

# Robert Greene's Cony-Catching Pamphlets as Prototypical Novels: Realism, Parody, and Metafiction

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Elizabethan bohemian poet, pamphleteer, and playwright Robert Greene (c.1560-92), though less known than William Shakespeare, was popular and acknowledged in his time; being a well-educated Master of Arts, a title received from both Cambridge (1583) and Oxford (1588), he is regarded as one of the "University Wits," a group of Elizabethan dramatists who had studied at Oxford or Cambridge.

Despite such academic achievements, Greene was depicted as scandalous in Elizabethan print culture. Cuthbert Burby, printer of *The Repentance of Robert Greene*, claims that "*Robert Greene*, whose pen in his lifetime pleased you as well on the Stage, as in the Stationers shops. . . although his loose life was odious to God and offensiue to men, yet forasmuch as at his last end he found it most grieuous to himselfe" (12: 155).<sup>1</sup> Sandra Clark summarizes Greene's life: "[t]he first writer to gain a contemporary reputation as a pamphleteer was the notorious and ill-fated Robert Greene, soon followed by his friend and defender Thomas Nashe" (*The Elizabethan Pamphleteers* 17).

Greene wrote six plays and about thirty-five prose works (Clark, "Robert Greene" 61-76 ). Although Burby suggests that Greene was popular on stage, he was mainly engaged in writing pamphlets. In his early and middle career, he wrote romances such as *Pandosto* (1588), the inspiration for Shakespeare's *The Winter's Tale* (1609-11), and *Menaphon* (1589). However, in his late ca-

reer he turned his eyes to society, his fellow writers, and himself, becoming a *scandalous* writer as a result. In *A Quip for a Upstart Courtier* (1592), Greene slandered Gabriel Harvey and his brothers, triggering the Nashe-Harvey pamphlet wars.<sup>2</sup> Similarly, *Greene's Groatworth of Wit* (1592), which was issued posthumously, notoriously alluded to Shakespeare as "an vpstart Crow" (12: 144).<sup>3</sup>

These prose works were written in the form of pamphlets. A *pamphlet* technically indicates a cheap quarto. Along with the ballad, it dominated Elizabethan print culture, mainly delivering "news"—from political and religious accounts to gossip and sensational news on monsters and witches; literary works, how-to books, and other writings were also written as pamphlets (Raymond 5, 12; Shaarber 1-11; Clarke 13-14).

Greene remained in the center of such pamphlet culture, attempting to create his bohemian and roguish image by himself, surrounded by his fellow writers, including Nashe and Henry Chettle. Greene's "cony-catching" pamphlets largely contributed to establishing his notorious figure, along with his auto-biographical pamphlets *Groatworth* and *The Repentance*; six were the works: *A Notable Discovery of Cozenage* (1591), *The Second Part of Conny-Catching* (1591), *The Third and Last Part of Conny-Catching* (1592), *The Defense of Conny-Catching* (1592), *A Disputation between a He Conny-Catcher, and a She Conny-Catcher* (1592), and *The Black Book's Messenger* (1592). Among Greene's coinages, a "cony/conny," otherwise known as rabbit in Elizabethan English, refers to a "dupe," while a "cony/conny-catcher" signifies a cheater, or a con man. Each work is composed of short tales describing episodes and characters of low life, mostly in London: pickpockets, thieves, gambling frauds, and others. Although they emphasized factual information, unlike traditional journalism, these accounts retained fictional elements that presented the pamphlet as unreliable; thus, the term carried a negative connotation (Raymond 8). This aspect will be further discussed later.

Recent critics have paid attention to Greene more than ever before; for example, in 2008, Kirk Melnikoff and Edward Gieskes edited and published the first essay collection on the author, *Writing Robert Greene*, followed by

*Robert Greene*, the first collection of his reception from his death in 1592 to the present day, edited by Melnikoff in 2011. Nevertheless, the studies of Greene are limited, with only three full-length studies by Nicholas Storojenko, John Clark Jordan, and Charles Crupi. Alexander B. Grosart's *Life and Complete Works in Prose and Verse of Robert Greene* (15 vols., 1881-86) remains the only complete edition of Greene's works. The large number of his works, as well as the complexity and unreliability of the writings and records by Greene himself and others, may have made critical approaches difficult. Although he wrote about himself in the "cony-catching" and "repentance" pamphlets during his final days, and his contemporaries Gabriel Harvey, Nashe, and Chettle, the editor of *Groatsworth*, and printers such as Burby discussed him in their works, it is unclear whether these documents were factual. There is a possibility that the accounts may have been fictionalized in order to draw readers and earn money.

Greene's "cony-catching" pamphlets have not attracted the attention of critics as much as his other works, such as *Pandosto* and *Groatsworth*, and have been discussed by critics Karen Helfand Bix, Lawrence Manley, and Michael Long in terms of criminality and urban culture.

Only Jefferey Rothschild and Relihan Constance focus on Greene's narrative techniques; this is the particular aspect that I am also concerned with. Rothschild examines the development of the narrator in English prose fiction from the Renaissance to the eighteenth-century and briefly discusses a prostitute's short autobiography "the Conuersion of an English Courtizen" in *A Disputation* and Ned Brown's autobiography called *The Black Book's Messenger*. Rothschild claims that the prostitute's tale is "the earliest prose work originally written in English" to use "a narrator" and that *The Black Book's Messenger* follows this narrative method. In other words, Greene is the first to employ "I" for the "speaker" who is not the "author" (25). However, Rothschild does not fully discuss the two works; he just points to them as the examples of the development of the narrator.

By contrast, Constance analyzes Greene's narratives as the author-narrator in his six cony-catching pamphlets, and states that "in other kinds of

fiction,” such as romance, “it was very difficult” to present the author as such. She concludes that Greene wanted “the reader to see the criminal actively purely as entertainment” and subvert “the conventional impulse toward legal and morality in which he based his original ovary appeal to his readers” (13). Constance is noteworthy in her paying attention to Greene’s figure as the author-narrator in the works and his relationship with his reader; however, she does not seem to fully analyze Greene’s narrative techniques and their comic effects. Moreover, she does not highlight the innovative and modern aspects of his narrative.

On the other hand, a few critics recognize Greene’s modernity and realism in his pamphlets, finding similarities between his works and eighteenth-century novels. Some critics focus on the two autobiographies in Greene’s cony-catching works and link them to both *Moll Flanders* (1722) by Daniel Defoe and criminal biography. Rothschild associates the prostitute’s short autobiography in *A Disputation* with *Moll Flanders*. He claims that “[t] here are unmistakable similarities between the preface and the one written by Defoe over a century later for *Moll Flanders*, in particular the claim to be writing fact rather than fiction and the justification given for the work” and examines the narratives modes. He focuses on the narrative methods in *The Black Book’s Messenger* and claims that these two works influenced Nashe’s *Unfortunate Travellers* (Rothschild 25). Steven Mentz states that the tale of the prostitute’s conversion in *A Disputation* “rehears the plot of *Moll Flanders* 130 years before Defoe” (247), while Gillian Spraggs posits that “*The Black Book’s Messenger* is highly innovative in form, and in this respect it was to prove extremely influential” and that “it was the first such ‘Life and Death’ account of a professional criminal, and as such, it is the forerunner of a number of similar works” (99).

