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A COMPARISON OF CHAUCER'S TROILUS, PANDARUS, AND CRISEYDE
WITH THOSE OF SHAKESPEARE

A Thesis

Presented to

the Faculty of the Department of English
Eastern Illinois University

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Science in Education

by

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August 1958

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OUTLINE

I. The character of Troilus

A. Chaucer's Troilus

1. Before he came to love Criseyde
 - a. Had manner of fine knight
 - b. Was valiant in battle
 - c. Was of good character
 - (1.) Criseyde knew him to be admirable
 - (2.) People of Troy knew him to be good
2. After he came to love Criseyde
 - a. As a courtly lover
 - (1.) Stricken through the eye by love
 - (2.) Physical effects of being in love
 - (a.) Loss of appetite
 - (b.) Loss of sleep
 - (c.) Pains, as those of a wound
 - (d.) Sighs
 - (e.) Tears
 - (f.) Trance
 - (g.) Became thin and weak
 - (3.) Mental effects of being in love
 - (a.) Fears
 - (b.) Doubts
 - (4.) Engaged an intercessor
 - (5.) Concerned for secrecy
 - (6.) Improved by being in love
 - (a.) Valor in battle
 - (b.) Not proud
 - (c.) Manner became improved in that he did not jest or mock
 - (d.) Despised all wretchedness
 - (e.) Was a model lover
 - (f.) Helped those in distress
 - (g.) Was not degraded by avarice, envy, ire, or any other vice
 - b. Exceptions to courtly love
 - (1.) Troilus remained faithful to Criseyde after she had forsaken him
 - (2.) Troilus did not speak fluently of love at first
3. Summary

B. Shakespeare's Troilus

1. Similarities to Chaucer's Troilus
 - a. Shakespeare's Troilus suffered some of the effects of courtly love suffered by Chaucer's Troilus
 - (1.) Sighs
 - (a.) Chaucer's Troilus sighed a thousand times

- I. B. 1. a. (1.) (b.) Shakespeare's Troilus sighed, but no more than he could conceal
- (2.) Actual pain
 - (a.) Chaucer's Troilus--like a wound
 - (b.) Shakespeare's Troilus--like an ulcer
- (3.) Mental
 - (a.) Chaucer's Troilus--honorable and modest
 - (b.) Shakespeare's Troilus--selfish and sensual
- b. Engaged intercessor
 - (1.) Chaucer's Troilus was advised by intercessor in a helpful way
 - (2.) Shakespeare's Troilus found intercessor an artificial handicap
- c. Secretiveness
 - (1.) Chaucer's Troilus consistently concerned for secrecy
 - (2.) Shakespeare's Troilus twice showed concern for secrecy; later disregarded it
2. Dissimilarities
 - a. Time of falling in love
 - (1.) Chaucer's Troilus was shown to fall in love
 - (2.) Shakespeare's Troilus was already in love
 - b. Attitude towards courtly love
 - (1.) Chaucer's Troilus abided by courtly love
 - (2.) Shakespeare's Troilus scorned duties of courtly love
 - c. Manners
 - (1.) Chaucer's Troilus showed good manners
 - (2.) Shakespeare's Troilus was crude
 - d. Improvement in battle as a result of love
 - (1.) Chaucer's Troilus seemed to improve in battle
 - (2.) Shakespeare's Troilus did not improve in battle
 - e. Cursing of Cressida
 - (1.) Chaucer's Troilus did not curse Criseyde
 - (2.) Shakespeare's Troilus cursed Cressida
 - f. Aspect of youth
 - (1.) Not stressed in Chaucer
 - (2.) Stressed in Shakespeare
 - g.
 - (a.) Impulsive
 - (b.) Mistook coyness for chastity in Cressida
 - (c.) Is seen to mature
 - g. Final outcome
 - (1.) Chaucer's Troilus pined away for love
 - (2.) Shakespeare's Troilus had future as leader of Troy
- C. Summary
- II. The character of Pandarus
 - A. Chaucer's Pandarus
 1. Good-natured
 - a. Witty
 - b. Loved to jest

- II. A. 2. Frequent use of proverbs
- a. Gave a cynical quality to his character
 - b. Made him more mature in contrast to the lovers
 - c. Gave a didactic aspect to his manner
3. Intercessor of courtly love
- a. Friend to Troilus
 - b. Uncle to Criseyde
 - c. Was willing to go-between for them
 - d. Abided by secrecy
 - e. Made necessary arrangements for carrying letters, making introductions, meetings and final consummation
4. Was sincerely interested in doing the best for the lovers
- a. Interested in Criseyde
 - (1.) Was not afraid to discuss affair with his niece
 - (2.) Loved her as his niece
 - (3.) Would do her no harm
 - (4.) Felt that it was right that she should love
 - (5.) Had responsibility of guiding his niece
 - b. Interested in Troilus
 - (1.) First took pity on suffering Troilus
 - (2.) Relationship described by Troilus as one of fellowship and trust
5. Used psychology to manage lovers
6. Summary
- B. Shakespeare's Pandarus
1. Similarities to Chaucer's Pandarus
 - a. Both were intercessors for the lovers
 - (1.) Chaucer's Pandarus was helpful
 - (2.) Shakespeare's Pandarus was unwilling to help
 - b. Both performed courtly love duties
 - (1.) Carried letters
 - (2.) Made introductions
 - (3.) Arranged meetings
 - (4.) Arranged for consummation
 - (a.) Chaucer's Pandarus in a discreet manner
 - (b.) Shakespeare's Pandarus in a manner that cheapened love
 2. Dissimilarities to Chaucer's Pandarus
 - a. Dissimilarities found within similarities
 - b. Other dissimilarities
 - (1.) Manners
 - (a.) Chaucer's Pandarus refined, portrayed in admirable light
 - (b.) Shakespeare's Pandarus coarse
 - (2.) Concern for Troilus and Criseyde
 - (a.) Chaucer's Pandarus interested in the couple; did things full of good intent
 - (b.) Shakespeare's Pandarus showed no concern for welfare of the lover, only that they fulfill their desires
 - (3.) Final state of friendship between Troilus and Pandarus at end of story

- II. B. 2. b. (3.) (a.) Chaucer's Pandarus remained loyal to Troilus
- (b.) Shakespeare's Pandarus was cursed by Troilus
- C. Summary
- III. The characterization of Criseyde
 - A. Chaucer's Criseyde
 - 1. Her character in terms of courtly love
 - a. Was supreme authority in love affair
 - b. Could not be forced against her will into romance
 - c. Did not yield too easily
 - d. Abided by secrecy
 - 2. Characteristics not related to courtly love
 - a. Conversation
 - (1.) Gay, witty with Pandarus
 - (2.) Serious with Troilus
 - b. Appears in better light because of Chaucer's sympathetic attitude toward her unfaithfulness
 - (1.) Chaucer did not dwell upon her unfaithfulness
 - (2.) Chaucer suggested reasons for her unfaithfulness
 - (a.) Motivated by fear
 - (b.) Predestined
 - (c.) Weakness in character
 - B. Shakespeare's Cressida
 - 1. Similarities with underlying differences
 - a. Pandarus brought both young women to love
 - (1.) Had to encourage Chaucer's Criseyde greatly
 - (2.) Shakespeare's Cressida knew more about Troilus than Pandarus could tell her
 - b. Each woman supreme authority
 - (1.) Chaucer's Criseyde by position in courtly love
 - (2.) Shakespeare's Cressida by experience
 - c. Neither lady involved against her will
 - (1.) Chaucer's Criseyde with restraint of a lady of courtly love
 - (2.) Shakespeare's Cressida in order to display coyness
 - d. Elements of secrecy
 - (1.) Chaucer's Criseyde always concerned
 - (2.) Shakespeare's Cressida twice seemed to be secretive, also one time after secretiveness was useless
 - 2. Dissimilarities
 - a. Shakespeare's Cressida greatly demoralized
 - (1.) Chaucer's Criseyde refined lady of courtly love
 - (2.) Shakespeare's Cressida much the coquette
 - (a.) Bold
 - (b.) Reputation was bad
 - (c.) Had had much experience in love
 - b. Philosophy concerning love

- III. B. 2. b. (1.) Chaucer's *Criseyde* abided by traditions of courtly love
(2.) Shakespeare's *Cressida* used her own rather base philosophy

C. Summary

A COMPARISON OF CHAUCER'S TROILUS, PANDARUS, AND CRISEYDE
WITH THOSE OF SHAKESPEARE

For the most part, the characters from Chaucer's poem are realistic characters performing within an atmosphere of courtly love. It was unusual for medieval romance to display interest in character,¹ and Chaucer's Troilus and Criseyde was the first poem to show psychological development of character.² It is then of particular interest to the student to compare the well-developed characterizations in Chaucer's story, set in circumstance of medieval courtly love, to the later version of the characters as they were conceived by Shakespeare. The later version written for Elizabethan audiences showed the results of demoralized characters acting within the forms of Chaucer's courtly love.

Many so-called similarities arise as a result of plot similarities, but when they become limited to similarities of traits of character, they tend ironically to become dissimilarities. Thus it is that while the personages perform much the same action in the two versions of the story, their real nature lies in the manner in which they go about these actions.

The problem is presented to the reader of Chaucer to understand the timely conventions of medieval romance, so-called courtly love,

¹Richard Garnett (ed.), English Literature (London, 1903), I., p. 198.

²Ibid., p. 159.

well enough to detect beneath them the permanent human nature which they expressed in Chaucer's day. Once this becomes clear, it is relatively simple to show the vast change which is brought about as the new characters of Shakespeare bring different reactions to the circumstance of the Trojan romance.

This paper is a comparison of the characterizations of Troilus, Criseyde, and Pandarus as they appear in the works of Chaucer and Shakespeare.³ The plan of the paper is to show first characteristics of Chaucer's Troilus before he came to love Criseyde, then to show his characteristics after he fell in love with Criseyde and became much like a courtly lover, and last to show two ways in which Troilus was an exception to a courtly lover. The section of the paper devoted to Shakespeare's Troilus will show similarities and dissimilarities to Chaucer's Troilus. The second character is Pandarus. In Chaucer, he will be shown to be a respectable gentleman much like an intercessor of courtly love. The Shakespearean Pandarus will be shown first as he is similar and then as he is dissimilar to Chaucer's character. Criseyde is the third character. Chaucer's Criseyde will be shown first as she appeared as a lady of courtly love, and then as she appeared in aspects unrelated to courtly love. A comparison of Shakespeare's Cressida to Chaucer's Criseyde will then be made, again arranged according to the similar-

³Geoffrey Chaucer, The Book of Troilus and Criseyde (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1926); William Shakespeare, Troilus and Cressida (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1953)

ities and dissimilarities between the two characterizations.

In examining Troilus' character, the first points to be made concern his character before he came to love Criseyde. Chaucer made clear the fact that Troilus was very knightly in appearance and he seemed to be a worthy youth.

But swich a knyghtly sighte, trewely,
As was on hym, was nat, withouten faille,
To loke on Mars, that god is of bataille
So lik a man of armes, and a knyght,
He was to be seen fulfild of heigh prowesse;
For bothe he hadde a body and a myght
To don that thing, as wel as hardynesse;
And ek to seen hym in his gere hym dresse,
So fressh, so yong, so worthy semd he,
It was an heven upon hym for to see.⁴

Chaucer also states that he was one of the best of knights on the battlefield, showing that he was valiant in battle.

