CHAUCER’S
CLERK’S TALE
The Griselda Story Received, Rewritten, Illustrated

JUDITH BRONFMAN
CHAUCER'S CLERK'S TALE

The Griselda Story
Received, Rewritten, Illustrated

Judith Bronfman

GARLAND PUBLISHING, INC.
New York & London / 1994
Plate 1. *La Fleur des histoires*, ms. BR 9232, fol. 444v. Reproduced with permission of the Bibliothèque royale Albert 1er, Brussels.
Contents

Illustrations
General Editors' Foreword
 Preface
 Introduction
 Chapter One: The Story Before Chaucer
   Before Boccaccio
   After Boccaccio
 Chapter Two: The Marriage Group and the Allegorical
   Griselda
 Chapter Three: The Clerk's Tale as Religious Tale and Political
   Commentary
 Chapter Four: Chaucer's Tale Rewritten
   The English Renaissance
   The Late Seventeenth Century and the Eighteenth
     Century
   The Nineteenth Century
   The Twentieth Century
 Chapter Five: Griselda Illustrated
   Master of the Griselda Legend
   L'Estoire de Griseldis
   La Fleur des Histoires
   Historia Griseldis
   Le Decameron de Jean Boccace
   The Kelmscott Chaucer
 Conclusion
 Appendix: A most pleasant Ballad of patient Grissell
 Bibliography: Primary Sources
 Bibliography: Secondary Sources
 Index
Illustrations

Plate 1. *La Fleur des histoires*, ms. BR 9232, fol. 444v.

Plate 2. The Story of Patient Griselda Part I.

Plate 3. The Story of Patient Griselda Part II.

Plate 4. The Story of Patient Griselda Part III.

Plate 5. *L'Estoire de Griseldis*, fol. 31r.


Plate 9. *Historia Griseldis*, A-4r [upper illus.].

Plate 10. *Historia Griseldis*, A-4r [lower illus.].

Plate 11. *Historia Griseldis*, A-6r [repeated A-7r].


Plate 17. "Griselidis," pencil sketch by Gravelot, ca. 1757.

Plate 18. Illustration for the tenth story of the tenth day, *Le Decameron de Jean Boccace with plates after Gravelot*, vol. 5.

Plate 20. *The Kelmscott Chaucer.*


Plate 22. *The Kelmscott Chaucer.*

Plate 23. *The Kelmscott Chaucer.*

Plate 24. *The Kelmscott Chaucer.*

Plate 25. Edward Burne-Jones. "Grisilde in Her Bare Smock."
General Editors' Foreword

Garland Studies in Medieval Literature (GSML) is a series of interpretative and analytic studies of the Western European literatures of the Middle Ages. It includes both outstanding recent dissertations and book-length studies, giving junior scholars and their senior colleagues the opportunity to publish their research.

The editors welcome submissions representing any of the various schools of criticism and interpretation. Western medieval literature, with its broad historical span, multiplicity and complexity of language and literary tradition, and special problems of textual transmission and preservation as well as varying historical contexts, is both forbidding and inviting to scholars. It continues to offer rich materials for virtually every kind of literary approach that maintains a historical dimension. In establishing a series in an eclectic literature, the editors acknowledge and respect the variety of texts and textual possibilities and the "resisting reality" that confronts medievalists in several forms: on parchment, in mortar, or through icon. It is no mere imitative fallacy to be eclectic, empirical, and pragmatic in the face of this varied literary tradition that has so far defied easy formulation. The cultural landscape of the twentieth century is littered with the debris of broken monomyths predicated on the Middle Ages, the autocratic Church and the Dark Ages, for example, or conversely, the romanticized versions of love and chivalry.

