

Notes

Introduction

1. Sidney, 244. Discussions of dialectic, opposition, paradox and ‘complementarity’ in early modern literature may be found in *KLG*; Colie, *Paradoxia*; Rabkin, 67–9; Grudin, 1–50; Rozett, 35–40; Bradshaw, 1–49.
2. Popkin (*HS*) and Schmitt (*CS*; *Gianfrancesco*) are principal authorities.
3. Altman, 1–11, 31–106. For *in utramque partem* argumentation: Jardine, ‘Valla’, 259–65; Schiffman, *Threshold*, 12, 54–66; Kahn, 115–19; Greenblatt, *Self-Fashioning*, 230–1; Sloane, *Contrary*, 39–40, 62.
4. Long, 75–106; *HS*, xvii–xxiv; Stough; *PH*, 1.220–35.
5. *Selected*, 362–4; Toulmin, 1–69. For scepticism as diffidence and secular agnosticism: *CS*, 84, 143, 158.
6. *KLG*, 3–62; Dollimore, 9–21; Cavell, *Disowning*, 1–18; Bradshaw, ix–xii, 1–49; Cave, ‘Imagining’. Also Allen, 1–27, 75–110; Wiley, *Subtle*, 59; Strathmann, 7; *HS*, xvii–xxiv, 3–43; Engle, *Pragmatism*, 8–10; Nauert, *Humanism*, 198–9; Martin, 13–22.
7. Friedrich, 56–7.
8. Cave, 205. Carey likewise speaks of the ‘onrush of scepticism which was to transform, within half a century, the intellectual orientation of the Western world’ (217; cp. 244–5).
9. *CS*, 88; cp. Kristeller, *Greek*, 47–8.
10. For example, Bodin’s *Colloquium Heptaplomeres* (c. 1588); Bruno’s London writings; Le Vayer’s *Quatre Dialogues* (1606). On Bodin, see Kuntz; on Bruno, Gatti, 31, 69.
11. *IMD*, 15.
12. *Works*, 4:221.
13. On late Elizabethan social unrest: Archer; Guy; Sommerville; Stone, *Crisis*.
14. Gatti, 31.
15. *Patterns*, 195–214; *KLG*, 171–265. Bradshaw usefully distinguishes between *radical* and *dogmatic* scepticism (39), but downplays historical context and Shakespeare’s contemporaries.

Chapter 1

1. *CS*, 13, 45–52; *SE*, 26–35; *HS*, 19; Schmitt, ‘Rediscovery’, ‘Unstudied’; *RP*, 241; Bolgar, 489; Kristeller, *Renaissance*, 27–31, *Iter*, 6:530a–b; Floridi, ‘Diffusion’, 76–8; Jardine, ‘Valla’; Panizza; Haydn, 77–82; Seigel, 57–94, 246–8; Kraye, 160; Annas and Barnes, 6. The first use of ‘scepticus’ in English appears to occur in Nicholas Udall’s translation of Erasmus’ *Apophthegmes* (1542): Aristo is characterized as a ‘Scepticus, because he was altogether occupied in consydering & serchyng the state of humain thynges’ (64r). Cp. Bucer’s *Gratulation* (1549), where the Bishop of

- Winchester is characterized as 'a Scepticus' and 'an uncertain sceptical coniecturar' (sigs. Gr, Giiir).
2. Kinney, 32, 323–5; Kristeller, 'Humanism', 280.
 3. Walker, 58–62; *HS*, 3–7, 19–27.
 4. Schmitt, 'Rediscovery', 236; *Theaetetus*, 152–4; *Metaphysics*, 1010–63. Augustine's *Contra Academicos* (386 CE) grapples with Academic scepticism and probabilism, conceding the frailty of human perception but arguing that some truths are known with certainty.
 5. *CWE*, 27:118; also 24:429–38, 3:125. *Folly* was translated into English in 1549.
 6. Lucian, 3:140–1; Altman, 121–2; Robinson, *Lucian*; Duncan, 82–96; *KLG*, 48. Erasmus had translated *Icaromenippus* by 1511.
 7. Lucian, 1:204–6; also 2:41–90. For 'negative dogmatism': *HS*, xx; *PH*, 1.220–35. Cicero does not make the distinction, nor does Augustine. Schmitt notes that Renaissance thinkers 'did not seem to distinguish [Pyrrhonism and Academicism] any more clearly than they distinguished "Platonism" from "Neoplatonism"' (*CS*, 8).
 8. *CWE*, 29:240–4; Durling; Nauert, *Agrippa*, 142–3; Gilbert, 15–16, 157; Sanches, *Nothing*, 64, 184. Sanches never mentions Sextus, but may have encountered Galen in one of the Sextus editions.
 9. *Works*, 18.
 10. Hankinson, *Galen*, xxiv, 93; Frede, 68–72; Celsus, 6; Viotti, 17–27; Pittion, 105–7, 130; *CWE*, 29:220–3.
 11. Screech, 255; *CS*, 57; *HS*, 31; *SE*, 36. Budé relied on both *LP* and *Academica*.
 12. Nauert, *Agrippa*, 293, 122–4, 139–50; *HS*, 29–30; *SE*, 37–8.
 13. Villey (*HS*, 312); Strathmann, 228; Kaiser, 144.
 14. *Vanitie*, 16, 163–6; *Agrippa*, 142.
 15. *HS*, 29; Haydn, 101–19; Mebane; Dooley, 119; *IMD*, 29; Brush, 25–7; Nauert, *Agrippa*, 314; Keefer, 615–16; Wiley, *Subtle*, 47; Buckley, 117–18; *SR*, 56; Bullough, 14. Sanford's trans. was published in 1569.
 16. *CWE*, 76:7, 7:77–9; Ozment, 294–8.
 17. *Works*, 33:20–4; Haydn, 103; *SE*, 38.
 18. Rummel, 173; *CS*, 59–62; Armstrong, 44; Jardine, 'Forging', 147–9.
 19. *CS*, 2; Ronquist.
 20. Ong, 239–40, 362; Ficino, 2:986, 2:1008; Schmitt, 'Rediscovery'; *CS*, 52. Bernardi also relies on Ficino for scepticism (*Seminarium*, 2:810–11); Lipsius divides philosophers into 'Dogmaticam, Academicam, Scepticam', but he had read Sextus (*Manuductionis*, 69–76).
 21. Schmitt, *Gianfrancesco*; *RP*, 245–7; *HS*, 19–27; Haydn, 101; Garin, 133–5; *IMD*, 28–9; Brush, 24–5; Cave, 197–9; *SE*, 32–4; Larmore, 1150; Pumfrey, 52; Kristeller, *Renaissance*, 203.
 22. *RP*, 246; *CS*, 59.
 23. Schmitt, *Gianfrancesco*, 27, 239; Rice, *Epistles*, 416–18; Loyer, *Spectres*, 1:113ff; Bernardi, 2:810–11; *Apology*, xxiii; Green, *Rainolds*, 355, 447; Roberts and Watson.
 24. Grafton, 'Higher', 159–60; *SE*, 7. Gesner used the 1544 ed. of the *Suda*, Montaigne the 1564 *Suidae Historica* (*Essays*, 234).
 25. Floridi, 'Diffusion', 68–9; cp. *SE*, 70–2.
 26. Schmitt, 'Wolley'; *SE*, 84–5. Wolley translated *Adversus logicos*, 1:27–446 (Bodleian MS Sancroft 17).

