Notes

For full references, see the first citation of each work. Where not otherwise stated, the place of publication of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century books is London. The titles of common literary and scholarly journals have been abbreviated according to MLA custom.

Chapter One


9. Friedrich Schiller, *Die Schaubühne als eine moralische Anstalt*, quoted by Mantey, p. 13; by Martin, p. 227. As Martin points out, the tribute to Timon was in the original version of the essay but not in the later revision.


21. See below, chapter 5; the literature on the subject is given in n. 25 of this chapter.


Chapter Two


15. Denis Lebey de Batilly, *Emblemata* (1596), fig. 4.


17. Julius Caesar Scaliger, *Poetics Libri Decem* (Geneva, 1561), bk. 1, chap. 26: "Imitatio per actiones illustri fortunae, exitu infelici, oratione gravi metrica."

18. Daniel Heinsius, *De Tragoediae Constitutione* (Leyden, 1643), chap. 3, 1. 26: "Subita in contrarium mutatio."


26. This *catharsis* is similar to the one attributed to satire by Alice L. Birney, *Satiric Catharsis in Shakespeare* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973), Birney, like Kernan, considers Timon an excessive satirist.

27. For a discussion of pessimistic modern tragedy, which authors often insist is comedy, and for its affinity with Schopenhauer's and Nietzsche's conceptions, see David Lenson, *Achilles' Choice: Examples of Modern Tragedy* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1975), chap. 7: "The Other Tragedy."

Chapter Three

1. Mark Van Doren, *Shakespeare* (1939; rpt. Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday, n. d.), p. 249. There has been much unfavorable criticism of the structure. beginning with Johnson's remark that there is "not much art" in the play. David Garrick, however, defended the structure when he objected to Richard Cumberland's alterations on the grounds that they destroyed the play's "simplicity": "I think that excellent rule for writing as it is laid down by
Horace, *simplex et unum*, was no more verified than in Shakespeare's *Timon*.


2. Cf. Ludovico Ariosto's *Third Satire*: "This lofty Mountain is Hill of Fate." *Ariosto's Satires in Seven Famous Discourses* (1608), p. 42.

3. That the wheel conception does not govern the structure of Shakespeare's tragedies is argued by J. Leeds Barroll, "Structure in Shakespearean Tragedy," *Shakes* 7 (1974): 345–78. Whatever one may think of Barroll's conception of structure (I do not find it persuasive), he effectively refutes Willard Farnham's claim that Shakespeare modeled tragic structure on the wheel motion. Cf. Willard Farnham, *The Medieval Heritage of Elizabethan Tragedy* (1936; rev. ed. Oxford: Blackwell, 1957), passim. My argument is merely that the wheel rhetoric emphasizes the structure of *Timon* (as I think it does that of *Richard II*). This rhetoric also lends coloring to characterization; see *Timon*, 4.3.252–96, where Timon sets himself off from Apemantus through the pathos appropriate for the hero of a *de casibus* tragedy.


13. Ibid., p. 237.


15. Ibid., p. 256.

16. Ibid., p. 238.

17. Ibid., p. 296.


20. Ibid., p. 306.


Chapter Four

1. Oliver, p. xli.


4. Ibid., 2:159.


8. Lodge, Calharon: Diogenes in his Singularity (1591), fol. 17

9. Cf. the greeting of Macro by Sejanus in Jonson's Sejanus: "Let me enjoy my longings" (5.324). Here the cordiality is feigned.

10. On the problematic nature of honor in Shakespeare, see Alice Shalvi, The Relationship of the Renaissance Concept of Honor to Shakespeare's Problem Plays (Salzburg: University of Salzburg, 1972). Shakespeare's and his audience's sympathy for Alcibiades is argued by G. R. Waggoner, "Timon of Athens and the Jacobean Duel," SQ 16 (1965): 303–11. Waggoner is aware of the shifting attitudes toward honor, and he argues well that we cannot be sympathetic to the senators; but it does not follow that we must be for Alcibiades.

