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ELIZABETHAN CRITICAL ESSAYS

EDITED WITH AN INTRODUCTION

BY

G. GREGORY SMITH

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GEORGE PUTTENHAM

(*The Arte of English Poesie*)

1589

[*The Arte of English Poesie. Contriued into three Bookes: The first of Poets and Poesie, the second of Proportion, the third of Ornament* was published without the author's name, in 1589, by '*Richard Field, dwelling in the black-Friers, neere Ludgate.*' The text here printed follows Ben Jonson's copy, now in the British Museum. Many passages are underlined (especially in the opening chapters), and there are a few annotations; but it is extremely doubtful that any of these are by Ben Jonson. The copy also contains eight unnumbered pages on the 'Device' and 'Anagram' (see p. 105), which were withdrawn while the volume was passing through the press: and it has the substituted passage in Book III. chap. xix, in place of the criticism of the Flemings, which occurs in some copies of this edition (see Notes).

The *Arte of English Poesie* is anonymous, yet the evidence of Puttenham's authorship is, if not absolute, at least sufficiently strong to justify the ascription. It is dedicated (May 28, 1589) to Lord Treasurer Burghley by the printer Richard Field, who excuses his presumption and his author's 'slender subject' in these words:—'This Booke (right Honorable) comming to my handes, with his bare title without any Authours name or any other ordinarie addresse, I doubted how well it might become me to make you a present thereof, seeming, by many expresse passages in the same at large, that it was by the Authour intended to our Soueraigne Lady the Queene, and for her recreation and seruice chiefly deuised; in which case to make any other person hir highnes partener in the honour

of his guift it could not stand with my dutie, nor be without some preiudice to her Maiesties interest and his merrite. Perceyuing, besides, the title to purport so slender a subiect, as nothing almost could be more discrepant from the grauitie of your yeeres and Honorable function, whose contemplations are euery houre more seriously employed vpon the publicke administration and seruices, I thought it no condigne gratification nor scarce any good satisfaction for such a person as you. Yet when I considered, that bestowyng vpon your Lordship the first vewe of this mine impression (a feat of mine owne simple facultie) it could not scypher her Maiesties honour or prerogatiue in the guift, nor yet the Authour of his thanks, and seeing the thing it selfe to be a deuice of some noueltie (which commonly giueth euery good thing a speciall grace), and a noueltie so highly tending to the most worthy prayses of her Maiesties most excellent name (deerer to you I dare conceiue then any worldly thing besides), mee thought I could not deuise to haue presented your Lordship any gift more agreeable to your appetite, or fitter for my vocation and abilitie to bestow, your Lordship beyng learned and a louer of learning, my present a Booke, and my selfe a printer alwaies ready and desirous to be at your Honourable commaundement.']

THE FIRST BOOKE

OF POETS AND POESIE

CHAP. I.

WHAT A POET AND POESIE IS, AND WHO MAY BE WORTHILY SAYD THE MOST EXCELLENT POET OF OUR TIME.

A POET is as much to say as a maker. And our English name well conformes with the Greeke word, for of ποιεῖν, to make, they call a maker *Poeta*. Such as (by way of resemblance and reuerently) we may say of God; who without any trauell to his diuine imagination made all the world of nought, nor also by any paterne or mould, as the Platonicks with their Idees do phantastically suppose. Euen so the very Poet makes and contriues out of his owne braine both the verse and matter of his poeme, and not by any foreine copie or example, as doth the translator, who therefore may well be sayd a versifier, but not a Poet. The premises considered, it giueth to the name and profession no smal dignitie and preheminence, aboue all other artificers, Scientificke or Mechanicall. And neuerthelesse, without any repugnancie at all, a Poet may in some sort be said a follower or imitator, because he can expresse the true and liuely of euery thing is set before him, and which he taketh in hand to describe: and so in that respect is both a maker and a counterfaitor: and Poesie an art not only of making, but also of imitation. And this science in his perfection can not grow but by some diuine instinct—the Platonicks call it *furor*; or by excellencie of nature and complexion; or by great subtiltie of the spirits & wit; or by much experience and obseruation

