

Notes and References

1 HISTORY AND TRAGEDY

1. There is another possible explanation for the inclusion of *Cymbeline* among the tragedies. As the last play in the volume, it may have been added at the end simply because the copy arrived late at the printing house. See J. M. Nosworthy's Introduction to the Arden edition (1955) p. xiii.

2. Lily B. Campbell, *Shakespeare's 'Histories': Mirrors of Elizabethan Policy* (San Marino, Calif., 1958) p. 307.

3. See H. A. Kelly, *Divine Providence in the England of Shakespeare's Histories* (Cambridge, Mass., 1970).

4. Plutarch, *Lives of the Noble Grecians and Romans*, trans. Sir Thomas North; reprinted in *Tudor Translations* (London, 1895) vol. iv, p. 298.

5. See L. C. Knights, 'Shakespeare and Political Wisdom', *Sewanee Review*, LXI (1953) 43–55.

6. I am assuming that it has been finally established that Shakespeare was the sole author of *1 Henry VI* and that it was written before the other two parts. See A. S. Cairncross's Introduction to his Arden edition of the play (1962) pp. xxviii–xxxvii.

7. Aristotle, *Poetics*, ch. ix, 1451b.

8. 'Omnis comoedia de fictis est argumentis, tragœdia saepe de historia fide petitur', *Aeli Donati Quod Fertur Commentum Terenti*, ed. P. Wessner (Stuttgart, 1962) vol. i, p. 21.

9. Scaliger, *Poetice*, trans. F. M. Padelford, *Yale Studies in English*, xxvi (New Haven, 1905) 69.

10. Castelvetro, *The Poetics of Aristotle Translated and Annotated* (1571); trans. A. H. Gilbert, in *Literary Criticism: Plato to Dryden* (Detroit, 1962) p. 320. See also Trissino, *Poetica* (1563); Gilbert, p. 225.

11. The information which follows has been taken from E. K. Chambers, *William Shakespeare*, 2 vols (Oxford, 1930) vol. i, ch. ix. Lily

B. Campbell (*Shakespeare's 'Histories'*, ch. ii) discusses this same information but reaches different conclusions from my own.

12. Irving Ribner's attempts, in *The English History Play in the Age of Shakespeare* (Princeton, N.J., 1957), to trace the evolution of Shakespeare's histories out of sixteenth-century drama serve largely to emphasise Shakespeare's achievement as an innovator.

13. Peter Ure (ed.), *Richard II* (Arden edition, 1956) Introduction, p. lxiii.

14. Susanne Langer, *Feeling and Form* (London, 1953) p. 334.

15. Northrop Frye, *Anatomy of Criticism* (Princeton, N.J., 1957) p. 284.

16. See Brian Morris, 'The Tragic Structure of *Troilus and Cressida*', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, x (1959) 481–91.

17. A. P. Rossiter, *Angel With Horns*, ed. Graham Storey (London, 1961) p. 51.

18. Emrys Jones, *The Origins of Shakespeare* (Oxford, 1977) p. 119.

19. E. K. Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage*, 4 vols (Oxford, 1923) vol. iv, p. 263; and Glynne Wickham, *Early English Stages, 1300–1600*, 2 vols (London, 1963) vol. ii, part i, pp. 75–6.

20. Sir Philip Sidney, *Defence of Poesie*, in Feuillerat (ed.), *Works*, 4 vols (Cambridge, 1923) vol. iii, p. 17.

21. *Ibid.*, p. 18.

22. Bacon, *Advancement of Learning*, Book II, in Spedding (ed.), *Works* (London, 1870) vol. iii, p. 343.

23. Samuel Johnson, *Preface to Shakespeare*, in *Works* (Yale edition, 1968) vol. vii, p. 66.

24. See Emrys Jones, *Scenic Form in Shakespeare* (Oxford, 1971).

2 TIME AND CHANGE

1. Sir Walter Raleigh, *History of the World*, Book I, ch. iv; in W. Oldis and T. Birch (eds) *Works*, 8 vols (Oxford, 1829), vol. 2, p. 129.