27. *CS*, 69–71; *SE*, 31, 115.
28. *HS*, 30–1; Nauert, *Agrippa*, 147–8; Kristeller, *Medieval*, 71.
29. *Donne*, 89; Seigel, 16–17, 29, 246–8; Armstrong; Jardine, ‘Valla’; Kristeller, *Renaissance*, 252; Schmitt, ‘Rediscovery’; Dear, 28–37; Skinner, 8–9, 299–301.
30. *CS*, 55–77; Limbrick, ‘Was Montaigne’, 70.
31. *CS*, 62–6; *HS*, 11–16; Ginzburg, *Cheese*, 51, 152; Armstrong, 46; Giggisberg; Castello, *Heretics*, 287–305; Haydn, 104; Wade, 141–2.
32. Green, *Spain*, 3:303–4, 2:186; *Academica*, 2.122; Armstrong, 42–50. Cp. Petrarch, 125; *Apology*, 111.
33. Rummel, 166–7; Vives, 212.
34. Sanches, *Nothing*, 28–36; Green, *Rainolds*, 48–9, *passim*; Bradshaw, 145. On humanist critiques of scholasticism: Perreiah; Nauert, ‘Humanism’.
35. Rummel, 26–7.
36. Bakhtin, 69; Screech, 8–10; Chaudhuri, 13–18; *SE*, 35–6; Rabelais, 367–8; Cave, 195–7.
37. *LP*, 9.69; Schwartz, 121. Sextus also offers synonyms for Pyrrhonism (*PH*, 1.7), though they appear in different order.
38. Rabelais, 391.
39. *RP*, 244–5; *CS*, 128; Busson, 94–106; Bredvold, ‘Naturalism’, 481–5.
40. *HS*, 31; *CS*, 57–8.
41. *CS*, 111–29, 7, 168; Schmitt, ‘Castellani’; Popkin, ‘Role’, 505–6; Brush, 160–4.
42. *RP*, 227–39; *CS*, 79–81; Brués, 298; Ramus, *Scholae dialecticae*, 1:4, cols. 9–13; *LP*, 9.79–88.
43. *CS*, 82–4, 89–91, 101–8.
44. *CS*, 92–102; Armstrong, 44–5; *HS*, 31–3.
45. *CS*, 103; Brués, 5–6, 88, 112–13, 144–78, 211; Brush, 28–30; *Apology*, xxiii, 115, 123. Brués’ order of synonyms is identical to *LP*, 9.69–70.
46. Gilbert, 145–63; Rabelais, 428.
47. Jacobus, 17; Hardin, ‘Marlowe’, 388–9; Hutton, 52; Roberts and Watson; Feingold, *Apprenticeship*, 99; Farrington, 64; Howell, ch. 4; Porter, 51, 225, 290; Feingold, ‘Ramism’; Dent, ‘Ramist’; Jones, 39–40.
48. Jardine, ‘Humanism’; Mullinger, 89. Important translations of Cicero were published in 1556 (*Three books*) and 1561 (*Fyve Questions*), with references to ‘Septikes’, ‘Academiks’ and ‘Pyrrhonians’ (3v, 65; Iviiv, Div).
49. Acontius, 52–5 (against rash assertion); Trevor-Roper, *Catholics*, 190; Cooper also mentions Carneades, Arcesilaus, ‘Novi Academici’.

Chapter 2

1. Heywood, 125; *Histriomastix*, 1.1.76; *What You Will*, 2.2.193.
2. Tilley, N276, D571, N268; Cotgrave, Aaaaiv; Florio, 140.
3. Anglo, 112, 139; Maus, 18–19; Guy, 414; Shumaker, 79; Clark, 211–12; Greenblatt, *Hamlet*, 195–6; Strier, ‘Shakespeare’, 176–80. James VI of Scotland, in his *Daemonologie* (1597), attacks Scot in an effort ‘to resolve the doubting harts of many’ (xi).
4. *Discoverie*, xxvii; *Demonomanie*, sig. Iv.

5. *Nothing*, 70–1; *HS*, 42; Brush, 32–4.
6. *Demonomanie*, sig. Iv. Bodin's reference to 'Ariston, Pirrhon, Herile' may indicate familiarity with Cicero's *Tusculan Disputations*, which alludes to the same figures (5.85). See also Horowitz, *Seeds*, 190; Clark, 176, 212–13.
7. *Pyrrhonianarum*, 2; Spolsky, 13–15; Brush, 31–2; Cave, 199–202; *SE*, 73–7.
8. Legros, 54–8; *HS*, 35–7; Wade, 142; *SE*, 39.
9. Wykeham's heavily annotated copy, now at the Bodleian, is signed and dated: 'Guli. Wyckhamus xvi Junii 1562'. The book is also signed by Edward Cobham (matriculated Trinity College, Cambridge, 1563).
10. *BCI*, 1:408, 1:463, 2:702; Adams, S1026; Roger Lovatt (correspondence).
11. Leedham-Green and McKitterick, 195.
12. Adams, S1026.
13. Suzanne Eward (correspondence).
14. James Anthony (correspondence).
15. Savile also purchased a manuscript of *Adversus mathematicos* in Italy (*Merton College Register*, 1.3.150).
16. DeMolen, 327–34, 400.
17. Feingold, *Apprenticeship*, 58; Bodleian MS Wood D.10.
18. Sion's copy of 1569 bears this label: 'Nathaniel Torporley Mathematicus ... donavit MDCXXXIII'.
19. *Registrum Benefactorum*, 1.26; James, *First*, 317.
20. *Catalogus*, 177.
21. Sparrow.
22. Roberts and Watson; the volume is signed 'Nich: Saunder'.
23. Mortimer.
24. The date of Jennings' death is unknown; the book is held at St. Bonaventure University.
25. British Library, Harley MS 3267, fol. 14; Paget took a BA at Christ Church, Oxford, in 1589/90.
26. McKitterick.
27. Stuart Adams (correspondence).
28. *CLC*: 1562 (Ripon, Salisbury); 1621 (Ely, Exeter, Canterbury, Chester, St. Paul's, Worcester, Gloucester, St. George's Chapel [Windsor]).
29. Germaine Warkentin (correspondence).
30. British Library, Royal MS Appendix 86, fol. 47; *Catalogus Petworthianae*, fol. 30.
31. *Registrum*, 1:248; one of the Bodleian's copies of 1621 derives from the 'Bibliotheca Saviliana'; Miles, rector of Meline, received degrees from Jesus College, Oxford (1601–4). Thomas Gataker and Kenelm Digby both owned 1621, as did John Selden, who donated his copy to the Bodleian.
32. Ralegh's library held the *Sceptick* manuscript now at Dr Williams' Library; Ussher's *Sceptick* is now at Trinity College, Dublin. Stillingfleet owned the copy of 1562 now residing at Marsh's Library, Dublin. For Vossius, whose father, Gerhard, was an Arminian and friend of Grotius: Bernard, 2:60; Sloane MS 1783, fols. 29, 52v.
33. *IMD*, 15; Valencia, 9–19, 27–33; *HS*, 38; *CS*, 74–6. Continental owners of printed Sextus editions included Montaigne, Estienne, Hervet, Jacques-August de Thou, Theodore Canter, Adolphus Vorstius, Philips van Marnix and probably Valencia, Isaac Casaubon and Justus Lipsius.