More importantly, Richard Helgerson recognizes the “realism of representation” in Greene’s cony-catching works, suggested by Ian Watt as being a feature of the novel (8). Helgerson remarks, “With the exception of Lodge’s *Alarm against Usurers* and Greene’s cony-catching pamphlets, there is little in these books of what Ian Watt, discussing eighteenth-century fiction, called

“realism of presentation.” Helgerson goes on to say, “In the sixteenth-century all the usual marks of such realism—individual names, particularly of time, space, and objective detail, and a straightforward, naturalistic style—are conspicuously lacking” (8). Helgerson neither clearly shows the examples of “the usual marks of such realism” in Greene’s pamphlets nor further discusses their relationships with the eighteenth-century novel; however, his proposal is persuasive.

Greene’s cony-catching series does seem to have some aspects in common with such eighteenth-century novels as Defoe’s and Henry Fielding’s—for instance, the blurred line between fact and fiction, parody, and metafiction. Greene portrays criminals by mixing factuality with fiction, while Defoe realistically writes a fictional autobiography of Moll Flanders and Fielding comically describes the life of a historical highwayman Jonathan Wild.

The parodical and metafictional elements in Greene’s works are later implemented by Fielding and Laurence Sterne. Greene frequently talks to the reader as the narrator in the first three pamphlets. However, he becomes the character in the fourth, the parody of the earlier three; the alleged author and cony-catcher, “Cuthbert Cony-Catcher,” criticizes “R. G.,” namely, Robert Greene, for exposing their cheats. As Greene’s cony-catching works were written in the tradition of the jestbook—a collection of funny short stories—as well as rogue literature, these kinds of parody and metafictional narratives cause comic effect. When narrating about criminal tricks such as cheating at cards and gambling, and theft, in a form similar to the jestbook, the contents become fundamentally humorous.

Such comical self-references, the interaction between the author and the narrator, and digression are also found in works by Fielding and Sterne, who had been influenced by Cervantes’s *Don Quixote* (1605) (Ardila 124-41; Narosny and Wilson 142-50); this work was written nearly ten years after Greene died, though it shared similarities, parodical and metafictional elements with Greene’s cony-catching works. Greene obviously did not read *Don Quixote*, but instead he should have read another Spanish picaresque, the anonymous *Lazarillo de Tormes* (1554). David Rowland’s English translation of the work

was issued in 1586; this work became popular in England and had great influence on Nashe (MacKay 101).

Despite the similarities, the relationship between Greene's cony-catching tales and such eighteenth-century novels has not been fully discussed. Of course, the definition and origin of the novel are difficult to pinpoint; Terry Eagleton claims that "the novel is a genre which resists exact definition. . . . Because it is hard to say what a novel is, it is hard to say when the form first arouse" (1-2). The purpose of this paper is not to discuss these issues, but to examine the impact of Greene's cony-catching works on the novel form, and the common elements between Greene and such novelists.

This paper will discuss realism, parody, and metafiction in Greene's six cony-catching pamphlets by treating them as *prototypical novels* and exploring their significance in the history of the novel. The first section will discuss their undefined boundary between fact and fiction with references to news writing and eighteenth-century novels. The second section will analyze parodic elements from John Awdeley and Thomas Harman in Greene's six pamphlets and claim that they are largely fictional. The final section will focus on metafictional narratives in the works, discussing the relationship between the author and the reader. Through this study, I will reveal the significance of Greene's cony-catching works in the development of the English novel.

## 1. Realism

Before discussing realism in Greene's cony-catching tracts, I will briefly survey the works, their genre, and the influence from the preceding tracts of Awdeley and Harman. Greene's first three works, *A Notable Discovery*, *The Second Part*, and *The Third and Last Part* are a trilogy; each work describes the knavery tricks by dice and card players, pickpockets, thieves, and prostitutes in the form of colloquial prose and in the third person; occasionally the author-narrator introduces and comments on the episodes. Each work is composed of several short tales, and there is no relation between the

episodes.

*The Defense* was allegedly written by "Cuthbert Cony-Catcher," a scholar of cony-catching at "*Whittington College*," in order to defend cony-catchers like him and attack Greene's pamphlets (11: 48, 43). Most critics attribute this work to Greene (Pruvost 445-53; Parker 87-89; Clark, *The Elizabethan Pamphleteers* 47; Margolies 109-10; Constance 10-11). On the other hand, others believe that it was written by Greene and Nashe (Nicholl 125-30; Kumaran 261). Greene may have co-written with Nashe, but in any case, Greene was committed to producing the work.

*A Disputation* is composed of two parts, the disputation of a male and a female cony-catcher and a brief tale on the conversion of a prostitute. The dispute is written in the form of a dialogue between the two cony-catchers; they debate which is more skillful between the two; as a result, she wins. On the other hand, the short tale is an autobiography, narrated by the prostitute in the first person. She recounts having been a rebellious girl and having worked as a prostitute, then meeting a gentleman and marrying him; for these reasons, she became happy and repented her past life.

*The Black Book's* is written in the same style as the prostitute's tale. Ned Brown, the well-known cony-catcher, confesses his roguish life and repents just before his execution. Brown is a fictional character, though Greene depicts as if he were a real cutpurse. As quoted in the Introduction, Spraggs highly estimates this work and points out its influence on *The Life and Death of Gamaliel Ratsey* (1605) and its sequel *Ratsey's Ghost* (1605) (99). These pamphlets contain the confession of the criminals before their execution, and they were followed by later criminal biographies, George Fidge's *The English Gusman* (1652) and the anonymous *The Life and Death of Mrs. Mary Frith* (1662). These works developed into *The Newgate Calendar* by Andrew Knapp and William Baldwin, and crime fiction or detective stories such as *Burnaby Rudge* and *Oliver Twist* by Charles Dickens and the *Sherlock Holmes* series by Arthur Conan Doyle (Worthington 13-27). Therefore, Greene's two criminal biographies had great influence on eighteenth and nineteenth-century crime or detective novels in the long span, and they are

remarkable within the history of the novel.

Greene's cony-catching tracts were enormously popular at the time, particularly *A Notable Discovery of Cozenage*, printed first in 1591, twice in the same year, and then once more in 1592. *The Second Part* was first published in 1591, and the revised version, *The Second and Last Part of Conny-Catching*, appeared the following year. *The Third and Last Part* and *The Defense of Conny-Catching* were both first printed in 1592 and both reprinted once in the same year. *A Disputation* was the most popular, and the popularity continued longer than any other work; the first edition appeared in 1592; the work was renamed *Thieves Falling Out* in the Jacobean era and was reprinted four times in 1615, 1617, 1621, and 1637.