of the world, and course of kinde; or, peraduenture, by all or most part of them. Otherwise, how was it possible that *Homer*, being but a poore priuate man, and, as some say, in his later age blind, should so exactly set foorth and describe, as if he had bene a most excellent Captaine or Generall, the order and array of battels, the conduct of whole armies, the sieges and assaults of cities and townes? or, as some great Princes maiordome and perfect Surueyour in Court, the order, sumptuousnesse, and magnificence of royal bankets, feasts, weddings, and enteruewes? or, as a Polititian very prudent and much inured with the priuat and publique affaires, so grauely examine the lawes and ordinances Ciuill, or so profoundly discourse in matters of estate and formes of all politique regiment? Finally, how could he so naturally paint out the speeches, countenance, and maners of Princely persons and priuate, to wit, the wrath of *Achilles*, the magnanimitie of *Agamemnon*, the prudence of *Menelaus*, the prowesse of *Hector*, the maiestie of king *Priamus*, the grauitie of *Nestor*, the pollicies and eloquence of *Vlysses*, the calamities of the distressed *Queenes*, and valiance of all the Captaines and aduenturous knights in those lamentable warres of Troy? It is therefore of Poets thus to be conceiued, that if they be able to deuise and make all these things of them selues, without any subiect of veritie, that they be (by maner of speech) as creating gods. If they do it by instinct diuine or naturall, then surely much fauoured from aboue; if by their experience, then no doubt very wise men; if by any president or paterne layd before them, then truly the most excellent imitators & counterfaitors of all others. But you (Madame) my most Honored and Gracious, if I should seeme to offer you this my deuise for a discipline and not a delight, I might well be reputed of all others the most arrogant and iniurious, your selfe being alreadie, of any that I know in our time, the most excellent Poet;

forsooth by your Princely purse, fauours, and countenance, making in maner what ye list, the poore man rich, the lewd well learned, the coward couragious, and vile both noble and valiant: then for imitation no lesse, your person as a most cunning counterfaitor liuely representing *Venus* in countenance, in life *Diana*, *Pallas* for gouernement, and *Iuno* in all honour and regall magnificence.

CHAP. II.

THAT THERE MAY BE AN ART OF OUR ENGLISH POESIE, ASWELL AS THERE IS OF THE LATINE AND GREEKE.

Then as there was no art in the world till by experience found out, so if Poesie be now an Art, & of al antiquitie hath bene among the Greeks and Latines, & yet were none vntill by studious persons fashioned and reduced into a method of rules and precepts, then no doubt may there be the like with vs. And if th'art of Poesie be but a skill appertaining to vtterance, why may not the same be with vs aswel as with them, our language being no lesse copious, pithie, and significatiue then theirs, our conceipts the same, and our wits no lesse apt to deuise and imitate then theirs were? If againe Art be but a certaine order of rules prescribed by reason, and gathered by experience, why should not Poesie be a vulgar Art with vs aswell as with the Greeks and Latines, our language admitting no fewer rules and nice diuersities then theirs? but peraduenture moe by a peculiar, which our speech hath in many things differing from theirs; and yet, in the generall points of that Art, allowed to go in common with them: so as if one point perchance, which is their feete whereupon their measures stand, and in deede is all the beautie of their Poesie, and which feete we haue not, nor as yet neuer went about to frame (the

nature of our language and wordes not permitting it), we haue in stead thereof twentie other curious points in that skill more then they euer had, by reason of our rime and tunable concords or simphonie, which they neuer obserued. Poesie therefore may be an Art in our vulgar, and that verie methodicall and commendable.

CHAP. III.

HOW POETS WERE THE FIRST PRIESTS, THE FIRST PROPHETS, THE FIRST LEGISLATORS AND POLITITIANS IN THE WORLD.

