We know from hermeneutics that our 'pre-conceptions' inform our comprehension of texts. The following approach to Macbeth draws upon an iconographical topos and thought-cliché as well as a political debate at the time of the play’s origin as heuristic tools enabling a historical appreciation of the tragedy.

Contrasting adaptations of the mythical figure of Hercules in the Renaissance revolve around two heroic ideals that Shakespeare sets off against one another in Macbeth: the chivalric warrior hero and the humanist paragon of reason and virtue. The former was a resurrection of the Roman Hercules as a model of physical strength, courage, and virtue, represented by his accomplishment of the twelve labours.¹ The latter goes back to the Sophist Prodikos’ myth of the hero as ‘philosopher’, Hercules in bivio. In Xenophon’s Memorabilia,² Socrates tells of Hercules withdrawing into solitude in his quest for the ideal way of life. In a vision he is confronted with the personifications of virtue (arete) and of vain, sensual pleasure (endaimonia). At the crossroads of his life he chooses the steep and narrow path leading to virtue and rejects the broad and easy way proposed by pleasure and vice. His heroism resides in his superior intellectual strength and willpower, by which he overcomes vice both within himself and in the outside world. These two visions of Hercules serve virtue in contrasting ways and both are omnipresent in Renaissance culture.³

¹ For the identification of the ideal chivalric hero with Hercules see B. Ross, Bildungsidol – Ritter – Held: Herkules bei William Caxton und Uilliam Mac an Lega (Heidelberg, 1989), 149, 158f., 222f. and E. Panofsky, Hercules am Scheidewege, (Berlin, 1930), Figs. 28, 30, 36, 37, 38.
³ R. Kray, ‘Intimität und Theatralik: Die Eroberung der Renaissance/Frühen Neuzeit und des Barock’ in R. Kray, S. Oettermann, (eds.), Herakles, Herkules: Ein medienhistorischer Aufriß (Frankfurt, 1994), vol.II, 38–58 provides an overview of the wide range of media in which Hercules was resurrected, including statues, paintings, engravings, tapestries, embroideries, coats of arms, seals, broadsheets, mythographies, emblem books, educational manuals, dramas, pageants, etc.; E. Panofsky, Hercules am Scheidewege remains the most important study of the iconography of Hercules in bivio, just as E. M. Waith, The Herculean Hero (London, 1962) is the most perceptive study of Hercules in English drama from Marlowe to Dryden. The chapters ‘Exemplar Virtutis’ and ‘The Tragic Herakles Revisited’ in G. K. Galinsky’s The Herakles Theme (Oxford, 1972), 185–231; 231–251 explore adaptations of the Hercules myth in English literature. R. Freeman, English Emblem Books (London, 1948) 9–18, selects Wither’s ‘Hercules’ choice’ as the emblem par excellence for her definition of the genre as the Hercules myth appears in all emblem books from Alciatus, Whitney and Wither to Quarles. A. Bagley, ‘Hercules in Emblem Books and Schools’ in A. Bagley, E. M. Griffin, (eds.), The Telling Image: Explorations in the Emblem (New York, 1995), 69–95 comments on the importance of Hercules in bivio in educational picture books such as F. Clement, The Petie Schole (1587) or J. A. Comenius, Orbis sensualium pictus.
The significance of Hercules as a paragon of strength and courage in the drafting of Shakespeare’s heroes is well known. By contrast, the ‘intellectual’ version of the mythical demigod has been ignored by Shakespearean scholarship. Though identified with the all-conquering hero at the beginning of the play, Macbeth fails the test of Hercules in bivio when he meets the weird sisters. Like that of Coriolanus, his tragedy implies a radical critique of the heroic ideal of manliness and the conviction that fortitude and valour in combat are the best way to assure justice and peace. Macbeth thus takes sides in the controversy between King James and a faction of noblemen at Prince Henry’s court in the early years of his reign, which contested the king’s policy of conciliation and peace and glorified the chivalrous ideal of the ruler based on martial strength. This paper thus enlarges on K. McLuskie’s recent proposal of a reading ‘that insists on a political fable to do with the instability brought about by the combination of a weak king and a powerful warrior’.

THE RENAISSANCE APPROPRIATION OF THE ROMAN HERCULES

The mythical Hercules was resurrected in the Renaissance in many different shapes and artistic media. Whatever his individual appearance, his identity is always primarily defined as warrior hero. He is the kallinikós, the victor in all battles and doer of great deeds, who has successfully accomplished the twelve labours, liberated the world from dangerous monsters, transformed chaos into order and brought justice to his world. His civilizing feat is the basis of his grandeur. His heroism is due to his extraordinary prowess; his superhuman physical strength and energy are enhanced by his valour and endurance, which make him a model for Renaissance man.

He was portrayed and allegorized in mythographies such as Vincentio Cartari’s Le Imagini con la Spositione de i Dei de gli Antichi (1556), Giovanni Boccaccio’s Genealogiae deorum gentilium libri (1532) or in Stephen Batman’s The Golden Booke of the Leaden Goddes (1577), in emblem books, and in the English translations and adaptations of Seneca’s tragedies. In his Iconologia Cesare Ripa, for instance, depicted Hercules as the personification of virtù heroica, referring to the Roman vis rather than the Greek arete (Fig. 1). In the woodcut his muscular body is covered by a lion’s hide. His right arm rests on his club and in his left hand he holds the apples of the Hesperides. This portrait of the natural, strong man depicts a concept of masculinity that is opposed to femininity as the embodiment of otherness. Ripa’s commentary,


which speaks of ‘virtù corporale, la robusta forza d’esso’, defines virtue as a male quality. The humanist distinguishes, however, between ‘virtu dell’animo et del corpo’, emphasizing the importance of reason as a complement to physical strength and conceiving the emblematic features of Hercules’ appearance as manifestations of moral virtues. His club accordingly signifies reason. It is knotty because living a virtuous life is difficult. The lion’s skin betokens generosity of mind and the conquest of concupiscence. The three apples of the Hesperides symbolize the bridling of anger, temperance in riches and contempt of pleasure. Whilst the pictorial portrait foregrounds the physical qualities of heroic virtue, its allegorization emphasizes the superior intellect and moral fortitude it presupposes. This Hercules *kallinikos* is both a paragon of virtue and a model of strength and courage. Like his *alter ego*, Hercules in *bivio*, he controls his passions and desires, despises self-indulgence and prefers the hardships of a virtuous life.