As previously mentioned, Greene's tracts follow the tradition of rogue literature and jestbooks. Frank Aydelotte claims that English rogue literature was influenced by French and Spanish Picaresque novels and by German jestbooks (114-16). Most critics see Gilbert Walker's *A Manifest Detention of Diceplay* (1552) as the first work of English rogue literature (Aydelotte 120; Kinney 61-62). *A Manifest Detention* was followed by Awdeley's *Fraternity of Vagabonds* (1561) and Harman's *A Caveat for Common Cursitors* (1566). Although the former influenced Greene in describing the city rogue and their trick with dice and in utilizing the form of the dialogue, both Awdeley and Harman seem to have had directly influenced Greene.<sup>4</sup>

Awdeley suggests that his book is based on the true report from "a Vagabond" arrested by "Justices and men of Lands" (91). In the main part, Awdeley systematically shows various rogues, such as sturdy beggars, thieves, and prostitutes, through short episodes, and this structure influenced both Harman and Greene.

Harman expanded Awdeley's stories and emphasized their factuality more. According to Harman, he was a former Justice of Peace in Kent, but illness kept him at home, where he was frequently visited by various types of beggars and recorded their features and classified them. Thus, his book appears to be truer and more authentic than Awdeley's. Harman's work proved enormously popular, going through four editions (once in 1566, twice



in 1568, once in 1573); the work was plagiarized in the anonymous *The Groundwork of Conny-Catching* (1592) and *The Belman of London* (1608) by Thomas Dekker (Carroll 70-71; Agnew 64).

Greene changed the motif, from the vagabond to the city rogue who pretends to be gallants in good attire, adding more fictional tastes to Awdeley and Harman by using various narrative and structural devices. His works in the form of the jestbook seem to have been more literary and familiar to the reader.

Greene underscores the authenticity of his information throughout his cony-catching series much more than Awdeley and Harman. In particular, in the first three works, the author seems to struggle with establishing the authenticity of the sources and enhancing the credibility of the information. As quoted in the Introduction, Helgerson points out that Greene's cony-catching pamphlets contain "what Ian Watt, discussing eighteenth-century fiction, called 'realism of presentation'" (8). In his influential book, *The Origin of the Novel*, Watt points out that the novel was a new genre describing "formal realism," that is, "the realism of presentation" and "the narrative method whereby the novel embodies. . . circumstantial view of life" (297, 32). Moreover, Watt claims that Geoffrey Chaucer, Edmund Spenser, Shakespeare, and John Milton followed "the traditional plots" taken from "mythology, history, legend or previous literature" while Defoe, Samuel Richardson, and Fielding rejected such traditional plots. In fact, they invented their own or partly used "a contemporary incident," and paid attention to "the individualization of its characters and to the detailed presentation of their environment" by using "proper names" for characters, particularizing "space and time," and also by giving an "air of complete authenticity" (14, 18, 21, 27). These elements create the "formal realism" or "presentation of realism."

Greene's cony-catching tracts show these traits of "formal realism" or "presentation of realism." For example, in the epistle to the reader in *A Notable Discovery*, Greene notes: "The odde mad-caps I haue beene mate too, not as a companion, but as a spie to haue an insight into their knaueries." In short, the author entered the underworld "as a spie" in order to explore the

tricks of the rogues. He goes on to say that he wants to protect them from the cheaters by exposing the tricks (10: 5-6).

Moreover, the revised version of *The Second and Last Part of Conny-Catching* adds "A Tale of a Nip" to the former edition, and at the end of the story, Greene remarks, "for approuing the trueth of this, my self conferd with the Priest, and he told me thus much" (A3v).<sup>5</sup> He emphasizes factuality by showing the Priest as the authoritative source.

Furthermore, *The Third and Last Part* is based on the "notes" written by the old gentleman of "commission of the peace," who reminds us of Harman, the former Justice of Peace, and who sounds more authoritative than Greene, the spy-author of the previous works. In its epistle, Greene confesses that the old gentleman gave him "notes" (10: 144). According to Greene, he repeatedly insisted on the authenticity of the sources by saying, "I dare assure their truth. . . no one vntruth is in the notes, everie one credible" (10: 145). This work is based on the authoritative "notes" that were edited by Greene, not written by him; it thus uses a frame narrative. A similar device, "the play within a play," was frequently used in Elizabethan plays, as shown in Shakespeare's *A Midnight Summer's Dream* (1595-96) and *Hamlet* (1599-01). Such device appears often both in the middle of the plays and at the beginning of the two works. In *The Taming of the Shrew* (1590-94), the play within a play is used as the frame; the Kate-Petruchio plot is presented in the form of the play that Christopher Sly watches. Greene uses the device in a similar way in *The Scottish History of James IV* (c.1590): the plot of Henry IV is presented by Bohan, a Scottish misanthrope, to Oberon. On the other hand, Thomas Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy* (c.1587) uses the device both as the frame and as Hieronimo's play within the play. This kind of frame narrative, whether based on a diary, a report, a letter, or a translation, was common in eighteenth-century realistic novels such as Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* (1719) and *Moll Flanders*, Jonathan Swift's *Gulliver's Travel* (1726), and Richardson's *Pamela* (1740), and also in Gothic novels such as Horace Walpole's *The Castle of Otranto* (1764) and Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein* (1818). Through these narrative frames, the authors reinforced the authenticity of their sto-

ries.

In addition, the detailed descriptions of the characters and events enhance the credibility of Greene's tales. As Clark remarks, Greene "gives the air of factual report with details of names and places, of clothing and of gestures" ("Robert Greene," 49). Indeed, *A Notable Discovery* notes: "The Conny-catchers, appalled like honest ciuil gentlemen, or good fellows, with a smooth face. . . are at leasure to walk vp and downe Paules, Fléetstéet, Holbourne, the sttrond, and such common hanted place" (10: 16).

Unlike Harman, Greene does not expose "the names of such coosening Cunny-catchers," hoping for "*their amendment*," though, if they do not amend, he will show their names in a list (10: 12). Instead of their real names, he uses initials; for example, in *A Notable Discovery*, Greene expresses the names of prostitutes and male rogues by initial letters: "*Mal B.*" for "the eldest of them, and most experienced" female swindler; "A. B." for her servant; "A. B.," "J. R.," and "J. B." for the male cheaters (10: 46-49). The initial letters sound dubious but realistic at the same time. On the other hand, contradictorily, he exposes characters with realistic names such as Bull, Lawrence Pickering, Cuthbert, Nan, and Ned Brown. Among them, Bull is the only historical person, "then the hangman at Tyburn" (Kinney 302, n. 30). The others are criminals and, at a glance, appear to be historical persons; however, although Pickering is said to be Bull's brother-in-law, they are actually fictional.

Most critics agree that Greene's cony-catching pamphlets are fiction. Constance sees rogue literature as fiction (9) and Linda Woodbridge identifies it with "the tabloids of its day," also regarding it as fictional (4). As discussed above, Mentz and Das believe that Greene's cony-catching works are a kind of romance—that is, again, a work of fiction (Mentz 240-55; Das 133-42).