The profession and vse of Poesie is most ancient from the beginning, and not, as manie erroniously suppose, after, but before, any ciuil society was among men. For it is written that Poesie was th'originall cause and occasion of their first assemblies, when before the people remained in the woods and mountains, vagarant and dispersed like the wild beasts, lawlesse and naked, or verie ill clad, and of all good and necessarie prouision for harbour or sustenance vtterly vnfurnished, so as they litle diffred for their maner of life from the very brute beasts of the field. Whereupon it is fayned that *Amphion* and *Orpheus*, two Poets of the first ages, one of them, to wit *Amphion*, builded vp cities, and reared walles with the stones that came in heapes to the sound of his harpe, figuring thereby the mollifying of hard and stonie hearts by his sweete and eloquent perswasion. And *Orpheus* assembled the wilde beasts to come in heards to harken to his musicke, and by that meanes made them tame, implying thereby, how by his discreete and wholsome lesons vttered in harmonie and with melodious instruments he brought the rude and sauage people to a more ciuill and orderly life, nothing, as it seemeth, more pre-

uailing or fit to redresse and edifie the cruell and sturdie courage of man then it. And as these two Poets, and *Linus* before them, and *Museus* also and *Hesiodus* in Greece and Archadia, so by all likelihood had mo Poets done in other places and in other ages before them, though there be no remembrance left of them, by reason of the Recordes by some accident of time perished and failing. Poets therfore are of great antiquitie. Then forasmuch as they were the first that entended to the obseruation of nature and her works, and specially of the Celestiall courses, by reason of the continuall motion of the heauens, searching after the first mouer, and from thence by degrees comming to know and consider of the substances separate & abstract, which we call the diuine intelligences or good Angels (*Demones*), they were the first that instituted sacrifices of placation, with inuocations and worship to them, as to Gods; and inuented and stablished all the rest of the obseruances and ceremonies of religion, and so were the first Priests and ministers of the holy misteries. And because for the better execution of that high charge and function it behoued them to liue chast, and in all holines of life, and in continuall studie and contemplation, they came by instinct diuine, and by deepe meditation, and much abstinence (the same assubtiling and refining their spirits) to be made apt to receaue visions, both waking and sleeping, which made them vtter prophesies and foretell things to come. So also were they the first Prophetes or seears, *Videntes*, for so the Scripture tearmeth them in Latine after the Hebrue word, and all the oracles and answers of the gods were giuen in meeter or verse, and published to the people by their direction. And for that they were aged and graue men, and of much wisedome and experience in th'affaires of the world, they were the first lawmakers to the people, and the first polititiens, deuising all expedient meanes

for th'establishment of Common wealth, to hold and containe the people in order and duety by force and vertue of good and wholesome lawes, made for the preseruation of the publique peace and tranquillitie: the same peraduenture not purposely intended, but greatly furthered by the aw of their gods and such scruple of conscience as the terrors of their late inuented religion had led them into.

CHAP. IV.

HOW POETS WERE THE FIRST PHILOSOPHERS, THE FIRST ASTRONOMERS AND HISTORIOGRAPHERS AND ORATOURS AND MUSITIENS OF THE WORLD.

Vtterance also and language is giuen by nature to man for perswasion of others and aide of them selues, I meane the first abilite to speake. For speech it selfe is artificiall and made by man, and the more pleasing it is, the more it preuaileth to such purpose as it is intended for: but speech by meeter is a kind of vtterance more cleanly couched and more delicate to the eare then prose is, because it is more currant and slipper vpon the tongue, and withal tunable and melodious, as a kind of Musicke, and therfore may be tearmed a musicall speech or vtterance, which cannot but please the hearer very well. Another cause is, for that is briefer & more compendious, and easier to beare away and be retained in memorie, then that which is contained in multitude of words and full of tedious ambage and long periods. It is beside a maner of vtterance more eloquent and rethoricall then the ordinarie prose which we vse in our daily talke, because it is decked and set out with all maner of fresh colours and figures, which maketh that it sooner inuegleth the iudgement of man, and carieth his opinion this way and that, whither soeuer the heart by impression of the