The sharpe shoure felle, of armes preve,
That Ector of his othere brethern diden,
Ne made hym only thefore ones meve;
And yit was he, where so men wente or riden,
Founde on the beste, and lengest tyme abiden
Ther peril was, and dide ek swich travaille
In armes, that to thynke it was mervaille.⁵

Criseyde was aware "ek his gentillesse,"⁶ and she knew

. . .of longe tyme agon,
His thewes goode, and that he is nat nyce.
Navauntour, seith men, certein he is noon;
To wis is he to doon so gret a vice. . . .⁷

⁴Troilus and Criseyde, Bk. II, ll. 628-638.

⁵Ibid., Bk. I, ll. 470-477.

⁶Ibid., Bk. II, l. 702.

⁷Ibid., Bk. II, ll. 722-726.

The people of Troy recognized Troilus' goodness from his manner in the town:

And in the town his manere tho forth ay
So goodly was, and gat hym so in grace,
That ech hym loved that loked in his face.⁸

These have been descriptions of Troilus before he came to love Criseyde, showing that he was like a fine knight in appearance, he was a worthy youth, he was valiant in battle, and Criseyde and the people of Troy thought well of him.

In the main, Troilus was a fine example of what a courtly lover should be. In order to become a subject of courtly love, the prospective lover had to be vulnerable to the sight of his lady-to-be.⁹

Troilus was wounded through the eye by Criseyde:

And of hire look in hym ther gan to quyken
So gret desir, and swiche affeccoun,
That in his hertes botme gan to stiken
Of hir his fexe and depe impressioun. . . .¹⁰

The torments of courtly love were many and severe.¹¹ Troilus was not exempt from any of them. A physical sign of these torments was a pale look resulting from loss of appetite due to the lover's having fallen in love.¹² From the beginning of his love of Criseyde,

⁸Ibid., Bk. I, ll. 1076-1079.

⁹Andreas Capellanus, The Art of Courtly Love (New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing Co., 1957), p. 3.

¹⁰Troilus and Criseyde, Bk. I, ll. 295-299.

¹¹William George Dodd, Courtly Love in Chaucer and Gower (Boston: Ginn and Company, 1913), p. 138.

¹²Capellanus, op. cit., p. 43.

Troilus suffered from a loss of appetite.

And fro this forth. . .love. . .
 Mad his mete his foo, and ek his sorwe
 Gan multiplie, that whoso tok kepe,
 It shewed in his hewe, on eve and morowe. . . .13

Later Troilus "ne et ne drank"¹⁴ as a result of his suffering because of love. The second of the physical aspects of courtly love affecting Troilus was that he could not sleep. A sign of courtly love was that the lover had a dissipated look resulting from lack of sleep.¹⁵ Chaucer wrote of Troilus that

. . .refte him love his slepe,
 . . .
 and it shewed in his hewe. . . .16

The typical courtly lover suffered a physical pain which was the result of being wounded by Love's arrow.¹⁷ Troilus suffered from such pain on several occasions:

. . .fareth lik a man that hurt is soore.
 And is some deel of akyng of his wownde. . . .18

and later:

. . .so his peynes hym to-rente. . . .19

¹³Troilus and Criseyde, Bk. I, ll. 484-488.

¹⁴Ibid., Bk. V, l. 1216.

¹⁵Capellanus, op. cit., p. 43.

¹⁶Troilus and Criseyde, Bk. I, ll. 484-488.

¹⁷Capellanus, op. cit., p. 1.

¹⁸Troilus and Criseyde, Bk. I, ll. 1087-1089.

¹⁹Ibid., Bk. IV, l. 341.

The suffering of a courtly lover was also accompanied by sighs and tears.²⁰ Chaucer shows Troilus to sigh and weep as he suffered from love:

A thousand sikes, hotter than the gleede,
 Out of his brest ech after other wente,
 Medled with pleyntes newe, his wo to feede,
 For which his woful teris nevere stente. . . .²¹

The sufferings of love often caused a courtly lover to go into a trance-like state,²² and Troilus eventually suffered so much from love that he went into a trance.

He feleth non, but lith forth in a traunce.²³

It was common for a courtly lover to suffer so greatly that he became thin and weak with his sufferings.²⁴ Troilus, again in keeping with courtly love, suffered so much that he was weak and thin to the extent that he was not easily recognized:

He so defet was, that no maner man
 Unnethe hym myghte knowen ther he wente;
 So was he lene, and therto pale and wan
 And feble that he walketh by potente.²⁵

Not only was the pain torturing a courtly lover of a physical nature, but there were also mental aspects of a lover's pains.²⁶

²⁰Dodd, op. cit., p. 138.

²¹Troilus and Criseyde, Bk. IV, ll. 337-341.

²²Dodd, op. cit., p. 138.

²³Troilus and Criseyde, Bk. IV, l. 343.

²⁴Dodd, op. cit., p. 138.

²⁵Troilus and Criseyde, Bk. V, ll. 1219-1223.

Troilus pleaded to Criseyde "a thousand tyme"²⁷ in the privacy of his own mind:

Ye wolden on me rewe, or that I deyde;
My dere herte, allas! myn hele and hewe
And lif is lost, but ye wol on my rewe.²⁸

The mind of a courtly lover was disturbed by the thought that his lady might reject him.²⁹ This is but another of the mental aspects of courtly love which came to Troilus. He expressed his fear:

. . . 'for al that evere ye koone,
She nyl to noon swich wrecche as I ben wonne.'³⁰

and the fearful thought was in his mind:

. . . that she som wight hadde loved so,
That nevere of hym she wolde have taken hede.³¹

According to courtly love tradition, there was no freedom from the sufferings of love when the lover was away from his love. Troilus endured both physical and mental aspects of love when he was absent from Criseyde. In fact, he "showed a tendency to luxuriate in his sorrow."³² As he fared well in love, his sufferings lessened, but when he was away from Criseyde, and when she proved unfaithful to

²⁶Capellanus, op. cit., p. 3.

²⁷Troilus and Criseyde, Bk. I, l. 457.

²⁸Ibid., Bk. I, ll. 460-463.

²⁹Capellanus, op. cit., p. 2.

³⁰Troilus and Criseyde, Bk. I, ll. 776-778.

³¹Ibid., Bk. I, ll. 500-502.

³²Robert Kilburn Root (ed.) The Book of Troilus and Criseyde (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1926), p. xxxi.

him, Troilus could do nothing to ease his pain.

The inexperienced Troilus felt himself many times to be in need of advice and his recourse was always to his intercessor, Pandarus. In consulting Pandarus, and asking his aid in pleading his case to Criseyde, Troilus was acting in accordance with the courtly love belief that there must be someone to act the part of an intercessor in presenting and pleading the case of the lover to his beloved.³³ When Troilus found an intercessor, he was one step nearer to winning his lady, and he consequently was less worried, but also his love was stimulated inasmuch as he was more likely to win his lady.

Whan Troilus had herd Pandare assented
To ben his help in lovyng of Cryseyde,
Wex of his wo, as who seith, untormented;
But hotter wex his love. . . .³⁴

Troilus felt that he was entirely within the power of his intercessor and gave up himself entirely to the will of the intercessor:

'Now, Pandare, I kan no more seye;
But thow wis, thow woost, thow maist, thow art al:
My lif, my deth, hool in thyn honde I leye. . . .³⁵

So completely did Troilus trust Pandarus, that he left all planning to his intercessor, including the plans that made the consummation of his love possible.

³³Capellanus, op. cit., p. 3.

³⁴Troilus and Criseyde, Bk. I, ll. 1009-1013.

³⁵Ibid., Bk. I, ll. 1051-1054.

Troilus was concerned with secrecy throughout the entire affair. This desire of Troilus' to keep all signs of his affair secret was in keeping with the elements of courtly love, which ruled that unless secrecy was maintained throughout the romance, there was much danger that it would not last.³⁶ Even at the beginning of his love Troilus feared that his love would be revealed by the symptoms that he was suffering:

Lest it were wist on any maner syde,
His woo he gan dissimilen and hide.³⁷

and later,

Therefor a tittle he gan him for to borwe
Of other sicknesse, lest men of hym wende,
That the hote fir of love hym brende,
And seyde he hadde a fevere and ferde amys.³⁸

There are passages in which Chaucer implies that Troilus became ennobled because of his love for Criseyde. This is in keeping with courtly love. "Capellanus depicts passionate love as an ennobling experience,"³⁹ and he praises love and the wonderful things it can do for any man:

O what a wonderful thing is love, which makes
a man shine with so many virtues and teaches
everyone no matter who he is, so many good
traits of character!⁴⁰

³⁶Capellanus, op. cit., p. 25.

³⁷Troilus and Criseyde, Bk. I, ll. 321-323.

³⁸Ibid., Bk. I, ll. 488-492.

³⁹Capellanus, op. cit., p. iv.

⁴⁰Ibid., p. 4.

The first of these ennobling effects of love is that a courtly lover was supposed to become more valiant in battle.⁴¹ Troilus became more valiant in battle with each advance he made in the winning of Criseyde. Thus it is he

. . . lay tho no lenger down:
 But up anon upon his stede bay,
 And in the feld he pleyde the leoun;
 Wo was that Grek that with hym mette a day. . . .⁴²

Chaucer makes clear that Troilus' improvement in battle came about because of his desire to please his lady:

But for non hate he to the Grekes hadde.
 Ne also for the recous of the town,
 Ne made hym thus in armes for the madde,
 But only, lo, for this conclusioun: ⁴³
 To liken hire the bet for his rencoun.

Following the consummation of his love, Troilus was seen to be second in battle only to Hector, a position gained because of his love for Criseyde and his desire to win her thanks.

In alle nedes for the townes werre
 He was, and ay, the firste in armes dyght;
 And certeynly, but if that bokes erre,
 Save Ector, most ydred of any wight;
 And this encre of hardynesse and myght
 Com hym of love, his ladies thank to wyne,⁴⁴
 That altered his spirit so withinne.

Concerning courtly love, Capellanus wrote that "love. . . blesses the proud with humility."⁴⁵ Chaucer shows that love was responsible

⁴¹Dodd, *op. cit.*, pp. 129, 130.

⁴²Troilus and Criseyde, Bk. I, ll. 1072-1076.

⁴³Ibid., Bk. I, ll. 477-482.

⁴⁴Ibid., Bk. III, ll. 1772-1779.

for Troilus' not becoming proud about his high lineage.

And though that he come of blood roial,
 Hym liste of pride at no wight for to chace;
 Benigne he was to ech in general,
 For which he gat hym thank in every place.
 Thus wolde Love, yheried be his grace!⁴⁶

It was necessary that "a lover ought to appear to his beloved wise in every respect and restrained in his conduct."⁴⁷ In order that Criseyde

' . . .of me aught elles understode
 But that that myghte sownen into goode. . .'⁴⁸

Troilus changed certain of his ways. His gay jesting manner, evident in his making fun of the other knights in love in the opening of the poem, was tempered to more serious and honorable thoughts. This improvement in Troilus' character is also rooted in the courtly love tradition that a courtly lover "ought never mock anyone."⁴⁹

Dede were his japes and his cruelte,
 His hye port, and his manere estraunge;
 And ech of the gan for a vertu chaunge,⁵⁰

And he became glad when he heard of lovers faring well:

And glad was he if any wyght wel ferde,
 That loveere was, when he it wiset of herde.⁵¹

⁴⁵Capellanus, op. cit., p. 4.