By contrast, Walter R. Davis regards Greene's cony-catching and repentance series, written in his last years, as "the literature of facts" (183). Edwin Haviland Miller labels Anthony Munday, Greene, and Nashe as pioneer journalists, and claims that Greene's works are mixed with facts and fiction (205). Similarly, Paul Saltzman identifies the blurred boundary between facts and

fiction in the series, and states that the works are important for their influence on the Picaresque novel, which follows “particular literary conventions,” though reacting to “social conditions” (Saltzman 206). Greene’s works largely draw on Walker, Awdeley, and Harman, and partly plagiarize or parody them. Therefore, almost all their information is fiction, though it may include some facts. Greene’s devices—from the frame narrative and the detailed descriptions of the characters and events to his metafictional anecdotes—are so tactful that even some modern critics believe that they are true.

Whether Greene’s works are “tabloids” or “the literature of facts,” it is good idea to connect his works, mixed with fact and fiction, to journalism. Although periodicals did not exist at the time, Greene was a “spie,” or, as we would call him, a reporter, and certainly aware of journalistic aspects in his works. Lennard J. Davis criticized Watt for dismissing “the foundation of the novel,” or “the considerable history of early novels in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries” and skipping to Defoe, Richardson, and Fielding. Davis sees the novel as a “discourse,” or “the ensemble of the texts that constitute the novel,” following Michel Foucault, and claims that “the texts” may include not only “novels and literary criticism,” but also “parliamentary statutes, newspapers, advertisements, printer’s record, handbills, and letters, and so on” (7). Among such various writings, Davis pays attention to the “news/novels” discourse including news ballads, news pamphlets, and newsbooks, written in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Davis claims that “[n]ewes does not denote what the modern reader would assume to be news—an essentially factual” but the word “was frequently applied freely to writings which described either true or fictional events, quotidian or supernatural occurrences, and affairs that may have recently or several decades old”; it was also applied “to such diverse typed of literature as ballads, prose tales, and jestbooks” (50).

Moreover, L. Davis points to the etymological closeness of such words indicating newsbooks as “*corantos*, *nouvelles*, *novels*, and *newes*,” stating that “[t]he word ‘novel’ began to be used to indicate “a tale or short story” in England around 1566, following the *Oxford English Dictionary*, and claims that

[t]he range of the word *newes* was extremely broad at this time in history," and that "the news/novels discourse seems to make no real distinction between what we would call fact and fiction" (51).

L. Davis never touches on Greene's works, while mentioning Nashe's *Strange News* (1593) (50); however, Greene's cony-catching pamphlets can be included in the news/novel discourse for three reasons. First, as discussed above, Greene reinforces the truth in the tales, but most of them remain mostly fictional; his works then share the ambiguity of facts and fiction within the news/novel discourse that Davis suggests.

Second, Greene seems to intend to model his works upon news pamphlets such as Munday's *The English Roman Life; Discovering the Lives of the Englishmen at Rome* (1582) and Reginald Scot's *The Discovery of Witchcraft* (1584). The title of Greene's first work, *A Notable Discovery of Cozenage*, seems to imitate or parody the titles by Munday and Scot. Further, Munday went to the Jesuit English College in Rome for his own purposes, but on his return to England he became a government spy; the College was the center of plots against Elizabeth's government; Munday helped them identifying and arresting the Jesuits as they came to England (Bryant 37). Later, he reported on the College in *The English Roman Life*. Greene was certainly aware of Munday's work, and imitated or parodied the setting.

Third, as Manley points out, Greene emphasizes the "newness" in his works. In the epistle in *A Notable Discovery*, the author says: "if I shoulde spend many sheets in deciphering their shifts, it were friuelous, in that they be many, and ful of variety: for euery day they inuent new tricks" (Grosart 10: 35; Manley 348). In addition, Greene frequently uses such words as "new," "news," "of late," and "not long since," and seems to write his works as news articles.

L. Davis also analyzes novels such as those by Defoe, Richardson, and Fielding, stating that they carry the news/novels discourse while transforming it into the novel; he finally concludes: "[it] can be said that novels are framed works. . . whose attitude toward fact and fiction is constitutively ambivalent. . . the novel is a factual fiction which is both factual and factitious.

It is a report on the world and an invention that parodies that report" (212). Following Davis's theory of the novel, or the "factual fiction" theory, Greene's cony-catching works can be treated as such, or at least regarded as the prototype of such early novels by Defoe, Richardson, and Fielding.

Davis's point that "the novel" is "a report on the world and an invention that parodies that report" is an interesting concept, which is relevant to this study. Rogue literature developed by plagiarizing and parodying the preceding works, though to some extent it added new factual information. In other words, each work has intertextual relationships with the precedent tracts in rogue literature.

## 2. Parody

The *Oxford English Dictionary* defines "parody" as "a literary composition modeled on and imitating another work, *esp.* a composition in which the characteristic style and themes of a particular author or genre are satirized by being applied to inappropriate or unlikely subjects, or are otherwise exaggerated for comic effects" and provides Thomas Walkington's *Optik Glasse* (1607) and Ben Jonson's *Every Man in His Humor* (1616) as the first two examples ("parody, n. 2," 1. a.). However, before Walkington and Jonson, the concept of parody had already existed. For example, Greene mocks "Shakescene," or Shakespeare as "an vpstart Crow" and "*Iohannes fac totum*," or Jack of all trades in *Groatsworth* "there is an vpstart Crow, beautified with our feathers, that with his *Tyger's heart wrapt in a Players hide*. . . and being an absolute *Iohannes fac totum*, is in his owne conceit the only Shakescene in a countrie" (12: 144). "*Tyger's heart wrapt in a Players hyde*" is a parody of a line from Shakespeare's *Henry VI, Part 3* (1590-93): "a tyger's heart wrapped in a woman's hide" (1.4.137).

In rogue literature, as discussed above, writers imitated or plagiarized their predecessors and created their own works; among all, Harman was particularly plagiarized. Aydelotte points out that "[i]n the seventeenth century. . . rogue literature fell back on tradition and imitation, sometimes of

earlier English works, sometimes of foreign" (125–26). Aydelotte claims that Greene finds his originality while seeing Dekker and Samuel Rowlands as his imitators, and Clark follows this idea (*The Elizabethan Pamphleteers*, 46).

Indeed, Greene developed Harman and Awdeley's sociological criminal reports into literary works with various devices in structure and narratives. However, he partly plagiarizes and parodies Walker, Harman, and Awdeley, while emphasizing the authenticity and newness of his information. In other words, Greene mocks the reader. Rogue literature also derives from the jest-book, an argument that Woodbridge supports: "Rogue literature is basically a comic genre" (19). Therefore, Greene's serious attitudes towards the criminals are actually jokes—"serio ludere," or "serious play," as suggested by Erasmus in *The Praise of Folly* (Kott 12–13, 32–33). In short, the works by Greene, Awdeley, and Harman are simultaneously serious and comic, and written first and foremost for money.

