexual Desire in Shakespeare's England: a Cultural Poetics* (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1991), 194-96. On the trial of Richard Cornish in colonial Virginia (1624-25), see Jonathan

Katz, *Gay American History: Lesbians and Gay Men in the U.S.A.: a Documentary* (New York: Crowell, 1976); and *Minutes of the Council and General Court of Colonial Virginia*, ed. H.R. McIlwaine (Richmond: Colonial Press, 1924).

<sup>25</sup> In this, I follow Traub's early work on homoeroticism in Shakespearean comedy, in particular, her contention that "the boy actor works . . . as the basis upon which homoeroticism can be safely explored" (*Desire and Anxiety* 118).

<sup>26</sup> Orgel, *Impersonations*, 70.

<sup>27</sup> On the affective link between women and boys/youths, see for example Wendy Wall, "Tending to bodies and boys: queer physic in *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*," chapter 5 of *Staging Domesticity*, chapter on *Knight of the Burning Pestle* in *Staging Domesticity: Household Work and English Identity in Early Modern Drama* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002) 161-88.

<sup>28</sup> David M. Halperin, "How to Do the History of Male Homosexuality," chapter 4 of *How to Do the History of Homosexuality* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 104-137.

<sup>29</sup> In a longer version of this essay, I discuss the complicated negotiations and contradictions of hierarchy in some other relationships in *Twelfth Night* organized around "boys"—including those of Olivia and Sebastian, Antonio and Sebastian—as well as some implications of the decision by Shakespeare's Globe's "original practises production" to stage the play with twenty-something men, rather than teenagers in London and selected U.S. cities in 2002-03.

<sup>30</sup> Unless otherwise indicated, quotations from *Philaster* and parenthetical line-numbers refer to Andrew Gurr, ed., *Philaster, or Love Lies a-Bleeding*, by Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher, *The Revels Plays* (Manchester, England, and New York: Manchester University Press, 1969, rpt. 2003). As I suggest in detail below, there are a number of reasons to resist this and other modern editions' privileging of the second quarto text of the play, as well as the implications of quarantining in an appendix the first quarto's first and last scenes, as do the Revels edition and the Regents Renaissance Drama edition, ed. Dora Jean Ashe (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1974).

<sup>31</sup> For a summary of the conventional directions of and assumptions about affect within the ancient Greek sexual system, see David M. Halperin, "One Hundred Years of Homosexuality," in *One Hundred Years of Homosexuality and Other Essays on Greek Love* (London and New York: Routledge, 1990) 35-36. In an essay that productively pursues the "strangeness" of sexuality in *Philaster* in a new direction, Laura Williamson has analyzed the effeminately-marked cross-sex eroticism of Pharamond, the "stranger" prince in the play; "Domestic Strangers and the Circulation of Desire in Beaumont and Fletcher's *Philaster, or Love Lies a-Bleeding*," unpublished paper, University of Michigan, October 2003.

<sup>32</sup> Bryan, "In the Company of Boys," brilliantly explores the widespread rhetoric of "taking up" boys (educating them, but also impressing them into service, including theatrical performance), together with some implications for reading *Philaster*.

<sup>33</sup> Elizabeth Pittenger, "'To Serve the Queere': Nicholas Udall, Master of Revels," in Jonathan Goldberg, ed., *Queering the Renaissance* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1994) 162-89; Alan Stewart, "'Traitors to Boyes Buttocks': the Erotics of Humanist Education," chapter 3 of *Close Readers: Humanism and Sodomy in Early Modern England* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997) 84-121; Wendy Wall, "'Household Stuff': The Sexual Politics of Domesticity and the Advent of English Comedy," *ELH* 65.1 (1998) 1-45.

<sup>34</sup> On pedagogy and the figure of the young page, see Elizabeth Pittenger, "Dispatch Quickly: The Mechanical Reproduction of Pages," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 42 (1991): 389-408. On the sexually available page and the Ganymede story, see Mario DiGangi, "Queering the Shakespearean Family," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 46.3 (1996): 269-90.