11. Lives, 2:227

12. We should say, of course, that there are two epitaphs, both adapted from Plutarch, the one reported to have been composed by Timon, the other by the poet Callimachus, and the two contradict each other. Whatever the reason for this duplication is, it is doubtful evidence for the play's incompleteness. See the Text Appendix.


17. Sir William Cornwallis, Discourses Upon Seneca the Tragician (1610), sig. Aa. 7r.


Chapter Five


5. Timon is a "would-be Saturnian figure, living in an imaginary Golden Age, who is unaware of the nature of the fallen world in which he actually exists," says R. P. Draper in "Timon of Athens," SQ 8 (1957): 196.


7. The ancients thought of the friendship of great men as essential for the state, In De amicitia (vi. 23). Cicero said that without friendship no house or state would endure.


15. Johnson on Shakespeare, p. 713.


17. Hunt, p. 137.


27. Cf. Revelation 6:8. Also, the four words Daniel read on the wall of the king of Babylon; see Daniel 5:24–30. Draxe listed four signs that heralded the approach of the Last Judgment. Stephen Batman, The Doom Warning All Men to the Judgment (1581) stresses the pattern of four in the design of the world and consequently in its dissolution: four elements, four evangelists, twelve apostles (three "quadernals"), several sets of four preachers, etc. Calvin comments on the significance of four in Ezekiel 1:4; see Commentary on the First Twenty Chapters of the Book of the Prophet Ezekiel, trans. Thomas Meyers (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Erdman, 1948). Timon's "Sun hide thy beams" is in the pattern of a four-word prophecy.

28. Boaistuau, p. 127

Chapter Six

1. The figures, according to Marvin Spevack's Concordance, are: Hamlet, 39.128%; Timon, 35.367%; (before Macbeth with 32.191%); Claudius, 13.810%; Apemantus, 9.877%; Polonius, 8.977%; Flavius, 8.553%; Horatio, 6.893%; Alcibiades, 6.614%.


8. Warren, sig. Df


10. For instance, an emblem by Perrière shows a man dancing to the tune played on a flute by Fortuna; the accompanying verse warns that the music will not last, and man should therefore guard himself of its allurement. Guillaume de la Perrière, La Morosophie (Paris, 1553), fig. 91.

11. Diogenes Laertius, p. 29.

Chapter Seven


5. Clemen, p. 171.


7. "All" in Timon: 0.614%; Coriolanus follows with 0.466%. "Nothing," in Timon: 0.140%; followed by Lear with 0.130%.

8. See Rosalie Colie, Paradoxa Epidemica: The Renaissance Tradition of Paradox
In a neo-Latin poem, the humanist Joachim Comerarius called the idea that we are happy only when we are nothing "a marvelous philosophical trick" (Qui jam nil sumus, hi sumus beati. O miras sapientiae latebras). Lateinische Gedichte Deutscher Humanisten, ed. Harry L. Schur (Stuttgart: Reklam, 1967), p. 31.


11. See Audrey Yoder, Animal Analogy in Shakespeare's Character Portrayal (New York: Columbia University Press, 1947). Yoder, appendix 2, finds Timon to have 26 animal references to man in general; Lear, which is next, has 8.

12. Willard Farnham, Shakespeare's Tragic Frontier: The World of His Final Tragedies (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1950), pp. 68–74. "Beast" occurs 17 times in Timon; 8 times in Hamlet, which is next; and only twice in Troilus and Cressida.


17 On the moral background of Jonson's attack on gold, which is also relevant for Timon, see Alan Dessen, Jonson's Moral Comedy (Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press, 1971), pp. 75-104.

18. Barckley, p. 105 Cf. Thomas Pie, Usury's Spright Conjured (1604), p. 35: "Whosoever leaveth the use of a thing which is agreeable to the end and nature of it, and maketh a use contrary to the end and nature of it is to be condemned; but the usurer leaveth that use of money which is agreeable to the end and nature of it and maketh a use contrary to the end."