MACBETH, A SCOTTISH HERCULES

In the second scene of *Macbeth*, the Captain’s report extols the protagonist’s strength and courage in his fight *pro bono publico* as he victoriously defends King Duncan against foreign invaders and rebels. He glorifies him as ‘Valour’s minion’ (I.ii.19) and ‘Bellona’s bridegroom’ (I.ii.54).⁶ For him

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Macbeth is the champion of justice, the saviour of tribal union and independence, a peacemaker whose ‘brandished steel,/ [Which] smoked with bloody execution’ (I.i.17f.). The terrifying, superhuman quality of his strength is underpinned by praise of his conquered foe as ‘worthy’. His martial exploits prove him to be an exemplar of virtù heroica. Like Hercules, Macbeth chastises Fortune, who encourages the rebels with her smile like a ‘whore’ (I.i.14f.). The goddess’ notorious inclination to favour vice and her subjection and punishment by Hercules’ virtù is a cliché in the Renaissance iconography of psychomachia (Fig. 2).\textsuperscript{7} In Dekker’s Old Fortunatus (1600) for example she fights on the side of Vice against Virtue. The topos finds a philosophical equivalent in Machiavelli’s praise of the man of action and in his identification of human action as the force that determines history. His advice in Il Principe Ch. XXV therefore is, ‘Perché la fortuna è donna, ed è necessario, volendola tenere sotto, batterla e urtarla’.\textsuperscript{8}

The Captain’s eulogy of Macbeth is, however, subverted by its images of cruelty, mutilation and slaughter. The warrior ‘unseamed’ the rebel Macdonald ‘from the nave to th’ chaps’ (I.i.22) and impaled his head on the battlements. The inhuman barbarity, which is at this moment admired by Malcolm, will be condemned by him as ‘butchery’ in the play’s final speech.

\textsuperscript{7} Fortune in M. Raimondi’s engraving is identified by the rudder, the iron balls, and her forelock (kairos). See also Giovanni Francesco Caroto, medal, about 1520, in R. Wittkower, Allegory and the Migration of Symbols (London, 1977), 104f. and K. Reichert, Fortuna oder die Beständigkeit des Wechsels (Frankfurt, 1985), 31f.

\textsuperscript{8} N. Machiavelli, Il Principe. (Milano: Feltrinelli, 1979), 133. ‘For fortune is a woman, and the man who wants to hold her down must beat and bully her’.

Fig. 2  Hercules Domitor Fortunae, Marcantonio Raimondi, 14.2 × 13.4 cm, copper plate, early sixteenth century, Albertina Vienna, Inv. DG1971/385, Bartsch, 378, vol.14, 287
Heiner Zimmermann

The narrative echoes Turnus’ killing of Pandarus in the *Aeneid*. In Virgil’s epic, Turnus personifies the type of unreflecting *furor* inspired by the model of Hercules. From the beginning, the play thus shows that the defence of order and justice legitimizes cruelty and violence in the ritual of combat and war. The effort to be inhuman is central to the heroic concept of manhood, which extols courage, soldiery and honour. The identification of valour and honour with strength and manliness displaces the ideal of peace by that of war.

Macbeth’s, not the king’s, heroic exploits attract admiration. This reveals a contrast between power as physical strength and the institutional power of royal absolutism. Duncan’s praise of the hero is charged with premonition when he admits, ‘More is thy due than more than all can pay’ (I.iv.21). The hero’s greatness and his domination of Fortune in the play’s exposition are contingent on his commitment to the cause of virtue. Macbeth is the champion of virtue and at the same time a butcher. The dangers of this martial model of heroism and peacemaking, which corresponded to the neo-mediaeval ideal of chivalric manliness, were pointed out by the humanists, for instance by Erasmus in his famous essay *Dulce bellum inexpertis* (1514) as well as by Thomas More in ‘De re militari’ in *Utopia* and John Colet in a court sermon on the evils of war in 1511. They were, however, already apparent in Seneca’s tragic Hercules figures.

THE CLASSICAL HERCULES AS TRAGIC HERO AND SHAKESPEARE

Seneca’s tragedies were read at school in Shakespeare’s time. *Hercules Furens* was translated in 1561 by Jasper Heywood, and John Studley produced an English version of *Hercules Oetaeus*. Later adaptations of Seneca’s Hercules plays, such as Thomas Heywood’s *The Silver Age* and *The Brazen Age* (1609–13), were notorious for their grandiloquent fustian. In his *Groatsworth of Wit* (1592) Robert Greene scoffed at them, saying, ‘The twelve labours of Hercules have I terribly thundered on stage’. This calls to mind Shakespeare’s burlesque of the classical hero’s impersonation in the earlier theatre in *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*, where Bottom demonstrates ‘‘erc’les’ vein, a

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12 It was reported many years later by Erasmus, cf. Allen (ed.), *Opus Epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami* vol.iv, 525 f.

tyrant’s vein’ as ‘a part to tear a cat in’ (I.ii.33; 23). The derision of the superman’s strength and the conversion of his heroic pathos into bathos are, however, only the inevitable complement to hero worship and date back to ancient Greek literature.

By contrast, Hamlet evokes the classical ideal of greatness to point out his father’s superiority compared to his uncle’s insignificance and his own lack of heroic stature as an avenger: ‘My father’s brother, but no more like my father/Than I to Hercules’ (I.ii.153f.). Shakespeare similarly enhanced Antony’s heroic greatness by emphasizing his descent from Hercules, but also questioned the concept of the Herculean hero as a reckless warrior in Coriolanus, whose redoubtable strength sustained by pride and desire for glory destabilize and threaten the common weal.

Studies of the sources of Macbeth by K. Muir, G. Bullough, I. Ewbanks and E. B. Lyle pointed out verbal echoes from several Senecan tragedies in J. Heywood’s and J. Studley’s versions, such as Hercules Furens, Hercules Oetaeus, Medea, and Agamemnon, which suggest that there is a memory of Seneca’s Hercules tragedies in Shakespeare’s text. G. Bullough observed that in Macbeth Shakespeare ‘comes nearer to Seneca than elsewhere’ (451), whilst K. Muir drew particular attention to ‘three pairs of neighbouring passages paralleling three pairs of neighbouring passages’ in Hercules furens (211f.). R. S. Miola equally supplied an elaborate analysis of textual parallels between Seneca’s tragedies and Macbeth, emphasizing that Shakespeare did not model his protagonist on the tyrant Lycus but on Hercules, ‘that flawed and heroic figure’. E. Truax supplemented the source hunters’ list of verbal correspondences between Hercules furens, Hercules Oetaeus and Macbeth with a series of analogous motifs. I shall sketch some outlines both of the kinship and of the fundamental differences between Macbeth and Seneca’s Hercules. Both are tragic heroes, but they are fashioned by different concepts of tragedy and the tragic.