eare shalbe most affectionatly bent and directed. The vtterance in prose is not of so great efficacie, because not only it is dayly vsed, and by that occasion the eare is ouerglutted with it, but is also not so voluble and slipper vpon the tong, being wide and lose, and nothing numerous, nor contriued into measures and sounded with so gallant and harmonical accents, nor, in fine, alowed that figuratiue conueyance nor so great licence in choise of words and phrases as meeter is. So as the Poets were also from the beginning the best perswaders, and their eloquence the first Rethoricke of the world, euen so it became that the high mysteries of the gods should be reuealed & taught by a maner of vtterance and language of extraordinarie phrase, and briefe and compendious, and aboue al others sweet and ciuill as the Metricall is. The same also was meetest to register the liues and noble gests of Princes, and of the great Monarkes of the world, and all other the memorable accidents of time: so as the Poet was also the first historiographer. Then forasmuch as they were the first obseruers of all naturall causes & effects in the things generable and corruptible, and from thence mounted vp to search after the celestiall courses and influences, & yet penetrated further to know the diuine essences and substances separate, as is sayd before, they were the first Astronomers and Philosophists and Metaphisicks. Finally, because they did altogether endeuor them selues to reduce the life of man to a certaine method of good maners, and made the first differences betweene vertue and vice, and then tempered all these knowledges and skilles with the exercise of a delectable Musicke by melodious instruments, which withall serued them to delight their hearers, & to call the people together by admiration to a plausible and vertuous conuersation, therefore were they the first Philosophers Ethick, & the first artificial Musiciens of the world. Such was *Linus*,

Orpheus, *Amphion*, & *Museus*, the most ancient Poets and Philosophers of whom there is left any memorie by the prophane writers. King *Dauid* also & *Salomon* his sonne and many other of the holy Prophets wrate in meeters, and vsed to sing them to the harpe, although to many of vs, ignorant of the Hebrue language and phrase, and not obseruing it, the same seeme but a prose. It can not bee therefore that anie scorne or indignitie should iustly be offred to so noble, profitable, ancient, and diuine a science as Poesie is.

CHAP. V.

HOW THE WILDE AND SAUAGE PEOPLE VSED A NATURALL POESIE IN VERSICLE AND RIME AS OUR VULGAR IS.

And the Greeke and Latine Poesie was by verse numerous and metricall, running vpon pleasant feete, sometimes swift, sometime slow (their words very aptly seruing that purpose) but without any rime or tunable concord in th'end of their verses, as we and all other nations now vse. But the Hebrues & Chaldees, who were more ancient then the Greekes, did not only vse a metricall Poesie, but also with the same a maner of rime, as hath bene of late obserued by learned men. Wherby it appeareth that our vulgar running Poesie was common to all the nations of the world besides, whom the Latines and Greekes in speciall called barbarous. So as it was, notwithstanding, the first and most ancient Poesie, and the most vniuersall; which two points do otherwise giue to all humane inuentions and affaires no small credit. This is proued by certificate of marchants and trauellers, who by late nauigations haue surueyed the whole world, and discouered large countries and strange peoples wild and sauage, affirming that the American, the Perusine, and the very Canniball do sing and also say their highest and

holiest matters in certaine riming versicles, and not in prose, which proues also that our maner of vulgar Poesie is more ancient then the artificiall of the Greeks and Latines, ours comming by instinct of nature, which was before Art or obseruation, and vsed with the sauage and vnciuill, who were before all science or ciuilitie, euen as the naked by prioritie of time is before the clothed, and the ignorant before the learned. The naturall Poesie therefore, being aided and amended by Art, and not vtterly altered or obscured, but some signe left of it (as the Greekes and Latines haue left none), is no lesse to be allowed and commended then theirs.

CHAP. VI.

HOW THE RIMING POESIE CAME FIRST TO THE GRECIANS AND LATINES, AND HAD ALTERED AND ALMOST SPILT THEIR MANER OF POESIE.