2. Other ways in which Shakespeare creates this illusion are discussed by Emrys Jones in the first two chapters of *Scenic Form*.

3. The phrase is quoted by L. C. Knights as the title of a chapter in his *Some Shakespearean Themes* (London, 1959) to which I am indebted.

4. The scholars have pointed out that Shakespeare confuses Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March, the rebel, with his uncle, Sir Edmund Mortimer. This confusion does not affect my argument. See A. S. Cairncross's headnote to *1 Henry VI*, II v (Arden edition, 1962) p. 53.

5. Geoffrey Bullough, *Narrative and Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare*, 5 vols (London, 1958–64) vol. III (1960) p. 169.
6. Northrop Frye, *Fools of Time* (Toronto, 1967) p. 15.
7. Boethius, *Consolation of Philosophy*, Book II, Prose vii; trans. Richard Green (New York, 1962) p. 38.
8. Robert Ornstein, *A Kingdom for a Stage* (Cambridge, Mass., 1972) p. 158.
9. Boethius, *Consolation*, Book III, Prose v. p. 51.

3 FORTUNE AND NATURE

1. See Willard Farnham, *The Medieval Heritage of Elizabethan Tragedy* (Oxford, 1963) pp. 104–27; H. R. Patch, *The Goddess Fortuna in Medieval Philosophy and Literature* (1927; New York, 1967) pp. 8–34.
2. See T. O. Wedel, *The Medieval Attitude Toward Astrology*, *Yale Studies in English*, LX (New Haven, 1920); and Don Cameron Allen, *The Star-Crossed Renaissance: The Quarrel about Astrology and its Influence in England* (London, 1941).
3. Plutarch, *The Morals*, trans. Philemon Holland (1603) p. 538; quoted in Michael Quinn, 'Providence in Shakespeare's Yorkist Plays', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, x (1959) 45.
4. Machiavelli, *The Prince*, ch. xxv; trans. N. H. Thomson (Oxford, 1924) p. 183.
5. Boccaccio, *De Casibus Virorum Illustrium* (Paris, 1520) fo. I verso; Farnham, *Medieval Heritage*, p. 85.
6. Lydgate, *Fall of Princes*, Book I, ll. 687–93; ed. Henry Bergen in EETS Extra Series no. 121 (Oxford, 1924) p. 19.
7. Milton, *Paradise Lost*, Book x, ll. 658–61.
8. A. C. Bradley, *Shakespearean Tragedy* (London, 1905) p. 273.
9. Patch, *Goddess Fortuna*, pp. 65–6.
10. For further discussion of this idea, see John Shaw, 'Fortune and Nature in *As You Like It*', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, vi (1955) 45–50.
11. *Hall's Chronicle* (London, 1809) p. 251; A. S. Cairncross (ed.), *3 Henry VI* (Arden edition, 1964) p. 150; Bullough, *Narrative and Dramatic Sources*, vol. III, p. 178.
12. Hall, op. cit., p. 145; Cairncross (ed.), *1 Henry VI* (Arden edition, 1962) pp. 142–3; Bullough, *Narrative and Dramatic Sources*, vol. III, p. 55.
13. Ribner, *English History Play*, p. 99.
14. Ornstein, *A Kingdom for a Stage*, p. 115.

15. Aristotle, *Poetics*, ch. ix, 1451b, trans. Bywater, in *Works*, 12 vols (Oxford, 1910–26) vol. xi (no pagination).
16. Samuel Johnson, *The Rambler*, no. 2, 24 March 1750; ed. Bate and Strauss, 3 vols (Yale edition, 1969) vol. i, p. 10.
17. Ornstein, *A Kingdom for a Stage*, p. 124.
18. Boethius, *Consolation*, Book I, Poem v; Green trans., p. 15.
19. Felix Raab, in *The English Face of Machiavelli* (London, 1964) pp. 52–3, explains how Machiavelli's writings were available to Englishmen. There were printed Italian editions and several English manuscript translations.
20. A. H. Gilbert, *Machiavelli's Prince and its Forerunners* (Durham, N.C., 1938).
21. *Ibid.*, p. 206.
22. R. G. Moulton, *Shakespeare as a Dramatic Artist* (1885; Oxford, 1929) p. 110.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 113.
24. Machiavelli, *The Prince*, ch. vii; Thomson trans., p. 52.
25. *Ibid.*, ch. iii, p. 5.
26. *Ibid.*, ch. xv, p. 110.