Macbeth possesses the charisma of the Herculean warrior hero and benefactor only during the tragedy’s short introductory phase. Even then it is tarnished by premonitory ambiguities. After his meeting with the weird

14 Quotations from Shakespeare’s plays (except Macbeth) are taken from S. Greenblatt (ed.), The Norton Shakespeare (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1997).
16 Antony is called ‘Herculean Roman’ by Cleopatra (I.iii.84). In his rage at Cleopatra’s betrayal he invokes his ancestor Alcides’ pain caused by wearing the shirt poisoned by Nessus (IV.xiii.43).
17 Coriolanus intimidates the tribunes by equating their enemy Martius’ strength with that of Hercules (IV.i.104).
20 E. Truax, ‘Macbeth and Hercules’.
sisters he no longer resembles Hercules *kallinikós* but reminds the audience of Antony, who is abandoned by his patron on the eve of his last battle after flouting the claims of reason and following Cleopatra. The splendid ideal of the all-conquering hero reveals its negative potential when physical strength no longer counts and reason and moral fortitude are called for.

Similar to Macbeth and Banquo, the protagonist of *Hercules Furens* returns triumphant with his cousin Theseus from Hades after the defeat of Cerberus. Whilst Macbeth is waylaid by the witches, Hercules is awaited by Juno, who intends to prevent his deification. With the aid of the Furies she inflicts madness on him. In both tragedies the hero’s moral imperilment, the confusion of his reason after his victories, is provoked by the intervention of supernatural powers. Seneca interiorizes the event. Juno does not rouse the mythical Megaera, Tisiphone and Alecto from the underworld. She invokes the personifications of Discord, Crime and Impiety, who do not appear on stage, but anticipate Hercules’ subsequent actions. After conquering Hades, he has still to come to terms with his unconscious desires, his hubris. Hercules slaughters Lycus in just revenge for the latter having usurped his kingdom. But then, in a sudden fit, madness overcomes him and dims his eyesight. In a delirium of rage he also turns against his wife and his children and kills them. A similar outburst of frenzy seizes him in Sophocles’ *Trachinian Women* and in Homer’s *Odyssey*, where he breaks the sacred law of *xenia* and kills his guest, Iphitos, just as Macbeth murders his guest, Duncan. As he is exhausted by his raving Hercules falls asleep. This restores his reason. He recognizes the horrors he has committed. Although he acted under Juno’s spell, he assumes the responsibility for his deeds.

In contrast to Juno, the weird sisters possess only limited power over Macbeth. Whilst Hercules is irresistibly seized by passions, which dim his reason, the witches tempt Macbeth by appealing to his ‘deep desires’. Their appearance as haggard old women with beards could be reminiscent of the woodcut illustrations depicting the Furies in Golding’s translation of Ovid’s version of the myth in *Metamorphoses*, Book IX – as Elizabeth Truax remarked. Macbeth is ‘rapt’, he falls into an ecstasy (I.iii.141), but he does not run mad. He is fascinated and horrified by obsessive fantasies, which suggest a Machiavellian liberation of the discourse of power from that of morality. In this he recalls the immoderate hopes (‘spes immanes’, 162), which tellingly sustain Hercules’ heroism as well as Lycus’ tyranny in *Hercules Furens*. His reason gradually loses control over his imagination, and he is haunted by hallucinations such as his visions of regicide, of the dagger and later of Banquo’s ghost. These are opponents whom the warrior hero cannot fight.

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21 A soldier explains that the music under the stage indicates that ‘Tis the god Hercules, whom Antony loved/Now leaves him’ (*Antony and Cleopatra*, IV.iii.14).

22 E. Truax, *op.cit.*, 165.
Unlike Hercules, Macbeth is aware from the outset of the sinfulness of his deed and oppressed by feelings of guilt even before he murders Duncan. He is responsible for his fate. In contrast to Seneca’s hero, however, he feels incapable of facing up to his crime; he attempts to repress his guilt and thus forfeits the solace of forgetfulness in sleep.

Lady Macbeth’s domination of her husband implies an inversion of gender stereotypes, calling up reminiscences of Hercules’ subjection by the Amazon queen Omphale, who made him wear women’s clothes and adopt female role behaviour. The episode is recalled by Lycus in *Hercules Furens* (465–71) in order to question the protagonist’s manly courage. Emblem books similarly moralize on his enslavement through love as a warning of the emasculating effect of infatuation on male prowess. The obsessions of his desire, the witches’ temptation, and his wife’s urgings are, however, too great a challenge to Macbeth’s moral fibre.

Both Hercules and Macbeth yearn for absolution and express their horror of the indelible nature of their crime, using the same images. Thus in his despair Macbeth cries: ‘Will all great Neptune’s ocean wash this blood/ Clean from my hand? No: this my hand will rather/ The multitudinous seas incar-nadine,/ Making the green one red’ (II.i.63–66). He becomes a paranoid tyrant, who is torn between the illusion of being invincible and his fears of revenge for the horrors he has inflicted on his country. His anxiety renders him dependent on the witches, whilst Hercules subjugates Hades. His corruption is irreversible, for he despairs, whereas Hercules expiates his guilt. Unlike Hercules, he never rages nor does he slay his family, but he has Banquo and Macduff’s wife and children slaughtered by his thugs. His Machiavellian cruelty is perfidious and destroys his state, his fortune and his life.

In contrast to the injustice of Hercules’ destiny, Macbeth’s suffering corresponds to the atrocities he has committed. It is generated by the discrepancy between his moral insight and his actions. His valour, his contempt of death and his refusal ‘to play the Roman fool’ (V.viii.1) finally only reflect the nihilistic stance of one who has killed all humane feelings within himself.

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23 There is of course no trace of cross-dressing in *Macbeth*. The protagonist’s dependence on his lady disappears with their increasing estrangement.

