Clifford Davidson

THE TRIUMPH OF TIME

WHILE IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO AGREE with G. Wilson Knight that "the Hamlet universe is one of healthy and robust life, good-nature, humour, romantic strength, and welfare" into which Hamlet introduces his own total preoccupation with death, the fact remains that, as is not surprising in a revenge play, the major theme of the drama "is death". Thus Knight's wrongheaded assertions about Claudius' goodness (despite his "dastardiy murder" of his brother) and about Hamlet as the only source of discord and unhappiness should not blind us to the essential emphasis on mortality in this tragedy.

The question of death is opened as Queen Gertrude first speaks to her melancholy son in I. ii. 68-73,² urging him to put off his mourning clothes and to stop seeking with his eyes "for thy noble father in the dust": "Thou know'st 'tis common, all that lives must die,/Passing through nature to eternity." Hamlet, she suggests, is impatient with the fact of human mortality that returns all living things to the clay from which they were formed. Despite the sympathy that is commonly generated for Hamlet in the course of the play, the significance of the queen's observations at this point cannot be denied. The "sullied flesh" of man indeed does resolve itself at death into silence. Rightful kings who have been murdered, tyrants, and jesters must all submit to the dissolution of their bodies at the end of their lives.

Similar motifs are developed visually in Brueghel's engraving, The Triumph of Time. The globe, carried on a cart drawn by the horses of the moon and the sun, is subject to Time, easily recognizable because of his traditional hour glass. Responsible for the mutability of the seasons, Time is creative as well as destructive, devouring his own offspring; therefore he is followed by the skeleton Death, who holds the traditional scythe. Death and Time ride over the emblems of civil achievements: crowns, helmets, swords, musical instruments. But behind the grim reaper rides Fame, blowing his trumpet and riding upon an elephant, a beast credited with a long memory. The meaning of the picture is clear: after Time and Death have completed their work, only Fame remains behind beneath the heavens.

But in Hamlet "time is out of joint" (I. v. 188), bringing forth unnatural

dislocations in the political order of Denmark. In Claudius' court, the courtiers, led by Polonius, tend to fawn and flatter. When Hamlet insists successively in III. ii that the "yonder cloud" is like a camel, a weasel, and a whale, Polonius agrees. At III. i. 47-39, this royal counsellor had admitted "'Tis too much proved, that with devotion's visage/And pious action we do sugar o'er/The devil himself"! Reality is twisted out of shape, and the Prince, with whom we tend most often to identify, finds his life submerged in the pursuit of vengeance. His antic disposition and subsequent acts of violence are in response to the treacherous hypocrisy of his uncle's court. Other less noble men may with their "candied" tongue "lick absurd pomp" (III. ii. 58), but Hamlet will attempt to pierce the façade which hides the "occulted guilt" (III. ii. 78) of the hypocrite king.

The predicament in which Claudius finds himself is most strikingly revealed in the well-known lines at III. i. 51-54:

The harlot's cheek, beautified with plast'ring art, Is not more ugly to the thing that helps it, Than is my deed to my most painted word:

O heavy burden!

The imagery here is reminiscent of the biblical "whited sepulchres",⁴ suggesting the depth of the king's moral disease within his soul, while at the same time describing the false face that he turns to the world. His "painted word" hides the "gilded hand" (III. iii. 58) of his offence. His smile is a device to conceal his treachery.⁵

As the ghost of Hamlet Senior explains to his son, "the serpent that did sting thy father's life/Now wears his crown" (I. v. 39-40). Macbeth, urged by his wife to commit treason against his king, similarly had attempted to "look like th'innocent flower,/But be the serpent under it." Whitney, glossing an engraving based on Virgil's latet anguis in herba, writes:

Of flattringe speeche, with sugred wordes beware,
Suspect the harte, whose face doth fawne, and smile,
With trusting theise, the worlde is clog'd with care,
And fewe there bee can scape theise vipers vile:
With pleasinge speeche they promise, and protest,
When hatefull hartes lie hidd within their brest.

