This is the first essay collection on *A Mirror for Magistrates*, the most popular work of English literature in the age of Shakespeare. The *Mirror* is analysed here by major scholars who discuss its meaning and significance, and assess the extent of its influence as a series of tragic stories showing powerful princes and governors brought low by fate and enemy action. Scholars debate the challenging and radical nature of the *Mirror*’s politics; its significance as a work of material culture; its relationship to oral culture as print was becoming ever more important; and the complicated evolution of its diverse texts. Other chapters discuss the importance of the book as the first major work that represented Roman history for a literary audience, the sly humour contained in the tragedies, and their influence on major writers such as Spenser and Shakespeare.

**Harriet Archer** is a Leverhulme Early Career Fellow at Newcastle University, working on a book-length project called ‘New Poets: Writing and Authority in 1570s England’ and an edition, with Paul Frazer, of Norton and Sackville’s *Gorboduc* for the Manchester Revels Plays Series. She completed her DPhil on the *Mirror for Magistrates* and textual transmission at Christ Church, Oxford, in 2013. Her research interests include sixteenth-century historiography, modes of authorship, and the early modern reception of ancient and medieval culture.

**Andrew Hadfield** is Professor of English at the University of Sussex. He is the author of several studies of early modern literature and culture including *Shakespeare and Republicanism* (2005) and *Edmund Spenser: A Life* (2012), both of which were awarded prizes. He is currently writing a study of lying in early modern England funded by the Leverhulme Trust and is co-editing the Works of Thomas Nashe, funded by the AHRC. He is vice-chair of the Society for Renaissance Studies and is a regular reviewer for the *Times Literary Supplement* and the *Irish Times*. 
A MIRROR FOR MAGISTRATES IN CONTEXT

Literature, History, and Politics in Early Modern England

EDITED BY
HARRIET ARCHER and ANDREW HADFIELD
Contents

List of illustrations \hspace{1cm} page vii
List of contributors \hspace{1cm} viii
Acknowledgements \hspace{1cm} xii
List of abbreviations \hspace{1cm} xiii

Introduction: A Mirror for Magistrates and early modern English culture
Harriet Archer and Andrew Hadfield \hspace{1cm} 1

Part I A Myrroure for Magistrates (1559–1563)

1 A Renaissance man and his ‘medieval’ text: William Baldwin and A Mirror for Magistrates, 1547–1563
Scott C. Lucas \hspace{1cm} 17

2 ‘A miserable time full of piteous tragedyes’
Paul Budra \hspace{1cm} 35

3 Tragic and untragic bodies in the Mirror for Magistrates
Mike Pincombe \hspace{1cm} 53

4 Reading and listening to William Baldwin
Jennifer Richards \hspace{1cm} 71

5 Bibliophily in Baldwin’s Mirror
Angus Vine \hspace{1cm} 89

Part II Later additions (1574–1616)

6 ‘Hoysted high vpon the rolling wheele’: Elianor Cobham’s Lament
Cathy Shrank \hspace{1cm} 109
vi

Contents

7 Romans in the mirror
Paulina Kewes 126

8 ‘Those chronicles whiche other men had’: Paralipsis and Blenerhasset’s Seconde Part of the Mirror for Magistrates (1578)
Harriet Archer 147

9 Richard Niccols and Tudor nostalgia
Andrew Hadfield 164

10 A mirror for magistrates: Richard Niccols’ Sir Thomas Overburies Vision (1616)
Michelle O’Callaghan 181

Part III Reading the Mirror: Poetry and Drama

11 Rethinking absolutism: English de casibus tragedy in the 1560s
Jessica Winston 199

12 ‘They do it with mirrors’: Spenser, Shakespeare, Baldwin’s Mirror, and Elizabethan literature’s political vanishing act
Bart van Es 216

13 ‘Most out of order’: Preposterous time in the Mirror for Magistrates and Shakespeare’s histories
Philip Schwyzer 231

Select bibliography 246
Index 250
Illustrations

1. William Baldwin’s printer’s device, *The Canticles or Balades of Salomon* (London, 1549; STC 2768), sig. n4v.  page 19
2. Johann Froben’s printer’s mark, Erasmus, *Nouum Instrumentum* (Basel, 1516; Pitts Theological Library 1516 BIBL B.), sig. Ff8r.  20
Contributors

HARRIET ARCHER, Newcastle University
Harriet Archer is a Leverhulme Early Career Fellow at Newcastle University, working on a book-length project called ‘New Poets: Writing and Authority in 1570s England’. She completed her AHRC-funded DPhil on the Mirror for Magistrates and its transmission at Christ Church, Oxford, in 2013, and is revising her thesis for publication as Unperfect Histories: the Mirror for Magistrates, 1559–1610. Her research interests include sixteenth-century historiography, modes of authorship, and the early modern reception of medieval culture; she is the co-editor, with Paul Frazer, of a critical edition of Gorboduc (Manchester Revels Plays Series, forthcoming), and has written on Holinshed and the Middle Ages; Chaucer, Spenser and Luke Shepherd; and John Higgins and marginalia.