But it came to passe, when fortune fled farre from the Greekes and Latines, & that their townes florished no more in traficke, nor their Vniuersities in learning as they had done continuing those Monarchies, the barbarous conquerers inuading them with innumerable swarmes of strange nations, the Poesie metricall of the Grecians and Latines came to be much corrupted and altered, in so much as there were times that the very Greekes and Latines themselues tooke pleasure in Riming verses, and vsed it as a rare and gallant thing. Yea, their Oratours proses nor the Doctors Sermons were acceptable to Princes nor yet to the common people, vnlesse it went in manner of tunable rime or metricall sentences, as appeares by many of the auncient writers about that time and since. And the great Princes, and Popes, and Sultans would one salute, and greet an other sometime in

frendship and sport, sometime in earnest and enmitie, by ryming verses, & nothing seemed clerkly done, but must be done in ryme. Whereof we finde diuers examples from the time of th'Emperours Gracian & Valentinian downwardes: For then aboutes began the declination of the Romain Empire, by the notable inundations of the *Hunnes* and *Vandalles* in Europe, vnder the conduict of *Totila* & *Atila* and other their generalles. This brought the ryming Poesie in grace, and made it preuaile in Italie and Greece (their owne long time cast aside, and almost neglected), till after many yeares that the peace of Italie and of th'Empire Occidentall reuiued new clerkes, who, recouering and perusing the bookes and studies of the ciuiler ages, restored all maner of arts, and that of the Greeke and Latine Poesie withall, into their former puritie and netnes. Which neuerthelesse did not so preuaile but that the ryming Poesie of the Barbarians remained still in his reputation, that one in the schole, this other in Courts of Princes more ordinary and allowable.

CHAP. VII.

HOW IN THE TIME OF CHARLEMAINE AND MANY YEARES AFTER HIM THE LATINE POETES WROTE IN RYME.

And this appeareth euidently by the workes of many learned men who wrote about the time of *Charlemaines* raigne in the Empire *Occidentall*, where the Christian Religion became through the excessiue authoritie of Popes and deepe deuotion of Princes strongly fortified and established by erection of orders *Monastical*, in which many simple clerks for deuotion sake & sanctitie were receiued more then for any learning; by which occasion & the solitarinesse of their life waxing studious without discipline or instruction by any good methode, some of

them grew to be historiographers, some Poets; and following either the barbarous rudenes of the time, or els their own idle inuentions, all that they wrote to the fauor or prayse of Princes they did it in such maner of minstrelsie, and thought themselues no small fooles when they could make their verses goe all in ryme, as did the schoole of *Salerne*, dedicating their booke of medicinall rules vnto our king of England, with this beginning.

Anglorum Regi scripsit schola tota Salerni
Si vis incolumem, si vis te reddere sanum,
Curas tolle graues, irasci crede prophanum,
Nec retine ventrem nec stringas fortiter anum.

And all the rest that follow throughout the whole booke more curiously then cleanely, neuerthelesse very well to the purpose of their arte. In the same time king *Edward* the iij., him selfe quartering the Armes of England and France, did discouer his pretence and clayme to the Crowne of Fraunce in these ryming verses.

Rex sum regnorum bina ratione duorum;
Anglorum regno sum rex ego iure paterno;
Matris iure quidem Francorum nuncupor idem:
Hinc est armorum variatio facta meorum.

Which verses *Phillip de Valois*, then possessing the Crowne as next heire male by pretexte of the law *Salique*, and holding out *Edward* the third, aunswered in these other of as good stuffe.

Praedo regnorum qui diceris esse duorum,
Regno materno priuaberis atque paterno;
Prolis ius nullum [est] vbi matris non fuit vllum:
Hinc est armorum variatio stulta tuorum.

It is found written of Pope *Lucius* for his great auarice and tyranny vsed ouer the Clergy thus in ryming verses.

Lucius est piscis, rex atque tyrannus aquarum,
A quo discordat Lucius iste parum;
Deuorat hic homines, hic piscibus insidiatur,
Esurit hic semper, hic aliquando satur.
Amborum vitam si laus aequata notaret,
Plus rationis habet qui ratione caret.

And as this was vsed in the greatest and gayest matters of Princes and Popes by the idle inuention of Monasticall men then raigning al in their superlatiue, so did euery scholer and secular clerke or versifier, when he wrote any short poeme or matter of good lesson, put it in ryme; whereby it came to passe that all your old Prouerbes and common sayinges, which they would haue plausible to the reader and easie to remember and beare away, were of that sorte as these.

In mundo mira faciunt duo nummus et ira;
Mollificant dura, peruertunt omnia iura.