⁴⁶Troilus and Criseyde, Bk. III, ll. 1800-1805.

⁴⁷Capellanus, op. cit., p. 25.

⁴⁸Troilus and Criseyde, Bk. I, ll. 1035-1037.

⁴⁹Capellanus, op. cit., p. 13.

⁵⁰Troilus and Criseyde, Bk. I, ll. 1083-1086.

According to courtly love, it was important for a lover to make "every attempt to be constantly in the company of good men and to avoid completely the society of the wicked."⁵² Troilus . . . in despit hadde all wrecchedness. . . .⁵³

Capellanus wrote that "it would seem to set a shameful precedent. . . if those who [had] experience [in love] were to deny their lesson to those who [had] not. . . ."⁵⁴ So well did Troilus speak and act according to the ways of love that he was looked to as a model for lovers:

And over al this, so wel koude he devyse
Of sentement, and in so unkouth wise
Al his array, that every lovers thoughte,
That al was wel what so he seyde or wroughte.⁵⁵

"The man who would be considered worthy to serve in Love's army. . . must give generously to as many people as he can. When he sees that money is needed, especially by noblemen and men of character, and when he thinks that his gifts would be helpful to anybody, he ought not wait to be urged, for a gift made in answer to a request seems dearly bought."⁵⁶ Again is Troilus found to be acting according to the precepts of courtly love, for he does aid

⁵¹Ibid., Bk. III, ll. 1791-1793.

⁵²Capellanus, op. cit., p. 26.

⁵³Troilus and Criseyde, Bk. III, l. 1787.

⁵⁴Capellanus, op. cit., p. 13.

⁵⁵Troilus and Criseyde, Bk. III, ll. 1796-1800.

⁵⁶Capellanus, loc. cit.

those who are worthy and in distress without being asked first to aid them.

And, douteles, no nede was hym biseche
To honouren hem that hadden worthynesse,
And esen hym that weren in destresse.⁵⁷

According to Capellanus "a true, [courtly] lover could not be degraded with any avarice."⁵⁸ Chaucer makes clear that Troilus was without not only avarice, but all other vices as well, and that all of these admirable aspects came about as a result of Troilus' love for Criseyde:

Thus wolde Love, yheried be his grace!
That pride, envye, ire, and avarice
He gan to fle, and everich other vice.⁵⁹

There are two ways in which Troilus was not characterized completely in keeping with the requirements of courtly love. The first is that courtly love did not obligate Troilus to remain faithful to Criseyde⁶⁰ after she had once forsaken him.⁶¹ The second exception is that Troilus was without fluency of speech concerning love when he first encountered Criseyde. A courtly lover was supposed to speak fluently of love, and many times he had to convince his lady of his love by his talk with her.⁶² Troilus was stricken

⁵⁷Troilus and Criseyde, Bk. III, ll. 1788-1791.

⁵⁸Capellanus, op. cit., p. 4.

⁵⁹Troilus and Criseyde, Bk. III, ll. 1804-1807.

⁶⁰Dodd, op. cit., p. 149.

⁶¹Troilus and Criseyde, Bk. V, ll. 1746-1748.

with a lack of words when he was in the presence of Criseyde.⁶³

These are minor exceptions of courtly love traits in Troilus' character.

So far in this paper I have shown first the characteristics of Chaucer's Troilus before he came to love Criseyde. Chaucer described him as a fine knight in appearance, with "a body and myght. . .as well as hardynesse."⁶⁴ Chaucer showed him to be valiant and Criseyde and the people of Troy recognized his goodness of character. Secondly, Troilus was presented as a character of the courtly love tradition. He was stricken through the eye by the sight of Criseyde. He suffered many of the physical aspects of being in love; he was without appetite, could not sleep, suffered pains as those of a wound, he sighed and wept, and he eventually entered into a trance-like state. He became thin and weak as a result of his sufferings. There were also mental aspects of courtly love suffering evident in Troilus. He had fears that he could never win his lady and that perhaps she already had a love. Troilus engaged an intercessor as was in keeping with courtly love. He was concerned to keep signs of his affair secret. According to courtly love, the lover was supposed to become much improved in character because of his love. Troilus improved in the following ways: his valor in battle became increased, he

⁶²Capellanus, op. cit., p. 6.

⁶³Troilus and Criseyde, Bk. III, ll. 80-85.

⁶⁴Ibid., Bk. II, ll. 633-635.

did not become proud, his manner became improved in that he no longer mocked people, he avoided all that was wicked, he became a model lover, he helped those in distress, and he was not degraded by avarice, envy, ire, or any other vice. Thirdly, two instances in which the characterization of Troilus did not comply with courtly love traditions were presented. One was that Troilus did not seek a new love when forsaken by Criseyde, and the second was the fact that he did not possess a fluency of speech concerning love when he first met Criseyde.

There are similarities between the Troilus of Chaucer and Troilus of Shakespeare. The manner in which these similarities are presented in the two versions of the story tends to cause them to become dissimilarities. For instance, concerning the first of the similarities, both young men suffered the sighs typical of courtly love, yet the manner of the sighs caused them to be dissimilar things. Chaucer's Troilus sighed "a thousand sikes"⁶⁵ which came uncontrolled from his breast, whereas the Shakespearean Troilus suffered less severely and was able to conceal his sighs; he

Buried this sigh in wrinkle of a smile. . . .⁶⁶

Both young men suffered the actual pain of love. Concerning the nature of the pains, those of Chaucer's Troilus were like the pains of a wound⁶⁷ and those of the Shakespearean Troilus were

⁶⁵Ibid., Bk. IV, l. 337.

⁶⁶Troilus and Cressida, I, 1, 43.

like the pains of an ulcer:

Pour'st in the open ulcer of my heart. . . .⁶⁸

Concerning the mental aspects of suffering brought by love, the fears of Chaucer's Troilus were modest and honorable as the true courtly lover's should be. The Shakespearean Troilus also had some fear in connection with his love, but his were the sensual fears that he would not be able to appreciate each of the joys he was about to experience. He feared that they would occur too nearly at the same time and that they might be beyond his power of refinement.

I am giddy; expectation whirls me round.
Th' imaginary relish is so sweete,
That it enchants my sense; what will it be
When that the wat'ry pallats tastes indeed
Love's thrice-reputed nectar? Death, I feare me;
Sounding distruction; of some joy too fine,
Too subtile, potent, and too sharp in sweetnesse,
For the capacitie of my ruder powers;
I fear it much; and I doe fear besides
That I shall loose distinction in my joyes;
As doth a battaile, when they charge on heapes
The enemy flying.⁶⁹

Another of the similarities is the fact that both young men sought an intercessor. Chaucer's Troilus was acting in accordance with traditions of courtly love when he consulted Pandarus. He surrendered himself entirely to the guidance of his intercessor and allowed him to make all of the necessary arrangements concerning

⁶⁷Troilus and Criseyde, Bk. I, l. 1088.

⁶⁸Troilus and Cressida, I, 1, 57.

⁶⁹Ibid., III, 11, 17-30.

his love. Shakespeare's Troilus saw fit to call upon the aid of an intercessor in order to gain his lady's love.

What Cressid is, what Pandar, and what we:
Her bed is India. . .
Ourself the Merchant; and this sayling Pandar
Our doubtfull hope, our convoy, and our Barke.⁷⁰

Shakespeare presents this relationship between lover and intercessor as if it were an obstacle which the lover had to overcome before the love affair could continue, for Troilus found that he had to be as careful in persuading Pandarus to help him as he was in courting Cressida:

I cannot come to Cressid but by Pandar;
And he's teachy to be woo'd to woe,
As she is stubborn chast against all suite.⁷¹

Thus is the relationship between the lover and his intercessor in Shakespeare made to be ironical, for the very purpose of the intercessor of courtly love was to be of assistance to the lover.

Both men were in some ways secretive about their love. Chaucer's Troilus was consistent in always showing a concern to keep his love secret. The Troilus of Shakespeare was twice concerned for secrecy but later disregarded it. He said that he attempted to conceal his feelings for Cressida when he was in the sight of his father or his brother:

Lest Hector or my father should perceive me:
I have, (as when the Sunne doth light a-scorne)
Buried this sighe in wrinkle of a Smile;

⁷⁰Troilus and Cressida, I, i, 104-109.

⁷¹Ibid., I, i, 100-103.

But sorrow that is couch'd in seeming Gladness
Is like that myrth, Fate turns to sodaine sadnesse.⁷²

Later, Troilus asked Aeneas to keep secret the fact that he found Troilus at the home of Cressida:

. . .and, my lord Aeneas,
We met by chance; you did not finde me here.⁷³

The two instances of secrecy are rather incongruous with the fact that earlier Troilus was careless about being seen before the house of Cressida and "stalke [d] about her doore."⁷⁴

There are a number of dissimilarities between Shakespeare's Troilus and Chaucer's Troilus. Chaucer shows Troilus' falling in love.⁷⁵ Shakespeare's play begins in medias res; so in the opening of the play Troilus had already declared his love for Cressida. He expressed the idea that she was always in his thoughts:

And when faire Cressid comes into my thoughts,
So (Traitor) when she comes, when is she thence.⁷⁶

and he told how much he was in love:

. . .I tell thee, I am mad
In Cressid's love. . . .⁷⁷

Second of the differences is the attitude with which Troilus

⁷²Ibid., I, i, 41-46.

⁷³Ibid., IV, ii, 77-79.

⁷⁴Ibid., III, ii, 7.

⁷⁵See above, p. 4.

⁷⁶Troilus and Cressida, I, i, 34-36.

⁷⁷Ibid., I, i, 55-57.

regarded the traditions of courtly love. Chaucer's Troilus, for the most part, abode willingly by the rules of courtly love.⁷⁸ But it is with considerable bitterness that Shakespeare's Troilus described the very deeds which were so essential to a courtly lover.⁷⁹ His words made the deeds seem as merely foolish tasks to be performed before the lover could partake of the more enjoyable aspects of the romance.

. . .In all Cupid's pageant there is presented no monster. . .nothing but our undertakings; when we vow to weepe seas, live in fire, eat rockes, tame Tygers; thinking it harder for our Mistresse to devise imposition inough then for us to undergo any difficultie imposed. This is the monstrositie in love, Lady, that the will is infinite, and the execution confin'd; that the desire is boundlesse, and the act a slave to limit.⁸⁰

It would be difficult even to imagine these thoughts in the mind of Chaucer's Troilus, so out of keeping are they with his character.

The manner of Chaucer's Troilus was in every way acceptable, and he was careful to do everything as he should to please his lady.⁸¹ The manner of Troilus in Shakespeare's play is very coarse and crude. There are several ways in which this crudity can be shown. Sometimes it is present in Troilus' acceptance of the vulgar joking of Pandarus in the presence of Cressida. Such an

⁷⁸See above, p. 14.

⁷⁹Capellanus, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

⁸⁰Troilus and Cressida, III, ii, 73-83.