The openness of the series means in turn that scholars, and particularly beginning scholars, need not pass an a priori test of "correctness" in their ideology, method, or critical position. The studies published in GSML must be true to their premises, complete within their articulated limits, and accessible to a multiple readership. Each study will advance the knowledge of the literature under discussion, opening it up for further consideration and creating intellectual value. It is also hoped that each volume, while bridging the gap between contemporary perspective and past reality, will make old texts new again. In this way the literature will remain primary, the method secondary.
In this eleventh volume in the series Judith Bronfman surveys the origin and development of one of Chaucer’s most problematic characters, Griselda, who through the centuries has challenged the horizon of expectations of many an audience. Starting as appropriate with the Griselda story’s oldest written form found in Boccaccio’s Decameron and suggesting in turn its precursors in whole or in part, Bronfman goes on to summarize the reigning opinions of Chaucer’s heroine and her situation. The realistic predispositions of many an undergraduate aside, Bronfman indicates that a non-literal religious meaning for this story is now mainstream, though multiple. The last decade and a half has furthermore seen the advance of feminist perspectives on medieval literature with the unsurprising result that for many the Clerk’s Tale has political overtones where the Walter-Griselda marriage may serve as a metaphor for, among other things, the state or right order. Bronfman’s major contribution, however, is in her study of the creative reception of Chaucer’s story. Adopting A.C. Spearing’s sharp observation that "...a medieval Professor Wilson Knight would not have published several volumes of Shakespeare criticism but would simply have rewritten Shakespeare’s plays so as to bring out more clearly the meanings he sees in them," Bronfman outlines the many re-writings of Griselda from Chaucer to the twentieth century. John Lydgate and Erica Jong, Eleanor Roosevelt and Thomas Dekker, George Ogle and Oscar Hammerstein, Basil King and Amy Levy are only some of the names associated with the subsequent continuation of the story, be it in mere mention, novel, drama, parody, short story or opera. Perhaps the most bizarre instance of the story’s Nachleben is Gerhart Hauptmann’s 1909 unwelcomed and sado-masochistic drama, wherein Walter, transformed into Count Ulrich, rapes the resistant Griselda in front of her parents, chokes her into an apparent acceptance of his marriage proposal, poisons her cat, etc.: no wonder that the play almost precipitated a riot. More welcome is the history of illustrations of the Griselda story. Chaucerians everywhere will thank Bronfman for the 25 plates that amplify not only "Patient Grissel" and her story, but could adorn many a class. Bronfman’s account of Griselda after Chaucer can become the foundation for detailed reception study.
Those who wish more information about submitting their manuscripts to GSML may write to either of the series editors, but in general submissions in English and Germanic literatures should be addressed to Paul E. Szarmach and those in Romance literatures to Christopher Kleinhenz.

Christopher Kleinhenz
University of Wisconsin-Madison

Paul E. Szarmach
Binghamton University
Preface

When I first read Chaucer's "Clerk's Tale," I was, like so many graduate students before and after me, fascinated and repelled. No critical interpretation satisfied me. I might have been able to push Griselda to the back of my mind, but she seemed to be everywhere: in Shakespeare's *Taming of the Shrew*, in Lydgate's *Temple of Glas*, on the reading list in my Renaissance drama class. And she came up in modern works, even so modern a one as Erica Jong's racy *Fear of Flying*. I was not the only one fascinated nor were critics the only interpreters of this medieval woman. And thus began many years of keeping cards with Griselda references, of reading Griselda books (often mediocre ones), and looking at Griselda art works (often very beautiful ones). Griselda has been fun for me. It has become second nature for me to go through catalogs and indexes, flipping first to G for Griselda and next to P for Patient Griselda and then to C for *Clerk's Tale*. What pleasure there is when I find something new!

This work has many debts. I want to thank my family, my friends, particularly Dan DelMonte and Sharon Nettles, and my colleagues, especially William Coleman and Timothy Stevens, friends as well as colleagues; the editor, Paul E. Szarmach; the Garland editor, Gary Kuris; the Medieval Club of New York, a genuinely collegial group of people who have kept my medieval interests alive and flourishing through years of freshman English and administration; Robert R. Raymo, the director of my NYU dissertation, and its readers, Jess B. Bessinger, Jr., the late Alan Hubbell, and Richard Harrier; Raffaele Morabito and Dora Faraci, who share my interest in Griselda and have generously shared materials; my favorite Griselda critic, Charlotte Morse, for her readable and insightful essays; and all the librarians and curators who have been enormously helpful over many years.