His "painted word," the malice of his heart, and his perverse ambition make Claudius a most dangerous source of poison in Denmark.

The falseness of the king's position is made manifest in his vain attempt

to pray: he admits that he is "like a man to double business bound", and hence "stand[s] in pause where I shall first begin,/And both neglect" (III. iii. 41-43). The word "double" in this context, as in *Macbeth*, is a revealing pun, for in a very real sense Claudius is a "double man"—i.e., a hypocrite—whose outward royal garments are in sharp contrast to the inward blackness to which he refers in III. iii. 67: "O bosom black as death!" The king, who is designated as God's vice-regent over the kingdom of Denmark, is incapable of being the fountain of health for all estates in his land; indeed, he is the corrupt head from which the poison spreads through the blood of the body of the state. The source of "Something . . . rotten in the state of Denmark" (I. iv. 90) is the ambition, murder, and incest of its ruler.

The tension between the outward appearance of kingship and the corruption which cannot be removed by flattery is underlined not only by the king's attempt to pray in III. iii. 37ff, but also by the fawning Rosencrantz and Guildenstern earlier in the same scene. Of course, what these courtiers say would be appropriate if Claudius were, for example, a Duncan. Rosencrantz speaks:

The single and peculiar life is bound
With all the strength and armour of the mind
To keep itself from noyance, but much more
That spirit upon whose weal depends and rests
The lives of many. The cess of majesty
Dies not alone; but like a gulf doth draw
What's near it with it. O, 'tis a massy wheel
Fixed on the summit of the highest mount,
To whose huge spokes ten thousand lesser things
Are mortised and adjoined, which when it falls,
Each small annexment, petty consequence,
Attends the boist'rous ruin (III, iii, 11-23).

The Renaissance platitudes concerning kingship are here; only the true "cess of majesty" has ironically happened already with the death of Hamlet Senior, and the gulf is now yawning and waiting for the ruin which will overtake not only Claudius and Hamlet but also Ophelia, Laertes, Polonius, Gertrude, and Rosencrantz and Guildenstern themselves. The "massy wheel" of Fortuna has begun its headlong plunge down the hill; woe to those who attempt to retain a handgrip on that wheel.

But, in the face of Hamlet's probing, Claudius feels so threatened that

he fears he must kill the Prince before he is himself destroyed. Eternity has damned him, he feels, and therefore he must make a desperate and wrong-headed attempt to succeed, if only temporarily, in the domain of Time. Unfortunately, as a "limed soul, . . . struggling to be free" (III. iii. 68), the king's soul is like a bird caught in a mortal snare. He who wishes to be free, according to orthodox Renaissance thinking, must not be a breaker of natural laws, nor will he be one to do only what he desires. "Lust is no line to levell libertie nor was fancie at any time the true measure of duetie", according to one early seventeenth-century writer. 11 Claudius' unreasonable desire for the crown has led him to follow his fancy, with the result that Denmark is transformed into "a prison" (II. ii. 246).

Unlike Hamlet's uncle Fengon who more or less openly kills his brother at a banquet and then purges himself of the guilt for the crime in Belleforest, 12 Claudius secretly harbours the memory of a concealed murder, but is aware that such secrets may easily be given away by chance or design. "Murder will out" is a commonplace which goes back to the Middle Ages. The fact that the deity knows his shame is especially frightening, and at the Last Day, as King James notes, "whatsoever they have spoken in darknesse, should be heard in the light: and that whiche they had spoken in the eare in secret place, should be publicklie preached on the tops of the houses. . . . "13 The king feels, however, that he must attempt to compound his crime in order to keep his inward blackness from sight. He speaks of Hamlet in deeply ironic terms that reflect his own inner state: "like the owner of a foul disease,/To keep it from divulging, let it feed/Even on the pith of life" (IV. i. 21-23). Claudius' disease will be divulged and destroyed in Act V; Time, who will "unmask falsehood and bring truth to light,"14 will have completed his task.15 To look at the evidence in another way, we may also recognize that Providence, which presides over "the fall of a sparrow" (V. ii. 218),16 will assist to precipitate a reckoning on this side of the "bank and shoal of Time".