19. Timon: 24 occurrences; Hamlet: 21; the other tragedies have much lower numbers.

20. Roger Fenton, A Treatise of Usury (1611), p. 4. In the procreation sonnets, Shakespeare wittily compares the reluctance of the young man to marry and to procreate with a usurer's making use of money only for himself: "Profitless usurer, why dost thou use / So great a sum of sums, yet canst not live?" Sonn. 4.7–8. Cf. Sonn. 2.9; 6.5: 134.10.


22. Jean l'Espine, A Very Excellent and Learned Discourse (Cambridge, 1598), fol. 14."
combe and other neighboring hamlets to Stratford. To protect his interest, which he had bought in 1605, he entered in 1614 into an agreement with those who sought the enclosure of the land. This contract has become a cause célèbre through Edward Bond's play Bingo. That the facts admit of a less-sinister interpretation than Bond's is shown by Samuel Schoenbaum, "Shakespeare Played Out, or Much Ado about nada," TIS, 30 Aug. 1974, p. 920. See also Schoenbaum, William Shakespeare: A Documentary Life (New York: Oxford University Press, 1975), pp. 230–34.


13. Lodge, Catharos, fol. S7r.

14. A distinction between donatio and usuria is made by Miles Mosse, The Arraignment and Conviction of Usury (1595), p. 15: "For Donatio proprie est qua aliquis dat ea mente ut statim velit accipientis fieri, nee ullo casu a se reverti. . . . From whence we may easily observe that the usurer gives not forth his money or his goods in as much as he hath no purpose to make them forever the goods of the receiver."

15. Stone, Crisis, pp. 156, 524.

16. Ibid., p. 189.

17. Darbridgecourt Belchier, Hans Beerpot (1619), sig. D4r.


Chapter Nine


4. The text of the passages is faulty; but no more than a line seems to have gone wrong. The Folio reads: "Our Poesie is as a Gowne, which uses / From whence 'tis nourisht." Editors have accepted the ingenious Pope-Johnson emendation "... is as a gum which oozes ..." But I wonder. "Gown" seems an appropriate metaphor for the deceptive art of the poet, and "use" is one of the key words of the play. With the minimum change of "from" to "form," some sense can be read into the lines; poetry would then be a "gown" that acquires its "form" from the source that nourishes it, i.e., the gentle flame of inspiration: "Our poesy is as a gown which uses / Form whence it is nourished." Admittedly this is a very mixed metaphor, but Shakespeare may have intended it to be revelatory of the poet's inanity.


11. Shakespeare may have gotten the idea from Jonson. Volpone calls gold "the world's soul" in the first speech of the play. The connection of the idea in Timon with fortune probably glances at the Stoics' identification of the anima mundi with fate. Cf. Cicero, Academica, 1.7.29.

12. Perrièrè, La Morosophie (Paris, 1553), fig. 91.


18. Sir William Cornwallis, Essays of Certain Paradoxes (1617), sig. F.2r


Chapter Ten


2. In relative frequency of the occurrence of "fortune" in all its forms, Timon ranks just below the leading Antony and Cleopatra (0.162% versus 0.184%). In the occurrence of the plural form, Timon is ahead of the latter play (0.078% versus 0.072%). The others are far behind. On fortune in Shakespeare, see Marilyn Williamson, "Fortune in Antony and Cleopatra," JEGP 67 (1968): 423-29; Paul Jorgensen, "A Formative Shakespearean Legacy: Elizabethan Views of God, Fortune, and War," PMLA 90 (1975): 220-33; Bradbrook, Shakespeare the Craftsman, chap. 7 (on Antony and Cleopatra); Frederick P. Kiefer, "Fortune and Elizabethan Tragedy: the Adaptation and Transformation of a Convention" (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1972. Too late for consideration in this chapter came Lewis Walker, "Fortune and Friendship in Timon of Athens, TSLL 18 (1977): 577-600. Walker's argument that the play demonstrates the operations of the goddess Fortune runs parallel to mine, but he reads more allegorically than I do.

3. The performance took place during the 1956-57 season at the Old Vic, with Ralph Richardson as Timon; cf. ShS 11 (1958): 129.