This research was supported (in part) by a grant from the City University of New York PSC-CUNY Research Award Program. The grant permitted me three weeks of rushing from Rome to the English Midlands looking at Griselda art works in museums and libraries. I am very grateful for those splendid
weeks; my fifth chapter would not have been possible without them.
Chaucer's
Clerk's Tale
Introduction

Chaucer's Clerk's Tale, the Griselda story, may be the most disliked of all the Canterbury Tales. Charles Muscatine, writing in the 1950's, noted that it "has been very little appreciated [and] much condemned." In her witty and wonderful essay, "Critical Approaches to the Clerk's Tale," Charlotte Morse pointed out that with the exception of Howard Patch in 1939, no critic between 1906 and 1952 was sympathetic to the story. Analysis was combined with distaste.

Even Muscatine defended the story from a beleaguered position: "But I shall declare at the outset that as poetry it is very good.... It is, let it be admitted, a connoisseur's poem. It requires rereading ... [it] will not appeal to the untutored or to the extravagant taste ... it despises ordinary riches for the rarer, more educated pleasure of philosophical morality." Indeed it does not appeal to untutored readers; they dislike it even more than critics do. In 1972 Ian Robinson found the reaction that many teachers have found and are finding: "Some people cannot tolerate the emotions of The Clerk's Tale. I find especially when discussing Chaucer with undergraduates that young women can rarely forgive or forget that Griselda fails to stand up to her husband in the proper way." Lynn Sharon Schwartz's novel Disturbances in the Field describes a similar reaction from a group of graduate students at Columbia University in 1958. The group enrolls in a Chaucer course and finds it "[d]iverting ... until 'The Clerk's Tale' of Patient Griselda.... Griselda was a gauntlet tossed down from the fourteenth century; she roused in us something deeper than even the philosophers had done." The women in the group are united in their assessment that "Walter was unspeakable, but it was Griselda who mortified us," and when the class is asked to recite two memorized stanzas, one of them recites her own addition to the text, which has Griselda declaring that "Me liketh not to soffre as ye heste" just before she castrates and then kills.
Walter with an axe. While the class approves of Esther's emendation, a male student suggests yet another reading: "The only profitable way to read Griselda,' he said, 'is as a comedy. Chaucer's answer to medieval soap opera. Or a takeoff on Job.'

Elizabeth Salter's thoughtful analysis of visceral responses like Esther's (or the avoidance of such a response by the male student's wish to see it as a comedy) is that "the human sympathies so powerfully evoked by the sight of unmerited suffering form, ultimately, a barrier to total acceptance of the work in its original function," which is to be "a kind of parable." Salter's work, intended for students, admits that the dislike of the story is real, is not necessarily a function of the "untutored" mind, and needs to be considered.

Other critics have sought to defend the tale, to explain it, engaging in what Anne Middleton terms the "urgent critical discussion about what the tale asks of us." Because it is, as Muscatine said, a very good poem, it cannot (like that other disliked tale, the Parson's Tale) be ignored. But there has been little critical agreement on what the story means or even which category it belongs in. Is it part of a "marriage group"? Or does it belong with the other three rhyme royal tales? Is it a religious tale that belongs in an even larger group of religious tales? Is it about wifely behavior? Or is it a "personality clash" between the Clerk and the Wife of Bath? Is it about rulership and politics? Is it simply an exemplum illustrating the virtue of patience? Or is it a fairy tale, a parable, an allegory? Is it praising women or is it denigrating them?

This study proposes to look at the story from a long view, starting from its sources in the fourteenth century and then moving into the recent flood of critical interpretations.

But I also want to look at another kind of criticism: some of the rewritings of Chaucer's story in the centuries that intervene between the fourteenth and the late twentieth. As A.C. Spearing pointed out so well, "a medieval Professor Wilson Knight would not have published several volumes of Shakespeare criticism but would simply have rewritten Shakespeare's play so as to bring out more clearly the meanings he sees in them." Thus, it seems to me that these rewritings are worth examining for the views that they have taken of the tale.
Finally, there is yet another source of criticism of the story: illustrations. While there are not very many sequences of illustrations in the English canon (Edward Burne-Jones’ illustrations for William Morris’ Kelmscott Chaucer are perhaps the finest), the Griselda story in Italy is one of the most frequently illustrated works from the *Decameron*.

These works sometimes accompany texts, but often they are independent of a written text. And, as with the English rewritings or the critical articles, the illustrations contain their own interpretations of the story.