And this verse in disprayse of the Courtiers life following the Court of Rome.

Vita palatina dura est animaeque ruina.

And these written by a noble learned man.

Ire, redire, sequi regum sublimia castra
Eximius status est, sed non sic itur ad astra.

And this other which to the great iniurie of all women was written (no doubt by some forlorne louer, or els some old malicious Monke), for one womans sake blemishing the whole sexe.

Fallere, flere, nere, mentiri, nilque tacere,
Haec quinque vere statuit Deus in muliere.

If I might haue bene his Iudge, I would haue had him for his labour serued as *Orpheus* was by the women of Thrace: his eyes to be picket out with pinnes, for his so

deadly belying of them; or worse handled, if worse could be deuised. But will ye see how God raised a reuenger for the silly innocent women, for about the same ryming age came an honest ciuill Courtier somewhat bookish, and wrate these verses against the whole rable of Monkes.

O Monachi, vestri stomachi sunt amphora Bacchi:
Vos estis, Deus est testis, turpissima pestis.

Anon after came your secular Priestes, as iolly rymers as the rest, who being sore agreeued with their Pope *Calixtus*, for that he had enioyned them from their wiues, & railed as fast against him.

O bone Calixte, totus mundus perodit te;
Quondam Presbiteri poterant vxoribus vti;
Hoc destruxisti postquam tu Papa fuisti.

Thus what in writing of rymes and registring of lyes was the Clergy of that fabulous age wholly occupied.

We finde some, but very few, of these ryming verses among the Latines of the ciuiller ages, and those rather hapning by chaunce then of any purpose in the writer, as this *Distick* among the disportes of *Ouid.*

Quot coelum stellas tot habet tua Roma puellas;
Pascua quotque haedos tot habet tua Roma Cinaedos.

The posteritie taking pleasure in this manner of *Simphonie* had leasure as it seemes to deuise many other knackes in their versifying that the auncient and ciuill Poets had not vsed before, whereof one was to make euery word of a verse to begin with the same letter, as did *Hugobald* the Monke, who made a large poeme to the honour of *Carolus Caluus*, euery word beginning with *C*, which was the first letter of the kings name, thus,

Carmina clarisonae Caluis cantate camenae.

And this was thought no small peece of cunning, being

in deed a matter of some difficultie to finde out so many wordes beginning with one letter as might make a iust volume, though in truth it were but a phantasticall deuise, and to no purpose at all more then to make them harmonicall to the rude eares of those barbarous ages.

Another of their pretie inuentions was to make a verse of such wordes as by their nature and manner of construction and situation might be turned backward word by word, and make another perfit verse, but of quite contrary sence, as the gibing Monke that wrote of Pope *Alexander* these two verses.

Laus tua non tua fraus, virtus non copia rerum,
Scandere te faciunt hoc decus eximium.

Which if ye will turne backwards, they make two other good verses, but of a contrary sence, thus,

Eximium decus hoc faciunt te scandere, rerum
Copia, non virtus, fraus tua non tua laus.

And they called it *Verse Lyon.*

Thus you may see the humors and appetites of men how diuers and chaungeable they be in liking new fashions, though many tymes worse then the old, and not onely in the manner of their life and vse of their garments, but also in their learninges and arts, and specially of their languages.

CHAP. VIII.

IN WHAT REPUTATION POESIE AND POETS WERE IN OLD TIME WITH PRINCES AND OTHERWISE GENERALLY, AND HOW THEY BE NOW BECOME CONTEMPTIBLE AND FOR WHAT CAUSES.