34. A.1.1.12 (the quotation, *On kai me on*, is from *Adversus logicos*, 1.66); Chamber, 23, paraphrasing *Adversus astrologos*, 15–22; *HS*, 77.
35. *Essayes*, 121, 163; *Apology*, 171–2.
36. Hadfield; *SE*, 76–7; Pattison, 33–5. Casaubon's response to Thomson (7 May 1594) indicates that he is unable to acquire Estienne's permission to loan the manuscript (*Epistolae*, 8).
37. *Paradoxes*, 5–6; *PH*, 1.1–4; *Apology*, 69–70; the distinction does not appear in Cicero's *Academica*. For Donne's knowledge of Montaigne: Bredvold, 'Religious'; Gosse, 1:122.
38. *Donne*, 30; Carey, 217–46.
39. Heydon, 134, 127–48 *passim*.
40. *Second*, B1v; *Bartas*, 593.
41. *KLG*, 40; Trevor-Roper, *Catholics*, 190–1, 166–7; Davies, 326–8.
42. *Woorke*, 'Preface'; Colie, *Paradoxia*, 400–1.
43. *SR*, 55; Wiley, *Subtle*, 101–19; Calvin, 1:619; *HS*, 70–5.
44. *Spectres*, 46, 110–13; Loyer's mirror and apple examples (126–30) appear to be drawn from *PH*, 1.48, 1.94–9. See Clark for more on Loyer.
45. *Spectres*, 192, 106, book 3, ch. 7.
46. Besides Brués, Mornay, Sanches, Montaigne, etc., see Viotti (Gilbert, 152–7); Jacotius (374); Clavius (Jardine, 'Forging', 142); Piccolomini; Cagnati (*Variarum*, 3:6.203–7); Lambin (Lucretius, 2.307–11).
47. *Thesaurus*, 1:a.iii.v; *Virtutum*, Pviir, PPvir; Scaliger, 10–11; Devaris, 20, 53, 76; Erasmus, *Adagiorum*, col. 903; Sanches, *Nothing*, 20, 37–9.
48. Bucer, Gr. *OED* gives 1639 for the first appearance.
49. Gascoigne, 2:68–9, 2:223; Knowles, 1050–1; for black snow, *PH*, 1.33.
50. Bullough, 6.
51. *Supper*, 97; *Opere*, 2:266–70; Gatti, 2–3; *RP*, 290–303; *HS*, 37; Farrington, 27–8.
52. *Logike*, 'To the Learned Lawyers'; Sloane, *Donne*, 138–41.
53. Willet, 155–70; Binns, 209.
54. For example, 'tranquillatur' (156), 'verisimillimas probabilitates' (159), 'dubitandi' (169), 'ignorantiae' (170).
55. Green, *Rainolds*, *passim*.
56. 'Philosophy', 501, 513; Kristeller, *Greek*, 41–2; Curtis offers further examples of disputation topics (233).
57. Finkelppearl, 3–44, 261–7; Forker, 40–56; Prest; Baker, *Third*; Davies, xxviii–xxx; Bradbrook, *Webster*, 28–46; Rebholz, 15.
58. *Poems*, 105.
59. Hotson, 44–50; Whitfield; Elton, *Troilus*, 4–13.
60. *Works*, 3:332–3.
61. *Works*, 1:254–6, 2:302, 1:173–4, 1:185–9, 1:206; Kinney, *Continental*, 353.
62. *Sceptick*, 34–41.
63. *Examen*, book 2, chs. 21–9; Bernardi, 2:810–11. For later discussion of the modes: Mersenne, 130–56; Brush, 13; Annas and Barnes; Mates, 233–52.
64. *SR*, 52–4; Shapiro, *Probability*, 22; *SE*, 37.
65. Sprott, 175; Hill, *Intellectual*, 166–71, 183; Bradbrook, *Themes*, 58–60; Haydn, 124, 399; Strathmann, 12, 42, 216; Wiley, *Subtle*, 55–6; *SR*, 58; Carey, 220; Maus, 7–8.
66. *Ralegh*, 66–7, 48–50, 427; Beal considers the attribution 'spurious' (1.2.368).

67. Bacon, 66.
68. 'Bacon', 19.
69. Farrington, 62–71; *WFB*, 3:537–8.
70. Wormald, 322–4.
71. Marston, satire 4; Parry, ch. 7; Broughton, 17–28; Hall, *Virgidemiarum*, 2.2, 3.3; Guilpin, satire 6; *Poetaster*, 1.2.39; Davies, 1:14; Bullough, 6; Morton, 1–34; Bush, *English*, 278; Haydn, 93, 125; Forker, 53.
72. Wright, 303–9; Kocher finds Wright's questions 'decidedly skeptical' (SR, 53).
73. *Donne*, 86; Carey, 220.
74. Nashe, 3:332; *LP*, 9.101. Also *FQ*, 6.9.30; *What You Will*, 1.1.18; Tilley, M254, O68; Ellrodt, 41; Jenkins' *Hamlet*, 109, 467–8. And see Montaigne's commentary on Stoic *adiaphora*, the view that things are neither good nor bad in themselves, but indifferent (*Essays*, 692, 800; *PH*, 1.27–30, 3.179–96).
75. Calvin, 1:78–81; *HS*, 10–14, 69–70; Sloane, *Donne*, 110.
76. *Wisdome*, 169; for Pyrrhonian *propeteia*, *PH*, 1.20, 1.177–86, 1.205–12.
77. *HS*, 51; Hiley, 12–19; *Apology*, 72, 160.
78. *Poems*, 326–8; Haydn, 111, 534–5.
79. *SR*, 57; Colie, *Paradoxia*, 406–9; Bush, *Science*, 16–18.
80. Dollimore, 15–21, 39–40, 97; Dent, *Borrowing*, 41, 85; Forker, 35–52; Yates, 213–14.
81. Knowles, 1053–4; Burke, *Montaigne*, 68–9.
82. *Hamlet*, 110. Also Kirsch, *Shakespeare*, 'Sexuality'; Engle, 'Measure'; Knowles, 1052–7.
83. Yates, 213–14, 242; Pooley, 173–9; Lee, 605–7.
84. *Lear* (ed. Foakes), 104, 279; *Essais*, 18, 214, 1056, 335; Salingar, 107–33, Muir, *Sources*. *OED* lists Blount's *Glossographia* (1670) as offering the first instance of 'Pyrrhonism'.
85. For Democritus' axiom: *Academica*, 1.44–5, 2.32; *LP*, 9.72; *WFB*, 6:749; Haydn, 534–5.
86. Hamlin, *Image*, 46–68.
87. Hamlin, 'Continuities', 376–9.
88. Brush, 40–7; Streuver, 190–1; *Academica*, 1.45, 2.66–8.
89. Larmore, 1149; for 'Epechistes', *PH*, 1.7; *LP*, 9.69–70.
90. Limbrick, 'Was Montaigne', 80.
91. Neto; Schiffman, *Threshold*, 84–6.
92. *City of God*, 11.26. Montaigne derives the purgation metaphor from *PH*, 1.206–7, 2.188; also *LP*, 9.76.
93. *SR*, 50–4.

Chapter 3

1. Bush, *English*, 2–4; Wilson, *Elizabethan*, 18–19; Hill, *Intellectual*, 8–12; McAlindon, 5–8.
2. *English*, 207; *IMD*, 15.
3. Finkelpearl, 198–9; Caputi, 58; Aggeler, 75; Yates, 241; Bredvold, 'Religious', 198, 226; cp. Bredvold, 'Naturalism', 495–8; Gosse, 1:122; Colie, *Paradoxia*, 415–18; Carey, 220–3.