Greene plagiarized Gilbert's tricks, including "Barnard's law," but largely imitated and parodied Awdeley and Harman, especially in his first three works; he then developed his own works in the rest of the series. For example, Awdeley mentions Cock Lorel, "the mythical leader of low-class characters" (Kinney 295, n. 8). Similarly, Harman retells an episode of Nicholas Jennings, a historical underworld celebrity, though it is uncertain whether Harman actually met him. Following them, Greene describes Lawrence Pickering and Ned Brown as celebrity rogues, both of whom are fictional. *The Second Part* refers to Pickering, a famous cutpurse in London, with his colleagues often meeting in his house located on "Kent-street"; he is also the brother-in-law of Bull, the hangman at Tyburn (10: 109).

I argue that the relationship between Bull and Pickering resembles that between Pamela Andrews, created by Richardson, and Joseph Andrews by Fielding. Fielding, who had already parodied Richardson's *Pamela* in *Shamela* (1741), again parodied her in *Joseph Andrews*. Both of them are, of course, fictional characters, and were created by different authors; however, Fielding's playful and humorous idea seems to be close to Greene's. Another Lawrence Pickering, however, was known to have attended Cambridge Universi-

ty, and may have been Greene's friend (Parr 542). If true, Greene will have mocked him together with his fellow writers such as Nashe, who also graduated from Cambridge.

Further, Greene parodies the name list of the rogues at the end of Harman's book. Harman added to Awdeley a real name list of the three types of rogues: "the Upright men," "Rogues," and "Palliards." In *The Disputation*, Nan, the prostitute, talks to the above Pickering, "King of Cut-purses" (10: 209), about her anxiety for the list which will be included in Greene's next book called *The Black Book*: "I feare me R. G. will name them too soone in his black booke" (10: 225). As will be discussed in the next section, Greene frequently shows his self-consciousness through metafictional anecdotes. Nan is obviously a fictional character, though Greene describes as if she were a real prostitute.

These were small points, but the following two examples are more important. Greene parodies Harman's purpose of the book. Harman asserts in his epistle to the reader: "Faithfully for the profit and benefit of my country I have done it, that whole body of the realm may see and understand their lewd life and pernicious practices, that all may speedily help to amend that is amiss" (114).

Similarly, Greene notes: "Thus for the benefit of my countrey I haue briefly discovered the law of Cony-catching, desiring all Iustices, if such coseners light in their precinct, euen to vse *summum ius* against them, because it is the basest of all villanies" (10: 35-36) and the passage ends with his motto, "*Nascimur pro patria*" (10: 36). The motto means "We are born for our country" in English (Kinney 301, n. 14). The title page also notes this work was "[w]ritten for the general benefit" and relegates the motto at the end.

Furthermore, Greene parodies Harman's style. Rogue literature is commonly written in plain and colloquial English without rhetoric. Harman explains his plain style in the epistle to the reader: "I write in plain terms, and not so plainly as truly, concerning the matter meaning honestly to all men, and wish them as much good as to mine own heart. . . according to my plain



order, I have set forth this work simply and truly, with such usual words and terms" (113).

Greene, however, does not simply imitate Harman; rather, he invents a metafictional anecdote, where some of his readers have complained about his style in *A Notable Discovery*. The author specifies it in his epistle to the reader in *The Second Part*: "some inferred against me, which was, that I shewed no eloquent phrases, nor fine figuratiue conueiance in my first booke as I had done in other of my workes. . . a certain decorum is to bee kept in euerie thing, and not to applie a high stile in a base subiect" (10: 71).

The offences may sound factual, but it is his fabrication because the two books *A Notable Discovery* and *The Second Part* were entered in the Stationers' Register on the same day, 13 Dec. 1591 (Arber, 2: 600). In other words, when he wrote the above mentioned explanation in *The Second Part*, he had not published the first one yet. Greene thus frequently fabricates such anecdotes concerning his readers and himself, sometimes addressing the reader as the author-narrator with a friendly approach in his works. Such device of the author talking to the reader is found in the contemporary works of the anonymous *Lazarillo de Tormes*, Miguel de Cervantes' *Don Quixote*, and Nashe's *Pierce Penniless* and *Unfortunate Traveller*, and also in eighteenth-century novels such as Fielding's *Jonathan Wild* (1743) and *Tom Jones* (1749), and Sterne's *Tristram Shandy* (1759).

Thus, parodic elements are often found in Greene's works; yet, it remains questionable whether the reader could read and enjoy them as such. According to the epistle to the reader in *A Notable Discovery*, gentlemen, merchants, apprentices, and farmers, and countrymen are targeted. The real readers, however, were gentlemen and apprentices living in London, as the books were mainly published there at the time. Clark claims that the pamphlets were generally addressed to the middle class (*The Elizabethan Pamphleteers*, 18). Derek B. Alwes suggests that Greene targeted sophisticated gentlemen and elites (133), and Mentz sees London citizens as his readers (241). Although the sophisticated citizens probably realized Greene's fabrications and parodies and found them funny, Greene's fellow writers Nashe and

Chettle, on the other hand, certainly recognized and enjoyed them. Nashe, who graduated from Cambridge, knew about Lawrence Pickering: those parodies may have been their shared jokes.

### 3. Metafiction

According to Patricia Waugh, *metafiction* is “a term given to fictional writing which self-consciously and systematically draws attention to its status as an artefact in order to pose questions about the relationship between fiction and reality” (2). Thus, “the relationship between fiction and reality” deeply connects with metafictional narratives.

Some of Greene's metafictional anecdotes have been already illustrated above; his enemies' threat to him in *A Notable Discovery*, “*if I set their practices in print, they will cut off that hande that writes the Pamphlet*” (10: 12); his readers' complaints about his plain style in *The Second Part*; the old gentlemen's praise of Greene's first two books and request to write the third one based on his “notes” in *The Third and Last Part*.

Greene shows these kinds of metafictional anecdotes involving his readers and himself in almost all the pamphlets. Some of the readers are his fans and praise his books, while others are cony-catchers, such as Cuthbert, Pickering, and Nan; they see Greene as their enemy. For example, in *The Third and Last Part*, “maister F.,” a merchant from Exeter, visits London in order to buy something, and he is cheated by rogues, including an old friend, with a trick of dice. Then, Greene tells the reader that “maister. F.,” is actually his old acquaintance. According to Greene, this merchant visited his house immediately after the incident happened, and found his cony-catching pamphlet in his study room; he started to read it and said, “sir, if I had seene this booke but two dayes since, it had saued me nine pound in my purse” (10: 96). Greene, then, talks to the reader: “Thus you may see that these base cony-catchers spare not their owne acquaintance nor familiar friends” (96).