⁸¹See above, p.10.

incident occurred at the time just preceding the "bargain" which Pandarus brought to the couple.⁸² Another time which displays the crudeness of Troilus is the scene the morning after the nuptial night. Pandarus rather roughly teased his niece concerning her night spent with Troilus, and Troilus' line in the play is merely, "Ha! Ha!"⁸³ In cursing the coming of dawn which broke up his first night with Cressida, Troilus was not concerned with the pleasures of the night, but rather with common things such as that no one be aroused in the cold morning to see him to the door,⁸⁴ and the fact that Cressida would curse him if she were to catch cold.⁸⁵ Even the terms he used in his speech against the coming of morning were harsh and unromantic. His day no longer concerned life with romance and Cressida, but his thoughts turned to the day ahead of him which began when the "ribauld Crowe" commenced the busy day.⁸⁶

The fourth of the dissimilarities is that the Troilus of Chaucer was seen to improve in battle as a result of his love.⁸⁷ Shakespeare's Troilus did not show any improvement on the battlefield which could be considered a result of his love. He was

⁸²Troilus and Cressida, III, ii, 200.

⁸³Ibid., IV, ii, 43.

⁸⁴Ibid., IV, ii, 2.

⁸⁵Ibid., IV, ii, 20.

⁸⁶Ibid., IV, ii, 13.

⁸⁷See above, p. 10.

without courage in the opening of the play, and did not enter into the battle:

. . .I'll unarme againe.
 Why should I warre without the walls of Troy,
 That finde such cruell battle heere within?
 Each Trojan that is master of his heart
 Let him to Field, Troylus, alas, hath none.⁸⁸

Concerning his absence from the field, Troilus admitted that it was not becoming to him that he remained at home. His reason was that

Because not there: this woman's answer sorts,
 For womanish it is to be from thence.⁸⁹

Later, after having been forsaken by Cressida, Troilus performed remarkably well on the battle field.⁹⁰ Shakespeare in no way connects this improvement in battle with the event of Cressida's forsaking Troilus, but it is interesting to note that the time of improvement in battle is completely reversed from the order in Chaucer. At the last battle with Diomedé, Troilus apparently was as interested in revenge against Diomedé for having taken his horse, as he was interested in revenge for having lost his lady to the Greek:

O traitour Diomed!
 Turne thy false face, thow traytor,
 And pay thy life thou owest me for my horse!⁹¹

⁸⁸Troilus and Cressida, I, i, 6-11.

⁸⁹Ibid., I, ii, 113-115.

⁹⁰Ibid., V, v, 41-46.

⁹¹Ibid., V, vi, 11-14.

Another dissimilarity is that Troilus in the Chaucer story did not curse Criseyde for her unfaithfulness.⁹² However, in the later version it is Troilus who condemned his lady:

O Cressid! O false Cressid! false, false, false!
 Let all untruths stand by thy stained name,
 And they'll seem glorious.⁹³

Another of the dissimilarities between the two versions of Troilus is that with no precedent in Chaucer's Troilus, the Shakespearean Troilus was played upon as being impulsive and inexperienced in his youth. A bit of Troilus' philosophy was revealed in a conversation with Hector. Perhaps the rather unstable attitude was a display of his youth and inexperience. Troilus expressed the idea, "What's aught but as 'tis valued?"⁹⁴ His attitude was, according to Hector,

. . .Not much
 Unlike young men, whom Aristotle thought
 Unfit to heare moral philosophie:
 The reasons you allege do more conduce
 To the hot passion of distemp' red blood
 Than to make up a free determination
 'Twixt right and wrong: for pleasure and revenge
 Have eares more deaf than adders to the voyce
 Of any true decision.⁹⁵

However, there came a time when Troilus matured somewhat. He saw the evidence that Cressida had betrayed him, and came to understand

⁹²It is Pandarus who condemned Criseyde in Chaucer. Troilus and Criseyde, Bk. V, ll. 1731-1733.

⁹³Troilus and Cressida, V, ii, 203-206.

⁹⁴Ibid., II, ii, 53.

⁹⁵Ibid., II, ii, 172-181.

the total effect of her unfaithfulness. Yet it was not with the impulses of youth that he cried out, but with the reserved discipline of a mature person that he stayed to see all and remained silent. He said:

Nay stay, by Jove, I will not speake a word.
There is betweene my will and all offences,
A guard of patience:--stay a little while.⁹⁶

and later,

I will not be myself, not have cognition
Of what I feele: I am all patience.⁹⁷

Still another example of the inexperience of Troilus can be shown in the fact that he mistakes the coyness of Cressida for chastity.

He said to her,

O that I thought it could be in a woman:
As, if it can, I will presume in you,
To feed for aye her lampe and flames of love,
To keep her constancie in plight and youth,
Out-living beauties outward, with a minde
That doth renew swifter than blood decaies:
Or that perswasion could but thus convince me,
That my integritie and truth to you,
Might be affronted with the match and weight
Of such a winnowed puritie in love. . . .⁹⁸

There is a great difference in the final outcome of love for the two youths. Chaucer's Troilus pined away for love until not even his friends recognized him.⁹⁹ In Shakespeare there was a

⁹⁶Ibid., V, ii, 63-66.

⁹⁷Ibid., V, ii, 74-76.

⁹⁸Ibid., III, ii, 159-169.

⁹⁹Troilus and Criseyde, Bk. V, ll. 1212-1233.

suggestion that yet great things were to come in his life--things not concerned with games of love, but with important matters of state. Troilus told the people of Troy:

Strike a free march to Troy, with comfort goe:
Hope of revenge shall hide our inward woe.¹⁰⁰

and in the words of Ulysses the Trojans "on him erect [ed] a second hope, as fairely built as Hector. . . ."101

Comparison-wise, the two versions of the character Troilus have some similarities, yet in virtue of the way in which they were presented, even these similarities tend to become dissimilar. Both young men suffered some of the same symptoms of courtly love. They both had sighs: Chaucer's Troilus sighed uncontrollably thousands of times and Shakespeare's Troilus sighed, but no more than he could cover with a smile. Both suffered the physical pain of courtly love. However, the way in which their sufferings affected them was different. Chaucer's Troilus suffered pains as those from a wound, and Shakespeare's Troilus suffered as from an ulcer. The mental aspects of their sufferings were also different. The fears of Chaucer's Troilus were modest and honorable, those of Shakespeare's Troilus were base and selfish. Both engaged an intercessor to aid in winning the love of their ladies. Chaucer's intercessor served Troilus according to courtly love, in a guiding

¹⁰⁰Troilus and Cressida, V, x, 33-35.

¹⁰¹Ibid., IV, v, 125.

and helpful way; whereas, Shakespeare's Troilus found he had to be as ~~skilful~~ in handling his intercessor as he was in wooing Cressida. Both Troiluses were concerned with secrecy. Chaucer's Troilus was always concerned for keeping his affair secret and Shakespeare's Troilus was twice seen to be concerned for cautions of secrecy but once disregarded all precautions.

There are to be noted many dissimilarities between the two versions of Troilus. In the Chaucerian version, there was some admirable description of Troilus before he came to love Criseyde, which showed him to be good, valiant, knightly in manner and appearance, and a worthy youth. In Chaucer the reader sees Troilus struck by the sight of Criseyde. This is not the case in Shakespeare, for the play begins in medias res. The two youths held different views concerning courtly love. Troilus of Chaucer abided consistently by the traditions of courtly love, but the Shakespearean Troilus verbally scorned the precepts of the traditions. In only four ways was he seen to comply with the requirements of courtly love, and in these instances his conformity was satirized. In contrast to the fine, respectable manner of Chaucer's Troilus, Troilus of Shakespeare was without restraint when it came to rough jesting in the presence of his lady, and his manner of expression was often crude. Chaucer's Troilus was seen to improve in battle because of his love for Criseyde. In marked contrast is the time that the Shakespearean Troilus was seen to improve in battle, for it was after Cressida had forsaken him. It was Troilus himself who saw fit to curse his

lady for her unfaithfulness in the Shakespeare play. This is something that the Chaucerian Troilus did not do. The youthful aspect of Troilus was also played upon in Shakespeare which was not the case in Chaucer. Shakespeare portrayed him as a youth, impulsive, and without the best of judgment. For instance, he mistook the coyness of Cressida for chastity. The final effect of love was different for the two men. Chaucer's Troilus finally pined away for the sake of love, whereas Shakespeare implies that there was a better future in store for his character, in leading in the footsteps of Hector.

The Troilus of Chaucer was a young, innocent knight who came to love his lady according to the traditions of courtly love. He observed those traditions and treated his love accordingly.

The Troilus of Shakespeare was young, inexperienced, impulsive, and sensual. He was deceived by the experienced Cressida, but the final lines of the play suggested that the best of life was yet to come for Troilus in following the steps of Hector. His manner was not always admirable and in terms of courtly love, he was far from fulfilling its ideals, causing every aspect of it with which he played a part to be satirized.

Chaucer's Pandarus is the second character to be discussed. He was a good-natured man-of-the-world who could not resist a good chance to be witty. For instance, when asked how he did "in loves daunce,"¹⁰² he answered cleverly, even laughing at his own expense:

. . . I hoppe alwey byhynde.¹⁰³

Pandarus loved to jest; he could simply not resist a good hearty joke. The following excerpts will be used as an example of the manner in which Pandarus was accustomed to jest. Pandarus was happy and in a laughing mood when he took Troilus' first letter to Criseyde:

And faste he swor, that it was passed prime,
 And gan to jape, and seyde: 'ywys, myn herte,
 So fresshe it is, although it sore smerte,
 I may not slepe nevere Mayes morwe:
 I have a joly wo, a lusty sorwe.'¹⁰⁴

Also on this visit to Criseyde, Pandarus was ready and quick with a battery of jokes to amuse Criseyde:

And he gan at hym self to jape faste,
 And seyde: 'nece, I have so grete a pyne
 For love, that everich other day I faste.'
 And gan his bestes japes forth to caste
 And made hire so to laughe at his folye,
 That she for laughter wende for to dye.'¹⁰⁵

Pandarus was eager to jest and make fun with whatever amused him, but the quality did not dominate his character. He laughed and joked when he was happy and things went well, yet he also possessed a serious nature, displayed the many times he became sympathetic to Troilus and when the events of the love affair he was sponsoring did not go well.

Pandarus possessed a ready command of many proverbs which contributed to a streak of broad, cheerful cynicism in his character.

¹⁰²Troilus and Criseyde, Bk. II, l. 110

¹⁰³Ibid., Bk. II, l. 1107.

¹⁰⁴Ibid., Bk. II, ll. 1095-1100.

¹⁰⁵Ibid., Bk. II, ll. 1164-1170.

For instance, he told Criseyde, concerning the lapsing of her beauty:

"Thenk ek how elde wasteth every houre,
 In eche of yow, a partie of beaute,
 And thefore, or that age the devoure,
 Go love; for olde, ther wol no wight of the;
 Lat this proverbe a loore unto yow be:
 'To late ywar,' quod beaute, 'whan it paste';
 And elde daunteth daunger at the last.
 The kynges fools is want to crien loude,
 Whan that hym thinketh a womman berth hire hye,
 'So longe mote ye lyve, and alle proude,
 Til crows feet be growe under youre eye,
 And sende yow than a myrour in to pryde,
 In which that ye may se youre face a morwe,
 I bidde wisse yow no more sorwe.'¹⁰⁶

Pandarus' proverbs sometimes emphasized the fact that he was more mature than the lovers. He counseled Troilus that although he had fared badly in love himself, he could still help Troilus by keeping him from the same mistakes that he had made. This he emphasized with a proverb--

"I have my selven seyn a blynd man go,
 Ther as he fel that koude loken wide;
 A fool may ek a wis man ofte gide.'¹⁰⁷

In advising the young Troilus to be patient in winning Criseyde, Pandarus showed that within his time he had seen many women who were at first restrained finally give in to love. He used a proverb to make his point clear.