4. *WFB*, 6:379, 5:64; *Revenger's*, 3.5.71–2; Forker, 35, 52, 446–7; Neill, *Issues*, 35; Dollimore, 149; Dent, *Borrowing*, 41–2, 81–5; Prosser; Cotgrave, Giii, Iiiii, Biiiv.
5. Lennard's translation gives no date, but references in Hakewill's *Vanitie* (1608) reveal that *Wisdome* had been printed by the time Hakewill was writing.
6. Rice, *Renaissance*, 178, 190–7; Larmore, 1152–5; Gregory; *HS*, 59–61, 80–102; *IMD*, 35–7; Brush, 160–6; Lennon, 298.
7. Schiffman, *Threshold*, 81–6; Horowitz, 'View'; Horowitz, *Seeds*, 223–30.
8. Larmore, 1152; Gregory, 88.
9. *Sagesse*, 333; *Essais*, 527.
10. Larmore, 1154–5; Rice, *Renaissance*, 184.
11. Mornay's *Woorke* (3rd edn.) was prepared by Thomas Wilcox in 1604; Sylvester's complete translation of *Bartas* appeared in 1605, as did Jones' translation of Loyer.
12. *HS*, 38; Frisius, 23r; Mazzoni, 99–129; Spach, 9; Jardine, 'Forging'.
13. *HS*, 62; Villey, *Devant*, 202; Boase, 114–34.
14. *Manuductionis*, 2:69–76; Tuck, 'Scepticism'; Levi; Hutton.
15. Lancre, 369, 436, 521–2, 748.
16. *Registrum*, 1:248, 1:160–3, 1:138; James, *Catalogus*, 8, 177, 335.
17. Jayne and Johnson; McKitterick; *Catalogus Medii Templi*.
18. Aubrey, 64; Norwood, 44; my thanks to Charles Whitney for this reference.
19. Brownlow, 277–8, 35–66; Tyacke, 'Arminianism', 101; Greenblatt, *Negotiations*, 94–128; Strier, 'Shakespeare', 184. See Cox for qualification.
20. Chew, 1136; *SR* 50–1; Hall, *Heaven*, 190–1.
21. *Works*, iii; *HS*, 64–5; Trevor-Roper, *Catholics*, 201; Feingold, *Apprenticeship*, 96–8; Larmore, 1148.
22. *Works*, vii; *HS*, 65.
23. Goodman, 7, 32, 65; Dollimore, 99–103; Bush, *English*, 278; Crooke, 48.
24. Bodleian (G.Pamph.1688 [6, fol. 31]); the *Bodleian Pre-1920 Catalogue* gives a date of c. 1605; *STC* gives 1600–7. I thank Drew Jones for this translation.
25. *HS*, 84.
26. Popkin says relatively little about Bacon (*HS*, 110–11); Schmitt makes no mention of him in *CS* but alludes to him in *Gianfrancesco* (10, 56).
27. Villey, *Montaigne et Bacon*, 30–7; *WFB*, 5:64; *Bacon*, 655, 718.
28. Bacon alludes to a saying of Heraclitus found in *Adversus logicos* (*Advancement*, 146; *WFB*, 1:164); he may rely on Sextus for information on astrology (*WFB*, 4:351).
29. For early discussions of induction: *Advancement*, 177–8, 221–7; *WFB*, 3:606–17.
30. Farrington, 111–16, 84; *WFB*, 6:749.
31. Farrington, 89, 127; *Bacon*, 599, 635–6; *SR*, 54.
32. Larmore says, 'Bacon made no distinction between Academic and Pyrrhonian scepticism' (1184); Bacon also merges the Second Academy, headed by Arcesilaus, with the Third, headed by Carneades; Augustine does the same (*Academicos*, 2.13–15). But see *WFB*, 3:244.
33. *Academica*, 2.18; *PH*, 1.2, 1.200; Schmitt translates *acatalepsia* as 'the failure to grasp' (*CS*, 71); Vickers glosses it as a term used by sceptics 'to argue that reality is "non-apprehensible"' (*Bacon*, 636).

34. *Works* (Montagu, ed.), 3:519.
35. Wormald (*Bacon*, 364) claims that *Ladder* deals 'exclusively' with Pyrrhonians, which is not true, since, as elsewhere in Bacon, Academics and Pyrrhonians are conflated. But Wormald is right that the *Ladder's* presentation of scepticism is unusually enthusiastic. Cp. Anderson, 279–80.
36. Zagorin, *Bacon*, 36.
37. *HS*, 78, 110–11, 117; *Sceptick*, 42.
38. Rebholz, 107; Greville, 52–5; Dollimore, 127–8; Wilkes, 326–8; *Treatie*, stanzas 38, 11–12, 75.
39. Wiley, *Subtle*, 47; Buckley, 117; Waswo, 15.
40. *SR*, 56.
41. *Microcosmos*, 1:23; *SR*, 56–7; Colie, *Paradoxia*, 409–10; *Vanitie*, 49.
42. Florio, 207; *LP*, 9.68; Hamlin, 'Borrowing'.
43. *SR*, 53; Soellner, *Patterns*, 198–9; Maus, 5–12.
44. Guiney, 335; Wright, 61–2; Knoll.
45. *IMD*, 25–7; *Academica*, 1.44–5; *Advancement*, 193; *WFB*, 6:749; Farrington, 84, 110–13.
46. Ribner, xi–4.
47. *Vanitie*, 52; Maus, 5–8.
48. British Library, Additional MSS 6789, fol. 460; Clucas, 129–35; Hill, *World*, 174.
49. Oakeshott; Buckley, 137–52; Strathmann, 17–52; Thomas, 167.
50. *Intellectual*, 166–7; Strathmann, 230–53.
51. Nashe, 2:37; *Sceptick*, 48.
52. Wilson, *Elizabethan*, 11.
53. Book 8 of 1569 corresponds to *Against Physicists*, 1.13–194 (*M*, 9.13–194).
54. *Paradoxes*, 5–6; *Ten Sermons*, 115.
55. *Sermons*, 1:278; also *Fifty*, 190.
56. *Paradoxia*, 119; Carey, 222; Scodel, 52–7; Strier, *Resistant*, 118–64.
57. Tyacke, 'Arminianism', 105–6.
58. *Paradoxia*, 429; Tyacke, 'Arminianism', 106; Haydn, 111–16.
59. *Anti-Calvinists*, 245; Tyacke, 'Rise'; Ginzburg, 'High', 39–41.
60. Porter, 376–90; Lake, 201–42; Pinciss, 252–4.
61. Tyacke, 'Arminianism'; Wolfe, 4–7; *Paradise Lost*, 12.581–7.
62. Mullan, 164–5.
63. Trevor-Roper, *Catholics*, 189–92, *Religion*, 193–236; Wormald, *Clarendon*, 261–6; Burckhardt, 350; McLachan, 11, 66–9.
64. *Lady Falkland*, 225; Aubrey, 56; Trevor-Roper, *Catholics*, 187; McLachan, 97.
65. Trevor-Roper, *Catholics*, 196–7; Castellio, *Heretics*, 115.
66. *HS*, 65–6, 112, 173; Jordan, 378–400; Trevor-Roper, *Catholics*, 193–4, 294; Chillingworth, I.Preface.8, I.vi.38.356; Larmore, 1163.
67. Van Leeuwen, *Problem*, 20–2; Orr, 79–99; Popkin, 'Religious', 398–400; Van Leeuwen, 'Certainty', 307–8.
68. Steadman, 13–14.
69. *HS*, 105, 56; Van Leeuwen, 'Certainty', 304–8; Larmore, 1145–55.
70. *HS*, 112–27, 172–3; Clark, 265; Jardine, 'Forging', 146; Berr, 105–8; Dear, 23–47; Brush, 164–6; Larmore, 1155–64.
71. *HS*, 78, 91–6, 103, 112–27; Dear, 46–7; Larmore, 1155–8; Gottlieb, 427–8.

72. Van Leeuwen, *Problem*; Larmore, 1158–63; Shapiro, *Wilkins*; *IMD*, 58–65; Wiley, *Subtle*, 197–226.
73. Southgate; Van Leeuwen, *Problem*, 74, 81–9.
74. *HS*, 128–36; Brush, 166; Tyacke, ‘Arminianism’, 109; Harth, 75–6.
75. Butler, 138; Carey, 218.
76. *HS*, 122–3, 132–6.
77. *HS*, 132–6.
78. At his death Herbert gave Jesus College books including Charron’s *Sagesse* (Fordyce).
79. *Lady Falkland*, 244; *Pagan*, 145.
80. Popkin, ‘Religious’, 412; Locke, 67–8.
81. Tuck, ‘Scepticism’, 33; *IMD*, 15, 61.
82. Trevor-Roper, *Catholics*, 201–2; *IMD*, 47–72; Harth, 11–12; Van Leeuwen, *Problem*, 42.
83. Pascal, 78–80, 101–6, 119–24; Larmore, 1177–8; *IMD*, 37–40; Brush, 172–3.
84. Larmore, 1179; Brush, 179–327, Neto, 215–16; *HS*, 73–4; *Dictionnaire*, 3:174; Annas and Barnes, 6.
85. Browne, 79; Wiley, *Subtle*, 137–60; *IMD*, 14–15, 40–6, 71; Trevor-Roper, *Catholics*, 202; Missner; Tuck, intro. to *Leviathan*, ix–xxvi; Kahn, 154, 181; Larmore, 1162–4; Hill, *World*, 180; Skinner, 8–9, 299–301; Harth, 5–7.
86. George, 44; Stillingfleet, 35; Wiley, *Subtle*, 161–96; *IMD*, 64–5; Hill, *World*, 172; Thomas, 167.
87. More, *Poems*, xv; Cudworth, 692–6. For Comenius, Hartlib, Dury and others: Popkin, ‘Religious’, 395–406; Turnbull. The CD-ROM *Hartlib Papers* provides many references to scepticism.
88. Dickens, 12–13; Thomas, 166–73; Hill, *World*, 88–9, 151–83; Hill, *Intellectual*, 166–7, 328–38; Burckhardt, 344–51; Stone, *Causes*, 108–9; Barber, *Festive*, 470–1; Ginzburg, *Cheese*.
89. Briggs, 250; *KLG*.