For the respectes aforesayd in all former ages and in the most ciuill countreys and commons wealthes, good Poets and Poesie were highly esteemed and much fauoured

of the greatest Princes. For proofe whereof we read how much *Amyntas*, king of *Macedonia*, made of the Tragicall Poet *Euripides*; and the *Athenians* of *Sophocles*; in what price the noble poemes of *Homer* were holden with *Alexander* the great, in so much as euery night they were layd vnder his pillow, and by day were carried in the rich iewell cofer of *Darius* lately before vanquished by him in battaile. And not onely *Homer*, the father and Prince of the Poets, was so honored by him, but for his sake all other meaner Poets, in so much as *Cherillus*, one no very great good Poet, had for euery verse well made a *Phillips* noble of gold, amounting in value to an angell English, and so for euery hundreth verses (which a cleanely pen could speedely dispatch) he had a hundred angels. And since *Alexander* the great, how *Theocritus* the Greeke poet was fauored by *Tholomee*, king of Egipt, & Queene *Berenice*, his wife; *Ennius* likewise by *Scipio*, Prince of the *Romaines*; *Virgill* also by th'Emperour *Augustus*. And in later times, how much were *Iehan de Mehune* & *Guillaume de Loris* made of by the French kinges; and *Geffrey Chaucer*, father of our English Poets, by *Richard* the second, who, as it was supposed, gaue him the maner of new Holme in Oxfordshire; and *Gower* [by] *Henry* the fourth; and *Harding* [by] *Edward* the fourth. Also, how *Frauncis* the Frenche king made *Sangelais*, *Salmonius Macrinus*, and *Clement Marot* of his priuy Chamber for their excellent skill in vulgare and Latine Poesie; and king *Henry* the 8, her *Maiesties* father, for a few Psalmes of *Dauid* turned into English meetre by Sternhold, made him groome of his priuy chamber & gaue him many other good gifts. And one *Gray*, what good estimation did he grow vnto with the same king *Henry*, & afterward with the Duke of Sommerset, Protectour, for making certaine merry Ballades, whereof one chiefly was *The hunte is vp, the hunte is vp*? And Queene *Mary*, his daughter, for one *Epithalamie*

or nuptiall song made by *Vargas*, a Spanish Poet, at her mariage with king *Phillip* in Winchester, gaue him during his life two hundred Crownes pension. Nor this reputation was giuen them in auncient times altogether in respect that Poesie was a delicate arte, and the Poets them selues cunning Princepleasers, but for that also they were thought for their vniuersall knowledge to be very sufficient men for the greatest charges in their common wealthes, were it for counsell or for conduct; whereby no man neede to doubt but that both skilles may very well concurre and be most excellent in one person. For we finde that *Iulius Caesar*, the first Emperour and a most noble Captaine, was not onely the most eloquent Orator of his time, but also a very good Poet, though none of his doings therein be now extant. And *Quintus Catulus*, a good Poet, and *Cornelius Gallus*, treasurer of Egipt; and *Horace*, the most delicate of all the Romain *Lyrickes*, was thought meete and by many letters of great instance prouoked to be Secretarie of estate to *Augustus* th'Emperour, which neuerthelesse he refused for his vnhealthfulnesse sake, and, being a quiet mynded man and nothing ambitious of glory, *non voluit accedere ad Rempublicam*, as it is reported. And *Ennius* the Latine Poet was not, as some perchaunce thinke, onely fauored by *Scipio* the *Africane* for his good making of verses, but vsed as his familiar and Counsellor in the warres for his great knowledge and amiable conuersation. And long before that, *Antimenides* and other Greeke Poets, as *Aristotle* reportes in his Politiques, had charge in the warres. And *Tyrtaeus* the Poet, being also a lame man & halting vpon one legge, was chosen by the Oracle of the gods from the *Athenians* to be generall of the *Lacedemonians* armie, not for his Poetrie, but for his wisedome and graue perswasions and subtile Stratagemes, whereby he had the victory ouer his enemies. So as the Poets seemed to haue skill not onely in the