Is there one interpretation that is right or are there many interpretations, equally right? Can the reader, as Priscilla Martin suggests, use the same evidence to prove Chaucer either a feminist writer or a misogynist one? This work will survey the criticism, the rewritings, and the art works, hopefully opening a broader perspective from which to view these questions.

Notes to Introduction


6. Ibid., 82.

7. Ibid., 83.
Chaucer’s Clerk’s Tale

8. Ibid., 85.


1. Giovanni Boccaccio, Decameron, ed. Vittore Branca (Milano: Mondadori, 1985), 902. All quotations in Italian are from this edition.


12. Apuleius, *The Golden Ass*, trans. W. Adlington (1566), rev. S. Gaselee (reprint, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1965), 185-285. This is a very brief summary of a long story: Psyche, the youngest daughter of a king, is so beautiful that she inspires the wrath of Venus, who asks her son Cupid to make Psyche fall in love with an unsuitable man. Meanwhile, an oracle tells the king to place Psyche on a high mountain, where she will be claimed by a husband who is non-mortal, flies through the air, and debilitates men.

   The West Wind takes Psyche from the mountain and places her in a magnificent palace, where invisible servants provide every luxury to her. At night her husband visits her, always leaving before daybreak. He tells her that if she looks at him, she will lose him forever. Furthermore, the child she is pregnant with will be born mortal if she betrays him, immortal if she is true.

   Psyche's sisters visit her and, jealous of her wealth and happiness, persuade her to hide a light in her bedroom and look at her husband. She does; her husband is Cupid himself, and as he had warned, he and the palace immediately disappear. Distraught, Psyche seeks Cupid. Finally, she appeals to Venus herself for help. Venus sets her four impossible tasks, which Psyche, with help from ants, a reed, an eagle, and a tower, performs.

   Jupiter takes pity on Psyche and confers immortality upon her, making her marriage to Cupid acceptable to Venus. The gods celebrate the marriage, which is now permanent. The child born is the god Pleasure.


16. Ibid., 400 n26. Cate summarizes the story thus: An enchanted prince demanded of a man his youngest and most beloved daughter. After vain attempts to keep her, the father was eventually forced to let her go with the suitor to a gorgeous house in the woods where she was very happy and where she was endowed with all that heart could desire. As the time approached for the birth of a child, her husband informed her that it would be removed, but that she must not weep. At the birth of the child a vulture took it up and flew away with it. When she was delivered of a second infant she could not entirely restrain her emotion and, as a result, allowed one tear to fall. Never, however, did she falter in her loving submission to her other-world mate. At length, on the advice of her mother, she dared to look at him in the night. Immediately the prince awoke, very sad and very angry. Now, he informed her, they must part and he must marry another woman. Then the prince vanished from her sight, while she was herself bereft of all the wonderful things which had been incident to their union. She set out to find her lover, enduring many severe privations on her journey. At length she arrived at a castle where her husband was about to wed a wealthy, young, and beautiful girl. Here she took service at the time of the nuptials. She was recognized by her lover, and at the height of the marriage festivities the eldest uncle of the prince led in the children who were reunited with their parents. The prince and his wife celebrated a happy reunion.


25. Ibid., 330.

26. Ibid., 297.


own prose tale into the verse play.


31. Hans Walther in *Initia carminum ac versuum medii aevi posterioris latinorum* (Göttingen: Vanderhoeck & Ruprecht, 1959) dates de Hailles's version in the fourteenth century; Severs is less sure about its date.


3. Ibid., 132.

4. Ibid. "The Middle Ages delighted (as children still delight) in stories that exemplify a single human quality, like valor, or tyranny, or fortitude."

5. Ibid., 158.

6. Ibid., 140.

8. Ibid., 161.

9. Ibid., 174.

10. Ibid., 168, 173.


13. Harry Brent, "And Gladly Teche: 'Stedfastnesse' in the Clerk's Tale and the Pedagogy of Charlton Laird," in The Legacy of Language: A Tribute to Charlton Laird, ed. Philip C. Boardman (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1987), 12. Brent contends that the story is about power and that its focus is on the marquis rather than Griselda. Some later versions, such as "An excellent ballad of The Noble Marquess and Patient Grisell" (London, ca. 1690) or the tract "The true and admirable history of the noble Marquess of Salus and Patient Grisell" (London, 1703), may support this contention by listing the marquis first in their titles.