<sup>35</sup> “No children vnder the age of one and twentie yeeres complete, shall contract themselues, or marrie without the consent of their Parents, or of their Guardians and Gouvernours, if their Parents be deceased”; *Constitutions & Canons Ecclesiastical 1604*, with an Introduction and Notes by H.A. Wilson (Oxford: Clarendon, 1923), sig. Q3v. See Ingram, *Church Courts, Sex and Marriage*, 128, 135-36; on the received presumptions around marital consent, see Frederick Pollock and Frederic William Maitland, *The History of English Law Before the Time of Edward I*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; Boston: Little, Brown, 1895), 2: 387-88. As Ingram notes, further ambiguity was introduced in 1604 by the fact that “marriages made in contravention of these regulations were not declared invalid” (136).

<sup>36</sup> R.A. Foakes, “Tragicomedy and Comic Form,” in A.R. Braunmuller and J.C. Bulman (eds.), *Comedy from Shakespeare to Sheridan: Change and Continuity in the English and European Dramatic Tradition* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1986) 74-88, at 83.

<sup>37</sup> See Orgel's comment on this passage; whether Bellario/Euphrasia “decides” that this will be his/her ultimate position is, I think, unclear (*Impersonations* 163n8). On the resonance of the Ganymede myth for erotic rivalry within early modern households, see Di Gangi, “Queering the Shakespearean Family,” 281-82. Rewriting British theatre history, it is possible, if only deeply speculative, to imagine this woman still called Bellario as the learned doctor of laws who (*later* in his/her fictional life, *earlier* in the chronology of the King's Men, potentially *simultaneously*, given the vicissitudes of the repertory system) trains Portia in acting the young man Balthasar in *The Merchant of Venice*: “See thou [Nerissa] render this [letter] / Into my cousin's hands, Doctor Bellario, / And look what notes and garments he doth give thee . . .” The coincidence of the name presents *Philaster* as prequel, as an *Alternative Girlhood of Shakespeare's Heroines*.

<sup>38</sup> See below on the difference in the gender discovery in the first and second quartos.

<sup>39</sup> Leonard Barkan, *Transuming Passion: Ganymede and the Erotics of Humanism* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991).

<sup>40</sup> On the power of clothes to determine gender in the theatre at any particular moment, despite what we might consider evidence to the contrary, see Orgel, *Impersonations* (32-35).

<sup>41</sup> Orgel, *Impersonations*, 163n8.

<sup>42</sup> On “chaste femme love,” see Valerie Traub, *The Renaissance of Lesbianism in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), esp. chapter 6.

<sup>43</sup> See Jeffrey Masten, “Textual Deviance: Ganymede's Hand in *As You Like It*,” in Marjorie Garber, Paul B. Franklin, and Rebecca Walkowitz, eds., *Field Work: Sites in Literary and Cultural Studies* (New York: Routledge, 1996) 153-163; Orgel, *Impersonations*, 32-33. Valerie Traub remarks of the end of *Twelfth Night*: “Despite its closure, then, *Twelfth Night's* conclusion seems only ambivalently invested in the ‘natural’ heterosexuality it imposes” (*Desire and Anxiety*, 138).

<sup>44</sup> On this, see Stallybrass, “Transvestism and the ‘body beneath’: speculating on the boy actor,” in Susan Zimmerman (ed.), *Erotic Politics: Desire on the Renaissance Stage* (New York: Routledge, 1992) 64-83. Also Jones and Stallybrass, *Renaissance Clothing and the Materials of Memory*.

<sup>45</sup> Leo Kirschbaum, Leo, “A Census of Bad Quartos,” *Review of English Studies*, 14 (1938) Oxford University Press, 20-43 at 43.

<sup>46</sup> Robert K. Turner, “Textual Introduction,” in *Philaster*, ed. Turner, in *The Dramatic Works in the Beaumont and Fletcher Canon*, gen. ed. Fredson Bowers, vol. 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966) 371.

<sup>47</sup> Andrew Gurr, "Introduction, in Gurr, ed., *Philaster*, lxxv-lxxvi.

<sup>48</sup> {Francis Beaumont. and Iohn Fletcher.} Gent., *PHILASTER. OR, Loue lies a Bleeding*, "The second Impression," (London: for Thomas Walkley, 1622), sig. A2. All subsequent references will appear parenthetically in the text as Q2.

<sup>49</sup> My renaming of the quartos is indebted to the groundbreaking textual work of Randall McLeod, a.k.a. Random Cloud, and in particular his essay "The Marriage of Good and Bad Quartos," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 33.4 (1982): 421-431.