24 D. A. Carroll (ed.), *Greene’s Groatsworth*, 55n points out that Hercules’ subjection by Omphale or Iole was ‘a common example [of] what love can do to the manly’. Accordingly, G. Gérault’s collection of emblems (1550) warns of the ‘amour furieux’, which destroys reason and judgment, ‘Amour oste sens et raison’. When Artegall succumbs to the queen of the Amazons in *The Faerie Queene* (V.V.24) Spenser evokes the example of Hercules subjected by Omphale, and in his *Defense of Poesie* (Cambridge, 1912), 40 Sidney comments, ‘Hercules, painted with his great beard, and furious countenance, in a womans attyre, spinning, at Omphales comamndement [it] breedeth both delight and laughter: for the representing of so straunge a power in Love, procures delight, and the scornfulnesse of the action, stirreth laughter’.

25 H. de Vocht (ed.), *Jasper Heywood and his Translations of Seneca’s ‘Tinas’, ‘Thyestes’, and ‘Hercules Furens’*. Materialien zur Kunde des älteren Englischen Dramas vol. XLJ (Louvain, 1913), 291, ll. 2532–44, ‘What Tanais, or what Nilus els,/ or with his persyan wave/ what Tigris violent of stremme,/ or what fierce Rhenus flood,/ Or Tagus troublesome . . . May my right hande now wash from gylt?/ although . . . The waves of all the Northen seae/ on me shed out now wolde,/ And al the water therof shoulde/ now passe by my two handes,/ Yet will the mischiefe deepe remayne’. See also *Hamlet*. III.iii. 43–46.
Hercules, the stoic, is an example of moral fortitude. He recovers meaning by atoning for his crime through his voluntary death, which leads him to apotheosis. Macbeth’s death, on the contrary, is as meaningless for him as his life.

In spite of the analogies in the plots of the two plays, Macbeth and Seneca’s Hercules obviously personify completely different ideas of the tragic, which does not mean, however, that the tragic hero Macbeth has nothing in him of Hercules.

For R. H. Wells, Seneca’s *Hercules furens* evokes the shade of Orpheus and thereby points an ironic contrast between two heroic ideals. Both mythical figures penetrate the underworld to subjugate its god, both lose their wives, are tormented by grief and suffer a painful death. Whereas Hercules defeats Hades in combat, Orpheus subjugates him through his arts, the power of eloquence and music (1184–1193, Jasper Heywood’s translation). Hercules’ tragic furor exposes the danger inherent in the heroic ideal based on martial strength and courage. As Theseus points out at the play’s climax, ‘manhode gret’ lies not in heroic rage but in self-control (2240). The opposition between the Herculean and the humanist ideal of heroism also underlies Shakespeare’s *Macbeth*, where however, Hercules, the all-conquering hero is not contrasted with Orpheus but with his ‘philosophical’ alter ego, Hercules *in bivio*, who by virtue of his judgment makes the right choice.

**HERCULES’ METAMORPHOSIS INTO A CHRISTIAN**

The most popular Renaissance impersonation of Hercules is the *kaloskagathos*. In his quest for happiness at the crossroads of life, he opts for plain Virtue with her narrow, steep and rugged path on his right and rejects alluring Vice’s broad and easy highway on his left. This parable, which goes back to the sophist Prodikos, intellectualizes the older concept of the hero as a redoubtable muscleman by making him an exemplar of reason and his moral choice a heroic act. A superior mind and skill in rhetoric and debate replace the club and physical violence. Reason and insight make him reject the pleasures of the body. This model of masculinity fitted into the Renaissance world of civil humanism and also squared with Christian metaphysics. The most popular classical hero was thus associated with the ontological condition of the Christian torn between the forces of good and evil. This provided a classical, mythical dimension for psychomachia. The topos became the central Renaissance allegory, picturing the subject’s free moral choice, but also showing man as the target and battleground of opposing metaphysical forces. It was evoked in iconography, in emblem books, mythographies, plays, pageants, and educational manuals.

26 R. H. Wells, *op. cit.* 89f.
27 In the original, ‘nunc magna tibi/ virtute agendum est: Herculem irasci veta’. (1276f.)
28 The topos is reiterated in Mathew, VII.13 and Lucas XIII.24.
29 Cf. n.1.
E. Panofsky distinguished between two different traditions in the representation of this motif. In Prodikos’ version, Hercules, reflecting on his future life, has a vision of two supernatural female figures and becomes the object of a debate (synkrisis) between the personifications of Virtue (arete) and Voluptuousness (endaimonia), Vice (kachia), and Sloth, in which each pleads with him to take her path to happiness.

In A Choice of Emblemes (1586) Geffrey Whitney reproduces this in emblem 40 ‘Bivium virtutis et vitii’, showing Hercules at the Forum Romanum courted by two goddesses (Fig. 3). The one could be Minerva or Pallas as she wears a helmet, shield and spear. She advocates reason and labour and promises honour and fame. The other resembles Venus, is bare-breasted and leads a blindfolded Cupid by the hand. She tempts the hero to a life of carnal pleasures. Hercules, convinced by the arguments of Virtue, rejects the pleasures of beautiful Voluptuousness and embraces plain reason and the labours of combat.\footnote{The opposition between Hercules and Venus mirrors the classical antagonism between Mars and Venus.}

In another tradition, rooted in Hesiod, Opera et Dies (V, 287ff.), the visionary character of the event is pictured as Hercules’ dream. The illustration of the ‘Concertatio virtutis cum Voluptate’ in Jacob Locher’s Latin version of Sebastian
Brand’s *Ship of Fools* shows the figures of Virtue and Vice sitting at the end of two paths, which start from the sleeping Hercules (Fig. 4). Vice is represented as an alluring, naked beauty with a skeleton at her back, as in the mediaeval representations of *mundus* (*Frau Welt*). Virtue is a plain housewife holding a distaff. She wears humble, everyday, garments covering her body and head. In this image, the hero makes his decision without a debate. Virtue and Vice appear to him in a vision as the patrons and leading principles of two contrary ways of life.

In both images the attractiveness of Vice is pictured as that of sensual, female beauty. Virtue is plain, austere and unprepossessing, since she rejects vanity, worldliness and the flesh. Hercules prefers spiritual values to bodily pleasures. The mythical hero is thus converted to Christian asceticism, humility, and the work ethic. He trusts in reason and overcomes instinct, desire and passion. Prodikos’ parable now exemplifies the Christian preference for the spirit and rejection of the body.

As Panofsky showed, iconographical *topoi* are constantly renewed through re-interpretation. Hercules, as we have seen, was associated with the medieval...