5. For the background of this conception, see Patch, pp. 123-36.


7. See Martha Hester Fleischer, The Iconography of the English History Play (Salzburg: University of Salzburg, 1974), pp. 41-46.


9. For this figure of speech, see the following anecdote in Lodge, Catharos (1591), fol. 19r: "Covetous men in hell shall drink molten gold, as the philosopher telleth that Nero, the Emperor, was seen in hell bathing himself in seething gold, and when he saw a great number of comers-by, he said unto them: 'Come hither you wretches that be sellers of your neighbors and bathe you here with me for I have received the better part for you.'"


11. Cartari, p. 486. This is not in the abridged English translation by Nicholas Linche, The Fountain of Ancient Fiction (1599).

12. Jean Cousin, The Book of Fortune(Liber Fortunae), ed. Ludovic Lalanne (Paris and London: Librairie de l'art, 1883), fig. 67. This book, extant in a manuscript dated 1568, contains two hundred emblems and symbols of fortune, and it is therefore a convenient source of reference. I trust that all the elements of its emblems can be found in printed sources since emblems were by nature conventional. The emblem under discussion, for instance, is also in Cartari, p. 567


15. Cousin, figs. 25, 27; Cartari, p. 576.


17. Tervarent, cols. 126, 307, 408. Tervarent, col. 307, notes a tapestry woven in Brussels before 1528 (and now in Madrid) that has a blindfold Fortuna lying on roses and holding a scepter in one hand, a cup from which
stones are falling in the other. The motto has a Timon-like dichotomy: "Hinc spargens Fortuna rosas hinc saxa volutans ludit et aribitri cuncta suopte regit" (Fortuna plays by scattering now roses, now stones, and rules everything according to her own judgment.) Surely there were some similar tapestries or wall paintings in England in Shakespeare's time.

18. Tervarent, cols. 395, 401; Cousin, fig. 25.
19. Cousin, figs. 11, 13.
22. Batilly, fig. 13.
29. Batilly, figs. 77, 91.
30. Batilly, fig. 56.
31. The Folio has "my Masters house," which is accepted and defended by Oliver. But I consider it a printer's error, as do most editors.
32. Perrière, fig. 79. Pierriére has two buildings, one on top of a mountain, the other on level ground, with a Fortuna figure standing on one side; the explanation says that buildings on level ground, like people of less-elevated state, are safer from disasters, such as earthquakes.
33. Batilly, fig. 57.
34. Cousin, figs. 22, 35.
36. The tide and the sea in general are frequently associated with Fortune. Erasmus in his Adagia has a proverb, Fortuna Euripus (Fortune is like a channel of the sea), and Fortuna is often depicted as standing on waves.
37. Cousin, fig. 153. Fortuna Philapolis, says the note, was called the protector of the cities by Pausanias.
38. Lodge, Catharos, fol. 17
40. Stephen Batman, The Doom Warning All Men to the Judgment (1581), p. 53. The source for this legend is the razing of the Athenian walls by the victorious Spartan general Lysander. As Plutarch reports the story in his "Life of Lysander," the walls were torn down to the accompaniment of music.
41. Cousin, fig. 33.
43. Cesare Ripa, Nomen Iconologia (Rome, 1603), p. 169. Cf. Chew, pp. 51-52. The four seasons and fortune are the subject of an emblem by Barthélemy Aneau, Imagination Poétique (Lyon, 1552), p. 35: a man in a house with columns is approached by four figures, the Seasons, who offer him their gifts; the verses warn against changes of fortune. The gifts are for those who are rich.
45. Cicero, De amicitia, p. 159. For the proverb "A good friend is like the sun in winter" see Morris Palmer Tilley, A Dictionary of Proverbs in England (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1950), § 700. For the moral of the servant, see Tilley, § 979: "The rising not the setting sun is worshipped by most men."