4 PRAYER, PROPHECY AND PROVIDENCE

1. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 1150.
2. Wilbur Sanders, *The Dramatist and the Received Idea* (Cambridge, 1968) p. 101.
3. *Hall's Chronicle*, p. 425; Bullough, *Narrative and Dramatic Sources*, vol. III, p. 301.
4. Machiavelli, *The Prince*, ch. xix; Thomson trans., p. 133.
5. *Ibid.*, ch. xxi, pp. 163–4.
6. *Hall's Chronicle*, p. 147.
7. Sanders, *Dramatist*, p. 280.
8. *Ibid.*
9. A. C. Bradley, *Shakespearean Tragedy*, pp. 340–9.
10. E. M. W. Tillyard, *Shakespeare's History Plays* (London, 1944). Ornstein (*A Kingdom for a Stage*, pp. 14–15) locates the origin of Tillyard's interpretation in C. L. Kingsford's *English Historical Literature in the Fifteenth Century* (Oxford, 1913) and in subsequent articles by scholars of the 1930s.
11. Sanders (*Dramatist*, p. 361, note 3) identifies Tillyard's views in G. I. Duthie's *Shakespeare* (London, 1951), Irving Ribner's *English History Play*, and M. M. Reese's *The Cease of Majesty* (London, 1961). To

these can be added Geoffrey Bullough's *Narrative and Dramatic Sources*, vol. III, and A. S. Cairncross's Arden editions of the three parts of *Henry VI* (1962–4). The ideas also appear in such unexpected places as L. C. Knights's *Some Shakespearean Themes*, p. 29, Northrop Frye's *Fools of Time*, p. 21, and May McKisack's *Medieval History in the Tudor Age* (Oxford, 1971) p. 110.

12. Boethius, *Consolation*, Book IV, Prose v, vi; Green trans., pp. 89, 91.

13. Tillyard, *Shakespeare's History Plays*, pp. 320–1.

14. H. A. Kelly, *Divine Providence*.

15. *Ibid.*, p. 85.

16. *Ibid.*, pp. 139, 159, 304–5.

17. *Hall's Chronicle*, p. 265; Cairncross (ed.), *3 Henry VI* p. 158. This crucial last sentence is omitted from the extract from the same passage in Bullough, *Narrative and Dramatic Sources*, vol. III, p. 187.

18. *Hall's Chronicle*, p. 286; Cairncross (ed.), *3 Henry VI*, pp. 166–7. This passage is also omitted from Bullough, *Narrative and Dramatic Sources*, vol. III, p. 195.

19. F. J. Levy, *Tudor Historical Thought* (San Marino, Calif., 1967) p. 176; *Hall's Chronicle*, p. 320.

20. Tillyard, *Shakespeare's History Plays*, p. 165.

21. Lily B. Campbell, *Shakespeare's 'Histories'*, p. 84.

22. Kelly, *Divine Providence*, p. 40.

23. Augustine of Hippo, *The City of God*, Book XX, ch. ii; trans. J. Healey, 2 vols (London, 1962) vol. II, p. 269.

24. R. A. Markus, *Saeculum: History and Society in the Theology of Saint Augustine* (Cambridge, 1970) p. 83.

25. Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, I xvi 9; trans. Henry Beveridge, 2 vols (London, 1962) vol. I, p. 180.

26. *Ibid.*, I xvii 1; Beveridge trans., p. 183.