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31 The woodcut illustrates ch.107 ‘Von Lon der Wisheit’ V.17ff., which is identical with Xenophon’s version of the myth. The English translation, *The Ship of Fools*, by Alexander Barclay was published in 1509.
Christian knight, or with royal figures such as Maximilian I of Bavaria on an engraving by Johann Sadeler after Friedrich Sustris entitled ‘Apotheosis of Hercules’ and celebrating the victorious emperor. In classical antiquity already, the cliché of polar opposition was variously embodied in antithetic concepts from a wide range of fields, such as the dichotomies of labour and voluptuousness, friendship and hypocrisy, right and wrong education or rightful kingship (*basileia*) and tyranny. The latter antinomy, which occurs in Dion Chrysostomus’ *Peri Basileias Oratio* I, §§ 65–84, actually resembles Macbeth’s ‘choice’. In this particular case, however, the pattern that defines the path of virtue as arduous and the road of vice as easy is inverted.

The motif of ‘Hercules in bivio’ was, moreover, amalgamated with structurally similar iconographical clichés, such as the topos of the ‘Judgment of Paris’, in spite

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32 The young emperor is shown naked, draped with Hercules’ lion’s hide, shouldering his club. He stands between the hooded personification of Virtue, who solicits him, and Vice embodied by a beautiful woman bearing the emblems of pride and vanity. The picture, which was probably produced for 1 January 1595, is to be found at the Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen, Berlin, Inv. 15–43 (Holl.566).

33 Dion Chrysostom from Prousa addressed his *Peri Basileus Oratio* (~ 100 p. C.) to the emperor Trajanus. In his version Hercules is not tempted, but his choice demonstrates his love of rightful rule. Hercules becomes the patron of the just ruler. See H. Schulze, ‘Vorbild der Herrschenden – Herakles und die Politik’ in R. Wünsche (ed.) *Herakles, Herkules. Katalog, Staatliche Antiken Sammlungen* (München, 2003), 344–366.
of the fundamental differences between the two myths. Thus Cristofano Robetta showed Hercules standing beside Virtus and Voluptas and leaning on his club (Fig. 5). He is lost in thought and does not even look at the two personifications, both depicted as graceful, naked young women closely resembling each other. Virtue, however, restrains her adversary’s left hand. The group is surrounded by Cupids bearing arrows. Just like the three Graces in the background, they recall the motif of the Judgment of Paris, rather than that of Hercules’ choice.

Peter Vischer Jr., on the contrary, emphasized the fateful character of Hercules’s decision by confronting him with the Parcae, Clotho, Lachesis, and Atropos (Fig. 6).34

The representation of Queen Elizabeth I in a picture of the Judgment of Paris in Hampton Court is an instance of the identification of a historical figure with the mythical hero in this iconographical topos, which was so closely linked with Hercules’ choice (Fig. 7).35

HERCULES’ AND MACBETH’S CHOICE: THE MORAL MODEL AND ITS NEGATIVE

Macbeth and Banquo’s meeting with the weird sisters appears like an inset in Holinshed’s historical narrative, which is modelled on the pageants and triumphs of the Renaissance, in which rulers are met by mythical or allegorical figures. Raphael Holinshed in his Chronicles calls it ‘a strange and uncouth wonnder’ and reports that on their way to Forres, Macbeth and Banquo ‘passing through the woods and fields’, encountered ‘in the middest of a laund’ ‘resembling creatures of elder world’ which were assumed to be ‘the weird sisters, that is (as ye would say) the goddesses of destinie, or else some nymphs or feiries, indued with the knowledge of prophesie by their necromantickal science’.36 The importance of the scene was underlined by the illustrator of the first edition of 1577, who represented it in a woodcut (Fig. 8). In this picture, Macbeth and Banquo, entering the scene on horseback from left to right, are greeted by three ladies in noble attire and headgear. One of them is old, the other middle-aged and the third young. The two older ones gesture towards the men, who fix their eyes on them. They could be the Fates, as suggested by the text. This impression is both confirmed and denied in Shakespeare’s play, where they name themselves ‘wayward’ or

34 According to E. Panofsky, op. cit. 86f., n.5 Peter Vischer, Jr.’s engraving illustrates P. Bernhaupt, Historie des Lebens, Sterbens und Wunderwerck des hochberümten Streiters, manlichen Überwinders Herculis (1515). The engraving relates to the following ecphrasis: ‘Zu der gerechten seitten die drei gottin des lebens/ wan Cloto entmitten irer dreier den rocken zu spinen zuricht und helt/ neben ir zu der gerechten Lachesis die feden aus dem rocken spinet und zeuhet: beiden selben auff der gelincken Atropos den gespunnen faden abreist’.

35 The golden apple is not awarded to Minerva, Juno or Venus, but to Queen Elizabeth, who outshines them all. The picture, which is signed H.E., was attributed to Hans Eworth by F. A. Yates, ‘Queen Elizabeth as Astrea’, Journal of the Warburg and Courthold Institutes, X (1947), 27–83; 60. On stylistic evidence R. Strong, English Icon (1969), 144f. ascribed it, however, to Joris Hoefnagel.

‘weyard’ sisters (I.iii.30; F compos. A + B), but where they also clearly identify themselves as witches, as the dramatist has endowed them with a demonic nature. The ambiguity was not cleared up by Simon Forman’s report of a performance of *Macbeth* on Saturday, 20 April 1611 in his *Booke of Plaies*; for, as L. Scragg has demonstrated, he recalls Holinshed, rather than a stage production, when he mentions that ‘Ther was to be observed . . . Ridinge thorowe a wod’ Macbeth and Banquo on horseback, who encountered ‘3 women, feiries or Nimphes’. Holinshed was also the model for the pageant

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*Fig. 6  Hercules and the Parcae*, Peter Vischer, Jr., 1515, washed ink drawing, brown, 24.6 × 16.3 cm; Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen, Berlin, KdZ 1082; © bpk Berlin, 2005, photo Jörg Anders, Berlin

Heiner Zimmermann
devised by Mathew Gwinn for King James at Oxford on 27 August 1605, in
which the king was welcomed by three Sibyls, who prophesied ‘imperium
sine fine’ for the descendants of Banquo. The crucial event in Macbeth, which
combines the hero’s temptation with the proclamation of the Stuart dynasty’s
glorious future, is evidently a palimpsest and thoroughly ambiguous.