Chapter 4

1. *HS*, 55; Steadman, 1; *IMD*, 16–17; Brush, 19–20.
2. Rice, *Renaissance*, 124–5; Chaudhuri, 47; Hoopes, 322–7; Hamlin, ‘Solipsism’, 6–9.
3. *IMD*, 16; *SR*, 51; Baker, *Wars*, 144–54.
4. Lennon, 301; *CWE*, 27:147–53; *Apology*, 53–4; *HS*, 29; Dooley, 119.
5. Dickens, 12–13; Thomas, 166–73; Hill, *Intellectual*, 166–7, 328–38; *World*, 88–9, 151–83; Nauert, *Humanism*, 198–9.
6. *Sixte*, 113–14, 123; Dzelzainis, 106–15; Burke, ‘Tacitism’; Tuck, *Philosophy*, 45–64, 105–8; Sidney, 220.
7. Dooley, 3–4, 114–23; Bouwsma, 60–2; Woolf, 194–5; Shapiro, *Culture*, 34–62; *HS*, 71–2, 96–7; Franklin, 89–102; Geller; Tinkler; *SE*, 31; Bayle, 3:174.
8. The literature on Renaissance atheism is vast; I sketch here only the broadest outlines of the debate. Febvre (335–53, 455–64) argues that ‘atheist’ is a ‘smear word’ and that no atheists existed, or could exist, in the period; Kristeller (‘Myth’), Walker (*Ancient*, 136) and Popkin (‘Religious’, 415)

- largely agree. But Buckley finds evidence for denials of God and providence that Dollimore and Davidson approvingly cite; also in this tradition are Elton (*KLG*) and Hill (*World*). Other discussions include Allen (*Boundless*), Aylmer, Clucas, Edwards and Sommerville, Ginzburg ('High'), Greenblatt (*Negotiations*, 21–39), Hunter ('Problem'), Hunter and Wootton, Kocher ('Backgrounds'), Mandelbrote, McCabe (214–39), Pfister, Strier ('Shakespeare'), Thomas, Walker ('Ways'), Watson (*Rest*), Wootton. Atheists in drama include Shakespeare's Aaron and Edmund, Marlowe's Machevill, Marston's Malheureux, Tourneur's D'Amville, Ford's Giovanni.
9. Also *Duchess*, 3.5.69–71; *Hamlet*, 5.1.83; Dent, *Borrowing*, 209.
 10. *Apology*, 13–16, 55, 85, 119; Brush, 116–21; Miles, 18–26, 83–109; Aggeler, 40–2.
 11. *Sceptick*, 51; *Essays*, 145, 711, 911, 1144.
 12. *Nosce*, lines 57–60; *Treatie*, stanzas 54–5; *Passions*, 312–17; *Vanitie*, 10, 386–9; *Woorke*, ch. 16; Wilson, *Rule*, sig. B2v; Nauert, *Agrippa*, 298; *SR*, 32; Buckley, 107–20; *HS*, 29–30; Hoopes, 322; Chaudhuri, 9–10, 35–6; Park and Kessler, 460; Hamlin, 'Solipsism', 6–7.
 13. *HS*, 78, 110–17.
 14. *CWE*, 3:125, 27:107; Primaudaye, *French*, 160; *Essays*, 178–9; Hamlin, 'Continuities', 374–6.
 15. Pierce, 148–50; *PH*, 1.79–90; also Greenblatt, *Hamlet*, 240; *Tempest*, 2.1.45–55; *CWE*, 27:118–19; Sanches, *Nothing*, 222–3; Browne, 76.
 16. *RP*, 103–12, 255; *IMD*, 21–2; Friedrich, 97; Baker, *Wars*, 146; Haydn, 100–2; Brush, 21; Burke, *Montaigne*, 25–6; McCabe, 215; Dear, 24.
 17. Mullaney, 26–87.
 18. Also *Faustus*, 2.1.79; *Errors*, 2.2.181–216; *Troilus*, 4.1.42–3; *Hamlet*, 1.2.13; *Macbeth*, 1.3.81–3; *Mariam*, 1.2.171–86.
 19. Also *Atheist's Tragedy*, 1.2.207–14.
 20. *Essays*, 505; Brush, 140–5; *PH*, 1.8–10, 1.31–5, 1.196; *Academica*, 1.44–6, 2.59, 2.108.
 21. *Satire 3*; Scodel, 63; Wiley, *Creative*, 21–46.
 22. For variations: *Merchant*, 2.5.1; *Shrew*, 4.5.72; *IH4*, 5.4.123; *Lear*, 1.2.27–117.
 23. Spolsky, 28–44; Hillman, 'Visceral', 85.
 24. Marchitello, 100; Hartog, 260–71; Hamlin, 'Continuities', 366–74.
 25. *Apology*, 12–16, 51, 81, 116; *Essays*, 204, 487, 1115, 1169, 1220; Wiley, *Creative*, 23.
 26. Maus, 8. For comparable examples: Loyer, *Treatise*, 111r; *Sceptick*, 43, 50.
 27. Cp. *Titus*, 5.2.65–6; *IH4*, 5.4.131–3; *Changeling*, 1.1.70–5.
 28. Cp. *Spanish Tragedy*, 3.1.18; *Titus*, 2.3.266–7; *Troilus*, 1.3.84; *Duchess*, 1.1.227–8; *Changeling*, 5.3.108–9. Cf. Hillman, 'Visceral', 82ff.
 29. Cp. *Cymbeline*, 2.5.1–35; *Winter's*, 2.1.139–41.
 30. Cp. *Rape of Lucrece*, 1534–40.
 31. Strier, 'Shakespeare', 171.
 32. Nussbaum, 307–8; Hamlin, 'Continuities', 366–9.
 33. The passage relies on *PH*, 1.114–17 (also covered by *Sceptick*, 45).
 34. *Wars*, 147.
 35. The Fradubio episode occupies stanzas 28–45.
 36. *Wisdom*, 169. Una's 'hastie trust' of Archimago is criticized at 1.6.12. For sceptical motifs elsewhere: 1.7.1, 1.9.11, 3.12.6–15.