"Thenk here ayeins: whan that the sturdy ook,
 At which men hakketh ofte for the nones,
 Receyved hath the happy follyng strook,
 The grete sweigh doth it come al at ones,
 As don thise rokkes of thise milnestones,

¹⁰⁶Ibid., Bk. II, ll. 393-407.

¹⁰⁷Ibid., Bk. I, ll. 628-631.

For swifter cours comth thyng that is of wighte,
 Whan it descendeth, than don thynges lighte,
 But the reed that boweth down for every blast,
 Ful lightly, cesse wynd, it wol aryse;
 But so nyl nat on ook, whan it is cast. . . .¹⁰⁸

Pandarus served both young lovers as a teacher and he rather subtly taught many times by proverb. For instance, just before he provided for the first nightly meeting of Troilus and Criseyde, Pandarus did not state to Troilus that he must never speak a word of the night, but chose to advise with the following proverb:

'For which thise wise clerkes that be dede
 Hav writen on this, as yit men teche us yonge,
 That first vertu is to kepe tonge.'¹⁰⁹

In terms of courtly love an intercessor was a necessary person.¹¹⁰

Without Pandarus to perform his duties, the story could not have taken place in courtly love tradition, for a courtly lover could not hope to reach his lady without the aid of a friend acting as a go-between. Pandarus was a friend to Troilus as was explained by Chaucer when Pandarus was first introduced:

A frend of his, that called was Pandare. . . .¹¹¹

Chaucer later implies that it was only because Pandarus was a friend to Troilus that Troilus revealed his love for Criseyde to him. In the words of Pandarus--

¹⁰⁸Ibid., Bk. II, ll. 1380-1390.

¹⁰⁹Ibid., Bk. III, ll. 292-295.

¹¹⁰Capellanus, op. cit., p. 3.

¹¹¹Troilus and Criseyde, Bk. I, l. 548.

' . . .if evere love or trouthe
 Hath ben or this bitwixen the and me,
 Ne do thow nevere swich a crueltee,
 To hiden fro thi frende so gret a care;
 Wostow nat wel that it am I, Pandare?¹¹²

Pandarus was uncle to Criseyde,¹¹³ a closer bond than the friendship demanded by courtly love.

As an indication of his acceptance of his duties, Pandarus told Troilus that he hoped to bring to a good end that which was begun:

'Stond fastes for to a good port hastow rowed:
 . . .I hope of this to maken a good ende.'¹¹⁴

and after they had discussed a little further the ways in which Pandarus could help Troilus, Pandarus said:

'Adieu! be glad! god spede us bothe two!
 Yif me this labour and this besynesse,
 And of my sped be thyn al that swetnesse.'¹¹⁵

There are several references made by Andreas Capellanus to the importance of secrecy in a courtly love affair. He wrote, "The man who wants to keep his love affair for a long time untroubled should above all things be careful not to let it be known to any outsider, but should keep it hidden from everybody. . . ."¹¹⁶ Also one of his "Rules of Love" is, "When made public love rarely

¹¹²Ibid., Bk. I, ll. 584-589.

¹¹³Ibid., Bk. I, l. 975.

¹¹⁴Ibid., Bk. I, ll. 969-974.

¹¹⁵Ibid., Bk. I, ll. 1041-1044.

¹¹⁶Capellanus, op. cit., p. 25.

endures."¹¹⁷ This element of secrecy in the affair, so typical of courtly love, was emphasized by Pandarus on several occasions. When Pandarus first came upon the lovesick Troilus, he promised that he would not disclose his secret if Troilus would but tell it to him.

'And of othyng right siker maistow be,
That certein, for to dyen in the penyge,
That I shal nevere mo discovern the. . . .'¹¹⁸

After they had discussed the affair at length, Pandarus still had secrecy upon his mind:

' . . .for ye ben bothe wyse,
And koone it couseil kepe in swych a wyse
That no man shal the wiser of it be;
And so we may ben gladed alle thre.'¹¹⁹

Again, just before arranging for the first night Troilus was to spend with Criseyde, Pandarus referred to the fact that utmost secrecy had to prevail. To Troilus he said:

' . . .leve brother deere;
Have al this thyng that I have seyde in mynde,
And kepe the clos. . . .'¹²⁰

Thus it is that Pandarus attempted to carry on the romance in keeping with the secretiveness of courtly love.

Pandarus took great care in carrying out his duties of making the necessary arrangements for the lovers. This was according to

¹¹⁷Ibid., p. 42.

¹¹⁸Troilus and Criseyde, Bk. I, ll. 673-676.

¹¹⁹Ibid., Bk. I, ll. 991-995.

¹²⁰Ibid., Bk. III, ll. 330-333.

the requirements of courtly love.¹²¹ Pandarus knew what was required of him for

. . .wel koude eche a del
The olde daunce, and every point therinne. . . .¹²²

All of his actions were well planned:

For he, with gret deliberacioun,
Hadde every thyng that herti myghte availle
Forncast, and put in executioun
And neither lift for cost ne for travaille. . . .¹²³

He carried out his duties by carrying letters, first to Criseyde:

This Pandare tok the lettre, and that by tyme
A morwe, and to his neces paleis sterte;¹²⁴

and later a letter to Troilus:

And Pandarus gan hym the lettre take
And seyde: 'parde, god hath holpen us';¹²⁵

Later Pandarus arranged for necessary introductions:

And Pandarus, that ledde hire by the lappe,
See who is here yow comen to visite. . . .¹²⁶

He also arranged for their meetings. For instance, when the lovers met in the house of Deiphebus, Pandarus told them that he would arrange for a more intimate meeting:

'But I conjore the, Criseyde, and oon,

¹²¹Capellanus, op. cit., p. 3.

¹²²Troilus and Criseyde, Bk. III, ll. 694-696.

¹²³Ibid., Bk. III, ll. 519-524.

¹²⁴Ibid., Bk. II, ll. 1093-1095.

¹²⁵Ibid., Bk. II, ll. 1318-1320.

¹²⁶Ibid., Bk. III, ll. 59-61.

And two, thow Troilus, whan thow mayst goon,
 That al myn hous ye bet at my warnyng,
 For I ful wel shal shape youre comyng;
 And eseth there youre hertes right ynough. . . .¹²⁷

Later Pandarus reminded Troilus that Criseyde had promised Troilus that he might love her and that the day was arranged:

"Thow woost ek what thi lady graunted the;
 And day is set, the chartres up to make."¹²⁸

When Criseyde was at Pandarus' house, he situated her for the night and placed her ladies across from her room. All that remained for him to do was bring Troilus from a secret hiding place nearby.

Whan that he sey that alle thyng was wel,
 He thought he wolde upon his werk bigynne,
 And gan the stuewe doore al softe ynpynne. . . .¹²⁹

After Troilus was admitted to the room of Criseyde, Pandarus was satisfied that all would go well and said:

' . . . for aught I kan espian,
 I nor this cande serven here of nought;
 . . .
 But, for the love of god, syn ye ben brought
 In this good plit, lat now ne hevvy thought
 Ben hangyng in the hertes of you tweye;
 And bar the candel to the chymeneye."¹³⁰

And so Pandarus made the necessary arrangements for letters, introductions, meetings, and finally the consummation for the lovers.

Pandarus was probably more interested in doing his best for

¹²⁷Ibid., Bk. III, ll. 193-198.

¹²⁸Ibid., Bk. III, ll. 339-341.

¹²⁹Ibid., Bk. III, ll. 696-699.

¹³⁰Ibid., Bk. III, ll. 1135-1142.

the lovers than the usual intercessor of courtly love would be. This was because his relationship to them was more intimate because he was uncle to Criseyde. He was not at all afraid to discuss the matter of courtship with his niece, for he felt that she should be willing to suffer for love's sake. In fact he felt that it would be sinful if she were not to love a worthy knight:

"And wostow why I am the lasse afered
Of this matere with my nece trete?
For this have I herd seyde of wyse lered:
'Was nevere man nor womman yit bigete
That was unapt to suffren loves hete. . . .'
But, trewely, it safe hire wil right nowthe
A worthi kynght to loven and cherice,
And but she do, I houlde it for a vice."¹³¹

Pandarus loved Criseyde as his niece, and he told her about his concern for her.

'Ye ben the womman in this world lyvyng,
Withouten paramours, to my wityng,
That I best love, and lothest am to greve:
And that ye weten wel your self, I leve.'¹³²

Pandarus believed that when he brought Troilus to Criseyde it was very fitting for her, and if it had not been, he would not have suggested it:

'And were it thyng that me thoughte unsittyng
To yow, wolde I no swiche tales bryng.'¹³³

Pandarus further convinced Criseyde that what he asked was not to do her any harm and that he would be risking shame unto himself if

¹³¹Ibid., Bk. I, ll. 974-988.

¹³²Ibid., Bk. II, ll. 235-239.

¹³³Ibid., Bk. II, ll. 307-309.

he were to permit Troilus to dishonor her.

'And also think wel that this is no gaude;
For me were levere thow and I and he
We hanged, than I sholde ben his baude,
As heigh as men myghte on us alle se;
I am thyn em, the shame were to me
As wel as the, if that I sholde assente,
Thorough myn abet, that he thyn honour shente.'¹³⁴

The responsibility of guiding his niece was left to Pandarus and in her words,

'. . . for the love of god, syn al my trist
Is on yow two, and ye ben bothe wise,
So werketh now in so discret a wise,
That ich honour may have and he pleasunce;
For I am here as in youre governaunce.'¹³⁵

Concerning his intent towards Troilus, Pandarus said that it was because of pity upon Troilus that he decided to do everything to make him happy again. He told this to Troilus just before he arranged the affairs of the nuptial night.

'Myn alderlevest lord, and brother deere,
God woot, and thow, that it sat me so soore,
When I the saugh so langwisshyng to-yere
For love, of which thi wo wax alwey moore,
That I, with al my myght and al my loore,
Have evere sithen don my bisynesse
To brynge the to joye out of distresse. . . .'¹³⁶

Pandarus himself made the confession that he began all as a game, but then he added that really it was not a game for sake of a game but a game to lighten the woess of Troilus:

¹³⁴Ibid., Bk. II, ll. 351-358.

¹³⁵Ibid., Bk. III, ll. 941-946.

¹³⁶Ibid., Bk. III, ll. 239-246.

' . . .for shame it is to seye:
 For the have I bigonne a gamen pleye
 Which that I nevere don shal eft for other,
 Although he were a thousand fold my brother.'¹³⁷

In order to make clear the complete understanding of this passage, it is important to know that Troilus regarded the relationship between Pandarus and himself as one of fellowship and trust. He felt that Pandarus had taken it upon himself to manage his romance out of compassion. He made the distinction that professional panderers work for gold, but that Pandarus was doing what he did out of goodness and friendship. He answered Pandarus in this way:

' . . .me thoughte, by thi speche,
 That this which thow me doost for compaignie,
 I sholde wene it were a bauderye.
 I am nat wood, al if I lewed be:
 It is nat so, that woot I wel, parde.
 But he that gooth, for gold or for richesse,
 On swich message, calle hym what the list;
 And this that thow doost, call it gentillesse,
 Compassioun, and felewship, and trist;
 Departe it so; for wyde wher is wist,
 How that ther is diversite requered
 Bytwixen thynges like, as I have lered.'¹³⁸

Chaucer gives further explanation of the thought underlying Pandarus' actions. His own comment, that Pandarus did things "ful of good entente,"¹³⁹ explained the purpose of Pandarus in the romance of Troilus and Criseyde.