Though Claudius like Macbeth speaks to others as if the illness or "ulcer" (IV. vii. 122) had its source outside himself, he privately admits his desperate state. His disease centres about his "crown, his ambition", and his "queen" (III. iii. 55). Beneath the surface therefore, lie ambition—the sin of Lucifer—and incest. It is the latter sin of which Gertrude also is guilty and against which Hamlet warns her in III, iv. 144-149:

Mother, for love of grace, Lay not that flattering unction to your soul, That not your trespass but my madness speaks, It will but skin and film the ulcerous place, Whiles rank corruption mining all within Infects unseen.

Flattery and fine words may cover the unpleasant realities, but the moral ulcer, unless it is exposed, will be far more dangerous.

The hypocrisy which hides Claudius' guilt also triggers his plunge into deep despair. Nowhere is G. Wilson Knight more incorrect than in his statement that the king "gives us the impression of genuine penitence. . . ."1 Touched in his conscience by "The Mouse-trap," he recognizes that he is in need of repentance, but is unable to act since one may not "be pardoned and retain the offense" (III. iii. 56). Traditionally, despair is regarded as the sin of Cain and Judas; since it is the sin which no remedy may overcome unless, like Saint Peter, one repents wholeheartedly, this surely is the sin that feeds "Even on the pith of life." Claudius fears "more the cure then the disease, the surgion then the paine, the stroke then the impostume."17 Lack of all hope and the absence of grace make the soul a wasteland where no good may grow. Judas, whose remorse also afflicted him most strongly, never genuinely repented.18 He is a hypocrite whose inward malice leads him to betray Christ his king and saviour because of a motive somewhat similar to Claudius' when he destroys his king and brother. Both Claudius and Judas are thieves: Judas in medieval lore is presented as an embezzler in his dealings with Christ and the apostles, while the Danish king is "A cutpurse of the empire and the rule,/ That from a shelf the precious diadem stole/And put it in his pocket" (III. iv. 99-101). Both are also "inventors", according to the Renaissance meaning of the word-i.e., they are contrivers of evil. 19 But, as Horatio explains, in the end the mistaken "purposes" of the villains of the drama have "Fall'n on th'inventors' heads" (V. ii. 382-383).

The result of such evil "purposes" as Claudius has adopted may be, as the Homilies explain, to fall into the sin against the Holy Ghost. Thus is Claudius subject to "desperation, and cannot repent." Claudius' soul seems ensnared like the bird caught by the shepherd boy who was allegedly observed by Saint Anselm. Having tied one end of a thread to a stone and the other to the bird's leg, the boy allows the bird to attempt to fly, but "ever as the Bird mounted up to soare aloft, the stone drewe her downe againe." Thus

is typified "the miserable conditions of men, who no sooner indeavour to ascend to heaven by contemplation, but the flesh hales the heart back againe, and drawes to earth, enforcing the soule to lye there like a Beast, which should have soared in the heavens like an Angell." As Claudius concludes his vain attempt at prayer, he cries, "My words fly up, my thoughts remains below./ Words without thoughts never to heaven go" (III. iii. 97-98).

Shakespeare also draws his Claudius with an eye intent upon the figure of Cain, the slayer of his brother and the first permanent human resident in hell. The king admits that his "offense is rank, it smells to heaven,/It hath the primal eldest curse upon't,/A brother's murder" (III. iii. 36-38). The corruption imagery here is reminiscent of Cain's reluctant sacrifice of inferior sheaves of grain from his crop. In medieval art and Corpus Christi plays, the vile smoke from the unsatisfactory sacrifice creates an offensive odour, and sometimes also mingles with the smoke from hell-mouth.²² In contrast, Abel's sacrifice burns cleanly, showing that his gifts are acceptable to the Lord. Cain, who has been angry about the necessity to sacrifice, feels his envy stirred by the divine acceptance of his brother's humility and goodness. Envy, as Thomas Nashe explains, "hath a lewde mate hanging on his sleeve, called Murther." Claudius, envious of his brother's kingship, follows Cain's example; like the first murderer, he ends his life in despair.