37. Also *Apology*, 69–77; *Essays*, 392; *WFB*, 2:688–9, 4:261–2, 6:378; *Advancement*, 177; Erasmus, *Apophthegmes*, 64r.
38. Trevor-Roper, *Catholics*, 186–93; Ginzbury, ‘High’.
39. *WFB*, 3:565–9, 4:72–3, 4:108–9; Montaigne, *Essays*, 337–40, 1051; *Apology*, 55, 69, 77–8, 130, 169.
40. Fine, 196; Larmore, 1148; *Apology*, 185; Mede, iii; Mornay, *Woorke*, 12; *Tamburlaine II*, 5.1.199; *Titus*, 5.1.71–85.
41. *Negotiations*, 26–7; *KLG*, 42–3; Kocher, *Marlowe*, 49–50; Hamlin, ‘Imagined’, 413–16; *Apology*, 160; Primaudaye, *Second*, 579; Burton, 3:347–50.
42. *Works*, 2:115–16, 1:172; also Hamlin, ‘Continuities’, 361–3. Nashe’s stress on opinion is tied to Stoic *adiaphora*, which in turn contributes to early modern expressions of relativism. Cp. *Hamlet*, 2.2.245–6; *Essays*, 126, 231, 331, 1115, 1227; *Apology*, 17, 136.
43. *Lear*, 1.2.1–22, 1.2.118–33; Greenblatt, *Negotiations*, 121; Bradshaw, 39.
44. *Mirror*, 294; *Negotiations*, 120–8; Strier, ‘Shakespeare’, 187.
45. Also *Apology*, 72–3; *Essays*, 135–7, 302, 1180.
46. Hamlin, ‘Continuities’, 374–9; *Apology*, 85; Baker, *Wars*, 148–53.
47. *Pragmatism*, 8; *Cosmopolis*, 22–56.
48. *Lady Falkland*, 238, 233; Acontius, 52–6.
49. *CS*, 84; cp. *Apology*, 114.
50. Estienne’s preface to Sextus (1562) stresses anti-dogmatic functions of scepticism, endorsing moderate doubt compatible with faith.

Chapter 5

1. *History*, 2:863–4; *Frontiers*, 142. Quotations from *Faustus* are drawn from the 1993 Revels edition; unless otherwise noted I use the ‘A-text’ of 1604.
2. Cole, 155–8; Nicholl, 42–7, 277–9; Davidson.
3. *Disowning*, 1–3.
4. A.1.1.12; *On kai me on* (‘being and not-being’), attributed by Sextus to Gorgias of Leontini, derives from *Adversus logicos*, 1.66 (*M*, 7.66). For implications of the phrase: Hankinson, *Sceptics*, 51. The phrase also appears in Richardson’s *Logicians School-Master*, which discusses scepticism (318); Richardson was Marlowe’s contemporary at Cambridge (Dent, ‘Ramist’).
5. Cavell’s suggestion that Pyrrhonism never considers how to live ‘in a groundless world’ assumes that Pyrrhonism in early modern Europe may be equated with one of Montaigne’s routine deployments of Pyrrhonism – essentially a Christian appropriation of scepticism. See also Vickers, 308–20.
6. Fine, 198; Larmore, 1164–5.
7. *Disowning*, 3–4; Larmore, 1148; *Apology*, 180–6, 114.
8. *PH*, 1.8. Nussbaum stresses that Sextus’ modes of scepticism ‘contain no restriction of subject matter, but range widely over many areas’ in which people hold beliefs (288); cp. Barnes, 2, 12; Hamlin, ‘Continuities’.
9. Popkin and Schmitt both discuss commonalities between ancient and modern scepticism; Schmitt claims that ‘the recovery and reassimilation of the ancient writings were the primary factor in the evolution of the modern skeptical attitude’ (‘Rediscovery’, 228).
10. *Sceptick*, 42; Donne, *Paradoxes*, 5–6.

11. Cole, 158.
12. For example, 1.1.6–12; cp. *English Faust Book*, 100, 119.
13. 2.3.62–6, 3.Chorus.2–7, 4.Chorus.9–10.
14. Cp. 2.1.130–8. The *Faust Book* informs us that Faustus was called ‘the Speculator’ (92), signing himself ‘Faustus the insatiable speculator’ (129).
15. *PH*, 1.8–10, 1.31–4; *Apology*, 70, 113–36. Sanches, who does not seem to have read Sextus or Montaigne before publishing *That Nothing Is Known* (1581), none the less emphasizes diversity of opinion as a prologue to doubt (213, 222–3).
16. See Pro.23–5, 1.1.80, 5.2.10–11 and B.3.1.58–9 for further images of over-consumption.
17. Montaigne might disagree, since he chooses to do that which is customary in his society, while Faustus does not. But Montaigne’s embrace is not merely a passive following but an active endorsing of custom, therefore an abandonment of Pyrrhonism.
18. Greg (1950 edn.), 320–1; Keefer (1991 edn.), 29; Bevington/Rasmussen, 138n.
19. Cp. Mephistopheles at B.5.2.13–15 (not in A-text).
20. *Faustus* establishes an association between forward motion, magic and resolution, and between backward motion and conventional religious belief. Being resolute, resolving ambiguities, living voluptuously, etc., are connected to being a ‘forward wit’, moving forward and engaging in magic (1.1.76, Epilogue.7, B.2.1.14). Wavering and acknowledging uncertainty, fear and doubt are connected to moving backward (2.1.6–7, 1.3.14, 2.1.26).
21. Hamlin, ‘Swolne’.
22. *Lady Falkland*, 233.
23. Davies’ *Nosce Teipsum* likewise considers the soul’s tendency to seek static resolution.

Chapter 6

1. For perspectivism in the play: Baines; Hamilton; Hill, ‘Senecan’.
2. Maus, 55–71; Hunter, ignoring class issues, praises the Spanish king for displaying ‘Solomon-like wisdom in making a just decision’ (‘Ironies’, 94).
3. Cp. 3.14.97, 4.4.10–11.
4. Bloom, 398.
5. *Creating*, 133, 143; also Braden, 215–23; Watson, ‘Tragedy’, 323.
6. Altman, 271–3.
7. Aggeler, 66.
8. It also tends to belie Charlemont’s claim that ‘patience is the honest man’s revenge’ (*Atheist’s Tragedy*, 5.2.276).
9. The Portingales’ quest to find Lorenzo merges, in Hieronimo’s mind, with the more abstract and apparently endless quest for truth and justice.
10. Specifically, Romans 12:19 (‘Vindicta mihi’), Seneca’s *Agamemnon*, 115 (‘Per scelus’), and Seneca’s *Troades*, 511–12 (‘Fata si miseris’).
11. *Second*, 185.
12. *All’s Well*, 1.3.107–9; Wilcox, 186; *Lingua*, sig. H3v; Earle, 74.
13. See also 4th Addition (‘Painter Scene’), lines 79–163.
14. *Inwardness*, 69–70.

15. *Issues*, 201–15.
16. 'Ironies', 91–2.
17. *Inwardness*, 65; Aggeler, 71.
18. Cp. *Titus Andronicus*, 4.3.4–5.

Chapter 7

1. Quotations derive from Bevington's Arden3 edition. For variations on 'prizing': 2.2.56, 2.2.91, 4.4.133, 4.5.75.
2. Bradshaw, 39; cp. 140–2; Pierce, 158; Soellner, *Patterns*, 141.
3. For other views of Thersites: Hillman, 'Visceral', 88; Colie, *Living*, 349; Grady, 70–4.
4. Bevington summarizes the Inns of Court theory, 88–9; see also Rossiter, 129–30, 142–50; Grady, 61; Elton, *Shakespeare's Troilus*, *passim*.
5. Intro., *Troilus* (*Riverside*, 444); contrast Colie, *Living*, 339; Rossiter, 147–8; Girard, 208.
6. Cp. 5.2.151–67. For similar instances: *All's Well* 1.2.107–9; *FQ*, 1.2.38; Earle, 74–6.
7. See Colie for discussion of the paradoxical encomium (*Living*, 343–7).
8. Barfoot, 49; Rossiter, 141–3; Soellner, 'Prudence', 259.
9. Bevington, intro., *Troilus*, 33–4.
10. For earlier images of rift: 1.1.32–49, 1.3.316.
11. 'Prudence', 264.
12. 'Reason' appears eleven times in the first fifty lines of 2.2, and frequently elsewhere. It is used variably to designate the faculty of ratiocination as well as the specific premises and components of argument; there seems little doubt that Shakespeare asks us to reflect on our understandings of the word.
13. Soellner sees not only Troilus but Ulysses and Thersites as sceptics (*Patterns*, 196–214); Elton classifies Lear as a sceptic (*KLG*, 55–7); Greenblatt calls Iago a 'Renaissance skeptic' (*Self-Fashioning*, 246); Hillman says Thersites best 'embodies' *Troilus*' 'skeptical impulse', also finding Leontes a sceptic ('Visceral', 88–94).
14. 'Prudence', 255; *Patterns*, 141–2.
15. 'Prudence', 259; cp. Hillman, 'Gastric', 312. For distinctions between scepticism and relativism: *Apology*, 38–40; Morphos; Pierce, 146; Hankinson, *Sceptics*, 15, 262; Hamlin, 'Continuities', 371–2.
16. Bradshaw, 133, 159; Dollimore, 42–4.
17. Rossiter, 132; Ellis-Fermor, *Frontiers*, 59, 70; Ornstein, 240–5; Soellner, *Patterns*, 210; Colie, *Living*, 329.
18. Adelman, 46–52.
19. I cannot agree with Girard, who claims that the possibility of Cressida's infidelity never enters Troilus' mind until *after* Cressida imagines herself a woeful figure among the 'merry Greeks' (194–5). Girard's treatment of 'mimetic desire' in *Troilus* relies too heavily on essentialist premises and too little on the play's language and temporal unfolding.
20. Dollimore, 48.
21. Levine, *Men*, 26.
22. *Riverside Shakespeare*, 486.