Aside from managing the affairs of Troilus and Criseyde, Pandarus

¹³⁷Ibid., Bk. III, ll. 249-253.

¹³⁸Ibid., Bk. III, ll. 395-407.

¹³⁹Ibid., Bk. III, l. 1188.

also managed the two personages quite well. For instance, when he came first upon love-sick Troilus, the experienced Pandarus would have had no difficulty in recognizing Troilus' symptoms as those of love. Yet he did not even mention love in asking Troilus what was wrong. He rather attempted to anger Troilus by striking at his pride, asking if it were the Greeks that had thus reduced him to misery, or perhaps the seige of the Greeks had brought him to repent of sins.

'O mercy, god! what unhap may this meene?
 Han now thus soone Grekes maad you leene?
 Or hastow som remors of conscience,
 And art now falle in some devocioun,
 And wallest for thi synne and thin offence,
 And hast for ferde caught attricioun?'¹⁴⁰

Troilus had great courage in battle and it was this manner of belittling Troilus' courage and desire for glory in battle that Pandarus managed to get a statement from Troilus concerning the obvious cause of his illness.

Later, as Troilus impatiently awaited the return of Criseyde, Pandarus used much the same strategy in drawing Troilus from his bed:

'Now ris, my deere brother Troilus;
 For, certes, it non honour is to the
 To wepe, and in thi bed to jouken thus.'¹⁴¹

Pandarus just as cleverly managed Criseyde. When he first went to her home as an intercessor for Troilus, he did not immediately tell her of his purpose. He worked much more shrewdly and played

¹⁴⁰Ibid., Bk. I, ll. 552-558.

¹⁴¹Ibid., Bk. V, ll. 407-410.

upon Criseyde's womanly curiosity. Pandarus told her:

'As evere thryve I,' quod this Pandarus,
'Yit koude I telle a thyng to doon yow pleye.'¹⁴²

Criseyde begged of Pandarus to reveal his secret and his answer was:

'And I youre borugh, ne nevere shal,' quod he,
'This thyng be tolde to you, so mote I thryve.'¹⁴³

Again Criseyde pleaded to be told and begged to at least be told why he should not tell his secret to her. His answer only intensified Criseyde's curiosity:

'By God,' quod he, 'that wal I telle as blyve;
For prouder womman is ther noon on lyve,
As ye it wiste, in al the town of Troye.
I jape nought, so evere have I joye!'¹⁴⁴

And by arousing Criseyde's curiosity Pandarus had an eager audience anxious to be told his news:

'Now my good em, forgoodes love I preye,
Quod she, 'come of, and telle me what it is;
For bothe I am agast what ye wol seye,
And ek me longeth it to wite, ywys;
For, whether it be wel or be amys,
Sey on; lat me nat in this feere dwelle.'¹⁴⁵

Later after having delivered the first letter from Troilus to his niece, Pandarus did not ask her if she had read the letter, but made a positive statement, thus catching Criseyde by surprise:

'Now, nece myn, tel on,' quod he, 'I seyde,
How liketh yow the lettre that ye woot?

¹⁴²Ibid., Bk. II, ll. 120-122.

¹⁴³Ibid., Bk. II, ll. 134-136.

¹⁴⁴Ibid., Bk. II, ll. 137-141.

¹⁴⁵Ibid., Bk. II, ll. 309-315.

Kan he theron? for, by my trouthe, I noot.¹⁴⁶

The psychological understanding that Pandarus had of his niece and Troilus reinforced his power as a manager. He used this understanding as a means by which to achieve his purpose as in the case of interesting Criseyde in the "secret" he had to keep from her. All of these ways in which Pandarus had carefully managed his work greatly heightened the psychological interest of the character.

The characteristics of Chaucer's Pandarus as they were treated in this paper are as follows. Pandarus was, basically, a good-natured, witty man with a ready command of proverbs which brought out a streak of cynicism in his character. They also made him seem more mature in contrast to the lovers and gave a didactic aspect to his manner at times. Concerning his position in terms of courtly love, he was necessary to the romance. Without him the affair could not have been in the traditions of courtly love. He was uncle to Criseyde and friend to Troilus and was willing to go-between for them. He abided by the requirements of secrecy and taught them to do likewise. As intercessor, he made all of the necessary arrangements for letters, introductions, meetings, and finally for the consummation of their love. These are the ways in which he acted according to courtly love traditions.

He was perhaps more interested in managing the affair because of his relationship to Criseyde. He was sincerely interested in

¹⁴⁶Ibid., Bk. II, ll. 1195-1198.

doing his best for the lovers. He was not afraid to tell Criseyde of Troilus' love for her. He loved Criseyde as his niece, and would do her no harm, yet he felt that it was right that she should love some worthy knight. He assumed the responsibility of guiding Criseyde. He was also very much interested in Troilus and first entered into managing the affair in order to relieve the suffering of his friend. The relationship between Troilus and Pandarus was termed by Troilus as one of fellowship and trust. He was careful to say that he did not regard Pandarus as a man who did such going-between for money, but that he regarded Pandarus as one who undertook to manage the romance out of goodness. Chaucer explained that Pandarus did what he did "ful of good entente." Pandarus understood the natures of the young people very well and was able to use psychology in maneuvering them to act according to his plans.

In comparing the Pandarus of Shakespeare to the Chaucerian Pandarus, there will be found some similarities which are brought about as a result of plot similarities, and not similarities of character interpretation. For instance, concerning the first of the similarities in both versions Pandarus was an intercessor. Yet the manner in which each Pandarus went about his business was entirely different. The Chaucerian Pandarus was interested in the lovers themselves and was very willing to be of any help to them. Although the Shakespearean Pandarus had taught Troilus some of the ways of love,¹⁴⁷ he proved to be rather difficult for Troilus to get to

¹⁴⁷Troilus and Cressida, I, i, 18.

manage his affair. Yet it was necessary for Troilus to secure the aid of Pandarus if he was to have Cressida:

'I cannot come to Cressid but by Pandar;
And he's as tetchy to be woo'd to woo
As she. . . .¹⁴⁸

The element of being "woo'd to woo" would of course only increase the pleasure that Pandarus might get from managing the affair. Pandarus was not always willing to aid Troilus as was the Pandarus of Chaucer. He also complained greatly about the amount of work that he had to do and frequently threatened to quit the entire plan, but one doubts that he ever would have. He said on one occasion:

I have had my Labour for my travell, ill thought
on of her, and ill thought on of you: Gone between and
between, but small thanke for my labour.¹⁴⁹

And so it is that Pandarus of Shakespeare became an intercessor for the lovers, yet he did not aid the lover as it was his duty to do according to courtly love, but rather became an added difficulty for Troilus to cope with before reaching his lady--a satirical presentation of an intercessor.

There are some similarities between the two versions of Pandarus in that they did some of the same duties of courtly love, namely, carry letters, and arrange for introductions, meeting places, and the final consummation. There remains a great difference in the manner in which each of the intercessors did these things. Concerning

¹⁴⁸Ibid., I, 1, 100-103.

¹⁴⁹Ibid., I, 1, 74-77.

the first of the duties, both Pandaruses were carriers of letters between the lovers. Chaucer's Pandarus carried letters in accordance with the requirements of courtly love at a time when they were essential to the budding of the romance. The Shakespearean Pandarus jested about "a token from Troilus,"¹⁵⁰ and later, he carried a letter from Cressida to Troilus.¹⁵¹ However, the letter was carried long after the time for letters could do the couple any good.

Concerning the second of these duties, as Pandarus made Cressida acquainted with Troilus, there is more mockery to be found in the Shakespeare version. Pandarus brought Cressida to the window to show Troilus to her:

Heere, heere here's an excellent place; heere, we
may see most bravely: I'll tel you them all by their names
as they pass by; but marke Troilus above the rest.¹⁵²

There ensues a conversation in which Pandarus' comments are designed to bring Cressida to look favorably upon Troilus. However, their effect worked negatively, for each time Pandarus said a favorable thing about Troilus, Cressida had a witty comment which reduced the original intent of Pandarus and gave Troilus a comic aspect. For example, Pandarus said, "Why he is very yong, and yet will he within three pound lift as much as his brother Hector," and Cressida's answer was, "Is he so young a man, and so old a lifter?"¹⁵³

¹⁵⁰Ibid., I, ii, 284.

¹⁵¹Ibid., V, iii, 117.

¹⁵²Ibid., I, ii, 181-184.

Another of the duties of courtly love which both intercessors managed was the arrangements for the meetings between the lovers. Pandarus brought Cressida to Troilus when Troilus asked for her.

Walk here i' the orchard, I'll bring her straight.¹⁵⁴

This is the reverse situation of that which occurs in the Chaucer version, for there it was Troilus who was brought to Criseyde when she was ready for him. The fact that Pandarus arranged the meeting places can also be substantiated by the fact that the scenes in which Troilus and Cressida are together are in Pandarus' orchard,¹⁵⁵ the court of Pandarus' house,¹⁵⁶ and a room in Pandarus' house.¹⁵⁷

Both versions of Pandarus also arranged for the consummation of the love of Troilus and Cressida. Yet the manner in which they acted was vastly different. The discreet manner of the Chaucerian Pandarus as he "bar the candel to the chymeneye," after he left the lovers, is in marked contrast to the Shakespearean Pandarus who merely made a "bargain" with the lovers and then showed them a "chamber and a bed."¹⁵⁸ Troilus and Cressida were probably still on stage when Pandarus added a rather debasing comment which closed the scene:

¹⁵³Ibid., I, ii, 116-119.

¹⁵⁴Ibid., III, ii, 17.

¹⁵⁵Ibid., III, ii.

¹⁵⁶Ibid., IV, ii.

¹⁵⁷Ibid., IV, iv.

¹⁵⁸Ibid., III, ii, 211.

And Cupid grant all tong-tide Maidens heere,
 Bed, Chamber, and Pander, to provide this geere.¹⁵⁹

The manner of Chaucer's Pandarus was quiet and discreet, whereas the Shakespearean Pandarus' actions tended to cheapen the events leading to the consummation.

Several of the dissimilarities have come to light in the discussion of the similarities. However, these points should be examined in their own right as dissimilarities as follows. Both versions of Pandarus were intercessors for the lovers, but the Pandarus of Chaucer was always helpful to the couple in every way, whereas the Shakespearean Pandarus was seen to be reluctant to aid the lovers. Both men performed some courtly love duties including carrying letters, making introductions, and arranging meeting places and the final consummation, but the way in which each man conducted himself, caused a different total effect to be produced. The Pandarus of Chaucer worked as if he sincerely believed in the principles of courtly love, whereas the Shakespearean Pandarus worked in such a way that he caused the traditions of courtly love to be satirized, and love in general to be cheapened.