46. Cousin, fig. 142.

47. Jean Boissard, Theatrum Vitae Humanae (Paris, 1596), fig. 1. Batilley, fig. 4.


Stage History

1. The following is a checklist of productions in England, the United States, and Canada from 1816 to 1978.

28 October 1816 Drury Lane, Edmund Kean as Timon.
8 April 1839 Franklin Theatre, New York City; N. H. Bannister, manager, adapter.
15 September 1851 Sadler's Wells; Samuel Phelps as Timon, manager.
6 March 1871 Prince's Theatre, Manchester; Charles Calvert as Timon, manager.
22 April 1892 Stratford-upon-Avon Memorial Theatre; Sir Frank Benson as Timon, manager.
18 May 1904 Court Theatre, London; J. H. Leigh as Timon, manager.
Fall 1910 Fulton Opera House, Lancaster, Pa.; Frederick Warde as Timon, manager.
1 May 1922 Old Vic; Robert Atkins as Timon, director.
Spring Festival, 1928 Stratford-upon-Avon; Wilfrid Walter as Timon; W. Bridges-Adams, director.
1931 Maddermarket Theatre, Norwich; Nugent Monck, director.
19 November 1935 Westminster Theatre, London; Ernest Milton as Timon; Nugent Monck, director.
Summer 1936 Pasadena Playhouse; Gilmor Brown, director.
January 1940 Yale University.
1947 Birmingham Repertory Theatre; John Phillips as Timon; Willard Stoker, director.
28 May 1952 Old Vic; André Morell as Timon; Tyrone Guthrie, director.
July-September 1953 Antioch Area Theatre, Yellow Springs, Ohio; Arthur Oshlag as Timon; Mary Morris, director.
August 1955 Ashland Shakespeare Festival, Ashland, Oregon; Richard T Jones as Timon; Robert B. Loper, director.
August 1956 The Marlowe Society, Cambridge, England; Peter Woodthorpe as Timon; Tony White, director.
5 September 1956 Old Vic; Sir Ralph Richardson as Timon; Michael Benthall, director.
Summer Festival, 1963 Stratford, Ontario; John Colicos as Timon; Michael Langham, director.
Summer Festival, 1965 Stratford-upon-Avon; Paul Scofield as Timon; John Schlesinger, director.
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Summer Festival, 1971 Delacorte Theatre, Central Park: Sheppard Strudwick as Timon; Gerald Freedman, director.

Summer 1974 Colorado Shakespeare Festival, Boulder; Allen Nause as Timon; Mrs. Ricky Weiser, director.

11 October 1974 Hartke Theatre, The Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C.; Pinkney Venning Mikell as Timon; Gary Jay Williams, director.

Summer 1977 San Diego National Shakespeare Festival, San Diego, California.

Summer 1978 Ashland Shakespeare Festival, Ashland, Oregon; Jerry Turner, director.

The Peter Brook production in Paris in 1974 is also discussed in the text of this stage history. A recording of Timon was made by the Marlowe Society (undated), with William Squire as Timon, directed by George Rylands (Argo ZRG 5253–3).