The resemblance between ‘Hercules’ Choice’ and Macbeth’s meeting
with the weird sisters in Shakespeare lies in the fact that on their way both
heroes encounter supernatural female figures who address them with a
message. The event and the choices it involves in each case determine the
hero’s future life. Behind Shakespeare’s three witches appear the shades
of the three Fates from the pre-text by Holinshed. As we have seen, the
confrontation of the hero with the Fates can also be found amongst the
iconographic variations of ‘Hercules’ Choice’. In the aforementioned ink
drawing by Peter Vischer Jr., Hercules sees in a dream the three Parcae instead

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38 K. Muir, The Sources of Shakespeare’s Plays, 208. Sir Isaac Wake introduces his account of the royal visit in
Rex Platonicus (Oxford, 1607) with the event that ‘tres olim sibyllae occurred sunt Scotiae proceribus
Macbetho & Banchoni, & illum praedixisse Regem futurum’.
of the personifications of virtue and vice. The motif thus mutates into a choice between spiritual life and death, a *memento mori* already implicit in the illustrations of *The Ship of Fools*, where vice was represented as a beautiful woman with a skeleton at her back. The similarity between Vischer’s drawing of Hercules and the narrative of Macbeth’s encounter with the weird sisters becomes even more apparent in George Buchanan’s version in *Rerum Scotiarum Historia*, where the episode is introduced as a dream, thus stressing its visionary character. Moreover, representations of the Parcae, as in a woodcut by Hans Baldung Grien (1513), gave the Fates an appearance very similar to that of Shakespeare’s witches (Fig. 9). All this suggests that both in Shakespeare’s play and in its pre-texts, Macbeth’s mythical meeting with the weird sisters is linked with the iconographical topos of ‘Hercules’ choice’, as both form part of a cluster of structurally related iconographical motifs.

Only a few years after the composition of *Macbeth*, Ben Jonson centred his *Masque of Queens* (1609) on the opposition of Heroic Virtue and a group of twelve witches in the antimasque. The witches envy Heroic Virtue’s fame and

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39 G. Buchanan, *Rerum Scotiarum Historia* (Edinburgh, 1582), transl. by T. Page, London, 1690 in G. Bullough, *Narrative and Dramatic Sources*, 513: ‘One night he seemed to see Three women whose Beauty was more August and Surprizing than bare womans useth to be, of which, one Saluted him, Thane of Angus . . . His Mind, which was before Sick betwixt Hope and Desire, was mightily encouraged by this Dream’.
declare that they are his born enemies. The author explains that ‘The ancients expressed a brave and masculine virtue in three figures, of Hercules, Perseus and Bellerophon of which I chose that of Perseus’. In the masque, *Speeches at Prince Henry’s Barriers*, produced in the same year, the young Prince Henry’s fascination with the mediaeval chivalric ideal of the knight at arms contrasts with the king’s preference for prudence, conciliation and peace to combat and war. The sovereign’s praise culminates in the comparison with Hercules, which significantly evokes the classical hero in the static role of the bearer of the heavens. Hercules is, moreover, the protagonist of the later masque *Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue* (1618), in which Jonson conceives the warrior hero and paragon of virtue as an emblem of the king. Like the sovereign at the performance, Hercules is presented as spectator

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40 Their nature, their charms and even the episodes they tell one another closely resemble those of Shakespeare’s witches. The Masque of Queens in S. Orgel (ed.), *Ben Jonson: Selected Masques* (New Haven, 1970), 80–99.
41 Note to l. 346.
43 J. Goldberg, *op.cit.* 62.
watching a bacchanalian antimasque, which he angrily dismisses. Mercury advises him to remain patient and to rest. He announces the end of the opposition between Virtue and Pleasure as in the topos of Hercules in bivio. The two are reconciled in poetry, music and dance, which educate and delight. In the arts, pleasure and beauty become the servants of virtue. Once more Hercules’ heroism, like that of James, consists in his intellectual and moral superiority and not in warlike feats.

The differences between Macbeth’s supernatural encounter and Hercules in bivio are, however, as obvious as the parallels. The two victorious warriors Macbeth and Banquo are on their way to Duncan, and only metaphorically at a crossroads as the meeting will prove to be a turning point in their lives. Unlike Hercules, Macbeth encounters three, not two, mythical figures, whose nature, contrary to that of the personifications of Virtue and Vice, remains ambiguous for the hero, though for the audience is clearly identified as evil. They do not differ from one another nor do they suggest a choice between two opposing ways of life. Their prophecy, however, leads Macbeth to a choice between rightful government and tyranny.

**Macbeth** [aside] Two truths are told,  
As happy prologues to the swelling act . . .  
This supernatural soliciting  
Cannot be ill, cannot be good. If ill . . . If good . . .  
(I.iii.126–133)

Of course, Macbeth’s temptation by the witches appealing to his desire for power and his seduction by his wife constitute a much more complex psychological conflict than the antithesis that informs the iconographic topos. By reversing and confusing moral values, the witches’ ambiguities presuppose, and at the same time blur, the boundary between good and evil, thus deceptively dissolving the binary opposition that constitutes ‘Hercules’ Choice’. Their discourse is taken up by King Duncan, who deplores that: ‘There’s no art/ To find the mind’s construction in the face’ (I.iv.12f.). Moreover, the contrast between the moral model and the tragic villain, does not simply lie in success or failure in choosing the right way. Rather it resides in a simple and a more complex conception of the freedom of choice.

On closer inspection the moral imagery of Hercules in bivio, however, proves more intricate than the commentaries in emblem books and pedagogical manuals suggest. For Hercules, as for Macbeth, moral choice is not only a *synkresis*, a debate between opposing arguments, and not only a matter of judging rightly between them; it is also a decision between reason and its opposite, that is, irrational desire. ‘Hercules’ Choice’, just like Macbeth’s, involves his instincts and emotions. The personification of Vice attracts his

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44 *Macbeth* is not only a drama of antitheses but also of oxymora and paradoxes.
gaze by her alluring beauty. Plain Virtue relies only on rational arguments. Unlike the pleasures offered by Vice, the happiness she promises is not easily obtained. Masculine rationality feels threatened by the seductiveness of female sensuality. Impulses opposed to manly virtue are associated with women and can thus be disclaimed and stigmatized. Hercules proves by his decision that he cannot be deceived by outward appearance. This enables him to conquer his desire. For him as for Macbeth, moral choice is not only a matter of cognition, but also of moral fortitude and self-control resisting desire.

