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Notes

Note on Texts and Acknowledgements

- 1 Sayce, R., 'L'édition des *Essais* de Montaigne de 1595', *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, 36 (1974), 115–41; Maskell, D., 'Quel est le dernier état authentique des *Essais* de Montaigne?', *BHR*, 40 (1978), 85–103; Sayce, R. and Maskell, D., *A Descriptive Bibliography of Montaigne's Essais* (London: Bibliographical Society, 1983), pp. 25–35; Desan, P. (ed.), *Dictionnaire de Michel de Montaigne* (Paris: Champion, 2004), pp. 297–312, 363–8.
- 2 Mack, P., *Renaissance Argument: Valla and Agricola in the Traditions of Rhetoric and Dialectic* (Leiden: Brill, 1993); *Elizabethan Rhetoric: Theory and Practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002); 'Rhetoric, Ethics and Reading in the Renaissance', *Renaissance Studies*, 19 (2005), 1–21.

Chapter 1

- 1 Cave, T., *How to Read Montaigne* (London: Granta, 2007), pp. 3, 22–4; Panichi, N., 'Rhétorique', in P. Desan (ed.), *Dictionnaire de Michel de Montaigne* (Paris: Champion, 2004), pp. 873–6; Lestringant, F. (ed.), *Rhétorique de Montaigne* (Paris: Champion, 1985); O'Brien, J., Quainton, M. and Supple, J. (eds), *Montaigne et la rhétorique* (Paris: Champion, 1995).
- 2 Mack, P. 'Montaigne and Shakespeare: Source, Parallel or Comparison?', *Montaigne Studies*, 23, to appear.
- 3 Taylor, G., *Shakespeare's Debt to Montaigne* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1925); Türck, S., *Shakespeare und Montaigne: ein Beitrag zur Hamlet-frage* (Berlin: Junker und Dünhaupt, 1930); Ellrodt, R., 'Self-consciousness in Montaigne and Shakespeare', *Shakespeare Survey*, 28 (1975), 37–50; Flygare, W., *Montaigne–Shakespeare Studies* (Kyoto: Apollon Press, 1983); Grady, H., *Shakespeare, Machiavelli and Montaigne* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).
- 4 Villey, P., 'Montaigne et les poètes dramatiques anglais du temps de Shakespeare', *Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France*, 24 (1917), 357–93; Harmon, A., 'How Great Was Shakespeare's Debt to Montaigne?', *PMLA*, 57 (1942), 988–1008; Parker, F., 'Shakespeare's Argument with Montaigne', *Cambridge Quarterly*, 28 (1999), 1–18; Kapitaniak, P. and Maguin, J.-M. (eds), *Shakespeare et Montaigne: vers un nouvel humanisme* (Montpellier: Société Française Shakespeare, 2004).
- 5 Mack, P., *Elizabethan Rhetoric* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 12–14. The curriculum of the Collège de Guyenne is described in Vinet, E., *Schola Aquitanica (1583)*, ed. L. Massebieau (Paris: Le Musée pédagogique, 1886).
- 6 *Essais*, I, 26, V173–4, P180, S195.
- 7 The syllabus of the Collège de Guyenne is slightly different from the Elizabethan grammar schools but within the general pattern. Philosophy is kept back for

the final two years. There is more work on Cicero's epistles and orations. Textbooks of rhetoric are mentioned, specifically Cicero's *Partitiones oratoriae*. The students read a good deal of Ovid. Persius, Juvenal and Lucan are included.

- 8 V175, P182, S197.
- 9 Legros, A., 'Grec', in P. Desan (ed.), *Dictionnaire de Michel de Montaigne* (Paris: Champion, 2004), pp. 443–5.
- 10 Aphthonius, *Progymnasmata*, trans. M. Heath, at <http://www.leeds.ac.uk/classics/resources/rhetoric/prog-aph.htm>, accessed 30/8/2010; Mack, *Elizabethan Rhetoric*, pp. 14–24, 27–9, 34–43.
- 11 Erasmus, *De copia*, ed. B. Knott, *Opera omnia*, vol. I-6 (Amsterdam: North Holland, 1988), pp. 38–90, trans. B. Knott, in *Collected Works of Erasmus*, vol. 24 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1978), pp. 307–65; Chomarat, J., *Grammaire et rhétorique chez Erasme*, 2 vols (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1981); Mack, *Elizabethan Rhetoric*, pp. 31–2, 42–6.
- 12 Erasmus, *De copia*, pp. 197–230, trans. pp. 572–605.
- 13 Erasmus, *De copia*, pp. 202–15, 230–58, trans. pp. 577–89, 605–35.
- 14 Agricola, R., *De formando studio* in *Lucubrationes* (Cologne, 1539, repr. Nieuwkoop: De Graaf, 1967), pp. 198–200; Erasmus, *De copia*, pp. 258–63, trans. pp. 635–41; Melancthon, P., *De locis communibus ratio*, CR, vol. XX, cols 695–8; Moss, A., *Printed Commonplace – Books and the Structuring of Renaissance Thought* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), esp. pp. 107–13, 119–26.
- 15 Mann Philipps, M., *The Adages of Erasmus* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1964); Barker, W., *The Adages of Erasmus* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001) provides a useful selection based on the translation in *Collected Works of Erasmus*, vols 31–6 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982–).
- 16 I owe this suggestion to Kees Meerhoff. Montaigne comments on wanting to give purchasers of subsequent editions something new for their money (V964, P1008, S1091). George Hoffman points out the advantages of this type of publication in obtaining additional sales and retaining copyright privileges, *Montaigne's Career* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), pp. 113–18.
- 17 *Paroemia est celebre dictum, scita quapiam novitate insigne*. Erasmus, *Opera omnia*, vol. II-1 (Amsterdam: North Holland, 1993), p. 46; Barker, *The Adages of Erasmus*, p. 5; Mack, P., 'Rhetoric, Ethics and Reading in the Renaissance', *Renaissance Studies*, 19 (2005), 1–21.
- 18 Erasmus, *Opera omnia*, vol. II-1, p. 60; Barker, *The Adages of Erasmus*, pp. 12–13.
- 19 Erasmus, *Opera omnia*, vol. II-1, pp. 64–5; Barker, *The Adages of Erasmus*, p. 17.
- 20 Erasmus, *Opera omnia*, vol. II-1, p. 64; Barker, *The Adages of Erasmus*, p. 16.
- 21 *Proinde si scite et in loco intertexantur adagia, futurum est, ut sermo totus et antiquitatis ceu stellulis quibusdam luceat et figurarum arrideat coloribus et*

sententiarum niteat gemmulis et festivitatis cupediis blandiatur, denique novitate excitet, brevitate delectet, autoritate persuadeat. Erasmus, *Opera omnia*, vol. II-1, p. 64; Barker, *The Adages of Erasmus*, p. 16.