Shakespeare very slyly has Claudius refer to Abel—"the first corse"—when he defends the attitude of patience and acceptance in the face of death at I. ii. 105. Appropriately, Hamlet later, in the grave-digger scene, comments on a skull which is unearthed: "That skull had a tongue in it, and could sing once! how the knave jowls it to the ground, as if 'twere Cain's jaw-bone, that did the first murder! This might be the pate of a politician, which this ass now o'er-reaches; one that would circumvent God, might it not?" (V. i. 75-79) We are reminded, if we reflect for a moment, that Claudius, who is modelled on the Cain paradigm, is in fact a Machiavellian politician who has attempted to "circumvent God". Envy may have brought Abel to the grave, but Cain's case is more serious, since his soul's residence in the underworld is not destined to be cut short at the time of the harrowing of hell. Time brings Death to all, but in the lives of the wicked their earthly ending is tragic.

The presentation of lust and incest in *Hamlet* is also extremely involved. In Belleforest, Fengon "had incestuously abused" the wife of Horvendile before the murder, 12 though there is no concrete evidence to prove that Gertrude had been bedding her brother-in-law until after her husband's demise. (Our suspicions, however, are properly aroused.) Hamlet, of course, reacts violently to

his mother's obvious passion for Claudius, whom he characterizes as like a "satyr" when compared to the Hyperion who was her first husband (I. ii. 140). "Frailty thy name is woman!" he concludes; "a beast that wants discourse of reason/Would have mourned longer" than Gertrude before tumbling "With such dexterity to incestuous sheets" (I. ii. 146, 150-151, 157). When he meets her in her bedroom, he asks, "O shame, where is thy blush?" and continues:

Rebellious hell, If thou canst mutine in a matron's bones, To flaming youth let virtue be as wax And melt in her own fire (III. iv. 81-85).

Like Claudius' ambition, lust also has rebelled against the law of nature and has attempted to gloss over a violation of morality. Nevertheless, the queen's conscience is moved, and Hamlet draws on imagery which unites sex, corruption, and food:

Nay, but to live In the rank sweat of an enseaméd bed Stewed in corruption, honeying, and making love Over the nasty sty—(III. iv. 91-94).

As E. A. Armstrong notes, "Shakespeare is concerned with the physical appetites, and the Life-Love, Death-Hatred contrast is symbolised by the double significance of the word 'stew' with its association with good food and bad women, health and disease."²⁴

The same connection between food, sex, and corruption is encountered in II. ii. 174-186, beginning with Hamlet's statement to Polonius: "you are a fishmonger." The play on words works three ways. Polonius is "fishing for secrets", 25 but also is a pander who quite literally is willing to "loose [his] daughter to [Hamlet]" (II. ii. 162). Then, despite the antic disposition which seems responsible for the word "fishmonger", the association between sexual appetite and the appetite for food is neatly set forth.

In Renaissance thinking, the appetites which stand behind lechery and gluttony are not unrelated. Since gluttony traditionally comes first, it should not be surprising that lechery would be pictured as following closely behind. Overeating and excessive drinking are part of the social pattern of the Danish court. For example, while Hamlet and Horatio are on the battlements waiting for the ghost, the king and court are keeping "wassail" and are dancing; "And as he drains his draughts of Rhenish down,/The kettle-drum and trumpet

thus bray out/The triumph of his pledge" (I. iv. 9-12). This is the "custom" in Denmark, though

This heavy-handed revel east and west
Makes us traduced and taxed of other nations,
They clepe us drunkards, and with swinish phrase
Soil our addition . . . (I. iv. 17-20).

Indeed, Hamlet Senior had been murdered when he had eaten fully and before he had opportunity to receive confession: "He took my father grossly, full of bread" (III. iii. 80). Because of her association with Danish gluttony, therefore, Gertrude's lust—"You cannot call it love," Hamlet insists (III. iv. 68)—has been stimulated.