As seen above, in *The Third and Last Part*, the gentleman of the “commission of the peace” asks Greene to write his third book of cony-catching on

the basis of his “notes.” According to Greene, the old gentleman was so impressed with his first and second cony-catching works that he asked him to expose the knaveries, which were not discussed in the earlier two works. The gentleman here refers to Greene’s two earlier works six times, by saying, “two seuerall imprinted books” and “the two published books of Conny-catching,” “the pamphlets” and so on (10: 144).

In contrast to these fans, after *The Defense*, the enemy readers—Cuthbert, Pickering, and Nan—appear as the protagonists and criticize Greene and his works. Greene counterattacks in *The Defense*, a self-parody of his earlier three cony-catching works. The author “Cuthbert” may have come from “Cuthbert Burby,” the printer who published *The Third and Last Part*. In the epistle to *The Defense*, Cuthbert shows his grudge against “R. G.,” namely Greene. He denounces Greene for exposing the tricks of cony-catchers and disturbing their trade. For example, Cuthbert tried to cheat on someone, but he was told:

I haue for 3. pence bought a litle Pamphlet, that hath taught me to smoke such a couple of knaues as you be. When I heard him talke of smoaking, my heart waxed cold, and I began to gather into him gently. No no (q. he) you cānot verse vpon me, this booke hath taught me to beware of crosbiting. (11: 45)

Cuthbert states that he was imprisoned for cheating and, after being set free, found out about Greene’s cony-catching works that expose the knaveries of his colleagues; this is why he holds a grudge against Greene. Cuthbert recounts episodes on millers, usurers, lawyers, and clergymen, claims that they are worse cheaters than cony-catchers, and suggests that Greene should attack them (11: 47).

More interestingly, Cuthbert denounces Greene as a cony-catcher: “what if I should proue you a *Conny-catcher* Maister R. G. would it not make you blush at the matter?” (11: 75). According to Cuthbert, Greene sold his play *Orlando Furioso* (c.1591) to two companies, the Queen’s Men and the Lord

Admiral's Men, at different prices: "Aske the Queens Players, if you sold them not *Orlando Furioso* for / twenty Nobles, and when they were in the country, sold the same Play to the Lord Admirals men for as much more. Was not this plaine *Conny-catching* Maister R. G.?" (11: 76). Cuthbert, however, provides Greene's excuse for this, as well: "I heare when this was obiected, that you made this excuse: that there was no more faith to be held with Plaiers, then with them that valued faith at the price of a feather" (11: 76).

Through the voice of Cuthbert, Greene both criticizes and defends himself, and this kind of metafictional anecdote must have made the reader confused and laugh at the same time because the author's anecdote suddenly destroyed the fictional world—the fourth wall—in the work, making the reader turn to the real world by referring to his real play "*Orlando Furioso*" and to the two famous companies, as well as "Maister R. G."

This kind of self-humiliation occurs as early as the opening. After the epistle, Cuthbert begins this tract with his provocative but comic questions:

I Cannot but wonder maister R. G. what Poeticall fury made you so fantasticke, to wryte against Conny-catchers? Was your braine so barraine that you had no other subiect? or your wittes so dried with dreaming of loue Pamphlettes, that you had no other humour left, but satirically with *Diogenes*, to snarle at all mens manners: (11: 49)

*The Defense* is thus the self-parody of Greene's earlier cony-catching pamphlets. Greene fabricates a conflict between Cuthbert and "R. G.," and bitterly but comically criticizes and humiliates himself through the voice of Cuthbert. In the first three works Greene praises his pamphlets through the voices of his fans, while in *The Defense* he ridicules himself through the voice of Cuthbert. Thus, Greene never appears in this work; in the end, through Cuthbert, he talks about his next book *The Repentance of a Conny-Catcher*, which was never actually published.

The first part of *A Disputation* describes a dispute between Nan and Lawrence in the form of a dialogue. "Lawrence" is identified with the "Law-

rence Pickering" mentioned in *The Second Part* (10: 109). Thus, in these serial pamphlets, each work is intertextually linked with the other. Some naïve readers may have believed Pickering exists, while others and Greene laughed at such credible "dupes." Nan appears for the first time. The two characters debate on which is a better cheater—a male or a female rogue. The work opens with their dialogue; each of them takes turns to narrate a short tale on male or female cheaters; their comments on the tales, and also Greene's, are inserted in the form of dialogue interjecting their tales. At last, Nan wins—her victory is also narrated in the form of dialogue—and the first part ends. The second part begins with the prostitute's autobiography and is followed by a couple of other short tales.

Greene's self-conscious narratives and self-advertisement have been already seen in *The Defense*; however, they become more prominent in this work. In the opening dialogue, Nan and Lawrence discuss their fellow rogues in general, and Nan asks Lawrence to talk about himself. He, however, replies that his tricks are famous "because R. G. hath so amply pend them downe in the first part of Conny-catching" (10: 206). He goes on to say, "the bookes of Conny-catching hath somewhat hindered vs," though some country farmers, gentlemen, and citizens are still victim of their tricks (10: 208). Lawrence implies that the battle between Greene and the cony-catchers continues.

Moreover, as quoted above, Nan, like Cuthbert, advertises Greene's new book *The Black Book*: "I feare me R. G. will name them too soone in his black booke. . ." (10: 225). She is afraid that the real names of her husband and friends are listed, and that Bull and Lawrence are also in trouble.

As Lawrence implies, the conflict between Greene and the cony-catchers continues and has now escalated. After the debate between Lawrence and Nan has finished, Greene, as the narrator, confesses he has been severely assaulted by "some fourtéene or fiftéene" cony-catchers at a tavern "the Saint Iohns head" lately. He was saved, though his friend was wounded: "the courteous Cittizens and Apprentises tooke my part, and so two or thrée of them were carryed to the Counter, although a Gentleman in my company was

sore hurt (10: 236).” Nevertheless, he continues to write his new book: “I cannot deny but they beginne to waste away about *London*, and *Tyborne* (since the setting out of my booke) hath eaten vp many of them. . . I feare them not: and to giue them their last adue, looke shortly Countrimen for a Phamphet against them, called *The blacke Booke*”(10: 237). He tells this violent anecdote by giving detailed descriptions and, at the same time, advertising his new work. *The Black Book* has already been mentioned by Nan above, but Greene adds the new information, explaining new methods of cheating, and refers to the list: “Lastly, looke for a Bed-roll or Catalogue, of all the names of the Foystes, Nyps, Lifts, and Priggars” (10: 237). These anecdotes are definitely fictional; the sophisticated reader would have noticed it and laughed at Greene’s serious and severe attitudes towards cony-catchers and Nan’s fear for the name list, though *The Black Book* was never actually issued.

The last work, *The Black Book’s Messenger*, has no metafictional anecdotes except for the advertisement of his new tract. In the epistle, Greene explains that he has been sick and could not finish *The Black Book* that was advertised in *A Disputation*: “I knowe you haue long expected the comming fourth of my *Blacke Booke*, which I long haue promised, and which I had many daies since finished, had not sickenes hindered my intent” (11: 5). It was, in fact, written just before he died on September 3, 1592. It was entered in the Stationers’ Register on August 21, 1592 (Arber, 2: 619). Its structure is very simple, and the text is relatively short without the author’s self-conscious narratives: his illness has deprived him of the chaotic energy shown in *The Defense* and *A Disputation*. Greene neither appears nor interrupts Brown’s first-person narrative or confession. Due to such simplicity, it seems to be the most complete work within the series, and the closest to the Picaresque novel or the criminal autobiography.