2. Theatrical Inquisitor and Monthly Mirror, October 1816, pp. 243–44.
4. Lamb, p. 52.
12. Based on the playbills and seasonal annotations of John Harley (the Lucius of this production), Folger Shakespeare Library.
13. Leigh Hunt’s Dramatic Criticism, p. 137
15. Leigh Hunt’s Dramatic Criticism, pp. 136–37
16. Theatrical Inquisitor, October 1816.
17. Cruikshank engraving, published by J. Roach, London, 4 November 1816, Folger Shakespeare Library Art Files. The engraving was published with Roach’s 1816 edition of the play (which was not Lamb’s text).
20. Ibid., p. 134.
21. Theatrical Inquisitor, October 1816.
23. Shirley Allen, Samuel Phelps and Sadler’s Wells (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1971), p. 244. Phelps’s Hamlet had 171 performances, his MND had 80, and his Coriolanus, 39.
24. Ibid., pp. 131–33.
27 Promptbook, Folger Shakespeare Library, Shattuck, Timon No. 9.
28. Ibid., No. 8.
29. Promptbook, Folger Shakespeare Library, Shattuck, Timon No. 11. Previous accounts report this sequence incompletely; the promptbooks clarify it and its significance.
30. 20 September 1851.
32. Ibid., p. 132.
33. Athenaeum, 20 September 1851 and 18 October 1856; Times, 13 October 1856.
34. 20 September 1851.
35. Morning Advertiser, 13 October 1856.
38. This and other reviews were excerpted in a pamphlet, Thomas Charles, ed., Memorials of Charles Calvert's Productions of Shakespeare and the Poetic Drama (London: Aubert, 1875), pp. 15-16 (Folger Shakespeare Library).
41. Poet Lore, 4:374-75, cited in Williams, MP 18 (1920): 277
42. Ibid.
45. 19 May 1904.
47. Warde, Fifty Years of Make-Believe (New York: Marcy, 1920), pp. 75, 298.
49. Approximately 720 of the play's 2,254 lines were omitted; Warde's extensive rearranging of the text makes a precise count difficult.
50. The Folger Library promptbook contains two fugitive reviews, one from Charlotte, S.C.
57. Ibid., p. 166.
58. Trewin, p. 152; Farjeon, p. 125; Times, 20 November 1935.
59. Ibid.
64. *Times*, 29 May 1952.
66. Williamson, p. 95.
70. *Observer*, 9 September 1956.
74. In addition to Byrne and Walker, I have drawn here upon Mary Clarke, *Shakespeare at the Old Vic* (London: Hamilton, 1957), unpaginated.
77. Ibid., p. 146.
88. Alexander, p. 110.

**The Text**

12. Stone, Crisis, p. 524.
18. Similarly indefinite stage directions also occur in The First Part of the Contention (1594) and The True Tragedy (1595), the two “bad quartos” that according to the opinion of most scholars are not the source plays of 2 and 3 Henry VI but reconstructed versions of Shakespeare’s plays. An interesting theory that the quartos are a memorial reconstruction by a traveling company that left the promptbook at home is by Madeleine Doran, Henry VI, Parts II and III: Their Relation to “The Contention” and “The True Tragedy,” University of Iowa Humanistic Studies, vol. 4, no. 4 (Iowa City: University of Iowa, 1928).
20. I have modernized the spellings of the Folio stage directions.
21. The only “part” from an Elizabethan play that has survived, one for the character of Orlando in Robert Greene’s Orlando Furioso, has several “descriptive” stage directions. See F. P. Wilson, p. 60.

Date and Sources
1. See above, chap. 2, nn. 21, 22, 23.
3. See above, chap. 8. I have also noted in chapter 5 that Timon 3.1–3 appear modeled on Thomas Heywood’s A Woman Killed with Kindness 3.5. Heywood’s play was published in 1607; but according to Henslowe’s Diary it was performed in 1603, and Shakespeare could have seen it then.


8. I have discussed my treatment of the sources with Professor Pauls, and he has kindly made suggestions. I have also benefited from reading his unpublished article on "Shakespeare's Timon of Athens and Renaissance Diogeniana."


10. See Plutarch, 2:227, and cf. above, chap. 4.


20. Cicero, Tusculan Disputations, 4:11. This work was read in grammar schools, see Baldwin, Small Latine, 2:601–10.


23. That Shakespeare modeled the Aepamantus-Timon contrast on that of Diogenes and Timon in Montaigne's essay "Of Democritus and Heraclitus" is suggested by Willard Farnham, pp. 65–66. But Montaigne viewed Diogenes as a totally sympathetic figure and admired him for not taking things to heart and for not separating himself completely from man, as Timon did. I have argued that Aepamantus is an ambiguous figure and is not used to contrast with Timon in the fashion of Montaigne's Diogenes. Farnham is aware of the significance of Boaistuau and Barckley as sources but restricts his discussion to the beast theme.


27. Agrippa, fol. 35–36, 92. 125–126, 114, 149, 166, 167. Cf. respectively Timon, 1:1.215–22 and 5.1.79–84; 4.3.157–59; 4.3.74–77 and 5.1.22–29; 4.3.110–30, 417; 4.3.434–36; 4.3.155–57; 4.3.446–47.