27. William Perkins, *Works*, 3 vols (Cambridge, 1616) vol. I, p. 155.

28. Hiram Haydn, *The Counter-Renaissance* (New York, 1950) p. 464.

29. Schopenhauer, *The World as Will and Idea*, Book III, Section 51; trans. Haldane and Kemp, 3 vols (London, 1883) vol. I, pp. 326–8.

30. *Ibid.*, *Supplements to the Third Book*, ch. xxxvii; vol. III, p. 213.

31. *Ibid.*

5 KNOWLEDGE AND JUDGEMENT

1. Milton, *Tetrachordon*, in *Works* (Columbia edition) vol. IV (New York, 1931) p. 92.

2. Isabel MacCaffrey, *Paradise Lost as Myth* (Cambridge, Mass., 1959) p. 34. I am indebted to this work for the examples quoted in this chapter.

3. Donne, 'Sermon Preached on Easter-Monday, 1622', in Potter and Simpson (eds), *Sermons of John Donne* (Berkeley, Calif., 1959) vol. iv, p. 128; MacCaffrey, *Paradise Lost as Myth*, p. 36.

4. For the revival of scepticism, see Hiram Haydn, *The Counter-Renaissance*, *passim*, and especially pp. 89–90.

5. See the article on Florio by Sidney Lee in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. xix (London, 1889) pp. 336–9; Elizabeth Robbins Hooker, 'The Relation of Shakespeare to Montaigne', *PMLA*, xvii (1902) 349.

6. Bacon, *Novum Organum*, l xlii, in *Works*, vol. iv, p. 54.

7. Mary Warnock, *Existentialist Ethics* (London, 1967) p. 24.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 45.

9. Jean-Paul Sartre, *Being and Nothingness*, trans. Hazel E. Barnes (London, 1957) p. 222.

10. See Leonard F. Dean, 'From *Richard II* to *Henry V*: A Closer View', in Thomas P. Harrison and James H. Sledd (eds), *Studies in Honor of DeWitt T. Starnes* (Austin, Texas, 1967) pp. 37–52; reprinted in Paul M. Cubeta (ed.), *Twentieth-Century Interpretations of Richard II* (Spectrum Books, Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1971) pp. 58–65.

11. Bacon, 'Of Truth', in *Essays or Counsels, Civil and Moral* (1597); *Works*, vol. vi, pp. 377–8.

12. Iris Murdoch, *Sartre* (Cambridge, 1953) p. 56.

13. H. A. Kelly, *Divine Providence*, p. 205.

14. Bullough, *Narrative and Dramatic Sources*, vol. iv, p. 182; and Humphreys (ed.), *1 Henry IV* (Arden edition, 1960) p. 168.

15. Ernest Schanzer, *The Problem Plays of Shakespeare* (London, 1963) p. 32.

16. *Ibid.*, pp. 10–23.

17. This moment is well analysed in R. G. Moulton's *Shakespeare as a Dramatic Artist*, p. 198.

18. Warnock, *Existentialist Ethics*, p. 22.

19. A. P. Rossiter, *Angel with Horns*, pp. 135–6.

20. For example, S. L. Bethell, *Shakespeare and the Popular Dramatic Tradition* (London, 1944) p. 98.

21. Milton, *The Reason of Church Government*, in *Works* (Columbia edition) vol. iii (New York, 1931) p. 186; and MacCaffrey, *Paradise Lost as Myth*, p. 35.