Thus, while in the first three pamphlets Greene praises his own works through the voices of the readers, the rest of the series centers on fictional cony-catchers, and the forms vary from the jestbook and dialogue to the criminal biography. The attacks by his enemies are reported in *The Defense* and *A Disputation*, as they discuss Greene’s old and new books. In other

words, Greene advertises his books through their voices as well as his.

Many critics state that Greene frequently advertises his cony-catching works (Relihan 11; Barbour 49). Clark claims that Greene uses these anecdotes in order to emphasize their authenticity, while seeing them as his self-advertisement ("Robert Greene," 74). If the reader was naïve enough to believe that these were true stories, that would indicate their factuality. However, Greene's self-advertisements are too exaggerated, and even the naïve reader would occasionally deride them and see them as fictitious—*The Defense* and *A Disputation*, in particular, appear more fictitious than the first three works. These metafictional anecdotes were then written both for advertisement and for comic effect.

The persistent and excessive advertisements would have made Elizabethan readers laugh; Greene's self-humiliation in *The Defense* would have sounded funny in contrast to his readers' praise in the first three works. These comic narratives, as well as his warning against cony-catchers and the emphasis on the factuality of the tales, are always described in a serious tone—with the examples of "for the general benefit" or "*Nascimur pro patria* [We are born for our country]," for instance—rendering the text even more humorous. Cony-catchers threatening to mutilate Greene's hands and assault him at the tavern can be seen, in a sense, as a scary Gothic, mystery or detective story, because the criminals are unknown and violent. However, this is again one of Greene's purposeful devices. The contrast between fear and comedy is probably influenced by "*serio ludere*," or "serious play," as discussed above. In the cony-catching and repentance series, Greene, as the persona, is insistently serious and repents his bad deeds in his prodigal days. However, these attitudes are suspicious and unreliable, as Greene slandered the Harvey brothers and Shakespeare just before his death.

The metafictional anecdotes, referring to Greene and his extant works, break the fourth wall between the fictional world and the readers, allowing them to be part of the works. L. Davis points out that the sixteenth-century reader came to feel more connected to recent events than the earlier reader had been, through the introduction of news ballads. With the development of

the printing technology, such ballads were published soon after the incidents. Davis states that “[t]he possibility of the interaction between reader and text was increased by having a serialized or intermittently produced text, like ballad, which wrote about immediately past events” and goes on to say that “the phenomenon of pamphlet wars. . . is a consequence of this feeling that one could answer a text and respond to the printed world” (66).

The Marprelate Controversy, which John Lyly, Nashe, and Greene joined, was the most famous pamphlet war of the Elizabethan period. Martin, the anonymous author, attacked the Church of England in a series of pamphlets; these writers were requested to counterattack on behalf of John Whitgift, the archbishop of Canterbury. Greene, instead, caused the Nashe-Harvey Controversy by attacking the Harvey brothers in *A Quip*.

Davis also suggests the interaction between the author and the reader in *The Athenian Mercury*, published by John Dutton; according to Davis, this work “spent most of its time answering readers’ letters on love, philosophy, mathematics, and religion.” Moreover, he claims that “in the same way, the later novel of the eighteenth century would participate in this intimate relationship with the reader: one thinks of Fielding cajoling his reader, Richardson giving the impression that we are voyeuristically reading a lady’s letters, or Defoe preaching to his typographically gathered congregation” (67).

Davis’s views are interesting and true of Greene’s cony-catching works. Greene replies to the readers’ complaints about his style in the epistle in *The Second Part*, like the author in *The Athenian Mercury*, while he approaches the reader in a friendly manner, like Fielding. On the other hand, in *The Defense*, Cuthbert directly addresses Greene, not the reader, as quoted above, and the readers may have felt as if they were “voyeuristically reading” Cuthbert’s letters.

Greene was a novelist-playwright and lived in the golden age of plays; therefore, his narrative devices partly came from theatrical conventions as well as from the interactive tendency between author and reader in the early modern print culture. Brian Gibbons discusses Greene’s cony-catching pamphlets in terms of theater. He sees the reader as the theater audience,



and Greene as the prologue: "The reader is addressed as an old friend, a valued, right-thinking citizen: he is courted as the spectator is courted by the Prologue speaker in the theatres" (164). According to Gibbons, Greene talks to "the spectator" as "an old friend" and establishes the intimate relationship between the author and reader. As Davis suggests, the readers feel as if they participated in Greene's fictional world.

Gibbons also analyzes Greene's dramatic techniques: "Situation comedy and sequences of melodrama are the basis of low-life narrative episodes and it would have been natural for Greene to handle such material with the same skill and freedom he used as a dramatist" (164). Moreover, he points out that Greene's cony-catching pamphlets had great influence on Jacobean city comedies, where cony-catchers comically deceive merchants and citizens (12-13). Greene's portrayal of the city rogue and tricks were widely appealing to London's audiences, and his works could be easily dramatized because the narratives were written in colloquial English.

Although Gibbons does not address this matter, I will argue that the dramatic device of "the play within a play" can be applied to the metafictional anecdotes in Greene's cony-catching works. The device was frequently employed in Elizabethan plays such as *The Spanish Tragedy*, *A Midsummer Night's Dream* and *Hamlet*, as well as *The Scottish History of James IV*, as discussed above. Greene and his reader were familiar with this device and accepted metafiction as such. In the play within a play, the audience overlaps or feels sympathy toward the audience character on stage, like Hamlet and Ophelia. Indeed, Anne Righter claims that the theater audience watching *The Spanish Tragedy* "is confronted with an image of itself in the persons of those actors who sit as spectators within a play" and goes on to say, "The real and the fictitious audiences are drawn together, the world of sixteenth-century London and the imaginary court of Spain" (80). In Greene's metafictional anecdotes, then, the readers may have identified themselves with the fan reader, feeling as if they have entered the fictional world. As quoted above, Waugh states that metafiction poses "questions about the relationship between fiction and reality," and that is precisely the case with the

play within a play: the audience may feel as if the stage world were real.

Like Greene, Fielding seems to be familiar with the play within the play and applies this device to his novels. Fielding was notoriously influenced by Shakespeare, and indeed, *Joseph Andrews* mentions Pyramus and Thisbe of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* and *Othello* (1603-04). Fielding directly addressing the reader also seem to resemble a prologue, and occasionally, it may be argued, an echo of the chorus in *Henry V* (1599), urging the audience to properly utilize imagination.