- 22 Erasmus, *Opera omnia*, vol. II-1, pp. 66–8; Barker, *The Adages of Erasmus*, pp. 19–20; Cave, T., *The Cornucopian Text* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978).
- 23 *Mendacem memorem esse oportet*. Quintilianus Institutionum oratoriarum libro quarto sententiam hanc proverbii vice citat: *mendacem memorem esse oportere*. Item Apuleius in Apologia magiae secunda: *Saepe, inquit, audiui non de nihilo dici: mendacem memorem esse oportere*. Divus Hieronymus: *oblitus veteris proverbii, mendaces memores esse oportere*. Satis liquet adagii sensus, nemper perdifficile est, ut, qui mentitur, semper sibi constet, nisi sit summa memoria. Est autem fictarum rerum memoria non paulo difficilior, quam verarum. Proinde plerunque deprehunduntur hoc pacto mendaciorum architecti, dum obliti, quae prius dixerint, diversa a superioribus loquuntur. Sic deprehenditur apud Terentium Davus, sic Psyche Apuleianae commentum a sororibus sentitur. Erasmus, *Opera omnia*, vol. II-3 (Amsterdam: North Holland, 2005), p. 292; *Collected Works of Erasmus*, vol. 33 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), p. 175.
- 24 Quod quidem si tam esset fixum in hominum animis, quam nulli non est in ore, profecto maxima malorum parte vita nostris levaretur. Erasmus, *Opera omnia*, vol. II-1, p. 84, trans. W. Barker, p. 29.
- 25 For example the ring of Gyges, *Adagia*, I, 1, 96.
- 26 Erasmus, *Opera omnia*, vol. II-7 (Amsterdam: North Holland, 1999), pp. 11–44, trans. W. Barker, *The Adages of Erasmus*, pp. 317–56.
- 27 Qui nos admonet, uti nos ad omnem vitae rationem accommodemus ac Proteum quendam agentes, prout res postulabit, in quamlibet formam transfiguremus. Erasmus, *Opera omnia*, vol. II-1, p. 200.
- 28 Neque quisquam existimet hoc adagio doceri foedam adulationem, qua quidam omnibus omnia assentantur aut vitiosam morum inaequalitatem. Erasmus, *Opera omnia*, vol. II-1, p. 200.
- 29 Certe felicissima quaedam et admiranda fuit morum et ingenii dexteritas, qui sic polypum agebat. Erasmus, *Opera omnia*, vol. II-1, p. 200, trans. W. Barker, *The Adages of Erasmus*, pp. 42–3.
- 30 Agricola, R., *De inventione dialectica* (Cologne, 1539, repr. Nieuwkoop: De Graaf, 1967), pp. 1–3; Mack, P., *Renaissance Argument* (Leiden: Brill, 1993), pp. 124–5, 138–9.
- 31 Agricola, *De inventione dialectica*, pp. 6–177, 355–77; Mack, *Renaissance Argument*, pp. 130–67, 233–7.
- 32 Agricola, *De inventione dialectica*, pp. 1–2, 258–93; Mack, *Renaissance Argument*, pp. 190–202.
- 33 Agricola, *De inventione dialectica*, pp. 198–201, 378–91; Mack, *Renaissance Argument*, pp. 203–12.
- 34 Agricola, *De inventione dialectica*, pp. 197, 413–50; Mack, *Renaissance Argument*, pp. 218–25.

- 35 Agricola, *De inventione dialectica*, pp. 354–60, 461–71; Mack, *Renaissance Argument*, pp. 227–33; van der Poel, M., ‘The Scholia in Orationem Pro lege Manilia of Rudolph Agricola’, *Lias*, 24 (1997), 1–35; Meerhoff, K., *Entre logique et littérature* (Orléans: Paradigme, 2001), pp. 25–99.
- 36 [B] De tous les auteurs que je cognoisse celui qui a mieux meslé l’art à la nature et le jugement à la science. *Essais*, III 6, V899, P942, S1018. Other praises of Plutarch at II, 10, V413, 416, P433, 437, S463, 467.
- 37 The fundamental reference on Plutarch is Ziegler, K., ‘Ploutarchos’, in Pauly, A. and Wissowa, F. (eds), *Realenzyklopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* (Stuttgart: A. Druckenmüller, 1964), pp. xxi, 636–962. Also Jones, C. P., ‘Towards a Chronology of Plutarch’s Works’, *Journal of Roman Studies*, 56 (1966), 61–74; Russell, D. A., *Plutarch* (London: Duckworth, 1972); Swain, S., *Hellenism and Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), pp. 138–96; Duff, T., *Plutarch’s Lives: Exploring Virtue and Vice* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999); Pelling, C., *Plutarch and History* (Swansea: Classical Press of Wales, 2002). Selected translations of the *Moralia* in English were made by D. A. Russell (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993) and R. Waterfield (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1992).
- 38 Plutarch, *Moralia*, 452F–464D, vol. VI, Loeb Classical Library, trans. W. C. Hembold (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1962), pp. 92–159, trans. R. Waterfield, pp. 176–201. I am grateful to Simon Swain for his comments on this essay.
- 39 Plutarch, *Moralia*, 453E, 454C, 454F.
- 40 Plutarch, *Moralia*, 456F, 458C–E.
- 41 *E.g.*, Plutarch, *Moralia*, 455A, D, 460E, 462C.
- 42 Swain, S., ‘Polemon’s *Physiognomy*’, in S. Swain (ed.), *Seeing the Face, Seeing the Soul: Polemon’s Physiognomy from Classical Antiquity to Medieval Islam* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 125–201, 137–40.
- 43 V714–15, P750–1, S809–11.
- 44 V716–17, P752–3, S812; Gellius, *Noctes Atticae*, I, 26, 1–10.
- 45 Plutarch, *Moralia*, 575B–598F, vol. VII, Loeb Classical Library, pp. 372–509, trans. D. Russell, pp. 82–119, trans. R. Waterfield, pp. 308–58.
- 46 Plutarch, *Moralia*, 582E–583C.
- 47 Plutarch, *Moralia*, 583C–585D.
- 48 Plutarch, *Moralia*, 580C–582C, 588B–C.
- 49 Plutarch, *Moralia*, 588C–592F.
- 50 Plutarch, *Moralia*, 593A–594A.
- 51 Plutarch, *Moralia*, 576E–577A, 594B–C.
- 52 III, 9, V994, P1040–1, S1125.
- 53 For example the same idea from Plato is used in *Progress in Virtue*, 84F, *On Listening*, 45A and *How to Tell a Flatterer from a Friend*, 56C.
- 54 Hugo Friedrich’s analysis of this chapter emphasizes his discovery of the contradictoriness of human thoughts and behaviour, *Montaigne* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1991), pp. 151–3.

- 55 Demosthenes, *Funeral Oration*, 17; Horace, *Epistles*, I, 1, 98–9; Homer, *Odyssey*, XVIII, 136–7, quoted in Cicero’s Latin translation preserved in Augustine, *City of God*, V, 8. *Essais*, V332–3, P352–3, S374–5.
- 56 V333–7, P353–8, S375–80, Tibullus, II, 1, 75–6.
- 57 There are some fine comments on this speech in Kermode, F., *Shakespeare’s Language* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 2000), pp. 119–20.

Chapter 2

- 1 *Essais*, I, 25, V136–8, P141–3, S153–5; I, 26, V150–2, P155–8, S168–71.
- 2 Horace, *Odes*, IV 2, Seneca, *Epistolae*, 84; Konstantinovic, I., *Montaigne et Plutarque* (Geneva: Droz, 1989), p. 175.
- 3 [A] Je feuillette les livres, je ne les estude pas. *Essais*, II, 17, V651, P690, S740. Metschies studies Montaigne’s comments on his quotations, *La citation et l’art de citer dans les Essais de Montaigne*, trans. J. Brody (Paris: Champion, 1997), pp. 67–78.
- 4 [A] Je ne cherche aux livres qu’à m’y donner du plaisir par un honneste amusement. *Essais*, II, 10, V409, P429, S459. But he continues: ou, si j’estudie, je n’y cherche que la science qui traite de moy mesmes, et qui m’instruise à bien mourir et à bien vivre.
- 5 [A] Les difficultez, si j’en rencontre en lisant, je n’en ronge pas mes ongles; je les laisse là, apres avoir fait un charge ou deux ... Si ce livre me fasche, j’en prens un autre. *Essais*, II, 10, V409, P429–30, S459.
- 6 [A] Là je feuillette à cette heure un livre, à cette heure un autre, sans ordre et sans dessein, à pieces descousues; tantost je resve, tantost j’enregistre et dicte, en me promenant, mes songes que voicy. *Essais*, III, 3, V828, P869–70, S933.
- 7 Sayce, R., *The Essays of Montaigne* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1972), pp. 25–8; Supple, J., *Arms versus Letters* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984), pp. 240–2; and especially Cave, T., ‘Problems of Reading in the Renaissance’, in I. D. McFarlane and Maclean, I. (eds), *Montaigne: Essays in Memory of Richard Sayce* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982), pp. 133–66; an essay which has been important to me for this whole chapter.
- 8 *E.g.*, in the notes in his copy of Caesar (P1295–6) or his judgement of Guicciardini (V418–19, P440, S470). Or Montaigne’s annotated copy of Lucretius, discussed below, pp. 26–7.
- 9 [A] Des perfections autres que celles que l’auteur y a mises et apperceües, et y preste des sens et des visages plus riches. *Essais*, I, 24, V127, P132, S144.
- 10 *Essais*, III, 9, V994–5, P1040–2, S1124–6.
- 11 Metschies, M., *La citation*; Compagnon, A., *La seconde main* (Paris: Seuil, 1979), esp. pp. 243–352; O’Brien, J., ‘Montaigne and antiquity: Fantasies and Grotesques’, in U. Langer (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Montaigne* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 53–73.
- 12 [C] Je ne dis les autres, sinon pour d’autant plus me dire. I, 26, V148, P153, S166.