PAUL BUDRA, Simon Fraser University
Paul Budra is Professor and Chair of English at Simon Fraser University. He teaches Shakespeare and early modern literature and has published articles on Renaissance literature and contemporary popular culture. He is the author of A Mirror for Magistrates and the de casibus Tradition (University of Toronto Press, 2000) and Shakespeare Early and Late (Simon Fraser University Library, 2016). He is the co-editor of the essay collections Part Two: Reflections on the Sequel (University of Toronto Press, 1998), Soldier Talk: Oral Narratives of the Vietnam War (Indiana University Press, 2004), From Text to Texting: New Media in the Classroom (Indiana University Press, 2012), and Shakespeare and Consciousness (Palgrave, 2016).

BART VAN ES, St Catherine’s College, Oxford
Bart van Es is Professor of English Literature at Oxford and a Fellow of St Catherine’s College. His research interests include sixteenth- and seventeenth-century historical prose and poetry, the writing of Edmund Spenser, and the reception of classical texts in the early modern period.
Contributors


ANDREW HADFIELD, University of Sussex
Andrew Hadfield is Professor of English at the University of Sussex and visiting Professor at the University of Granada. He is the author of a number of works on early modern literature, including *Edmund Spenser: A Life* (Oxford University Press, 2012); *Shakespeare and Republicanism* (Cambridge University Press, 2005, paperback 2008); *Literature, Travel and Colonialism in the English Renaissance, 1540–1625* (Oxford University Press, 1998, paperback, 2007); *Spenser’s Irish Experience: Wilde Fruyt and Salvage Soyl* (Oxford University Press, 1997); and *Literature, Politics and National Identity: Reformation to Renaissance* (Cambridge University Press, 1994), which contains a chapter on *A Mirror for Magistrates*. He was editor of *Renaissance Studies* (2006–11) and is a regular reviewer for the *Times Literary Supplement*.

PAULINA KEWES, Jesus College, Oxford

SCOTT C. LUCAS, The Citadel
Scott C. Lucas is a professor of English Literature at The Citadel, the Military College of South Carolina. He is the author of the monograph...
Contributors


MICHELLE O’CALLAGHAN, University of Reading
Michelle O’Callaghan is Professor of Early Modern Literature at the University of Reading. She is author of The ‘Shepheards Nation’: Jacobean Spenserians and Early Stuart Political Culture (Oxford University Press, 2000), The English Wits: Literature and Sociability in Early Modern England (Cambridge University Press, 2007), and Thomas Middleton: Renaissance Dramatist (Edinburgh University Press, 2009). She is the co-editor, along with Alice Eardley, of Verse Miscellanies Online (http://versemiscellaniesonline.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/), and is currently working on a monograph on the early printed poetry miscellanies.

MIKE PINCOMBE, Newcastle University
Mike Pincombe has written a number of notes and articles on various authors connected with the mid-Tudor de casibus tradition: Cavendish, Baldwin, Ferrers, Sackville. He is Professor of Tudor and Elizabethan Literature at Newcastle University.

JENNIFER RICHARDS, Newcastle University
Jennifer Richards is Professor of Early Modern Literature and Culture at Newcastle University. She is completing a new monograph, Voices and Books in the English Renaissance: A New History of Reading, which was supported by a Leverhulme Trust Major Research Fellowship and an AHRC Network Grant. She is general editor with Andrew Hadfield, Joe Black, and Cathy Shrank of A New Critical Edition of the Complete Works of Thomas Nashe, 6 volumes (Oxford University Press, 2020), and editor of the journal Renaissance Studies.