<sup>50</sup> {Francis Baymont and Iohn Fletcher.} Gent., *PHYLASTER. Or, Loue Lyes a Bleeding*, (London: for Thomas Walkley, 1620), 14 and *passim*. All subsequent references will appear parenthetically in the text as Q1.

<sup>51</sup> See Traub, "Introduction: 'practicing impossibilities,'" *Renaissance of Lesbianism*, 1-35.

<sup>52</sup> Gurr argues that "Q1 was printed from a clumsy, dictated transcript of the central part [of the play from] authorial foul papers, by a scribe familiar with the play in performance" (lxxvii). The authority of this hypothesized transcript aside, a text produced by such a process would nonetheless potentially capture some aspects of performance *more faithfully* than an authorially-authorized transcript of the text that "never reached the actors" (and is in any event similarly hypothetical): the former may represent what one or more persons thought they saw on stage in performance—here, the representations of boys, or the apparent importance of the category over a personal name.

<sup>53</sup> In this context, it is useful to point out the overlap between modern bibliographic rhetoric and languages of (derogated) sexuality that emerge, however inadvertently, in editorial discussions of the text, for example the use of Q1 to edit Q2 cruxes, "either to find the possible source of [Q2's] *corruption* or as a *back-door way* of ascertaining when the Q2 compositor may have nodded" (Gurr, Introduction, lxxxiii, my emphasis).

<sup>54</sup> There are several interesting emphases of "Boy" in the dialogue via capitalization: 74, "*Ki*. Beare away that Boy / To torture," and 77 [Bel:] "drest my selfe / In habit of a Boy."

<sup>55</sup> {Francis Beaumont, and Iohn Fletcher.} Gentlemen, *PHILASTER, OR Lour lies a Bleeding*, "The third Impression," (London: by A.M. for Richard Hawkins, 1628), sig. A3. All subsequent references will appear parenthetically in the text as Q3.

<sup>56</sup> For a discussion of the nature of printed *dramatis personae* lists ("identification tables") in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, see Gary Taylor, "Persons in Texts: Lists of Biological and Fictional People in Early Modern England," *The Collected Works of Thomas Middleton*, gen. ed. Gary Taylor, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, forthcoming). Taylor writes: "identification tables are designed to appeal to a new specialist submarket of readers--readers who read plays. Moreover, unlike other paratextual materials, these tables immediately impinge upon the reading of the play text. . . . [I]dentification tables inevitably summarize or characterize the play, affecting our assumptions about its fictional persons, and unlike other paratext they are often consulted or cross-referenced during reading, potentially interposing themselves at any point in the text" (n.p.). I am particularly interested here in the tensions that may have been generated by such cross-referencing.

<sup>57</sup> Q10 (1695) gives a simplified cast list; see below.

<sup>58</sup> This is also the first edition to describe its authorship explicitly as such: "*The Authors being* {Francis Beaumont, and Iohn Fletcher} Gentlemen." Q1 and Q2 describe a text "Written by" the playwrights.

<sup>59</sup> See Masten, "Textual Deviance"; Orgel, *Impersonations* 33.

<sup>60</sup> I am focusing here on the tensions between text, paratext and performance. For an alternative view of this change in dramatis personae lists themselves, see Taylor, "Persons": "Gender triumphed [in such lists], becoming the most significant of all possible distinctions between persons, an absolute of difference and distance which overcame proximity in every other dimension, genealogical, social, or economic. Why? The change cannot be attributed to the appearance of actresses on the English stage after the Restoration. Theatrical practice had not governed the organization of tables before 1660; why should it govern their organization after 1660? In any case, by the Restoration gendered tables had already become ubiquitous. Rather than the convention of tables changing to reflect a new theatrical convention, it would seem more accurate to say that theatrical convention changed in a way which brought it into line with the already established convention of tables. After all, the play-readers of the 1640s and 1650s (who could not attend performances, because the theatres were closed) became the play-makers and playgoers of the 1660s; they brought to the new theatres a set of expectations formed primarily by the reading of plays. To the extent that tables in printed plays made the distinction between men and women foundational and natural, the theatrical blurring of that distinction, when boys played women, began to seem unnatural. Conventions of writing altered performance conventions" (n.p.).