- 13 Metschies, *La citation*, pp. 92–3. Friedrich points out that because it can be proved that Montaigne sometimes cites texts from compilations we must always keep this possibility in mind, *Montaigne*, p. 34.
- 14 Aulotte, R., *Amyot et Plutarque: La tradition des Moralia au XVI^e siècle* (Geneva: Droz, 1965); Langer, *Cambridge Companion to Montaigne*, p. 2.
- 15 Konstantinovic, *Montaigne et Plutarque*, pp. 517, 20–3.
- 16 Professor Russell tells me that it is not quite certain that Plutarch wrote these works. They might have been collections made by other writers found among his papers.
- 17 All these observations are based on Konstantinovic's tables, *Montaigne et Plutarque*, pp. 26–32.
- 18 Many of Plutarch's borrowings from the *Moralia* are stories, quotations and anecdotes. Konstantinovic's tables show that the most used sections from the *Moralia* are miscellanies like (using the French titles and the traditional numberings of the Greek text) 15 *Les dictes notables des anciens Roys* (thirty-three borrowings), 16 *Les dictes notables des Lacedemoniens* (thirty-eight) and 63 *Quels Animaux sont les plus advisez* (forty-six). Konstantinovic, *Montaigne et Plutarque*, pp. 26–7. Somehow 43 *Du Daemon ou esprit familier du Socrate*, which Montaigne undoubtedly used, has been omitted from this table.
- 19 Konstantinovic, *Montaigne et Plutarque*, pp. 410–17.
- 20 Konstantinovic, *Montaigne et Plutarque*, pp. 271–3.
- 21 Notes of Céard edition, pp. 366–8; Grilli, A., 'Su Montaigne e Seneca', in *Studi di letteratura e filosofia in onore di Bruno Revel* (Florence: Olschki, 1965), pp. 303–11, concentrates on this chapter.
- 22 Montaigne, *Les Essais*, eds J. Céard, D. Bjaï, B. Boudou and I. Pantin (Paris: Livre de Poche, 2001), notes pp. 559–62, V350–2, P368–70, S392–4.
- 23 V92–6, P94–8, S103–7, see notes to Céard edition, pp. 140–5.
- 24 V247–8, P251–2, S277–8, see notes to Céard edition, pp. 382–4.
- 25 V264–7, P285–9, S294–8, Xenophon, *Hieron*, I. 11–12, 18, 29, 30, 37, see also notes to Céard edition, pp. 432–7.
- 26 V601–3, P639–42, S680–3; just about acknowledged by '[A] A cette conclusion si religieuse d'un homme payen' (603) at the end of the quotation (whose beginning Montaigne does not mark). He also edits a few references to Apollo out of Plutarch, *On the E at Delphi*, 392A–393B and introduces a quotation from Lucretius, V, 828–31.
- 27 Weinberg, B., 'Montaigne's Readings for *Des Cannibales*', in G. B. Daniel (ed.), *Renaissance and Other Studies in Honour of William Leon Wiley* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1968), pp. 261–79.
- 28 Ménager, D., 'Les citations de Lucrèce chez Montaigne', in P. Ford and G. Jondorf (eds), *Montaigne in Cambridge* (Cambridge: Cambridge French Colloquia, 1989), pp. 25–38; Metschies, *La citation*, pp. 126–9.
- 29 Screech, M. A., *Montaigne's Annotated Copy of Lucretius* (Geneva: Droz, 1998), pp. 9–10. The notes are now edited by A. Legros in P1188–1250.

- 30 Fraisse, S., *Une conquête du rationalisme. L'Influence de Lucrèce en France au Seizième Siècle* (Paris: Nizet, 1962), pp. 171–2, cited in Screech, *Montaigne's Lucretius*, p. 25; Villey, *Sources et évolution*, I, p. 188.
- 31 *Essais*, II, 10, V410–11, P431, S460–1.
- 32 Compare Screech, *Montaigne's Lucretius*, p. 149.
- 33 V588–92, P624–9, S664–9; Lucretius, *De rerum natura*, IV, 478–80, 482–3, 486–8, 489–90, 379–80, 499–510, 397, 389–90, 420–4. This series is recalled and concluded in the long quotation (IV, 513–21; V600, P637–8, S678) which leads into the sections from Sextus Empiricus and Plutarch which end the *Apologie*.
- 34 Screech, *Montaigne's Lucretius*, pp. 460–70 notes a series of seventeen quotations from book three (6A; 11B) in a fourteen page section of the *Apologie*, V542–55, P573–88, S609–25.
- 35 Montaigne's annotation (Screech, *Montaigne's Lucretius*, pp. 200–1) confirms McKinley's view that Montaigne was aware of Virgil's imitation here, *Words in a Corner: Studies in Montaigne's Latin Quotations* (Lexington French Forum, 1981), pp. 90–1.
- 36 Coleman, D., 'Quelques citations partielles d'Horace dans les Essais', in F. Moureau et al. (eds), *Montaigne et les Essais 1580–1980* (Paris: Champion, 1983), pp. 43–7; 'L'exemplaire d'Horace daté de 1543 que possédait Montaigne', in M. Soulié (ed.), *La littérature de la Renaissance* (Geneva: Slatkine, 1984), pp. 345–55; Holland, A., 'Montaigne et Horace', *Montaigne Studies*, 18 (2006), 67–77.
- 37 According to the figures in Villey's Table Chronologique, *Les Sources et l'évolution des Essais de Montaigne*, 2nd edn, 2 vols (Paris: Hachette, 1933), I, p. 423 both are quoted 148 times or roughly a fifth of the total 739 quotations from Classical Latin poetry.
- 38 Villey, *Sources et évolution*, I, pp. 237–42; Tarrête, A., 'Sénèque', in P. Desan (ed.), *Dictionnaire de MM* (Paris: Champion, 2004), pp. 904–8.
- 39 Seneca, *Epistolae*, 70, on the right time to die is used fifteen times, especially in II, 3; 77, on taking one's own life, nine times, especially in I, 20; 88, on liberal studies, eight times, especially in II, 12; 7, on crowds, seven times, exclusively in I, 39; 20, on practising what you preach, six times, especially in II, 1; 76, on learning wisdom in old age, six times, almost exclusively in I, 42; and 83, on drunkenness, especially in II, 2.
- 40 II, 12 and II, 37. Villey, *Sources et évolution*, I, pp. 61–2.
- 41 V455–81, P476–506, S508–35; Konstantinovic, *Montaigne et Plutarque*, pp. 297–334.
- 42 V919–20, P963–5, S1042–3; Konstantinovic, *Montaigne et Plutarque*, pp. 478–9.
- 43 V929, P974, S1052; Konstantinovic, *Montaigne et Plutarque*, p. 480; Konstantinovic shows that the saying is related in two other places in the *Moralia*.
- 44 V1049–50, P1096, S1188; Konstantinovic, *Montaigne et Plutarque*, pp. 502–4.
- 45 V1052–4, P1099–1101, S1192–4.