23. Ornstein, 249; Rossiter, 134–5.
 24. Shaw, 261; Rossiter, 150.

Chapter 8

1. Ornstein, 158; Dollimore, 38; Sturgess, xxii; cp. Aggeler, 92–6; Forker, 52–3; Bradbrook, *Webster*, 41; *CWE*, 27:90–7, 27:109–10.
2. Eliot, *Elizabethan*, 177–95; Caputi, 193–9.
3. Sturgess, vii; Haydn, 81–93, 107–10; Rossiter, 129–30.
4. Davies, *Poems*, xxviii–xxxii; Finkelppearl, 261–7; Forker, 40–56; Bradbrook, *Webster*, 28–46; Webster, *Works*, 1:5–6.
5. *Poems*, 105.
6. Nashe, 2:116, 2:302, 3:254, 3:332–3, 4:428–9, 5:120; *Paradoxes*, 5–6; *PH*, 1.1–4; *Apology*, 70. The distinction does not appear in Cicero's *Academica*.
7. Marston's reliance on Florio is evident in *The Dutch Courtesan*, which contains 45 borrowings from Montaigne; see Finkelppearl, 198–9; Caputi, 58; Ellrodt, 41; Aggeler, 75.
8. Quotations from *The Malcontent* follow Harris' edition; quotations from other plays are drawn from Bullen's *Works*; cp. Davies' *Nosce Teipsum*, line 76.
9. For example, Davies' *Nosce*; Davies of Hereford's *Mirum* and *Microcosmos*; Greville's *Treatie*; also *Antonio's Revenge*, 4.1.38–60. Cf. Haydn, 93, 125; Forker, 52–3.
10. Chamber, 23; Heydon, 127–48.
11. 'To play', 177.
12. Sturgess, xxi.
13. Induction, 63–4; ode, 15–16. Webster wrote the Induction, but the ode is Marston's, as is the preface, which approves the 'freedom' of satire (26). Cp. 1.2.11, 1.3.2, 1.4.31.
14. Hunter, 'English', 101. From the very outset Vindice views his transformation into the 'knave' Piato as a form of corruption: 'For to be honest is not to be i' th' world' (1.1.93–6). Hippolito's remark about Piato, 'This our age swims within him' (1.3.24), serves not only as a way of enticing Lussurioso, but also foreshadows a genuine transformation in Vindice – a transformation never witnessed in Altofronto, since his temporizing is a calculated response that preserves his integrity. Vindice, meanwhile, will 'forget [his] nature' (1.3.177).
15. Bliss, 'Pastiche', 246; Hunter, *Drama*, 65, 286, 309–10.
16. Sextus juxtaposes arguments for and against providence (*PH*, 1.32, 1.151).
17. Eliot concludes that Ferneze's words to Bianca in the final scene 'indicate that Marston had forgotten' that Bianca was Bilioso's wife (187). Even Aggeler, despite a tidy reading, admits that Ferneze's attempt to seduce Bianca suggests that Altofronto/Malevole's penchant for character reformation is 'not entirely successful' (99).
18. *Institutes*, 3.23.2–7. For paradox and drama: Neill, 'Defence'.
19. Cp. Eusebius on Pyrrho, who said that 'of everything it can be affirmed with equal validity that it is, that it is not, that it is and is not at the same time, and that it neither is nor is not' (Kristeller, *Greek*, 43–4).

20. Finkelppearl, 178; Sturgess, 329; cp. Aggeler, 97–8. For less complex examples of temporizing: D'Amville (*Atheist's*, 3.4.32); Guise (*Revenge of Bussy*, 4.4.25); cp. *Spanish Tragedy*, 3.9.13; *Macbeth*, 1.5.61–2.

Chapter 9

1. *The Lady Falkland: Her Life*, in *Mariam* (Weller and Ferguson, eds.), 186, 268–9. Quotations from biography and play are drawn from this edition.
2. For Montaigne's sceptical critique of Stoicism, see, e.g., *Apology*, 14, 56, 60, 101, 104, 119, 164, 171, 176, 178, 190.
3. *Mariam* (Dunstan, ed., 1992), xxv. 'How we weepe' is conventionally dated to 1572–74, though Montaigne continued to work on the essay, making several post-1588 additions. Rowland and Straznicky state that several of *Mariam's* choruses 'also suggest the influence of Montaigne' (xxv), though they do not elaborate. See Defaux, 148–51, for arguments against the Villey-Strowski thesis of a 'crise sceptique'.
4. Lewalski, 'Writing', 808; *Mariam* (Purkiss, ed.), ix–xix; Zimmerman, 555–60. For other discussions of 'be and seem': Ferguson, 'Running', 49–50; Lewalski, *Writing*, 184.
5. See the Argument's comment on Herod's 'rashness'; cp. Bacon, *Advancement* (147, 164, 176) for discussions of precipitous judgement.
6. *Works*, 1:23–7; *Vanitie*, 49; *SR*, 56–7; Lewalski, *Writing*, 181–3.
7. Trevor-Roper, *Catholics*, 166–230.
8. Aubrey, 64; Hyde, 42.
9. *Religion*, 356; *HS*, 14, 65–6; *PH*, 1.7–10; Florio, 273, 448–51, 838; *Wisdom*, 231–8. That Chillingworth read Montaigne is clear (*Religion*, 1:41).
10. Matthew 23:27 characterizes Pharisees as hypocrites, 'like unto whited sepulchres.' Cp. Dent, *Shakespeare's*, F29; *Revenger's Tragedy*, 3.5.144.
11. Zimmerman, 553–60.
12. Maus, 1; Quilligan, 226.
13. 'Running', 47.
14. Lewalski, *Writing*, 191; Shannon, 139, 147; Zimmerman, 554; Beilin, 159; Belsey, 173.
15. *Sceptick*, 49; *PH*, 1.12, 1.31–4.
16. Ferguson, 'Running', 50–3; Beilin, 170; Travitsky, 189–90; Belsey, 173–4; Quilligan, 225; Kegl, 149.
17. Cp. Belsey, 173.
18. Travitsky, 188–9.
19. On this chorus see Lewalski, *Writing*, 196; Zimmerman, 557–60.
20. Shannon, 147; Kegl, 142–3.