The process by which gluttony may lead to lechery is explained by the Elizabethan *Homilies*: "He that eateth and drinketh immeasurably, kindleth ofttimes such an unnatural heat in his body, that his appetite is provoked thereby to desire more than it should. . . . So, surfeiting and drunkenness bites by the belly, and causeth continual gnawing in the stomach, brings men to whoredom and lewdness of heart, with dangers unspeakable. . . ."20 The man or woman whose virtuous will is constant and temperate "never will be moved", while the lustful person "will sate itself in a celestial bed/And prey on garbage" (I. v. 53-57). The dangers for the incestuous king and queen in *Hamlet* are indeed "unspeakable", and at last bring them to death and tragedy.

Food and appetite are also associated with death in Hamlet's statement at IV. iii. 17 that the dead Polonius is "at supper." In response to the king's surprise, he wittily explains: "Not where he eats, but where he is eaten—a certain convocation of politic worms are e'en at him . . ." (IV. iii. 19-20). Death, as Holbein's series *The Dance of Death* illustrates, is the great leveller. The "fat king" and the "lean beggar" are alike "but variable service . . . to one table" (IV. iii. 23-24). At the end of the drama, Fortinbras exclaims:

O proud death, What feast is toward in thine eternal cell, That thou so many princes at a shot So bloodily hast struck? (V. ii. 362-365)

Paradoxically, while man is "the paragon of animals," he also is "this quintessence of dust" (II. ii. 311-312): Melancholy Hamlet, whose mind is focused on the seamy side of existence, recognizes that he sees the "goodly frame

the earth" as merely "a sterile promontory" (II. ii. 302-303). Death of both the body and the spirit is very much on the Prince's mind. Corrupted life, as all the theologicals proclaimed, contains inside it the seeds of death. Thus, within this theological context, we are not surprised when Hamlet hyperbolically speaks of "the funeral baked meats" which "Did coldly furnish forth the marriage tables" (I. ii. 180-181). The natural man who ineffectually and feebly strives toward goodness finds his equivalent in Claudius whose heart also "is so thoroughly soked in poyson of sinne, that it can breath out nothinge but corrupt stinke" and whose mind, despite an appearance of goodness, is entirely "wrapped in hypocrisie and deceitfull crookednesse." His soul is inwardly "entangled with . . . perversnes." Only grace can water this "sterile promontory" or wash the blood from the "gilded hand" of the criminal king; otherwise, the return to dust at the end of life's pilgrimage means a most unhappy journey into that "undiscovered country" which exists on the other side of the river of death.

As Hamlet holds the skull of "poor Yorick", he recognizes that painting "an inch thick" with cosmetics will not prevent my lady from coming "to this favour" (V. i. 187-188). Nor, of course, will Claudius' "painted word" keep him from being arrested by Sergeant Death at the conclusion of the play. Death is, in a very real sense, a judgment upon man's nature, whether he be a peasant or a king. Sic transit gloria mundi is the Renaissance topos which is neatly illustrated in an emblem in Gabriel Rollenhagio's Nucleus Emblematum Selectissimorum: all the symbols of kingship and secular authority are being destroyed by flames.²⁷ No one is exempt from death and judgment.

The skull itself is, in the context of the play, a memento mori; it is almost to be regarded as a devotional aid which helps to define in an existential manner the role of man in the nature of things. As in renaissance paintings of Saint Mary Magdalene in contemplation, the principal figure takes up the skull and meditates upon mortality and the vanity of human wishes. Even Alexander "looked o'this fashion i'th'earth" (V. i. 192-193).