- 46 V1077–8, P1125, S1223–4; Konstantinovic, *Montaigne et Plutarque*, pp. 509–11.
- 47 In 1595 Montaigne also makes use of histories and ethnographical writings about China, Turkey and Central Asian people, for example in the works of Chalcondylas and Postel. See Villey, P., *Les Livres d'histoire moderne utilisés par Montaigne* (Paris: Hachette, 1908), pp. 113–28 and passim.
- 48 For the final phrase B gives: ils les preschent et publient, P1769.
- 49 V909B, P952–3, S1029.
- 50 V911, P955–6, S1031–2; de Gómara, L., *Histoire générale des Indes*, trans. M. Fumée (Paris: Sonnius, 1578), III, 19, 234v–35r; Villey, *Livres d'histoire moderne*, pp. 81–3.
- 51 V911–12, P956–7, S1032–4. Gómara, *Histoire*, V, 7, 318v–321r; de Gómara, L., *Historia di Don Fernando Cortes ... Tradotto nella Italiana per Agostino di Cravalia* (Venice: Franceschini, 1576), fols Dd3r–v.
- 52 Gómara, *Historia di Don Fernando Cortes*, fols Dd3r–v.
- 53 V573–5, P608–10, S646–8, Villey, *Livres*, pp. 77–8, 87–95.
- 54 250 classical Latin poetic quotations (about one-third of the total) were present in 1580. Figures based on Villey's Table Chronologique, *Sources et évolution*, I, p. 423.
- 55 Plutarch also writes about Epaminondas in *Tranquillity of Mind and Life of Philipomen*. Quint goes too far in saying that 'Montaigne is largely making up this Epaminondas', Quint, D. *Montaigne and the Quality of Mercy* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1998), p. 40; Hartle, A., *Michel de Montaigne* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 82. Montaigne collects information from his sources and embellishes it in the retelling.
- 56 V1052–4, P1099–1101, S1192–4.
- 57 Magnien, M., "Latiniser en François": citation et imitation dans les *Essais*, in P. Ford (ed.), *Montaigne in Cambridge* (Cambridge: Cambridge French Colloquia, 1989), pp. 7–23.
- 58 Compagnon, *La seconde main*, pp. 293–4.
- 59 Screech, *Montaigne's Lucretius*, pp. 22–3.
- 60 For example Screech, *Montaigne's Lucretius*, pp. 200–1 (noting the passage from Lucretius used in III, 5 as 'imité par Vergile'), 149 (deception of the senses), 318 (not being affected by what happens after our death).
- 61 V, pp. lvi–vii, lix, lxi. The ownership note in his copy of Virgil makes particular reference to Erythraeus's index. Villey, *Sources et évolution*, I, p. 265.
- 62 Konstantinovic, *Montaigne et Plutarque*, pp. 435–7.
- 63 V578, P613–14, S652.
- 64 Personal communication.
- 65 [C] Les belles matieres tiennent tousjours bien leur reng, en quelque place qu'on les seme. V699, P735, S793. Livy, XL. 3.
- 66 V333, 564, P353, 598, S375, 636. *Odyssey* 18, 136–7, translation preserved in St Augustine, *City of God*, V, 8.
- 67 V91B, 353A, P93, 371, S101, 396.

- 68 V427, 697, P448, 733, S477, 790.
- 69 McKinley, *Words in a Corner*, pp. 54, 63–5. An example of this type is discussed in p. 15 above.
- 70 Bordeaux copy, fol. Eeee1r, V664, 1027, P702, 1072, S754, 1161. Persius, *Satires*, V, 19–21.
- 71 This is consistent with his request to the printer to remove repetitions. ‘S’il treuve une mesme chose en mesme sens deus fois qu’il en oste l’une ou il verra qu’elle sert le moins’, ed. A. Tournon, *Essais* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1998), p. 664.
- 72 V336C, 754B, P356, 792, S378, 854, *Alexander*, 50–2. Montaigne may also have used Quintus Curtius, *History of Alexander*, VIII.1.21–2.12. The change might reflect Montaigne’s stronger antipathy to Alexander after 1588.
- 73 Floyd Gray provides a classification of seventeen ways in which Montaigne employs quotations, among them that the quotation provides an image, that it improves upon the argument and that it makes the text more concrete, *Montaigne bilingue: le latin des Essais* (Paris: Champion, 1991), pp. 66–70.
- 74 Lucretius may have been the model for the texture of quotation and assertion here, for in Nature’s speech and before it a series of interpolated remarks are commented on by the speaker of the poem. *De rerum natura*, III, 894–963.
- 75 On a couple of occasions the quotation provides material which anticipates the next point made in the French text.
- 76 Compagnon insists that Montaigne’s quotations are used to back up his points as well as to open links with other texts, *La seconde main*, pp. 282–4.
- 77 V873–4, P916–17, S987–8. Friedrich points out that the corollary is that French is more fluid and therefore better adapted to portraying fluctuation and change, *Montaigne*, p. 24.
- 78 Of course Montaigne frequently opposes propositions he has just stated without the need of another voice.
- 79 McKinley, *Words in a Corner*, pp. 19–23, 69; Metschies, *La citation*, pp. 100–2.
- 80 V795, 796, 799, 801, 802 (quotations), 800 (example), P835–43.
- 81 Cave, *How to Read Montaigne*, pp. 10–17.
- 82 V371, P389, S417, Lucretius, *De rerum natura*, III, 929–30.
- 83 V375, P393, S421, Virgil, *Aeneid*, IV, 702–3.
- 84 V374, P392, S419, Tasso, *Gerusalemme Liberata*, VIII, 26, 3–4.
- 85 V374, P393, S420, Ovid, *Tristia*, I, 3, 12.
- 86 V377B, P395, S423, Ovid, *Tristia*, I, 3, 14.
- 87 V375B, P394, S422, Virgil, *Aeneid*, X, 396.
- 88 Friedrich discusses Montaigne’s imaginative and visceral response to poetry, *Montaigne*, pp. 46–51.
- 89 Haig Gaissner, J., *Catullus and His Renaissance Readers* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993); Wiesmann, M., ‘Intertextual Labyrinths’, *Renaissance Quarterly*, 53 (2000), 792–820; ‘Catulle’, *Dictionnaire de MM*, pp. 145–6; Céard, J., ‘Montaigne lecteur de Catulle’, *Montaigne Studies*, 18 (2006), 109–18.

- 90 Wiesmann, M., 'Verses Have Fingers: Montaigne Reads Juvenal', *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 23 (1993), 43–67. Wiesmann notes that Montaigne quotes Juvenal fifty times, without mentioning his name, *Dictionnaire de MM*, p. 546. Gray shows that Montaigne sometimes quotes in order to say things he does not want to say in French, *Montaigne bilingue*, pp. 77–98.
- 91 Gray, *Montaigne bilingue*, pp. 70–5.
- 92 To enjoy your former life again is to live twice. V842, P883, S949.
- 93 Mix a little folly with your wisdom. V843, P884, S951.
- 94 What stops you speaking the truth laughingly? V877, P921, S992.
- 95 V843, P884–5, S951, Ovid, *Ex Ponto*, I, 5, 18; Ovid, *Tristia*, III, 11, 22.
- 96 Plutarch, 'Qu'il faut qu'un philosophe converse principalement avec les princes', *Moralia*, 778B, trans. J. Amyot (Paris: Vascosan, 1572), II, p. 134.
- 97 V848, P890, S957.
- 98 V994–5, P1040–1, S1125.
- 99 V232, P237, S260.
- 100 V232, P238, S261, *Aeneid*, VIII, 670.
- 101 V193–4, P200–1, S217–19. The emotional effect of quoting Catullus is discussed in Coleman, D., 'Catullus in Montaigne's 1580 Version of "De la tristesse" (1.2)', *Bibliothèque d'humanisme et renaissance*, 42 (1980), 139–44.
- 102 *Essais*, II, 31, V718, P754–5, S841.
- 103 V755, P793, S855. Metschies, *La citation*, p. 121.
- 104 Friedrich, *Montaigne*, pp. 369–73; Metschies, *La citation*, pp. 120–3.
- 105 V1065, P1111, S1207 and notes, Erasmus, *Adagia*, I, 5, 10, relating a story reported in Cicero, *Academica*, II, 18, 57–8.
- 106 V1067–8, P1114, S1210–11 and notes, Erasmus, *Adagia*, II, 3, 68; I, 3, 36. Ruth Calder discusses the role of Erasmus's *Adagia* in Montaigne's self-presentation, 'Montaigne as Satirist', *Sixteenth Century Studies*, 17 (1986), 225–35.