Moreover, Fielding's novel is episodic; as the narrator, he comments on the episodes or characters, occasionally imagining the reader's response and, thus, talking to the reader throughout almost the whole novel. The fact that his narration centers on his imaginative dialogue with the reader and the depictions of the characters, rather than the background, scenery, and materials, seems to be theatrical rather than novelistic. Greene is less talkative than Fielding, but he similarly adopts a friendly approach toward the reader. It could be said that, as dramatists, both of them may have been able to picture their readers' responses and be aware of their intimate and interactive relationships with them.

Such metafiction reflects, in other words, the author's self-conscious narratives. Greene, for example, self-praises and criticizes his own works through the voices of his fans, Cuthbert, and Nan. Greene seems to always be conscious of himself in order to build up his image as the author, in his cony-catching series as well as in his autobiographical pamphlets, such as *The Repentance* and *Groatsworth*.

Watt claims that the novel appeared in the early eighteenth century after Descartes and Locke began to question the self and individualism; however, the concept of individualism had already existed in Shakespeare's time. Steven Greenblatt claims the self and identity of Renaissance English people, indicating Sir Thomas More to Christopher Marlowe as examples; further, some critics including Francis Barker and Catherine Belsey believe that Hamlet reflected such modern identity in his philosophical soliloquies (Barker 35-40; Belsey 33-51).

At the time, elites and writers came to think about the prototype of individualism. Greene wrote the characters of the cony-catching pamphlets, especially Cuthbert, Lawrence, Nan, and Brown as well as "R. G.," the author himself, as individuals with proper names, personalities, emotions, and thoughts.

Moreover, Greene was proud of himself as a bohemian but well-learned professional writer and wanted to be acknowledged in print culture. His pride and narcissism are reflected in the self-conscious narratives on the author himself and his books in *The Defense*, *A Disputation*, *The Repentance*, and *Groatsworth*. He frequently signed himself "Master of Arts in Cambridge" or "Master of Arts in both Universities," which suggests his pride in scholarship. In addition, in *Groatsworth* and *The Repentance*, he retells his prodigal days and repents just before his death; the story is written in the first person through his persona, "Roberto" or "Robert Greene." In *Groatsworth*, his metafictional letters are written for his friends and wife; the mood is simultaneously serious and comic, again modeled after the style of the jestbook.

Among Elizabethan prose fiction, any other professional writer does not utilize self-conscious or metafictional narratives, except for Greene's friend Nashe. Following Greene, yet deciding not to use his own name, Nashe created his persona, "Pierce" or "Jack Wilton," in *Pierce Penniless* and *The Unfortunate Traveller*.

Greene was famous both before and after his death. Clark claims that "Greene, Nashe, and Gabriel Harvey were public persons with their private lives and scandals exposed, and that they were similar in status to media stars today" (*The Elizabethan Pamphleteers*, 32). Similarly, Bryan Reynolds and Henry S. Turner state that "the primary point of contention among writers such as Harvey, Greene, and Nashe was an emerging notion of *celebrity*," though scholars have usually seen them as the University Wits, who abandoned a career in the university or church and lived in London's literary marketplace (74-75).

In this cony-catching series, Greene wanted to write something new or

something different from his previous "loue Pamphlettes" (11: 49) for both money and his pride as a professional writer. As discussed above, Greene excuses his work in *The Second Part*: "some inferred against me, which was, that I shewed no eloquent phrases, nor fine figuratiue conueiance in my first booke as I had done in other of my workes" (10: 71). "Other of my workes" refers to his romances, confessing his change from the Lilian romance style to a plain style. As a result, he became successful and popular as the roguish writer—the image created by himself in the cony-catching and repentance pamphlets. Even after his death, he was frequently portrayed as the ghost in Chettle's *Kind Heart's Dream*, Barnaby Riche's *Greene's News from both Heaven and Hell* (1593), and Rowlands's *Greene's Ghost Haunting Conny-Catchers* (1626) (Manley 325).

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Greene's cony-catching pamphlets, thus, show elements of modernity and innovation that will be replicated by eighteenth-century writers. Greene's themes, criminals and underground society, themselves are found in Defoe's *Moll Flanders* and Fielding's *Jonathan Wild* as well as in criminal biographies; his emphasis on the authenticity, the detailed descriptions of characters and even the frame narrative are, indeed, true of the "formal realism" or "the representation of realism" that Watt suggests as being characteristic of the novel. Moreover, Greene's works reflect the news/novels discourses of the time, as indicated by L. Davis. Thus, his works share commonalities with eighteenth-century novels; in a sense, they may be considered prototypical and relevant works in the developmental history of the novel.

Greene was certainly aware of the difference in genre between romances and the cony-catching works, intentionally changing his rhetorical style to a simpler one in those six pamphlets. It may be argued that his intention was to create a new genre; thus, each of the six works is experimental. Although he excused the change of style by claiming that he partly wanted to parody Harman's excuse, it is evident that he wished to draw his readers' attention to the new style.

Elizabethan prose works have been paid less attention to than plays by Shakespeare, Ben Jonson, and other playwrights. Among such prose works, Sidney and Lyly have been largely discussed; however, there are many other interesting and thought-provoking writers, such as Munday, Riche, Thomas Gascoigne, Thomas Deloney, and the University Wits, such as Nashe, George Peele, Thomas Lodge, and Greene. Although Shakespeare remains widely popular on stage and screen worldwide, it may be the right time to realize that, beyond the great Shakespeare, important and remarkable prose works of the Renaissance are yet to be read and analyzed. By focusing on Greene's works as prototypes of the novel, the present cross-research intended to bridge the gap between these lesser-known authors and the more widely popular eighteenth-century literature, encouraging further study.

#### Notes

- \* An earlier version of this study first appeared as a conference paper at a symposium for the 84th annual conference of The English Literary Society of Japan at Sensyu University in 2012. I would like to thank the symposium coordinator, Prof. Tetsuya Yui, for inviting me and the panel members, Prof. Takaya Sano, Prof. Noriyuki Harada, and Prof. Sumiko Maehara, for giving helpful comments and suggestions. I am also grateful to Prof. Ide Arata for his good question and advice.
1. All titles of early modern works in this paper are modernized, except for cases where the original spelling is in standard use. All the quotations from Greene's works follow Alexander B. Grosart, ed., *Life and Complete Works in Prose and Verse of Robert Greene*, 15 vols. The first figure indicates volume numbers, and the second one indicates page numbers.
  2. For more details on the Nashe-Harvey controversy, see McKerrow, ed., *The Works of Thomas Nashe*, vol. 5, pp. 65-110.
  3. Most critics have identified the "vpstart Crow" in Shakespeare, assuming his angry reaction. See Schoenbaum 117-18; D. Allen Carroll's edition of *Greene's Groatsworth of Wit* 131-45. However, Shoichiro Kawai presents an alternative reading: the "vpstart Crow" does not refer to Shakespeare, but to Edward Alleyn, the great actor of the Admiral's Men. See Kawai 165-214.
  4. For the details of the city rogue, see Aydelotte 112.
  5. This revised version is not included in Grosart's edition. The quotation is from the online database, *Early English Books Online*.

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