There are several dissimilarities not yet looked upon. First to be considered is the manner of the two intercessors. Chaucer's Pandarus was a refined personage and portrayed in an admirable light, whereas Shakespeare's Pandarus was crude in his manner and sometimes made the affair appear in its basest aspects. His manner was what

¹⁵⁹Ibid., III, ii. 214-216.

could be termed coarse or rough.

Second to be discussed is the concern for Troilus and Criseyde which each man held. Chaucer's Pandarus was interested in the couple, even more so than the usual courtly love intercessor due to his relationship to Criseyde. He did things "ful of good entente" to both of the lovers. In contrast, the Shakespearean Pandarus showed no concern for the welfare of the lovers, in fact he was somewhat unwilling to even aid them. His concern was mainly one to make certain that they fulfilled their sensual desires.

A third difference is in the final state of friendship between Troilus and Pandarus at the end of the story. Chaucer's Pandarus remained loyal to Troilus to the last, even to the point of cursing his niece whereas the Shakespearean Pandarus had dropped so low in the eyes of Troilus that the young man saw fit to curse his "broker lackey."¹⁶⁰ The Chaucerian Pandarus had done all that he could possibly have done to benefit the affair and the reader feels that he was sincerely sympathetic to Troilus. The Shakespearean Pandarus displayed no particular sympathies for the forsaken Troilus whom he was supposed to have served.

In final summary of the two Pandaruses, they were alike in that they were both intercessors for the lovers, they both carried letters, they both introduced the lovers, and arranged for their meetings and the final consummation. This is the extent of similar-

¹⁶⁰ Ibid., V, x, 37.

ities between the two, for when it came to the manner in which they acted the part of an intercessor and carried out their duties, they worked in very different ways. The Chaucerian Pandarus abided by courtly love traditions and the Pandarus of Shakespeare worked in ways which satirized courtly love. Thus it was that there was little true similarity beyond that which was brought about by similar plots.

In review of the dissimilarities, Chaucer's Pandarus was an admirable person very much interested in the young people whom he helped in their love affair. The Shakespearean Pandarus was a bitter character who was not particularly interested in the young lovers, but made certain that they be able to fulfill their desires. There is some importance in the fact that at the end of the story, Chaucer's Pandarus was loyal to Troilus and made every attempt to comfort him. The Shakespearean Pandarus was not sympathetic and was cursed by Troilus as the panderer that he was.

Chaucer's Pandarus was the typical intercessor performing his duties in the realm of courtly love. He was a realistic character and Chaucer showed him to be fun-loving, yet sensible. The reader is not conscious that he was performing in a limited plane of courtly lover traditions, for his actions are those of a real person, and involve human emotions and understanding.

The Shakespearean Pandarus was shown only briefly, but in that time, he was seen to be a bitter person, enjoying life only when there was a base aspect to it. It appeared that Shakespeare gave

Shakespeare gave him the task of pointing out satirically the fallacies of courtly love. He was rather like the unsuccessful lover grown too old to partake of love himself, yet unwilling to give up entirely, bringing himself to vicariously enjoy his meddling in the love affair of others--the professional panderer.

The third character to be discussed is Criseyde. I shall first consider Chaucer's Criseyde in terms of courtly love. First, according to the theory of courtly love, the lover became servant to his lady. The lover gave his service to his lady and submitted himself to her will.¹⁶¹ In accepting Troilus, Criseyde gave him this warning that he would no longer be sovereign over her despite the fact that he was a king's son:

'But, natheles, this warne I yow,' quod she,
 'A kynges sone although ye be, ywys,
 Ye shal no more han sovereignete
 Of me in love, than right in that cas is:
 Ny nyl forbere, if that ye don anys,
 To wreththe yow, and whil that ye me serve,
 Chericen yow right after ye deserve.'¹⁶²

One of the aspects of the lady's superiority was that she could not be forced against her will to love and often remained cold and indifferent.¹⁶³ Again, Criseyde was no exception to the patterned lady of a courtly love romance. She made it clear to Pandarus that she could not love against her will, but that she would try to love Troilus:

¹⁶¹Dodd, op. cit., p. 13.

¹⁶²Troilus and Criseyde, Bk. III, ll. 169-176.

¹⁶³Dodd, op. cit., p. 135.

'Now wel,' quod she, 'and I wol do my peyne:
I shal myn herte ayeins my lust constreyne.
But that I nyl nat holden hym in honde:
Ayeins my wil: but elles wol I fonde,
My honour sauf, plese hym fro day to day.'¹⁶⁴

After Pandarus had left Criseyde with the thought that she should show pity upon the sick Troilus, Criseyde went to her room and meditated. She finally decided that a man could break his heart over loving her and she would not necessarily have to love him unless she chose.

For man may love, of possibilite,
A womman so his herte may to-breste,
And she not love ayein, but if hire leste.'¹⁶⁵

Criseyde commented upon her freedom and said that she would never permit Troilus to get her into a situation of which he could boast:

Ne als I nyl hym nevere so cherice,
That he may make avaunt, by juste cause,
He shal me nevere bynde in swich a clause.'¹⁶⁶

Pandarus respected the right which Criseyde held as a lady of courtly love, to have Troilus come to her at a time which she desired him to come. Pandarus told her that he was anxious to bring Troilus to her "whan yow liste."¹⁶⁷

Courtly love required that the lady not accept too easily, but rather to yield with extreme reluctance.¹⁶⁸ Criseyde was no exception,

¹⁶⁴Troilus and Criseyde, Bk. II, ll. 475-480.

¹⁶⁵Ibid., Bk. II, ll. 608-611.

¹⁶⁶Ibid., Bk. II, ll. 726-729.

¹⁶⁷Ibid., Bk. III, l. 917.

¹⁶⁸Dodd, op. cit., p. 12.

for, particularly at the beginning of the poem, she was much aloof. For instance, at the time of Criseyde's first receiving a letter from Troilus, Pandarus felt that she had been reserved too long already. He cautioned Criseyde:

But ye han pleyed the tirant neigh to longe,
 And hard was it youre herte for to grave;
 Now stynt, that ye no lenger on it honge,
 Al wolde ye the forme of daunger save;
 But hasteth yow to doon hym joye have;
 For trusteth wel, to longe ydoon hardnesse
 Causeth despit ful often, for destresse.¹⁶⁹

Pandarus said later to Criseyde that he had told her three times to speak with Troilus. This again would show that she did not let herself be easily won. Pandarus said:

'Wel,' quod Pandare, 'as I have told yow thrie,
 Lat be youre nyce shame and youre folie,
 And spek with hym in esyng of his herte;
 Lat nycete nat do yow bothe smerte.'¹⁷⁰

Secrecy concerned all people who were involved in courtly love,¹⁷¹ and Criseyde was no exception. She was extremely concerned about what people might think at all times. Early in the affair, Pandarus convinced her that he too would die if she did not offer some relief to his friend Troilus. Criseyde worried over what would be said of her if she were to become involved merely to save her uncle:

'What men wolde of it deme, I kan nay seye:
 It nedeth me ful sleightly for to pleie.'¹⁷²

¹⁶⁹Troilus and Criseyde, Bk. II, ll. 1240-1247.

¹⁷⁰Ibid., Bk. II, ll. 1285-1289.

¹⁷¹Dodd, op. cit., pp. 135,f.

¹⁷²Ibid., Bk. II, ll. 461-463.

Criseyde was ever concerned with what people would think of her. She was afraid that her blushes would be discovered as she and Pandarus watched Troilus return from battle. Pandarus tells her not to retreat inside the window:

'O fle nat in,--he seith us, I suppose,--
Lest he may thynken that ye hym eschuwe.'
'Nay, nay,' quod she, and wex as rede as rose.¹⁷³

She was in fear that others in the garden would see Pandarus force the letter from Troilus upon her.

And seyde hire: 'cast it now away anon,
That folk may seen and gauren on us tweye.'¹⁷⁴

She worried that Troilus would be seen to come and go too frequently about her palace and Pandarus understands and attempts to explain her fears with a proverb:

"I sette the worste, that ye dreden this:
Men wolde wondren sen hym come and goon;
. . .
'What! who wol demen, though he se a man
To Temple go, that he thymages eteth?'"¹⁷⁵

Pandarus was even cautioned to be careful in inviting guests to his home the day that Criseyde was to visit with him.

But natheles, yit gan she hym biseche,
Although with hym to gon it was no fere,
For to be war of goosissh peoples speche,
That dremen thynges whiche that nevere were,
And wel avyse hym whom he broughte there. . . .¹⁷⁶

¹⁷³Ibid., Bk. II, ll. 1254-1257.

¹⁷⁴Ibid., Bk. II, ll. 1156-1158.

¹⁷⁵Ibid., Bk. II, ll. 368-374.

¹⁷⁶Ibid., Bk. III, ll. 582-587.

Even to the last stage of the affair, Criseyde warned:

So werketh now in so discret a wise,
That ich hounour may have and he pleasunce. . . .¹⁷⁷

These have been characteristics of Criseyde as she is seen in terms of courtly love.

There are characteristics of Criseyde which are not related to courtly love. The first of these is that she was gay and witty in her conversations with her uncle, and usually matched his wit. It was their manner when together that

. . . with many wordes glade,
And frendly tales, and with merie cheere,
Of this and that they pleide. . . .¹⁷⁸

And again Criseyde was seen to be in this same gay, witty mood in the company of her uncle as he entertained her in his home:

At ese wel, with hertes fresshe and glade,
And wel was hym that koude best devyse
To liken hire, or that hire laughen made.
He song; she pleyde. . . .¹⁷⁹

In marked contrast with this type of conversation with her uncle, Criseyde was seldom anything but serious with Troilus. Typical of her conversation with Troilus is the following description of Criseyde's manner as she was about to speak to Troilus at the house of Deiphobus:

With that she gan hire eyen on hym caste

¹⁷⁷Ibid., Bk. III, ll. 943-945.

¹⁷⁸Ibid., Bk. II, ll. 148-151.

¹⁷⁹Ibid., Bk. III, ll. 611-615.

Ful esily, and ful debonairly,
 Avysyng hire, and hied nat to faste
 With nevere a word, but seyde hym sobrely. . . .¹⁸⁰

Criseyde appears to be a less sinful woman than she was because of the sympathetic attitude with which Chaucer portrayed her and particularly her unfaithfulness. Chaucer was reluctant to write that Criseyde actually gave her heart to Diomedes. He preferred to state that he was merely retelling what others had written:

Men seyn, I not, that she yaf hym hire herte.¹⁸¹

He was regretful that the earlier authors had to find reason to speak evil of Criseyde, and only hoped that they were not in error.

Allas! that they sholde evere cause fynde
 To speke hire harm! and if they on hire lye,
 Iwis, hem self sholde han the vilanye.¹⁸²

Chaucer did not dwell upon Criseyde's unfaithfulness. It is interesting to note that he wrote four books describing the romance of Troilus and Criseyde and only a small portion of book five was devoted to a hasty description concerning Diomedes's wooing of Criseyde.

Another reason for Criseyde's appearing less sinful than she perhaps was is that Chaucer suggested three reasons for her unfaithfulness. First, Chaucer implies that Criseyde's unfaithfulness might have been motivated in part by fear. She went to her father alone and when Diomedes offered her protection, Criseyde could easily have shown him mercy in hopes of gaining security for

¹⁸⁰Ibid., Bk. III, ll. 155-159.