Chapter 3

- 1 V563, P596–7, S634.
- 2 Desan, P., *Montaigne: Les formes du monde et de l'esprit* (Paris: Presses de l'Université Paris-Sorbonne, 2008), pp. 84, 114, 191.
- 3 Tournon, A., *Montaigne: la glose et l'essai* (Lyon: Presses universitaires de Lyon, 1983), pp. 74–104.
- 4 Montaigne, *Essais I 56 'Des prières'*, ed. A. Legros (Geneva: Droz, 2003), pp. 19–22, 83.
- 5 Cave, *How to Read Montaigne*, pp. 2, 20–6.
- 6 Gellius, A., *Noctes atticae*, XI.11; Mexia, P., *Les diverses leçons* (Lyon: Cotier, 1563), V.18, sigs Mm2r–3r.

- 7 Here Montaigne is a little deceptive, perhaps out of modesty. He often does remember (or research) the views of others and it is not his poor memory so much as his questioning of established views which enables him to express his own opinions.
- 8 'Mendacem memorem esse oportet', *Sententiae pueriles* (London, 1639) sig. A8r.
- 9 Erasmus, *Adagia*, II.3.74, *Opera omnia*, vol. II-3, p. 292, see Chapter 1, pp. 4–5 above.
- 10 Friedrich analyses this chapter, *Montaigne*, pp. 145–8.
- 11 Iemma, P., *Les repentirs de l'Exemplaire de Bordeaux* (Paris: Champion, 2004), pp. 33, 55, 144–5; Montaigne, *Des prières*, ed. A. Legros, pp. 19–22, 83.
- 12 Iemma, *Les repentirs*, pp. 25–6, 192, 247; Legros, p. 97.
- 13 S'il treuve une mesme chose en mesme sens deus fois qu'il en oste l'une où il verra qu'elle sert la moins. Tournon, A. (ed.), *Essais* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1998), p. 664; Iemma, *Les repentirs*, p. 91.
- 14 Iemma, *Les repentirs*, pp. 92, 103.
- 15 *Lives of the Philosophers*, VIII.10, also reported in Guazzo, S., *La civil conversazione*, ed. A. Quondam, 2 vols (Modena: Franco Cosimo Panini, 1993), I, p. 84, which appeared as *La civile conversation*, trad. G. Chappuys (Lyon: Beraud, 1580), p. 134.
- 16 *Galba*, 9.
- 17 In the C text 'Le bon heur' replaced B's 'La bonne fortune', perhaps to avoid the repetition of the same phrase within two lines.
- 18 This claim seems to create a contrast with the previous paragraph. Where in clothing and even in health he had claimed that he gave way to despair, here he insists that unhappiness makes him defiant. But perhaps the defiance is a sign of despair, since he goes on to say that he is more likely to reform himself or take steps to improve his health when things are going well.
- 19 Villey, *Sources et évolution*, I, p. 210 suggests that Montaigne may have read this fragment in Lipsius, *De constantia* (1584) or *Saturnalia sermonum libri duo* (1582).
- 20 Chaque homme porte la forme entiere de l'humaine condition. V805, P845, S908.
- 21 Cave, *How to Read Montaigne*, pp. 3, 114–15.
- 22 I am very sympathetic to Barbara Bowen's insistence on the jokiness of this passage, seen as part of a strategy of destabilizing the reader's normal ethical expectations, *The Age of Bluff* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1972), pp. 104, 118–20, 160.
- 23 Cave, T., 'Montaigne', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 131 (2005), 183–203 (192, 202–3).
- 24 I owe this idea to Thomas Docherty.
- 25 Montaigne, *Les Essais*, eds J. Céard, D. Bjaï, B. Boudou and I. Pantin, pp. 1763–1807.

- 26 Terence Cave finds that debate is Montaigne's ideal form of interaction, *How to Read Montaigne*, pp. 98–102.
- 27 Vinet, *Schola Aquitanica*, pp. 24–6, 30–4. For the possibility that Montaigne knew the logic textbooks of his teacher Nicolas de Grouchy see *Dictionnaire de MM*, pp. 447–8, 599–601.
- 28 V805, P845, S908.
- 29 Montaigne relates a deception he practised to help a friend in *Essais*, I, 21, V100–1, P102–3, S113–14.
- 30 Richard Sayce analyses the essay in a different but consistent manner, specifying eleven major topics: (i) vanity, (ii) the state of France and the civil wars, (iii) travel, (iv) household management, (v) society and politics, (vi) Rome, (vii) the composition of the *Essais*, (viii) obligations, (ix) death, (x) the inconsistency of philosophy, (xi) fortune. 'Four of the topics (i–iv) can reasonably be considered the main themes of the essay and these weave in and out of the fabric'. *The Essays of Montaigne*, pp. 269–70. W. Traeger offers a much longer and more complex plan, *Aufbau und Gedankenführung in Montaignes Essays* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1961), pp. 198–206. Barbara Bowen, by contrast, regards this chapter as 'one of the most unified Montaigne ever wrote ... based on the analogy man's life/journey/essays', *The Age of Bluff*, p. 119.
- 31 Friedrich refers to the elaborate structure of Montaigne's letter to his father on the death of La Boétie to argue that he consciously gave up this method of writing for the *Essais*, *Montaigne*, p. 13.
- 32 I have compressed this sequence of thought for the sake of brevity, largely but not entirely by leaving out the C additions. I hope I have not misrepresented it; it is better in full, of course.

Chapter 4

- 1 Agricola, *De inventione dialectica*, pp. 1–2, 258–312; Mack, *Renaissance Argument*, pp. 190–202.
- 2 Muir, K., *The Sources of Shakespeare's Plays* (London: Methuen, 1977); Miola, R. S., *Shakespeare's Reading* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000); Gillespie, S., *Shakespeare's Books: A Dictionary of Shakespeare's Sources* (London: Athlone, 2001).
- 3 Sources of this type are reprinted in Bullough, G. (ed.), *Narrative and Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare*, 8 vols (London: Routledge, 1957–75).
- 4 Scot, R., *Discovery of Witchcraft* (London: Brome, 1584); Harsnett, S., *Declaration of Egregious Popish Impostures* (London: Roberts, 1603); Muir, *The Sources of Shakespeare's Plays*, pp. 202–6, 216–17.
- 5 Thompson, A., *Shakespeare's Chaucer* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1978); Potts, A., *Shakespeare and the Faerie Queene* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1958); Baldwin, T. W., *William Shakespeare's Small Latine and Lesse Greeke*, 2 vols (II), (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1944), pp. 417–96, 579–616; Bate, J., *Shakespeare and Ovid* (Oxford: Oxford University