14. All quotations from Chaucer are from The Riverside Chaucer, 3d ed., edited by Larry D. Benson (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1987). Line numbers will be noted in the text.


17. McWilliam, Decameron, 824.


19. Francis Lee Utley, "Five Genres in the Clerk's Tale," Chaucer Review 6 (1972): 227. Utley's essay identified the five genres as two external ones, the dramatic interaction between the pilgrims in the frame and the exemplum, and three internal ones, the tale's fairy tale source, a literal real-world story, and a symbolic
or anagogic level. He further classified the two external genres as "functional" (199) and the internal ones as defining levels of meaning.


22. C. David Benson, "Poetic Variety in the *Man of Law's and the Clerk's Tales,*" in *Chaucer's Religious Tales*, 139, 143.


25. Ibid., 50.


27. Ibid., 100, 112.


30. Ibid., 220.


35. Dinshaw, Chaucer's Sexual Poetics, 133.

36. Ibid.

37. Ibid., 154.

38. Ibid., 155.


40. Ibid., 123.


2. David Wallace, "'Whan She Translated Was': A Chaucerian Critique of the Petrarchan Academy," in Literary Practice and Social Change in Britain, 1380-1530, ed. Lee Patterson (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 156-215. On pages 167-171, Wallace discusses the political events in England and Italy that Chaucer would almost surely have known about.

3. In Sources and Analogues, J. Burke Severs pointed out that Chaucer's Petrarchan source used the phrase stylo nunc alto, "now in high style," but Petrarch's actual phrase was stylo nunc alio, "now in another style" (330). A.C. Spearing, in Criticism and Medieval Poetry, believes that Petrarch simply meant that he was translating the work into another language (78).

4. Le Livre Griseldis (Severs, Sources & Analogues, 297) begins: "Au commandement et soubz la correccion de mon maistre, et a l'exemplaire des femmes mariées et toutes autres, j'ay mis, selon mon petit engin et entendement, de latin en François l'ystoire de Griseldis qui cy après s'ensuit de la constance et pacience
merveilleuse d'une femme" ["At the command and under the correction of my master, and as an example to married women and all others, I have translated, according to my small skill and understanding, from Latin into French the story of Griselda which follows hereafter about the constancy and marvelous patience of a woman"].

5. L. Benson, The Riverside Chaucer, 881 nn. 207, 291-294; 883 nn. 902-903, 932-938. Ginsberg's notes comment that Severs did find a Job reference in one of the many Petrarch manuscripts that he studied, but it is not the manuscript that Chaucer used.


7. Ibid., 144.


9. Ibid., 117, 115.

10. Ibid., 117, 127.

11. Ibid., 129.

12. Salter, Chaucer: The Knight's Tale and the Clerk's Tale, 62.


14. Ibid., 39.

15. Ibid., 39.

16. Ibid., 40.

17. Ibid., 49.

18. Petrarch's letter to Boccaccio describing these reactions to the story is reprinted in Robert Burlin's Chaucerian Fiction, 141-142.

20. Ibid., 152-153.


22. Ibid., 40.


26. Ibid., 160-161.


28. Ibid., 81, 55.

29. Ibid., 65.

30. Ibid.


33. Ibid., 335.

34. Ibid., 338.

35. Ibid., 335.

37. Wallace, "'Whan She Translated Was': A Chaucerian Critique of the Petrarchan Academy," 156.

38. Ibid., 181.


1. Spearing, Criticism and Medieval Poetry, 77.

2. Under the entry Grizel, the Oxford English Dictionary cites several references. Dora Faradì’s "Griselda in Inghilterra: Fortuna di un Personaggio ed etimologia di un Nome" (in Morabito, ed., Diffrazioni: Griselda 1, 39-56) discusses not only references to Griselda, but the meanings that were attached to them.


4. Ibid., line 46.


10. My dissertation, "The Griselda Legend in English Literature," (New York University, 1977) listed 37 English versions of the story; the dissertation included summaries of and brief comments on each of the versions it surveyed. Raffaele Morabito's essay "La
Diffusione della Storia di Griselda dal XIV al XX secolo" lists 50 versions and 13 analogues. The longest list in Morabito's bibliography of Griselda's diffusion is the English one; by contrast, there are only 37 Italian versions and 46 French ones with the lists in other languages being considerably shorter. Dora Faraci is the scholar who compiled the English list.