Chapter 10

1. *Hamlet*, 3.1.17–20. Quotations from Webster follow Weis's edition.
2. 'Unkennel', suggesting enfranchisement, may imply that guilt's normative state is not hidden but open to public view, its kenneling merely temporary. A different form of unkenneling is posited by Lear during the storm; he expects the 'dreadful pother' to expose 'undivulgèd crimes' and

- 'close pent-up guilts' (*Lear*, 3.2.47–58). But whether or not the storm may be construed as the gods' art, its providential efficacy is dubious.
3. Hamlet's woe passes show not because he tries to conceal it but because it is incapable of being exhibited to the world in its true intensity. Claudius' guilt, on the other hand, may include such woe, but principally involves recognition of a hidden reality: the murder of his brother. Outward signs thus cannot denote Hamlet truly, while outward signs succeed in denoting Claudius falsely. Though we have distinctly different situations, there is still a degree of overlap.
 4. Sidney, 230.
 5. *Borrowing*, 41–2; Forker, 35, 52.
 6. *White Devil*, 5.6.108–13; *Duchess*, 3.2.245–9; Dent, *passim*.
 7. Ornstein, 134.
 8. Cp. *Sceptick*, 43; Dent, *Borrowing*, 81.
 9. Bogard, 97; Dollimore, 231–46.
 10. *Issues*, 349. See also 4.2.119–26; Bosola's stress on the contemptible frailty of humans accords not only with Montaigne and Erasmus, but with *The Malcontent* (4.5.104–15) and *The Revenger's Tragedy* (3.5.68–81).
 11. 4.1.54 (Gunby, ed.).
 12. Weis deletes 'artificial' from the stage direction, though he suspects it 'may not only derive from Webster's first draft, but might in fact have been a last-minute addition by the dramatist during press-correction, in which case it would carry additional authority' (397). See also Bosola to the dying Duchess at 4.2.343: 'The dead bodies you saw were but feigned statues'.
 13. This was the case in the July 2003 production at the Cambridge Arts Theatre; images of Antonio and the children were projected on a screen in an eerie holograph.
 14. See Forker, 309. For an alternative reaction to the matter of beholding the 'picture' versus the 'lively body', see *Titus Andronicus*, 3.1.103–5.
 15. Goldberg, 74.
 16. Forker, 274–5; Ewbank, 163–4.
 17. On the distancing effects produced by these dumb shows: Mulryne, 203; Ewbank, 168; Bliss, *Perspective*, 110–11.
 18. Luckyj, 111.
 19. Kernan, 400.
 20. By 'moral testing' I mean such incidents as Vincentio's testing of Angelo, Vindice's of Gratiana, and Malcolm's of Macduff; cp. the Cardinal in *Duchess*, 5.4.1–15. One archetype for these actions lies in the Book of Job.

Chapter 11

1. On the double plot: Empson, 46–50; Bradbrook, *Themes*, 206–17; Levin, 34–48. Hopkins discusses the 'reformation of homosocial bonding after disruption by threatening women' ('Beguiling', 158); Neill observes that *The Changeling* makes an 'un-Websterian assault on the principle of tragic distinction' (*Issues*, 169); cp. Belsey, 165.
2. Cp. Vindice (*Revenger's*, 3.5.79–81); also Brooke, 83.
3. See Ricks on multiple meanings of such words as blood, will, deed, service.

4. Antonius Mizaldus' *De arcanis naturae* (1558) does not in fact describe experiments for pregnancy and virginity; *The Changeling* thus assimilates such specific concerns to the more general fascination with forbidden knowledge.
5. Hopkins (150–2) discusses Alsemero's virginity test within the context of prevailing misogynistic attitudes.
6. Daalder, 502–8.
7. Also *CWE*, 27:118–19. See Martin (39–57) for Middleton and scepticism more generally.
8. See Sextus' fourth mode (*PH*, 1.100–17).
9. Yachnin, 55–8; it is unclear whether Middleton took a degree. Schmitt discusses sceptical *quaestiones* used for disputation at Oxford in the 1580s/1590s ('Philosophy', 501).
10. Heinemann treats the profound social pressures contributing to the corruption of Middleton's protagonists (174, 191–9).
11. Note the possible allusion here to an alternate meaning of 'eye' – that suggested at 3.3.69–70. Shakespeare too exploits the eye/vagina parallel: *Merchant* (2.5.44), *Troilus* (2.1.78), *Measure* (1.2.90).
12. Cp. 3.4.44, 3.4.70, 4.2.56, 5.1.60. De Flores' talk of conscience begins well before Piracquo's ghost appears.
13. Beatrice stages two investigations of her own: the genuine enquiry into whether Diaphanta is a virgin, and the feigned enquiry (undertaken with Diaphanta's complicity) designed to 'try' her fears about loss of maidenhead (4.1.66–117).
14. 'Beguiling', 156.

Chapter 12

1. Brooke, 114–15; Ornstein, 200–13; Ellis-Fermor, *Jacobean*, 227.
2. Hoy, 153; Hopkins, 'Knowing', 1, 18; Ribner, 173; Boehrer, 363–71; Wilks, 254–64; McCabe, 229–31.
3. For foundational discussions of the problem of the criterion: *PH*, 1.21, 1.59–60, 1.112–17, 1.166, 2.14–79.
4. Finkelpearl, 261–2; Hopkins, *Ford*, 3; Boehrer, 369; Barbour, 'Ford', 349. Beaumont was a member of the adjacent Inner Temple.
5. Ford wrote an elegy on Blount's death in 1606; the anonymous *Golden Mean* (1613), dedicated to Northumberland, is also widely regarded as Ford's. Wilks emphasizes the 'epistemological uncertainty' of the latter work (254).
6. For discussions of Sextus' tenth mode: Annas and Barnes, 160; Hankinson, *Sceptics*, 156, 262–72; Hamlin, 'Continuities', 366–9; Mates, 250–2.
7. Ribner, 170; Ornstein, 203.
8. Ornstein, 205–7; Hoy, 147–54; Hopkins, *Ford*, 100–3.
9. *Wisdom*, 310–11. Ornstein (206–7) and McCabe (132, 216) both discuss Charron. See Boehrer for Giovanni's divorce of the books of nature and scripture. For ideological functions of the incest taboo: Whigham, 167–71.
10. Ribner, 173; Ornstein, 207–9; Hoy, 146–9; Ellis-Fermor comments on the Friar's 'moral obliquity' (*Jacobean*, 244); Ribner treats the absurdity of his counsel to Annabella (164–8).

11. McLuskie, 129–30.
12. For the topos of religion's introduction as means of keeping people in awe: Greenblatt, *Negotiations*, 26–7; Nashe, *Works*, 1:172, 2:115–16; Hamlin, 'Imagined', 413–16.
13. Hopkins, 'Knowing', 4; Hoy, 149; Brooke, 127; Boehrer, 363.
14. Morris, intro., xxvii.
15. Brooke, 127–8; see also the knowledge-problem staged in 4.3 regarding the 'author' of Annabella's pregnancy.
16. Bowers, 209–11. For other perspectives on Giovanni's revenge: Boehrer, 367–9; Ornstein, 211.
17. Brooke, 120; McCabe, 229.
18. 'Ford', 350.
19. 'Knowing', 4.

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Abbreviations

BHR:	<i>Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance</i>
CompD:	<i>Comparative Drama</i>
ELH:	<i>English Literary History</i>
ELR:	<i>English Literary Renaissance</i>
EMLS:	<i>Early Modern Literary Studies</i>
HLQ:	<i>Huntington Library Quarterly</i>
JHI:	<i>Journal of the History of Ideas</i>
JHP:	<i>Journal of the History of Philosophy</i>
JWCI:	<i>Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes</i>
MRTS:	<i>Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies</i>
N&Q:	<i>Notes and Queries</i>
P&P:	<i>Past and Present</i>
PMLA:	<i>Publication of the Modern Language Association</i>
PQ:	<i>Philological Quarterly</i>
R&L:	<i>Religion and Literature</i>
RenD:	<i>Renaissance Drama</i>
RES:	<i>Review of English Studies</i>
RORD:	<i>Research Opportunities in Renaissance Drama</i>
RQ:	<i>Renaissance Quarterly</i>
SCJ:	<i>Sixteenth Century Journal</i>
SEL:	<i>Studies in English Literature, 1500–1900</i>
Shaks:	<i>Shakespeare Studies</i>
ShS:	<i>Shakespeare Survey</i>
SQ:	<i>Shakespeare Quarterly</i>

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