- Press, 1993); Gillespie, *Shakespeare's Books*, pp. 87–97, 106–12, 390–403, 469–70, 495–506.
- 6 Dent, R. W., *Shakespeare's Proverbial Language: An Index* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1981).
 - 7 D. A. Russell points out that Plutarch adds Volumnia's speech to his source, 'Plutarch's Life of Coriolanus', *Journal of Roman Studies*, 53 (1963), 21–8 (26).
 - 8 Spencer, T. J. B., *Shakespeare's Plutarch* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1968), p. 354.
 - 9 Spencer, *Shakespeare's Plutarch*, pp. 356–7.
 - 10 Dent, *Shakespeare's Proverbial Language*, pp. 27, 104, 252. The first proverb is related to He is a fool that will forget himself (F480) which appears in *King Lear* and two other plays.
 - 11 Dent, *Shakespeare's Proverbial Language*, pp. 27, 245. This proverb is also used prominently at the beginning of Montaigne's *De l'oisiveté* (I, 8), *Essais*, p. 32, which is often regarded as the original preface of the book.
 - 12 Here the proverb Women are frail (W700.1) is used as a conclusion (or partly to justify and generalize a conclusion) rather than as a starting point, Dent, *Shakespeare's Proverbial Language*, pp. 27, 255–6.
 - 13 Harold Bloom believes that the individuation of Shakespeare's greatest characters depends on their overhearing of themselves, *Shakespeare: The Invention of the Human* (New York, NY: Penguin Putnam, 1998), p. xvii.
 - 14 Shakespeare, *Twelfth Night*, I.5.50–62.
 - 15 Rosalind sets up most of these agreements at V.3.101–14 and they are repeated at V.4.18–25 and 105–13.
 - 16 Shakespeare, *The Winter's Tale*, ed. J. Pafford (London: Methuen, 1963).
 - 17 Rabkin identified the enhancement of two contradictory positions as a feature of Shakespeare's way of seeing, *Shakespeare and the Common Understanding* (New York, NY 1967), pp. 1–12, 27, 30.
 - 18 The first C addition is from Augustine, *City of God*, XXI, viii: Nisi inter se similes essent, non discerneretur species eorum ab animalibus ceteris, et rursum nisi inter se dissimiles essent, non discernerentur singuli ab hominibus ceteris.
 - 19 V1106–7, P1156–7, S1256–7.
 - 20 V916, P960, S1038.
 - 21 V943, P989, S1069.
 - 22 V930–1, P975–6, S1054.
 - 23 V1063, P1110, S1206.
 - 24 V929–30, P973–5, S1052–4.
 - 25 [C] C'est office de charité que qui ne peut oster un vice en soy cherche à l'oster ce neantmoins en autrui, où il peut avoir moins maligne et revesche semence. V930, P975, S1053.
 - 26 [C] La diversité des evenemens humains nous presentant infinis exemples à toute sorte de formes. V655, P694, S744.

- 27 V124–6, P128–31, S140–3.
- 28 V127–32, P131–7, S143–9.
- 29 [A] Les hommes ... sont tourmentez par les opinions qu'ils ont des choses, non par les choses mesmes. V50, P258, S52. Epictetus, *Enchiridion*, X. This sentence was inscribed in Greek in Montaigne's library, V, p. lxxi, P1315 (42).
- 30 V50, P258–9, S52.
- 31 Osorius, *De rebus Emmanuelis regis Lusitaniae* (Cologne: Birkmann, 1574), fol. A6r–v. Screech's translation of this passage is based on the Bordeaux copy which has small verbal differences from 1595 (quoted here) in this passage.
- 32 Osorius, *De rebus Emmanuelis*, fols B4v–6v. Montaigne slightly reorders the narrative and omits some of Osorio's half-hearted justifications of Emmanuel's actions. I follow P's 1595 text here.
- 33 'not afraid to die for country or dear friends', Horace, *Odes*, IV 9, 51–2. In the Latin quotation the participle can be applied to all singular male persons but the original context supplies the first person.
- 34 *E.g.*, V699–701, 724, P735–8, 760–1, S793–5, 820.
- 35 [C] Nous faillons, ce me semble, en ce que nous ne nous fions assez au ciel de nous. V1061, P1108, S1203. Hartle wants to interpret these stories as Montaigne's faith in the role of grace in his preservation, which seems to me too literal, *Michel de Montaigne*, pp. 133–4.
- 36 Brower, R. A., 'The Mirror of Analogy: *The Tempest*', *The Fields of Light* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1951), pp. 95–122.
- 37 Robert Maslen suggests that Shakespeare's late plays are particularly concerned with the implications of narrative, thinking particularly of the narratives of the Clown, Autolycus and the Gentlemen in *The Winter's Tale*.
- 38 Shakespeare, *Othello* III.3.416–33.
- 39 Shakespeare, *Othello* V.2.337–54.
- 40 Brooks, H., 'Richard III: Antecedents of Clarence's Dream', *Shakespeare Survey*, 32 (1979), 145–50.
- 41 Brooches set with jewels.

Chapter 5

- 1 Villey, P., *Livres d'histoire moderne, Les sources et l'évolution*; Campbell, L. B., *Shakespeare's Histories* (San Marino: Huntington Library, 1947); Holderness, G., *Shakespeare's History* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1985); Pagliatti, P., *Shakespeare the Historian* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1996).
- 2 V416, P437, S467. Friedrich argues that reading in history is the source of Montaigne's understanding of man, *Montaigne*, pp. 196–206.
- 3 Plutarch, *Alexander*, 1, trans. Scott-Kilvert, I., *The Age of Alexander* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1973), p. 252.
- 4 Pelling, *Plutarch and History*, pp. 102–5.
- 5 Russell, *Plutarch*, p. 102.

- 6 Pelling, *Plutarch and History*, p. 302. Pelling shows that Plutarch does not invent stories about his heroes' childhoods.
- 7 Russell, *Plutarch*, pp. 103, 105–6, 108.
- 8 Plutarch, *Solon*, 27. I am grateful to Simon Swain for this reference.
- 9 *E.g.*, *Coriolanus*, 24, 37–8, *Alcibiades*, 18, *Alexander*, 2–3, 14, 17, *Antony*, 75.
- 10 *E.g.*, *Coriolanus*, 32, *Pericles*, 3, *Alexander*, 17.
- 11 *E.g.*, *Alexander*, 35, 64, *Pericles*, 4, 12–14, *Brutus*, 2.
- 12 *Pericles*, 1; Russell, *Plutarch*, pp. 100–1.
- 13 Translated by Scott-Kilvert, I., *Makers of Rome* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1965), pp. 15–16, 17–18. Pelling shows that Plutarch reverses his source here, *Plutarch and History*, p. 310; Knowles, R., *Shakespeare's Arguments with History* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002), p. 179.
- 14 [A] En ces comparaisons (qui est la piece plus admirable de ses oeuvres ...), la fidelité et syncerité de ses jugemens esgale leur profondeur et leur poix. II, 32, V726, P762, S822.
- 15 Konstantinovic, *Montaigne et Plutarque*, pp. 31–2. Montaigne's use of the comparison between Lycurgus and Numa in *De la colere* (II, 31) is an important counterexample, V714, P750, S809.
- 16 *E.g.*, *Essais*, II 10, V416, P437, S467–8.
- 17 Montaigne is here working from Plutarch's *Life of Alcibiades* or his *How to Tell a Flatterer from a Friend*, Konstantinovic, p. 184.
- 18 *Cato the Elder*, 5, trans. Scott-Kilvert, I., *Makers of Rome*, pp. 125–6.
- 19 *Cato the Elder*, 9, *Essais*, III 8, V922B, P966, S1045.
- 20 II 24, V686, P724, S779–80, *Antony* 8.
- 21 V122–3, P127, S138–9, Konstantinovic, pp. 160–2.
- 22 II, 1, V336, P356, S378.
- 23 *E.g.*, I, 20, V84, 89, P85, 91, S93, 99; Konstantinovic, pp. 154–5, 157.
- 24 V940, 921, P986, S1065.
- 25 V941, P987, S1066; Bodin, J., *Oeuvres Philosophiques* (Paris: PUF, 1951), 295A–6B, 306B–7A.
- 26 Le peuple Romain avoit accoustumé de se venger de ses ennemis par voye ouverte, les armes en main, non par fraude et en cachette. V790, P829, S892. Tacitus, *Annals*, II.88.
- 27 What the *poisante experience* was has not been established.
- 28 Tacitus, *Annals*, II.65–7.
- 29 The C additions which I have omitted from this quotation add first a maxim from Cicero's *De officiis* in Latin and second the suggestions that a prince might justifiably refuse the offence to his conscience or might decide to commit his people to God's help.
- 30 Tacitus, *Histories*, III.51.
- 31 Gillespie, *Shakespeare's Books*, pp. 477–80; Womersley, D., '3 Henry VI: Shakespeare, Tacitus and Parricide', *Notes and Queries*, 230 (1985), 468–73.