Alexander is presented in Lydgate's Fall of Princes as an archetypal ambitious and imperialist king who aspires to be equal to the gods in heaven.²⁸ Unfortunately, in spite of his aspirations to be received "Lik as a god, & lik no mortal kyng", he proves himself to be less than a "reasonable man."²⁹ In the end, his great pretensions are penetrated by Death, and his heirs fail to control the vast kingdom which he had put together. Hamlet asks, "Why may not imagination trace the noble dust of Alexander, will a' find it stopping a bung-

hole?" (V. i. 198-199). Likewise, "Imperious Caesar", to whom the whole world bowed, "Might stop a hole to keep the wind away" (V. i. 207-208). Such is the end of ambition and pride.

Hamlet, the Renaissance idealist³⁰ who also feels personally wronged by the events precipitated by his father's murder, finds that he must take on an "antic disposition" in order to close in on his dangerous uncle. Revenge, often condemned by the theologians, becomes for him a matter of conscience (V. ii. 67-68). As in Belleforest, the treachery of his uncle leads to the feigned madness of Hamlet, though Shakespeare sees his hero's actions initially less as the result of the need for self-preservation than as a means to proceed by indirection to find directions out. Contrary to the criticism of Coleridge and his followers, Hamlet's "transformation" is assumed as a means of manoeuvering so that he may achieve action rather than escape from it.

Since Hamlet lacks patience, his reaction to the sinister "painted" words of Claudius is frustration and anger. He regards Time in its aspect of flaunting "whips and scorns" (III. i. 70),³¹ while in his despair at the human condition he even considers suicide as a means of o'erleaping his "weary life" (III. i. 75-77). Surely any delay—even for a few minutes—would seem to him to be unreasonable. He accuses himself of sloth—"what an ass³² am I" (II. ii. 586)—and suggests that he needs to exchange his vengeful words for deeds. While he knows that the ghost must be tested, he desperately wishes to pursue Occasion, whom he will grasp by the forelock when she appears.³³ However, when Occasion does present herself, he believes that Claudius is praying and hence decides that revenge would not be served by packing the king off to heaven.

Because of his moral stance and his impatience, Hamlet's attitude toward his mother and toward Ophelia is highly critical. In short, his experiences with women transforms him into a strong anti-feminist who feels that he can neither trust nor love members of the opposite sex. He sees them as deceptive, lacking all chastity and honesty, and as "breeder[s] of sinners" (III. i. 122). They make "monsters"—i.e., cuckolds—of their husbands; they hypocritically replace their natural faces with "paintings" (III. i. 141, 145-147). Feminine beauty, far from leading a man up any Neo-Platonic ladder, instead converts "honesty from what it is to a bawd" (III. i. 111-112). In a sense, Hamlet's feelings about women link up with Donne's Song: "Go, and Catch a Falling Star" and with the Host's Tale in *Orlando Furioso*. This may be related to a basically unhealthy attitude toward sex and a terrifying fear of the *libido*, but any speculation about Shakespeare's own feelings would be futile. Hamlet is

more than a mouthpiece for Shakespeare's inner tensions, but rather performs a definite role or function in the drama as a whole. His intense alienation and his cruelty not only cause the death of Polonius but also precipitate the madness of Ophelia, whose songs in Act IV would seem superficially to prove the correctness of Hamlet's suspicions or of Rebecca West's denial of her previous sexual innocence.³⁴ Still, Gertrude is not Clytemnestra, nor is Ophelia to be confused with the semi-promiscuous heroine of a modern novel. It should be noted that Hamlet himself does not entirely lack a sense of proportion, for he lets it be known in V. i. 263 that he "loved Ophelia" and he carefully follows the ghost's command not to carry his revenge against his mother.

The deepest guilt is hidden in the heart of the king. Laertes' dying cry rings back through the play: "the king, the king's to blame" (V. ii. 318). Time, which brings Truth to light, has triumphed over the "painted word" at the conclusion of the play. As in Brueghel's engraving, the final tableau of *Hamlet* illustrates the victory of Time at the same moment that destruction is visited upon the principal characters. Paradoxically, Time is both "stingy and prodigal," both the maker of all things and the wrecker. At the end of the drama, Horatio alone of the characters involved directly in the action of the play is allowed to live so that he may spread Hamlet's "story". Hamlet's friend thus performs the role of Fame in Brueghel's engraving, for he blows the trumpet of the Prince's fame.