The weird sisters’ allurement, however, has nothing to do with female beauty or sexuality. They look hideous and the ambiguity of their sex mirrors the warrior hero’s anxiety concerning his repressed female part, his own bisexual potential. Like the figure of Vice in Hercules’ Choice, they personify what escapes reason or male control. Macbeth’s first words establish his kinship with those who know his desires. Their temptation lies in their prophecies and in the enigma of how it is to come true.

Macbeth dreams of becoming entirely like his heroic ideal through elevation to the rank of ruler. He is torn between obsessive fantasies of regicide and the belief that ‘If chance will have me king, why chance may crown me/ Without my stir’ (Liii.142f). For a time he is caught in the aporia of wishing both to eliminate Duncan and to leave matters in the hands of chance. The contrast between his and Banquo’s spontaneous reactions to the witches’ predictions thus traces two conflicting ways leading to the future promised to them: he can either remain passive and abide by the law or disregard moral norms and subjugate Fortune. Too late he painfully recognizes in the third act that Banquo’s superior strength resides in his combining bravery with wisdom: ‘To that dauntless temper of his mind,/ He hath a wisdom that doth guide his valour/ To act in safety’ (III.i.53–55). Macbeth cannot control the hallucinations with which desire captures his imagination and obfuscates his reason. The hope for rightful kingship (basileia) through subordination to fortune stands in contrast to tyranny through usurpation. The opposition between the ‘lawful, good king’ and the ‘usurping tyrant’ was similarly defined by King James I in his Basilikon Doron; in his Daemonologie he linked his exhortation to firmness in dealing with witchcraft with the reminder that ‘We ought not the more of that restraine from vertue, that the way wherby we climbe thereunto be straight and perilous’.

The antithesis good king versus tyrant structures the play and is reinforced by Shakespeare’s idealisation of the historical Duncan. It is focussed on again in Malcolm’s encounter with Macduff in IV.iii, where the Prince of Cumberland’s portrait of himself as a potential tyrant contrasts with the ‘king becoming graces’ (IV.iii.91 ff.) and the horrors of Macbeth’s murderous regime are set off against the saintly King Edward’s ideal kingship and healing power. Neither at the end nor at the beginning of the play does the royal figure

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play the role of a fighter. Malcolm manipulates Macduff to fight for him as Macbeth fought for Duncan. His strength, like that of Hercules in bivio, lies in his intellectual superiority, his sceptical distrust of appearances and the strategic ambiguity of his speech. Unlike his father, he attempts to disclose ‘the mind’s construction’ behind the mask when he probes Macduff’s intentions by telling untruths about himself.46

After his meeting with the weird sisters, Macbeth changes from ‘being an active soldier . . . to being a man of reflection’.47 He strives for knowledge about the nature of the weird sisters, the meaning of their prophecies, the consequences of his actions, his future. His anxiety about not knowing is equalled by his fear of knowing. His reason is fogged by the images suggested by his imagination. His mind is ‘diseased’ and he loses his fortitude and direction. The witches’ promises provoke a rift in his self. He is no longer at one with himself and wants to hide from his eyes what his hand performs. His moral sense is as acute as his desire for power. The shadow of Hercules’ debate with the personifications of good and evil appears in the agonistic dynamism of his soliloquies, in which the struggle between the antagonistic forces within him is acted out. A gap opens between his asides and soliloquies on the one hand and his public speeches on the other.

Lady Macbeth’s seductiveness resides in the strength of her will, her amorality, and her rhetoric. She ritually abjures her maternal qualities48 so that she can adopt a male heroic mentality and she thus rejects her assigned position outside the realm of maleness. She arrogates to herself the right to define the norm of masculinity. When Macbeth hesitates she appeals to his virility and disparages his moral scruples as cowardliness and impotence. She also doubts his manliness when later in the banquet scene he is haunted by Banquo’s ghost and loses control. For her, true manhood knows no bounds and she makes her husband’s ability to murder Duncan the test of his virility and ultimate heroism (I.vii.49ff.), a criterion later paralleled in Macbeth’s words to the murderers of Banquo. Transgression, she suggests, would make him ‘so much more the man’ (I.vii.51). Her identification with the masculine, however, reaches its limits when she finds she cannot kill the king since he resembles her father. Macbeth senses that enacting his fantasies will change him completely and protests: ‘I dare do all that may become a man;/ Who dares do more is none’ (I.vii.46f.). He defines the limits of masculinity in accordance with the limits of humanity. Like Volumnia, who in the name of masculinity fashions her son Coriolanus into a reckless warrior, Lady Macbeth moulds her husband into a murderer. His destiny, like that of the Roman hero, is determined by his weakness in confrontation with female

48 See also Lady Macbeth’s echoing of Medea for instance in her readiness to kill her baby, as pointed out by I. Ewbanks.
power, which exposes the erotic attractiveness that power has for him. When Macbeth gives in to his desires and subjects himself to his lady’s will, his wrong choice results from his loss of the liberty to choose. His reason, unlike that of Hercules in *bivio*, is not free. Shakespeare shares St Augustine’s scepticism concerning reliance on natural reason to warrant moral action.

Macbeth’s progress to tyranny is excruciating and fearful. It does not procure him a single moment of happiness. As we have seen in the Cynic philosopher Dion’s classical version of Hercules’ choice, this path is steep and dangerous, since it involves usurpation, violence and crime, whereas the way to rightful kingship (*basileia*) is pleasant and safe. Accordingly, the latter is surrounded by justice, peace and law, whereas tyranny’s throne lacks a solid base and is threatened by fear, unrest, cruelty, mistrust and lawlessness. Macbeth’s tragedy is informed by the implacable pursuit of his chosen path to its fatal end, since he recognizes his position as irremediable (III.iv.136): ‘I am in blood/ Stepped in so far that should I wade no more,/ Returning were as tedious as go o’er’. This relentless progress of events already fascinated August Wilhelm Schlegel, the German Romantic poet and translator of Shakespeare, who compared *Macbeth* to a timepiece with the anchor removed from the escapement. According to the Porter’s comment (II.iii.1–17), he has transformed his castle into a hell on earth, so that it has become the destination of all those who, unlike Hercules, choose the road of vice and ‘go the primrose way to th’ everlasting bonfire’. By changing into a tyrant Macbeth becomes the opposite of Hercules, the patron of rightful rule and enemy of tyranny.