- 32 Livy, *Ab urbe condita*, XXIII.2.2–4.1.
- 33 Wilson, F. P., *Marlowe and the Early Shakespeare* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1951), pp. 104–8; Nuttall, A. D., *Shakespeare the Thinker* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007), pp. 26–7; Hunter, G. K., *English Drama 1586–1642: The Age of Shakespeare* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), pp. 155–67 prefers to emphasize Shakespeare’s contribution to the evolution of the genre.
- 34 Matthew Black argues that in the case of *Richard II* Shakespeare skimmed Holinshed by reading the marginal annotations and the lower half of the inner columns, ‘The Sources of Shakespeare’s *Richard II*’, in G. Dawson, J. McManaway and E. Willoughby (eds), *Joseph Quincy Adams Memorial Studies* (Washington, DC: Folger Shakespeare Library, 1948), pp. 199–216. I owe this reference to the kindness of Stuart Gillespie.
- 35 Bullough, *Narrative and Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare*, vol. II, pp. 13–14; Holinshed, R., *The First and Second Volumes of Chronicles* (London: Harrison, 1587), STC 13569; Plutarch, *The Lives of the Noble Grecians and Romanes* (London: Vautroullier, 1579), STC 20065.
- 36 Shakespeare, *King Richard II*, ed. A. Gurr, updated edition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 11, 221–3.
- 37 For the manuscript tradition of the Latin and English versions of the *History* see Hanham, A., ‘The Texts of Thomas More’s *Richard III*’, *Renaissance Studies*, 21 (2007), 62–84. Goy-Blanquet analyses the incorporation of More in E. Hall and R. Holinshed, *Shakespeare’s Earlier History Plays: From Chronicle to Stage* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), pp. 213–14, 236.
- 38 More, *Richard III*, ed. R. Sylvester, *Complete Works of St Thomas More*, vol. II (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1963); *Historia Richardi Tertii*, ed. D. Kinney, *Complete Works of St Thomas More*, vol. XV (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1986), pp. cxxx–cliv, 314–485; Shakespeare, *King Richard III*, ed. A. Hammond (London: Methuen, 1981), ed. J. Jowett (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).
- 39 Hall, E., *Chronicle* (London: J. Johnson, 1809), p. vii.
- 40 Levy, F. J., *Tudor Historical Thought* (San Marino, 1967, repr. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), pp. 170–7, 182–6.
- 41 Shakespeare, *King Henry VI part two*, ed. R. Knowles (London: Thomson Learning, 1999), pp. 438–43, ed. R. Warren (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. 29–31.
- 42 Levy, *Tudor Historical Thought*, pp. 212–33. Levy says that the dramatists preceded the Elizabethan historians in constructing an organized history.
- 43 E.g., Richard sending the Bishop of Ely for the strawberries and refusing to dine until Hastings has been beheaded and the scene with the scrivener, based on a paragraph by More. Holinshed, *Chronicles*, III, pp. 379–81, 383; Shakespeare, *Richard III*, III.4.21–79, III.6.1–12.
- 44 Goy-Blanquet points out that *Mirror for Magistrates* and Foxe’s *Actes and Monuments* had made the same move, *Shakespeare’s Earlier History Plays*, pp. 64–5.

- 45 Daniel, *First Four Books of the Civil Wars* (London, 1595) versifies almost the same sections of Holinshed as Shakespeare uses, and reduces Hotspur's age so as to make him a contemporary of Prince Hal. Holinshed, *Chronicles*, III, pp. 20–6 provides names of knights, stories about Glendower and details of the negotiations before the battle of Shrewsbury, which are not in Hall's *Chronicle* and which Shakespeare uses.
- 46 The connections are described in Green, D., *Julius Caesar and Its Source* (Salzburg: Universität Salzburg, 1979).
- 47 A. D. Nuttall analyses this speech, *A New Mimesis* (London: Methuen, 1983), pp. 106–9; *Shakespeare the Thinker*, pp. 179–84; Honigmann links it with Plutarch's summary of the reasons for the murder of Caesar in the comparison between Brutus and Dion, 'Shakespeare's Plutarch', pp. 26–7.
- 48 V996, 716, 736, 1108, P1043, 752, 772, 1158, S1128, 811, 833, 1259.
- 49 I am grateful to Carol Rutter for some of these points about Brutus.
- 50 Plutarch, *Coriolanus*, 15, 21 and *Comparison of Alcibiades and Coriolanus*, 1–2, 4.
- 51 Green, D., *Plutarch Revisited* (Salzburg: Universität Salzburg, 1979), p. 210; C. Pelling finds that Shakespeare chooses to develop those parts of Plutarch's *Coriolanus* which were his original elaborations of his main source, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Plutarch and History*, pp. 387–411.
- 52 Shakespeare omits the controversies about debt and the plan to send some of the plebeians to re-establish the population of Velitrae. Plutarch, *Coriolanus*, 5–7, 12–13.
- 53 Plutarch, *Coriolanus*, 4; Spencer, *Shakespeare's Plutarch*, p. 300. The passage is quoted in pp. 108–9 above. In North's words: For lack of education, he was so choleric and impatient that he would yield to no living creature; which made him churlish, uncivil and altogether unfit for any man's conversation. *Shakespeare's Plutarch*, p. 297.
- 54 *Coriolanus*, IV.5, esp. pp. 66–102; Spencer, *Shakespeare's Plutarch*, pp. 336–8; see also Nuttall, *A New Mimesis*, pp. 113–20.
- 55 Spencer, *Shakespeare's Plutarch*, pp. 360–1.
- 56 de Léry, J., *Histoire d'un voyage fait en la terre du Bresil* (Geneva: Chappin, 1578), p. 239; quoted in Weinberg, B., 'Montaigne's Readings for *Des Cannibales*', in G. B. Daniel (ed.), *Renaissance and Other Studies in Honour of William Leon Wiley* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1968), pp. 261–79 (p. 276).
- 57 Forse, J. H., *Art Imitates Business* (Bowling Green, OH: Popular Press, 1983), pp. 71–99 shows the relative importance of the women's roles throughout the canon, argues that these reflected the needs of the established mature actors who specialized in these roles and suggests that Shakespeare may have himself played Margaret. I am grateful to Carol Rutter for making me give more attention to this.
- 58 These parallels and comparisons are extended into *Henry IV part two*, IV.3.
- 59 See Nuttall's superb reading, *A New Mimesis*, pp. 144–7, 159. He compares Hal's approach with Sonnet 94, pp. 153–4.

- 60 Pagliatti, *Shakespeare the Historian*, pp. 181–245.
- 61 [B] Ne doit on jamais se lasser de presenter l'image de ce personnage à tous patrons et formes de perfection. V1109–10, P1159–60, S1260–1.
- 62 [B] gives the last phrase as: commun, sans merveille, sans extravagance, P1850.
- 63 Greenblatt, S., *Will in the World* (London: Penguin, 2004), pp. 220–1, Goddard, H., *The Meaning of Shakespeare*, 2 vols (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1951), I, p. 175.
- 64 Howard, J. E., *The Norton Shakespeare* (New York: Norton, 1997), p. 1154.
- 65 Nuttall, *A New Mimesis*, pp. 151–3, 161.
- 66 E.g., *Henry IV part one*, I.2.74–86, II.5.365–82.
- 67 Holderness, *Shakespeare's History*, pp. 79–90.
- 68 Bloom, *Shakespeare*, pp. 275–313.
- 69 Watson, C. B., *Shakespeare and the Renaissance Concept of Honor* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1960); Council, N., *When Honour's at the Stake: Ideas of Honour in Shakespeare's Plays* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1973).
- 70 [B] Quand la raison nous faut, nous y employons l'experience. V1065, P1111, S1207.
- 71 V1090–5, P1138–44, S1237–43.
- 72 H. A. Kelly points out that the role of providence in history was not accepted by all Tudor historians, *Divine Providence in the England of Shakespeare's Histories* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1970).
- 73 This is the view of Wilders, J., *The Lost Garden* (London: Macmillan, 1978).
- 74 I, 32, V216, P222–3, S242–3.
- 75 III, 2, V813–14, P854–5, S917.
- 76 II, 16, V623, P661, S708.
- 77 *Henry IV part one*, I.1.1–18.
- 78 II, 16, V627–8, P665–6, S713–14.