¹⁸¹Ibid., Bk. V, l. 1050.

¹⁸²Ibid., Bk. IV, ll. 19-22.

herself. Chaucer relates that it was because she decided that she needed a friend's help that she decided to stay with the Greeks under the protection of Diomedes.

Retornynge in hire soule ay up and down
 The wordes of this sodeyn Diomedes,
 His grete estat, and peril of the town,
 And that she was allone and hadde nede
 Of frendes help. And thus bygan to brede
 The cause whi, the sother for to telle,
 That she took fully purpos for to dwelle.¹⁸³

The second of the reasons which Chaucer implied might somewhat excuse Criseyde's unfaithfulness, was that she was predestined to do what she did. There is a very long passage of some one hundred twenty lines devoted to a discussion of fate, free will, and predestination that precedes the failure of Criseyde to return to Troilus.¹⁸⁴ The passage is spoken by Troilus, but serves to introduce the unfaithfulness of Criseyde. It leaves the reader with the feeling that Criseyde could in no way have avoided what was by necessity to come about--her betrayal of Troilus. This allowed Criseyde to seem less guilty to her audience and absolved much of her sin even before it occurred. The reader is made to believe that Criseyde could not have used any of her virtues to save herself from what was predestined to occur. In this way, the reader can continue to think of the many virtues and fine qualities of Criseyde, rather than to remember her as a weak woman unable to

¹⁸³Ibid., Bk. V, ll. 1023-1030.

¹⁸⁴Ibid., Bk. IV, ll. 260-380.

properly conduct herself. This is in keeping with the fact that Chaucer was sympathetic toward Criseyde and found several means of excusing her life to his audience.

The third plausible reason Chaucer gives for Criseyde's unfaithfulness is a weakness in her character. She was not able to look ahead to see the eventual outcome of what she did. In her own words she said that she could remember the past and understood the present, but could not see future events until it was too late.

'Prudence, allas, con of thyn eyen thre
 My lakked alwey, or that I com here.
 On tyme ypassed wel remembred me;
 And present tyme ek koude ich wel-ise;
 But futur tyme, or I was in the snare,
 Koude I nat sen: that causeth now my care.'¹⁸⁵

In summarization, Criseyde was very much in the tradition of what was expected of a lady of courtly love. She accepted her position as high authority in the affair of love, and she could not be forced against her will into the affair. She did not enter into love with Troilus too easily, and abided always by the rules of secrecy.

In looking at Criseyde's character aside from its relationship to courtly love, she was seen to be gay and witty when she was with her uncle, and more reserved and serious in her manner with Troilus. Perhaps she appeared in a better light because of Chaucer's sympathy toward her. He did not dwell upon her unfaithfulness and made three plausible reasons for her to have forsaken Troilus. He suggested

¹⁸⁵Ibid., Bk. V, ll. 744-750.

that she might have been motivated by fear, that she might have been predestined to act as she did, and that her decision to remain in Greece was typical of a weakness in character, namely, she could not look ahead to see the final outcome of her actions.

In comparing the two Criseydes, there are four ways in which they were similar but similar only according to plot, for the manner of presentation was so different that character-wise there was little actual "similarity" even within the similarities. The first similarity is that it was through the efforts of Pandarus the two ladies came to love Troilus. Chaucer's Criseyde was guided gently into the affair by her uncle who believed that it was best for her to love a worthy knight. Concerning Shakespeare's Cressida, Pandarus led her to a window to see Troilus as he passed. There was some talk between them in which Pandarus sought to make Cressida familiar with Troilus. This was a deception, however, for after Pandarus was gone, she was seen to know more of Troilus than even Pandarus could have told her:

Words, voves, gifts, teares, and love's full sacrifice,
He offers in another's enterprise:
But more in Troilus thousand-fold I see
Than in the glasse of Pander's praise may be. . . .¹⁸⁶

The second similarity is that both women were the supreme authority in their love affairs. Chaucer's Criseyde was the high authority according to the manner of courtly love. In tones of mockery there are some remnants of courtly love in Shakespeare's

¹⁸⁶ Troilus and Cressida, I, ii, 286-290.

Cressida, in that she was also the supreme authority concerning her love with Troilus. However, the type of authority which she exhibited seemed to be the kind that came from experience rather than position. Her philosophy concerning women and their place in love--

. . . Women are angels wooing,
 Things won are done, joy's soul lies in the doing:
 That she belov'd knowes naught that knowes not this:
 Men prize the thing ungain'd more then it is:
 That she was never yet that ever knew
 Love got so sweet as when desire did sue:
 Therefore this maxime out of love I teach,--
 Achievement, is command; ungain'd, beseech.
 Then though my heart's content firme love doth beare
 Nothing of that shall from mine eyes appeare.¹⁸⁷

She expressed much the same type of thought to Troilus just before the bargain was made:

Hard to seeme won: but I was won, my Lord,
 With the first glance; that ever pardon me,
 If I confesse much, you will play the tyrant.
 I love you now; but not, till not, so much
 But I might master it; in faith I lye:
 My thoughts were like unbrideled children grow
 Too headstrong for their mother: see, we fooles,
 Why have I blab'd: who shall be true to us,
 When we are so unsecret to our selves?¹⁸⁸

In the discussion of Chaucer's *Criseyde*, it was mentioned that she was not involved against her will in the romance with Troilus. Neither was the Shakespearean Cressida involved against her will apparently, for in the words of Troilus; she was "stubborn-chaste against all suit." Judging from the implications that she was a

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, I, ii, 290-300.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, III, ii, 117-126.

woman quite experienced in the ways of love (yet to be discussed), her misrepresentation of coyness for chastity to Troilus was deceitful and she was being mock-prudish.

The fourth point of similarity is that there was some element of secrecy in both characterizations. Chaucer's Criseyde was consistently secretive about her affairs. The thought was always with her about what people would say. Shakespeare's Cressida was seen to be concerned for secrecy three times. The passages which show Cressida's concern for secrecy are brief compared to the repeated concern Chaucer's Criseyde showed. When Shakespeare's Cressida first spoke with her uncle, she told him, "Speake not so lowe."¹⁸⁹ Later she told Troilus after he had spent the night with her, "I would not for halfe Troy have you seen here."¹⁹⁰ By the time that Cressida had given Troilus' scarf to Diomedes, the time had long past for secrecy, yet she chose not to reveal to Diomedes the true ownership of the scarf:

By all Dianas waiting women yond,
And by herself, I will not tell you whose.¹⁹¹

There are many dissimilarities between the two versions of Criseyde. They begin with the fact that Shakespeare's Cressida was greatly demoralized from the Criseyde of Chaucer. It will be remembered that Chaucer's Criseyde was a refined lady of courtly love. Such was not the case with Shakespeare's Cressida. Her appearance

¹⁸⁹Troilus and Cressida, I, ii, 185.

¹⁹⁰Ibid., IV, ii, 46.

¹⁹¹Ibid., V, ii, 108-110.

was described by Ulysses:

Ther's language in her eye, her cheeke, her lip:
 Nay, her foote speaks, her wanton spirites looke out
 At every joint and motive of her body.
 O, these encounterers, so glib of tongue,
 That give a coasting welcome ere it comes,
 And wide unclasp the tables of their thoughts,
 To every ticklish reader! set them downe
 For sluttish spoyles of opportunitie
 And daughters of the game.¹⁹²

At this time Ulysses mentioned that she was said to

. . . sing any man at first sight,¹⁹³

and in the words of the echoing Thersistes--

And any man may finde her, if he can take her
 life; she's noted.¹⁹⁴

Thus it was that Cressida's reputation had traveled to Greece even before she arrived. A remark was made as Cressida entered the Greek camp which indicates the regard that was held for her kisses and the manner in which she allowed them to be taken. It was Ulysses who said:

'Twere better she were kiss'd in generall.'¹⁹⁵

Cressida herself said at one point that she wished that she could have been so bold as to assume the bolder aspects of a man in his power to begin a romance:

. . . I wish'd my selfe a man;
 Or that we women had mens privilege
 Of speaking first.¹⁹⁶

¹⁹²Ibid., IV, v, 66-75.

¹⁹³Ibid., V, ii, 13.

¹⁹⁴Ibid., V, ii, 14-16.

¹⁹⁵Ibid., IV, v, 26.

And again in Cressida's own words it is implied that she was experienced in love affairs herself. She said to Troilus the morning after their nuptial night:

. . . Pr'ythee, tarry; you men will never tarry;
O foolish Cressid!--I might have still held off,
And then you would have tarried.¹⁹⁷

There is, in the affair with Diomede, a lightness which suggests that Cressida could turn from one man to another quickly and with few regrets. Her meetings with Diomede were apparently frequent for she had evidently been tempted more than once by Diomede

Sweet honey Greek, tempt me no more to folly.¹⁹⁸

and later,

I pr'ythee, Diomede, visit me no more.¹⁹⁹

Even Diomede realized that Cressida was merely fooling with his affections. At one point he said to her

. . . Ile be your foole no more.²⁰⁰

and again

I doe not like this fooling.²⁰¹

The two part only after having set an hour for their next meeting.

¹⁹⁶Ibid., III, ii, 127-130.

¹⁹⁷Ibid., IV, ii, 21-24.

¹⁹⁸Ibid., V, ii, 22.

¹⁹⁹Ibid., V, ii, 86.

²⁰⁰Ibid., V, ii, 36.

²⁰¹Ibid., V, ii, 120.

There is also difference in the fact that Chaucer's Criseyde followed the teaching of her uncle to guide her in her courtly love romance, whereas the Cressida of Shakespeare made use of her own philosophy of courting. She acted with experience as her guide and Chaucer's Criseyde looked to her uncle for advice.

In summary of the two Criseydes, as in the cases of the other characters, any similarities which are shown are chiefly likenesses in plot, for there is great difference in the manner of presentation even in the instances of the few comparable points. The points which could be found to be at all similar were the following four. First, like Chaucer's Criseyde, Shakespeare's Cressida fell in love with Troilus through the efforts of Pandarus. The Chaucerian Criseyde entered into the affair rather reluctantly at the insistence of her uncle and guardian. The later Cressida showed that she knew as much about Troilus as Pandarus could tell her. Both Criseydes were supreme authorities in their affairs, Chaucer's Criseyde by virtue of her position according to courtly love, and Shakespeare's Cressida because of the experience she had. Neither woman was involved against her will; Chaucer's Criseyde in terms of the courtly love tradition, and Shakespeare's Cressida to accommodate her coyness. Also, both women abided by some secrecy, but only the Criseyde of Chaucer was shown to be repeatedly worried about keeping the aspects of her affair secret.

Aside from comparable points concerning courtly love, Shakespeare's Cressida was greatly demoralized. She was bold, coarse, and was

not looked upon in a good way by others in the play. Her reputation for making love reached Greece before she did. Her nature was that of a coquette and she thoroughly understood the baser aspects of her kind of love. Shakespeare took the refined lady of courtly love described by Chaucer far from her unique realm of courtly love, except as he chose to use that setting for purposes of satirizing the fallacies of the artificial ways of courtly lovers.

The characters of Chaucer were seen to be admirable characters who performed the romance of Troy within the limits of medieval courtly love traditions, and in comparison to them, Shakespeare's characters were demoralized and acted in the realm of courtly love only to satirize its traditions.

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