11. From the prologue to the 1558 L'Estoire de Griseldis, which was widely available in England; L'Estoire was a reprinting of the 1395 Le Mystère.


16. Ibid., line 1583.


19. The *Stationers Register* licenses two other ballads for printing "to the tune of *paciente GRESSELL*" (A *Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London: 1554-1640*, 5 vols., ed. Edward Arber [London & Birmingham: privately printed, 1875-1894], I, 301), but the earliest extant ballad is the Huth broadside of about 1600, now in the British Library. The ballad is often attributed to Thomas Deloney (1543?-1607?); it appears in every extant edition of his *Garland of Good Will*. Although the *Garland* was first licensed for printing in 1593, the earliest extant edition is dated 1631.

20. In *The Family, Sex and Marriage In England 1500-1800* (New York: Harper & Row, 1977), Lawrence Stone writes: "In practice in the sixteenth century ... affect [love, friendship, or sexual attraction] was of secondary importance to interest [money, status, or power], while romantic love and lust were strongly condemned as ephemeral and irrational grounds for marriage" (86).


23. Ibid., 35.


27. I am grateful to Professor David Mayer, author of *Harlequin in His Element: the English Pantomime, 1806-1836*, who searched for information on the pantomime and found the review and additional performance references in the uncatalogued Percival Collection in the British Library.


29. Ibid., 344.

30. Ibid., 347.

31. Ibid., 357.

32. Ibid., 345.

33. Ibid., 354.

34. Zeno's original libretto, set to music by Alessandro Scarlatti in Rome in 1721, was not translated into English until 1975, when Thomas Simpson transcribed it from a performance recorded in 1971. The transcription is in the program notes for a recording of Scarlatti's *Griselda* issued by MRF Recordings in 1975. According to the notes, Simpson was unable to locate a printed version to work from.


Canterbury Tales published in London and Dublin in 1741 and 1742.


39. Lipscomb, 2:176-177. The same quotation with different capitalization and punctuation is in Ogle on pages 10 and 11.


42. Ibid., 288.


44. Angelo Anelli, Griselda; or, la Virtù in Cimento. A musical drama in two acts (London: W. Winchester & Son, 1815).


46. Charles Cowden Clarke, Tales from Chaucer, In Prose, Designed Chiefly for the Use of Young Persons (London: Effingham & Wilson, 1833), 187.


50. [M. J. Chapman], "Griselda, the Clerk's Tale, Remade from Chaucer," Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine 41 (May 1837): 655-657. The poem was published anonymously; I am indebted to Professor Walter E. Houghton, editor of the Wellesley Index to Victorian Periodicals, 1824-1900, for identifying the author.


53. Q.E.D., Griselda, 30.

54. Ibid., 137.


59. Ballads and Metrical Tales Selected from Percy, Ritson, Evans, Jamieson, Scott, etc., etc. (London: James Burns, [1846]), 27-37.


61. Ibid., 185.


64. Ibid., 101.

65. Ibid., 128.

66. Alice Mangold Diehl, *Griselda, A Novel* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1886). The novel was first published in 1885 in London and Edinburgh, and in the early twentieth century, was reprinted in Street & Smith's paperbound series, the New Bertha Clay Library. Bertha M. Clay was actually the pseudonym of another English novelist, Charlotte Mary Brame, sometimes listed in American editions as Charlotte Monica Braeme. *Griselda, A Novel* was #97 in this series, which by 1924 included 253 novels, with titles still projected indefinitely on a two-week publication schedule. Many of the titles were culled from Alice Mangold Diehl's fifty novels.

67. Ibid., 140.


70. Ibid., 261.

71. Ibid., 278.


73. Ibid., 62.


76. Ibid., 145.

77. Ibid., 131.


79. Cody, "Patient Griselda." *A Selection from the World's Greatest Short Stories* was reissued regularly through the 24th edition in 1925. It was then reissued in 1931 under the title *The World's Greatest Short Stories*; it was re-edited in 1940. It was re-edited again in 1950 and re-titled *Greatest Stories, and How They Were Written*. My quotations are from the 11th edition published in 1913.