<sup>61</sup> [Unattributed], *PHILASTER: OR, Love lies a bleeding*, "Revis'd and the Two last Acts new Written," (London: for R. Bentley, 1695), sig. A4v. This quarto is not included in Turner's catalog of seventeenth-century quartos (370).

<sup>62</sup> Samuel Pepys, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, eds. Robert Latham and William Matthews, 11 volumes, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970-83) 9: 217-18. 218n suggests that the earlier episode must have taken place between 1639-1653 (Pepys would have been between 6 and 20).

<sup>63</sup> For a persuasive account of Pepys's modernity, see Francis Barker, *The Tremulous Private Body: Essays in Subjection* (London: Methuen, 1984).

<sup>64</sup> See Masten, "Pressing Subjects; Or, the Secret Lives of Shakespeare's Compositors" in Masten, Peter Stallybrass, and Nancy Vickers, eds., *Language Machines: Technologies of Literary and Cultural Production* (London and New York: Routledge, 1997) 75-107.

<sup>65</sup> In addition to Joseph Moxon's invaluable late-century discussions in *Mechanick Exercises: Or, the Doctrine of handy-works. Applied to the Art of Printing*, The Second Volume [of the Exercises], (London: Printed for Joseph Moxon, 1683), see the data collected by D.F. McKenzie, ed., *Stationers' Company Apprentices, 1605-1640* (Charlottesville: Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia, 1961), and *Stationer's Company Apprentices, 1641-1700* (Oxford: Oxford Bibliographical Society, 1974). See also Gary Taylor's description of a scene in the bookseller's shop in *Performance to Print in Shakespeare's England*, ed. Peter Holland and Stephen Orgel, *Redefining British Theatre History* series (Palgrave, 2006).

<sup>66</sup> For a discussion of this and some other printers' shop signs, see Masten, "Ben Jonson's Head," *Shakespeare Studies* 28 (2000) : 160-168.

<sup>67</sup> Information derived from the *English Short Title Catalogue*, online edition (The British Library and ESTC/North America, 1981-2003). See also the invaluable account of shops and signs in Peter W.M. Blayney, *The Bookshops in Paul's Cross Churchyard*, Occasional papers of the Bibliographical Society, no. 5, (London: Bibliographical Society, 1990).

<sup>68</sup> *English Short Title Catalogue*, online edition. On the iconography of the black servant boy, see Kim F. Hall, *Things of Darkness: Economies of Race and Gender in Early Modern England* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995).

<sup>69</sup> R. B. McKerrow and F. S. Ferguson, *Title-page Borders Used in England & Scotland, 1485-1640*, (London: Oxford University Press, for the Bibliographical Society, 1932 [for 1931]), #98.

<sup>70</sup> McKerrow and Ferguson, *Title-page Borders*, #121.

<sup>71</sup> Ronald B. McKerrow, *Printers' & Publishers' Devices in England & Scotland 1485-1640*, (London: Chiswick Press, 1913), #166, where it is mis-described as “a boy seated on a dolphin” (60). The device is a reworking the identically titled Alciato emblem (“Ex litterarum studiis immortalitatem acquiri”) showing an adult Triton encircled by a snake consuming its own tail. Some English uses of the device leave the space of the motto blank.

<sup>72</sup> On boys and pedagogy, see Lynn Enterline’s essay in *Performance to Print*.

<sup>73</sup> McKerrow, *Printers' and Publishers' Devices*, #142 and 393.

<sup>74</sup> The device is used by Valentine Simmes from 1597-1604.

<sup>75</sup> Geoffrey Whitney, “Paupertatem summis ingeniis obesse ne prouehantur,” *A CHOICE OF EMBLEMES, AND OTHER DEVICES* (Leyden: In the house of Christopher Plantyn, by Francis Raphelengius, 1586) 152.

<sup>76</sup> For Fig. 5, see also Joannis Rainoldi, *Orationes Duodecim* [London: William Stanby for Henry Fetherstone, 1619], and *Purchas his Pilgrim* (also Stansby for Fetherstone, 1619).

<sup>77</sup> As indicated in note 76 above, Henry Fetherstone sold several books featuring the Fig. 5 device, and in this context his resonant surname may suggest another kind of identification with the iconographics of this device and its meanings: does Fetherstone place himself, as an aspiring boy with feather and stone, on the title page of the books he sells? In what contexts do early modern men remain “in standing water,” identify with boys?