NOTES

- G. Wilson Knight, The Wheel of Fire, 4th ed. revised (London, 1965), p. 32, 31, 37, 40.
- References to Hamlet are to the New Shakespeare edition, edited by John Dover Wilson.
- We must, of course, resist the temptation to see the world of the play through Hamlet's eyes exclusively.
- 4. Matthew xxiii. 27,
- See I. v. 108.
- 6. Macbeth, I. v. 66-67.
- 7. Geoffrey Whitney, A Choice of Emblems (Leyden, 1586), p. 24.
- 8. See H. L. Rogers, "Double Profit" in Macbeth (Melbourne, 1964), pp. 35-53.
- Cf. IV. v. 124-126: "There's such divinity doth hedge a king,/That treason can but peep to what it would,/Acts little of his will." For discussion of this statement, see Russell A. Fraser, Shakespeare's Poetics in Relation to King Lear (London, 1962), p. 76.
- 10. Cf. King Lear, II. iv. 72ff.: "Let go thy hold when a great wheel runs down hill, lest it break thy neck with following it...."

- 11. William Wilkes, Obedience or Ecclesiastical Union (London, 1605), p. 10.
- Belleforest, The Historie of Hamblet (London, 1608), as quoted in the New Variorum edition of Hamlet, ed. H. H. Furness (New York, 1877), II, 93.
- 13. Basilicon Doron (Edinburgh, 1603), sig. B.
- 14. The Rape of Lucrece, 1. 939.
- See F. Saxl, "Veritas Filia Temporis," in *Philosophy and History*, ed. Raymond Klibansky and H. J. Paton (Oxford, 1936), pp. 197ff; Samuel Chew, *The Pilgrimage of Life* (New Haven, 1962), pp. 18-21.
- 16. Matthew x. 29.
- 17. Philippe de Mornay, A Discourse of Life and Death, trans. the Countess of Pembroke (London, 1592), sig. A₂.
- 18. Certain Sermons or Homilies, Appointed to be Read in Churches, in the Time of Queen Elizabeth (Oxford, 1816), p. 460.
- See Belleforest, in Variorum, II, 98; Thomas Nashe, "Pierce Penilesse his Supplication to the Divell," in Works, ed. R. B. McKerrow (Oxford, 1904), I, 186; Romans i. 30 (Geneva).
- 20. Homilies, p. 452, 253-4.
- 21. Quoted in Anthony Nixon, The Blacke Yeare (London, 1606), sig. B₂.
- Clifford Davidson, "The Unity of the Wakefield Mactacio Abel," Traditio, XXIII (1967), 499.
- 23. Nashe, I, 186.
- E. A. Armstrong, Shakespeare's Imagination, revised ed. (Lincoln, Nebr., 1963), p. 114.
- 25. Wilson, p. 171.
- John Calvin, The Institution of Christian Religion, trans. John Norton (London, 1578), II. v. 19.
- 27. Cologne, 1611, Emblem 86, in Fraser, Pl. XLIV.
- John Lydgate, Fall of Princes, ed. Henry Bergen (Washington, 1923), IV. 1228-1229.
- 29. Fall of Princes, IV. 1246, 1400.
- See Theodore Spencer, Shakespeare and the Nature of Man, 2nd ed. (New York, 1961; reprint of 1949 edition), p. 101.
- For an illustration of Time with a whip, see the title page of Giovanni Andrea Gilio, Topica Poetica (Venice, 1580), as reproduced in Chew, Fig. 25.
- 32. The ass is a standard symbol for sloth. See Morton W. Bloomfield, *The Seven Deadly Sins* (East Lansing, Mich., 1952), pp. 247-248.
- 33. See Fraser, Pl. I.
- 34. The Court and the Castle (New Haven, 1961; reprint of 1957 edition), pp. 18ff.
- 35. Giordano Bruno, Sonnet "To Time", in Cause, Principle and Unity (New York, 1964), p. 55.