6 DILEMMA AND DISCOVERY

1. Milton, *De Doctrina Christiana*, in *Works* (Columbia edition) vol. xv (New York, 1933) p. 115.
2. Sartre, *Being and Nothingness*, p. 261.
3. Anthony Ascham, *Of the Confusions and Revolutions of Governments* (1649).
4. Lily B. Campbell, in *Shakespeare's 'Histories'*, pp. 168–212, provides a wide-ranging survey of contemporary opinions of Richard and Bolingbroke.
5. Kelly, *Divine Providence*, pp. 36; 39–40.
6. Bullough, *Narrative and Dramatic Sources*, vol. III, p. 408.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 409; and Peter Ure (ed.), *Richard II* (Arden edition, 1956) p. 193.
8. *Ibid.*
9. Lily B. Campbell (ed.), *Mirror for Magistrates* (New York, 1960) p. 113.
10. See Campbell, *Shakespeare's 'Histories'*, pp. 170–94.
11. Peter Ure (ed.), *Richard II*, Introduction, p. lxxviii; and Irving Ribner, 'The Political Problem in Shakespeare's Lancastrian Tetralogy', *Studies in Philology*, XLIX (1952) 171.
12. A. C. Bradley, *Oxford Lectures on Poetry* (London, 1926) p. 257.
13. Bullough, *Narrative and Dramatic Sources*, vol. v, pp. 218–38.
14. Martin Turnell, *The Classical Moment* (London, 1947) p. 141.

7 THE LOST GARDEN

1. Mircea Eliade, *The Myth of the Eternal Return*, trans. W. R. Trask (Bollingen Series, vol. XLVI, New York, 1954) p. 91. See also A. Bartlett Giamatti, *The Earthly Paradise and the Renaissance Epic* (Princeton, N.J., 1966); and Harry Levin, *The Myth of the Golden Age in the Renaissance* (London, 1970).
2. Giamatti, *The Earthly Paradise*, p. 3.
3. Giamatti, *The Earthly Paradise*, pp. 16–30; and Levin, *Myth of the Golden Age*, pp. 13–24.
4. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, Book I, ll. 89–112.
5. Peter Martyr, *De Novo Orbe, or the Historie of the West Indies*, trans. Richard Eden and Michael Lok (London, 1612) p. 140; and Levin, *Myth of the Golden Age*, p. 60.
6. Richard Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations Voyages Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation*, 12 vols (1598–1600; Glasgow, 1903–5) vol. VIII, p. 305; and Levin, *Myth of the Golden Age*, p. 66.

7. Montaigne, 'Of the Caniballes', in *Essays*, trans. John Florio, 3 vols (1603; London, 1965) vol. i, p. 220.

8. R. A. Markus points out that, according to Augustine, the institution of government was itself a consequence of the Fall: 'The origin of the servitude in which man is subjected to another in virtue of the bondage of his condition, is sin' (*Saeculum*, p. 198).

9. Shakespeare's use of images of gardening and cultivation to describe human societies is discussed by Caroline Spurgeon in *Shakespeare's Imagery and What It Tells Us* (Cambridge, 1935) pp. 217-24.

10. Milton, *Of Education*, ed. Allan Abbott, in *Works* (Columbia edition) vol. iv (1931) p. 277.

11. Spurgeon, *Shakespeare's Imagery*, p. 232.

12. See Emrys Jones, *Scenic Form*, p. 34.

13. See Giamatti, *The Earthly Paradise*, *passim*.

14. Tillyard, *Shakespeare's History Plays*, p. 259.

15. Maynard Mack, 'The World of Hamlet', *Yale Review*, xli (1951-2) 517.

16. Wilbur Sanders, *Dramatist*, p. 258.

17. See D. C. Allen, 'The Degeneration of Man and Renaissance Pessimism', *Studies in Philology*, xxxv (1938) 202-27; Victor Harris, *All Coherence Gone* (Chicago, 1949); and Eliade, *Myth of the Eternal Return*, pp. 113ff.

18. *A godly and fruitful sermon preached at Grantham* (Oxford, 1594) sig. Dii verso; quoted in J. W. Blench, *Preaching in England in the Late Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (Oxford, 1964) p. 316.

19. Eliade, *Myth of the Eternal Return*, p. 129.

20. With reference to myths and religious beliefs, Eliade says (p. 128): 'Frequently, as we should expect, the paradisaical period opens with the enthronement of a new sovereign.'

21. R. A. Foakes (ed.), *Henry VIII* (Arden edition, 1957) footnote to v iv 33-5, p. 175. Foakes gives the Old Testament references.

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