80. Ibid., 40.


82. Ibid., 65-66.


86. The clippings on the Hauptmann play are in a file folder in the Lincoln Center Library of the Performing Arts and seem to be from American newspapers; none of them is identified.


88. Ibid., 53.
89. A clipping dated March 28, 1909, from the Lincoln Center Library of the Performing Arts folder.


93. Ibid., 62.

94. Ibid., 64.

95. Ibid.


97. Ibid., 18-19.

98. Ibid., 28.

99. Ibid., [46].

100. Thomas Babe [Thomas James, Jr.], "The Pageant of Awkward Shadows." I am grateful to Professor Stanley Kahrl for alerting me to the play’s existence and to the author for graciously lending me a copy of his manuscript.


102. Lawrence G. Blochman, "Dr. Coffee and the Pardell Case," *Ellery Queen’s Mystery Magazine* 59, no. 6 (June 1972): 128-159.

103. Ibid., 158.

104. Geraldine McCaughrean, "The Scholar is persuaded to tell us The Test of a Good Wife," in *The Canterbury Tales* (Chicago: Rand

2. A selected list of art works is included in the bibliography of primary sources. I wish to thank the Research Foundation of the City University of New York for a grant which enabled me to visit Europe in 1987 and see many of the art works firsthand. I am also grateful to Raffaele Morabito, who gave me access to the materials that he has collected in his Griselda archive at the Università dell’Aquila. Among the useful printed materials are Paul F. Watson’s "A Preliminary List of Subjects from Boccaccio in Italian Painting, 1400-1550" and Vittore Branca’s illustrated *Decameron* (both noted earlier). For German illustrations, *The Illustrated Bartsch: German Book Illustration Before 1500*, ed. Walter L. Strauss, Vols. 80-82; ed. Walter L. Strauss and Carol Schuler, Vols. 83-87 (New York: Abaris Books, 1981-1985) is a comprehensive source.


4. Ibid., 69.


7. Ibid., 15.


9. In fact, there is considerable evidence (none of it specific to the works discussed here, however) that publishers or patrons, rather than artists, often selected the content of a work's illustrations. In the absence of better information, I have used the term "artist."

10. The paintings are numbers 912, 913, and 914 in the collection of the National Gallery, London.


23. Ibid., fol. 1.


3. Ibid., 279.

4. Ibid., 282.


Bibliography: Primary Sources
in chronological order

A. English Language Versions of the Griselda Story


Radcliffe, Ralph. *The Rare Patience of Chaucer's Griselda (De Griseldis Chauceriane Rara Patientia)*. 1546-1556. [Lost play.]


Another edition:


Another edition:


Other editions:


"A noble marquess, etc." London: Alexander Milbourn in Green-Arbor-Court in the Little-Old-Baily, ca. 1670-1680.


"Patient Grissel, an excellent ballad." [London?], ca. 1790. In the Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, DC.


The antient, true & admirable history of patient Grisel, a poore mans daughter in France: shewing, how maides, by her example, in their good behauiour may marry rich husbandes; and likewise, wiuues by their patience & obedience may gaine much glorie. Written first in French. But, now translated into English. London: W. Lugger, 1619. STC 12383. In The History of Patient Grisel. Edited by Henry B. Wheatley. London: Villon Society, 1885.

Other editions:

The true and admirable history of Patient Grisel ... London: William Thackeray, ca. 1630.


The True and Admirable History of Patient Grissel ... London: J. Wright, J. Clarke, W. Thackeray, and T. Passenger, 1682.

The true and admirable history of the noble Marquess of Salus and Patient Grissel ... London: W.O., 1703.


The history of the Noble Marquis of Salus, or, Patient Grissel. London, ca. 1780.

The true and admirable history of Patient Grissel. Newcastle upon Tyne, ca. 1780.

The true and admirable history of Patient Grissel. Newcastle: Angus, ca. 1800.

The pleasant and sweet history of patient Grissell. Shewing how she from a poore mans daughter, came to be a great lady in France, being a patterne for all vertuous vwomen. Translated out of Italian. London: I. Wright, ca. 1630-1640. STC 12386. Reprint. The History of Patient Grisel: Two Early Tracts in Black-Letter. London: Percy Society,

Patient Grizill. Puppet show seen by Samuel Pepys, 30 August 1667. [No text extant.]