Chapter 6

- 1 Knights, L. C., *An Approach to Hamlet* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1960); Prosser, E., *Hamlet and Revenge* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1967).
- 2 Dodsworth, M., *Hamlet Closely Observed* (London: Athlone, 1985), pp. 46, 53, 90, 248–9, 272–3, 297.
- 3 In *Tusculan Disputations* I.45.109 Cicero made this comparison with the intention of praising glory.
- 4 Several of the speeches of *Julius Caesar* embody Roman, rather than Stoic, attitudes to death which are relevant to *Hamlet*. See Monsarratt, G., *Light from the Porch* (Paris: Didier-Erudition, 1984), pp. 136–47, which offers a convincing critique of arguments for Stoic implications in both plays.
- 5 Friedrich analyses the different stages of Montaigne's response to death, but perhaps overstates Montaigne's rejection of Christian views, *Montaigne*, pp. 258–300.

- 6 V92–6, P94–7, S103–7.
- 7 V96, 51–3, P98, 259–60, S107–8, 53–5. See above pp. 92–3.
- 8 [A] Et l'opinion qui desdaigne nostre vie, elle est ridicule. Car en fin c'est nostre estre, c'est nostre tout. V353, P372, S397.
- 9 [B] Voylà pas un plaidoyer [C] sec et sain, mais quand et quand naïf et bas, [B] d'une hauteur unimaginable, [C] veritable, franc et juste au delà de tout exemple. V1054, S1194. The text of 1595 is somewhat different here: Voylà pas un playdoyé puerile, d'une hauteur unimaginable, et employé en quelle nécessité? P1101. In this instance 1595 resembles B, where the Bordeaux copy seems to give a more revised text. P1826.
- 10 [B] Ainsi dict un paysan, ainsi dict une femme. V1037, P1082, S1173.
- 11 Türrck, *Shakespeare und Montaigne*, pp. 61–2.
- 12 Where Harry Levin considers Hamlet a new man in the final act, *The Question of Hamlet* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1959), p. 94, Martin Dodsworth agrees that he has changed, but not for the better, *Hamlet Closely Observed*, p. 239.
- 13 Shakespeare leaves the issue finely balanced. She falls into the river when a bough accidentally breaks but floating in the water (and able to sing) she takes no steps to save her own life (IV.7.171–82).
- 14 See also Granville-Barker's comments on Claudius's inability to repent, *Prefaces to Shakespeare*, 4 vols (London: Batsford, 1963), I, pp. 256–67.
- 15 I am grateful to Carol Rutter for her contribution to and comments on this section.
- 16 Shakespeare, *Troilus and Cressida*, ed. K. Palmer, Arden 2 (London: Methuen, 1982), I.2.286–300.
- 17 Shakespeare, *Othello*, ed. E. Honigmann, Arden 3 (London: Nelson, 1997), I.3.335.
- 18 Shakespeare, *Troilus and Cressida*, III.2.123–30.
- 19 V847, P889, S956.
- 20 Salinger, L., 'King Lear', Montaigne and Harsnett', *Aligarh Journal of English Studies*, 8(2) (1983), 124–66.
- 21 Montaigne, *Essayes*, trans. J. Florio, 3 vols (London: Everyman, 1910), II, pp. 68–9, V387–8, P406–7, S435. In this section and the next I quote Florio's English translation because there is a possibility that Shakespeare knew these sections.
- 22 Florio, II, p. 70, V388–9, P408, S436.
- 23 [A] Quand je pourroy me faire craindre, j'aimeroiy encore mieux me faire aymer. V393, P413, S441.
- 24 V389, P408–9, S436–7.
- 25 V391, P410, S439.
- 26 Florio, II, p. 73, V391, P411, S439.
- 27 Florio, II, p. 74, V391–2, P411, S440. As Carol Rutter points out, there is an element of self-dramatizing here. Montaigne did not actually give his estate to his daughter, nor does he offer to do so here.

- 28 [C] Ce seroit matière à une question scholastique, s'il est ainsi mieux, ou autrement. V393, P413, S442.
- 29 V395, P415–6, S444.
- 30 Carol Rutter shows that the fathers make their children what they are by the way they exercise power within the family, 'Eel Pie and Ugly Sisters in *King Lear*', in J. Ogden and A. Scouten (eds), *Lear from Study to Stage* (Cranbury, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1997), pp. 172–225 (pp. 175–9).
- 31 'The only authentic love is between parents and children, yet the prime consequence of such love is only devastation ... There is love that can be avoided and there is a deeper love, unavoidable and terrible', Bloom, *Shakespeare*, pp. 483, 487.
- 32 Florio, II, 12, p. 151, V459, P481, S513–14.
- 33 Bate, J., 'Shakespeare's Foolosophy', in G. Ioppolo (ed.), *Shakespeare Performed: Essays in Honour of R. A. Foakes* (Cranbury, NJ: University of Delaware Press, 2000), pp. 17–32; Henderson, W. B. D., 'Montaigne's *Apologie of Raymond Sebond* and *King Lear*', *Shakespeare Association Bulletin*, 14 (1939), 209–25 and 15 (1940), 40–56.
- 34 Florio, II, 12, pp. 165–6, V471, P495, S526.
- 35 Florio, II, pp. 137–8, V448–9, P469–70, S500–2. Montaigne draws on the Bible here.
- 36 Florio, II, p. 142, V452, P473, S505.
- 37 Florio, II, p. 181, V484, P509, S539.
- 38 I have followed Foakes's Arden 3 edition (London: Thomson, 1997) in marking the Folio addition to this speech between superscript capital Fs, because the addition affects the logical progression of the speech. I agree with him that Quarto and Folio represent one play printed in an earlier and revised (Folio) version.
- 39 Dent, *Shakespeare's Proverbial Language*, p. 227.
- 40 W. B. D. Henderson points out that Lear's words here echo Vives's *Epistola de Europae statu ac tumultibus*, addressed to Hadrian VI: Utinam principes omnes aliquando in privata vita versati essent, quanto facilius subditorum necessitatibus obsecunderent, et discerent succurrere miseris, non ignari et ipsi malorum, *Opera omnia* (Valencia, 1703), vol. V, p. 168 (I wish that all princes could pass some part of their lives in a private station, that they might know the wants of their subjects, and from suffering themselves, learn to pity those who suffer), 'Montaigne's *Apologie* and *King Lear*', p. 219.
- 41 The obligation to charity is often linked to the word 'superfluous' in this play and in other Elizabethan literary texts as well as in theology. St Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologiae*, II.2.32.5, trans. English Dominican Fathers, vol. II (Chicago, IL: Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1952), p. 544; Calvin, J., *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, trans. F. L. Battles, 2 vols (Philadelphia, PA: Westminster Press, 1960), III.7.7; Shuger, D., 'Subversive Fathers and Suffering Subjects: Shakespeare and Christianity', in R. Strier and D. Hamilton (eds), *Albion's Conscience: Religion, Literature and Politics in Post-Reformation England 1540–1688* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 47–69.

- 42 Florio, I, p. 220, V206, P212–13, S233.
- 43 Shakespeare, *The Tempest*, ed. F. Kermode, Arden 2 (London: Methuen, 1958), pp. xxv–xxxviii; Muir, K., *The Sources of Shakespeare's Plays*, pp. 278–83.
- 44 Lestringant, F., 'La république des cannibales de Montaigne à Shakespeare', in P. Kapitaniak and J.-M. Maguin (eds), *Shakespeare et Montaigne* (Montpellier: Société Française Shakespeare, 2004), pp. 175–93.

Conclusion

- 1 V, pp. lxvii–lxxii, P1309–16. Legros, A., *Essais sur poutres* (Paris: Klincksieck, 2000).
- 2 Desan, *Dictionnaire de Michel de Montaigne*, p. 833.

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