Macbeth’s tragedy is that of the moral failure of the martial heroic ideal, which the play takes to its extreme. When in Act IV the tyrant is haunted by anxiety, the witches restore his illusion that he is invulnerable by renewing his faith in martial valour, demanding that he must ‘Be bloody, bold, and resolute’ (IV.i.78) and again, ‘Be lion-mettled, proud, and take no care’ (89). In the end, however, Macbeth is forced to recognize what he has lost by valuing strength and power higher than humanity: ‘My way of life/ Is fall’n into the sere, the yellow leaf,/ And that which should accompany old age, / As honour, love, obedience, troops of friends,/ I must not look to have’ (V.iii.22–26). Like Macdonald, he is deceived by Fortune in the person of the witches. When, in the last moments of the play, he becomes once more a fearless warrior, his heroic appearance contrasts with his Herculean role in the beginning. He no longer fights for justice, but is motivated by cynical


50 Ophelia warns her brother in *Hamlet* (I.iii.47–50), ‘Do not, as some ungracious pastors do,/ Show me the steep and thorny way to heaven/ Whilst like a puffed and reckless libertine/ Himself the primrose path of dalliance treads’. For similar passages in Shakespeare see C. Davidson, *The Primrose Way: A Study of Shakespeare’s ‘Macbeth’* (Conesville, Iowa, 1970).
despair, disdaining his own life and that of others like the rebellious Thane of Cawdor, whose title he inherited.

Macduff’s killing of Macbeth restores justice and installs hereditary kingship in Scotland. His role, however, disturbingly replicates that of Macbeth at the beginning of the play, whilst Malcolm’s role mirrors Duncan’s. Like Macbeth, Macduff exhibits the tyrant’s head as a warning example on a pole. This casts doubt on the new order, which has once more been achieved through violence.

With Malcolm to lead them, women would fight to liberate Scotland from Macbeth (IV.iii.188); Scotland that can no longer be called the people’s mother (IV.iii.167f.). Liberation is achieved by Macduff, who is ‘not of woman born’ (V.viii.15ff.). The country’s new king, Malcom, is ‘yet/ Unknown to woman’ (IV.iii.125ff.). This along with old Siward’s anxiety to be sure that his son died like a soldier and the deaths of Lady Macduff and Lady Macbeth complete the progressive eradication of the female and of female values from this ‘heroic’ world, a development which started with Lady Macbeth’s exorcism of her femininity.\(^51\) This confirmation of the ideals of martial, heroic manhood at the end of the tragedy presages a renewal of violence and war, although Macduff, like Macbeth in the first part of the play, insists that humane feeling is central to the definition of manhood (IV.iii.224–33).

The fundamental antithesis between \(\textit{bía}\) (violence) and \(\textit{díke}\) (justice), which can only be reconciled by the subjection of power to \(\textit{nómos}\) (law), was posed by Hercules’ deeds from the outset. With his Herculean hero, Macbeth, Shakespeare measures the model of warlike manliness against the yardstick of the humanist ideal embodying reason and morality. Macbeth fails this test. Thus, as H. Wells has pointed out, Shakespeare’s tragedy took sides in a controversy between the advocates of a neo-mediaeval chivalrous ideal of manliness and the supporters of the humanist model of manhood striving to achieve peace and order through diplomatic means.\(^52\) Besides Hercules \textit{in bivio}, the humanist intellectuals took Orpheus, the tamer of human passions, as their eirenic model, proclaiming with Francis Bacon in \textit{The Wisdom of the Ancients} (1609) that ‘as the works of wisdom surpass in dignity and power the works of strength, so the labours of Orpheus surpass the labours of Hercules’.\(^53\)

The consideration of \textit{Macbeth} in the light of a prominent Renaissance iconographical \textit{topos} and its commonplace patterns of thought has sharpened our perception for the historical understanding of the play and deepened our comprehension of central motifs and themes and their representation. Moreover, the enhancement of our historical appreciation elucidates its position in the political discussion of the time.

\(^{51}\) Duncan, Banquo and Siward are all without wives; the show of eight kings conjured up by the witches in IV.i.111 evokes an all-male Stuart genealogy excluding the only queen, King James’ mother, Mary Stuart.

\(^{52}\) R. H. Wells, \textit{op. cit.}, I–30.

In the reign of Elizabeth I, the Sidney-Essex faction was not always impressed by the queen’s deification as Gloriana or Astrea. For them, a woman as head of the state meant the end of a powerful, that is, masculine foreign policy based on military strength. Elizabeth’s ‘weakness’ and her dependence on her favourites were the alleged reason Essex adduced for his failed rebellion in February 1601, on the eve of which the earl’s followers commissioned a performance of Shakespeare’s *King Richard II*. King James I and VI, who claimed the surname ‘Beatus Pacificus’, elected the goddess Eirene as his patroness and, from the beginning of his rule in England, displayed his preference for a foreign policy of diplomatic negotiation, appeasement and strategic marriage, as opposed to military intervention and war. ‘His heroism lay in intellectual might’. His attempts at conciliation with Spain were part of a strategy aiming at universal pacification through a General Council of Christian Monarchs in Europe. This idealism provoked derision among the chroniclers of his age and earned him the epithet ‘the wisest fool in Christendom’. His policy was opposed by a faction of nobility surrounding Prince Henry, who was an enthusiastic jouster and distinguished himself through his knightly prowess in the tiltyard. He also revered Sir Walter Raleigh and the imperialist policy of the 1580s. He and his noble friends such as the third Earl of Essex, John Harrington, William Cecil, Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel and others looked back with nostalgia to the chivalric ideal of manliness and hankered for Protestant supremacy and glory achieved through military strength and war. Shakespeare’s critique of this heroic model in *Macbeth* may thus imply an affirmation of his sovereign’s politics.

My focus on King James’ pacifism in foreign affairs and its possible relationship to *Macbeth* naturally leaves out of account his dogmatic absolutism and his ruthless annihilation of his enemies within the realm. It is intended as complement to the readings of the tragedy as a critique of the tyrannical sovereign proposed in recent decades.

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54 Elizabeth is reported to have said to William Lombarde, the antiquary and keeper of the Tower of London in 1601, ‘I am Richard, know you not that?’.
55 P. Palme, *op.cit.*, 8; J. Goldberg, *op.cit.*, 43 describes the triumphs of peace designed by William Hubbocke for his coronation pageant.
56 J. Goldberg, *op.cit.*, 34.