Other editions:


The Canterbury tales of Chaucer, modernis'd by Mr. Betterton, Mr. Boyle, Mr. Brooke ... To which is prefixed, the life of Chaucer, written by Mr. Urry .... Vol. 2. Edited by George Ogle, i-156 [after page 184]. Dublin: George Faulkner, 1742.

"Gualtherus and Griselda; or, Happiness Properly Estimated." In Angelica's Ladies' Library; or, Parents and

Patient Griselda, or, *The Mysterious King of Lombardy*. Pantomime performed at Sadler’s Wells, 22 July 1799. No text extant.


Anelli, Angelo. *Griselda; or, la Virtù in Cimento*. A musical drama in two acts. (Bilingual libretto for Paër opera.) London: W. Winchester & Son, 1815.


Anstruther, Sir Ralph Abercrombie. *Griselda: A Drama in Five Acts*. Translated from the German of Friedrich Halm [Freiherr

Other translations:


"Griselda." In *Ballads and Metrical Tales Selected from Percy, Ritson, Evans, Jamieson, Scott, etc., etc.* London: James Burns, [1846].


Braddon, Mary Elizabeth. *Griselda; or, The Patient Wife*. British Library Ms. Add. 53130 [no. 10], 11 November 1873.


Another edition:
Clay, Bertha M. [Charlotte M. Brame or Braeme], attributed to. *Griselda*. New York: Street & Smith, ca. 1918.


Blochman, Lawrence G. "Dr. Coffee and the Pardell Case." *Ellery Queen's Mystery Magazine* 59, no. 6 (June 1972): 128-159.


B. English Analogues of *The Clerk's Tale*


C. Selected Illustrations for the Griselda Story

*L'Estoire de Griseldis*. Ms. fonds français 2203, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. French, 1395. [19 drawings, 1 decorated capital]

French translation of *The Decameron*. Ms. fr. 239, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. Late Gothic French, after 1414. [illumination fol. 295r]

*Decameron*. Codex Perigino. Ms. It. 63, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. Late Gothic Tuscan, ca. 1427. [illumination fol. 298r]

French translation of the *Decameron*. Ms. 5070, Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal, Paris. Flemish, ca. 1430-1440. [illumination fol. 387r]

*Decameron*. Ms. Richardson 31, Houghton Library at Harvard University, Cambridge, MA, n.d. [illumination fol. 233v]


**Cassone.** Apollonio di Giovanni, 1415/17-1465. In Pinacoteca Estense, Modena.

**Cassone.** Francesco Pesellino, Tuscan, 15th century. Works numbered 511 and 512 in Accademia Carrara, Bergamo.


**Cassone.** Tuscan, 15th century. In Museo Correr, Venice. [2 panels]

Fresco cycle. Style of Nicolo da Varallo, Pavia, 1460. Hall 17 in the Sforzesco Castle, Milan. [24 panels]

**Cassone.** Florence, ca. 1465. In private collection, Marquess of Bath, Longleat, Warminster, Great Britain.

Petrarch. *Historia Griseldis*. Translated by H. Steinhöwel. Ulm: Johann Zainer, 1473; 2d ed. 1473/1474. [10 woodcuts by the Master of the Ulm Boccaccio: 9 originals, 1 repeat; the woodcuts are hand-colored in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, copy #P384.3 B6]
La patience de Griselidis. Troyes: Guillaume Le Rouge, 1491. [11 illustrations: 7 originals, 4 repeats]


The true and admirable history of Patient Grisel ... London: William Thackeray, ca. 1630. [woodcut on title page]


Anelli, Angelo. La Griselda. Venice: Fenzo, 1793. [2 illustrations]

"Gualtherus and Griselda; or, Happiness Properly Estimated." In Angelica's Ladies' Library; or, Parents and Guardians Present. London: J. Hamilton & Co. at the Shakespeare Library, 1794. [illustration by Angelica Kauffman]


Poster, Paris 1901, for *Grisélidis* (Armand Silvestre and Eugène Morand, libretto; Jules Massenet, music) at the Théâtre de l’Opéra Comique. In the private collection of Lucy Broido.


Bibliography: Secondary Sources Cited in alphabetical order


Carruthers, Mary J. "The Lady, the Swineherd, and Chaucer's Clerk." Chaucer Review 17, no. 3 (1983): 221-234.