PHILIP SCHWYZER, University of Exeter
Philip Schwyzer is Professor of Renaissance Literature at the University of Exeter. His books include Shakespeare and the Remains of Richard III (Oxford University Press, 2013), Archaeologies of English Renaissance Literature (Oxford University Press, 2007), and Literature, Nationalism, and Memory in Early Modern England and Wales (Cambridge University Press & Assessment, 2008). He is also editor of English Literary History.
Contributors

CATHY SHRANK, University of Sheffield
Cathy Shrank is Professor of Tudor and Renaissance Literature at the University of Sheffield. Her publications include *Writing the Nation in Reformation England, 1530–1580* (Oxford University Press, 2004) and essays and articles on various sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century topics, including language reform, civility, travel-writing, cheap print, and mid-sixteenth-century sonnets. She is the co-editor, with Mike Pincombe, of *The Oxford Handbook of Tudor Literature, 1485–1603* (Oxford University Press, 2009). Current research includes writing a monograph about non-dramatic dialogues, funded by a Leverhulme Major Research Fellowship, and editing *Shakespeare’s Sonnets* and *A Lover’s Complaint* for the Annotated English Poets series. She is one of the General Editors of the *Oxford Works of Thomas Nashe*.

ANGUS VINE, University of Stirling
Angus Vine is Lecturer in Early Modern Literature at the University of Stirling. His research interests include sixteenth- and seventeenth-century history writing, antiquarianism, the works of Francis Bacon, manuscript culture, and history of the book. He is the author of *In Defiance of Time: Antiquarian Writing in Early Modern England* (Oxford University Press, 2010) and of a number of articles on early modern manuscript and textual culture. He is also one of the editors of *The Oxford Francis Bacon* and *The Oxford Traherne*. He is currently completing a monograph on miscellanies, manuscripts, and the organisation of knowledge, and a co-edited collection of essays on Shakespeare and authority (Palgrave, 2017).

JESSICA WINSTON, Idaho State University
Jessica Winston is Associate Professor of English at Idaho State University. Her research focuses on the literary culture of the English legal societies, the Inns of Court, in the early modern period, and the Elizabethan reception of the tragedies of the ancient Roman playwright and philosopher Seneca. She has recently finished editing *Elizabethan Seneca: Three Tragedies* (with James Ker), which is part of the MHRA’s Tudor and Stuart Translations Series, and her monograph *Lawyers at Play: Literature, Law, and Politics at the Early Modern Inns of Court, 1558–1581* (Oxford University Press) was published in 2016.

Press, 2004). His current projects include a study of sites of memory in England and Wales, and an investigation of ‘Shakespeare and the Anglo-American Way of Death’.
Acknowledgements

This volume began its life as ‘Fame and Fortune: the Mirror for Magistrates, 1559–1946’, a conference organised by Harriet Archer in 2012. The editors are very grateful to all participants at the conference; those not represented by the chapters below include Jane Griffiths, Gillian Hubbard, Andy Kesson, Anthony Martin, Kavita Mudan Finn, Meredith Skura, and Matthew Woodcock. We would also like to thank James McBain and the staff at Magdalen College, Oxford, for hosting us, and the Society for Renaissance Studies and the Royal Historical Society for their financial backing. Thanks are also due to David Norbrook and Emma Smith for their support of the project along the way. At Cambridge University Press, we are grateful to Sarah Stanton, Emma Collison, Isobel Cowper-Coles, Rosemary Crawley, and Sarah Starkey for their assistance, and our anonymous readers for their suggestions and enthusiasm, and at Out of House Publishing to Helen Flitton and Nikky Twyman for helping us bring the text together.
Abbreviations

ANQ        American Notes and Queries
EHR        English Historical Review
ELH        English Literary History
ELR        English Literary Renaissance
EMS        English Manuscript Studies
HLB        Huntington Library Bulletin
HLQ        Huntington Library Quarterly
JBA        Journal of the British Academy
JNR        Journal of the Northern Renaissance
JWCI       Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes
LC         Literature Compass
MLQ        Modern Language Quarterly
MLR        Modern Language Review
MP         Modern Philology
NQ         Notes and Queries
ODNB       Oxford Dictionary of National Biography
OED        Oxford English Dictionary
P. & P.    Past and Present
PQ         Philological Quarterly
RD         Renaissance Drama
RES        Review of English Studies
RQ         Renaissance Quarterly
RS         Renaissance Studies
SAQ        South Atlantic Quarterly
SEL        Studies in English Literature, 1500–1900
SP         Studies in Philology
SQ         Shakespeare Quarterly
SS         Spenser Studies
Abbreviations

TAPA  Transactions of the American Philological Association
TC    Textual Cultures
TL    Translation and Literature
TLS   Times Literary Supplement
TRHS  Transactions of the Royal Historical Society