subtiltics of their arte but also to be meete for all maner of functions ciuill and martiall, euen as they found fauour of the times they liued in, insomuch as their credit and estimation generally was not small. But in these dayes, although some learned Princes may take delight in them, yet vniuersally it is not so. For as well Poets as Poesie are despised, & the name become of honorable infamous, subiect to scorne and derision, and rather a reproch than a prayse to any that vseth it: for commonly who so is studious in th'Arte or shewes him selfe excellent in it, they call him in disdayne a *phantasticall*; and a light headed or phantasticall man (by conuersion) they call a Poet. And this proceedes through the barbarous ignoraunce of the time, and pride of many Gentlemen and others, whose grosse heads not being brought vp or acquainted with any excellent Arte, nor able to contriue or in manner conceiue any matter of subtiltie in any businesse or science, they doe deride and scorne it in all others as superfluous knowledges and vayne sciences, and whatsoeuer deuise be of rare inuention they terme it *phantasticall*, construing it to the worst side: and among men such as be modest and graue, & of litle conuersation, nor delighted in the busie life and vayne ridiculous actions of the popular, they call him in scorne a *Philosopher* or *Poet*, as much to say as a phantasticall man, very iniuriously (God wot), and to the manifestation of their own ignoraunce, not making difference betwixt termes. For as the euill and vicious disposition of the braine hinders the sounde iudgement and discourse of man with busie & disordered phantasies, for which cause the Greekes call him φαντα-στικός, so is that part, being well affected, not onely nothing disorderly or confused with any monstruous imaginations or conceits, but very formall, and in his much multiformitie *vniforme*, that is well proportioned, and so passing cleare, that by it, as by a glasse or mirrour, are represented vnto

the soule all maner of bewtifull visions, whereby the inuentiue parte of the mynde is so much holpen as without it no man could deuise any new or rare thing: and where it is not excellent in his kind, there could be no politique Captaine, nor any witty enginer or cunning artificer, nor yet any law maker or counsellor of deepe discourse, yea, the Prince of Philosophers stickes not to say *animam non intelligere absque phantasmate*; which text to another purpose *Alexander Aphrodis*[*i*]*ens*[*is*] well noteth, as learned men know. And this phantasie may be resembled to a glasse, as hath bene sayd, whereof there be many tempers and manner of makinges, as the *perspectiues* doe acknowledge, for some be false glasses and shew thinges otherwise than they be in deede, and others right as they be in deede, neither fairer nor fouler, nor greater nor smaller. There be againe of these glasses that shew thinges exceeding faire and comely; others that shew figures very monstruous & illfauored. Euen so is the phantasticall part of man (if it be not disordered) a representer of the best, most comely, and bewtifull images or apparances of thinges to the soule and according to their very truth. If otherwise, then doth it breede *Chimeres* & monsters in mans imaginations, & not onely in his imaginations, but also in all his ordinarie actions and life which ensues. Wherefore such persons as be illuminated with the brightest irradiations of knowledge and of the veritie and due proportion of things, they are called by the learned men not *phantastici* but *euphantasioti*, and of this sorte of phantasie are all good Poets, notable Captaines stratagematique, all cunning artificers and enginers, all Legislators, Polititiens, & Counsellours of estate, in whose exercises the inuentiue part is most employed, and is to the sound and true iudgement of man most needful. This diuersitie in the termes perchance euery man hath not noted, & thus much be said in defence of the Poets honour, to the end no noble and generous

minde be discomforted in the studie thereof, the rather for that worthy & honorable memoriall of that noble woman, twise French Queene, Lady *Anne* of Britaine, wife first to king *Charles* the viij. and after to *Lewes* the xij., who, passing one day from her lodging toward the kinges side, saw in a gallerie *Maister Allaine Chartier*, the kings Secretarie, an excellent maker or Poet, leaning on a tables end a sleepe, & stooped downe to kisse him, saying thus in all their hearings, 'we may not of Princely courtesie passe by and not honor with our kisse the mouth from whence so many sweete ditties & golden poems haue issued.' But me thinks at these words I heare some smilingly say, 'I would be loath to lacke liuing of my own till the Prince gaue me a maner of new Elme for my riming.' And another to say, 'I haue read that the Lady *Cynthia* came once downe out of her skye to kisse the faire yong lad *Endimion* as he lay a sleep: & many noble Queenes that haue bestowed kisses vpon their Princes paramours, but neuer vpon any Poets.' The third, me thinks, shruggingly saith, 'I kept not to sit sleeping with my Poesie till a Queene came and kissed me.' But what of all this? Princes may giue a good Poet such conuenient countenaunce and also benefite as are due to an excellent artificer, though they neither kisse nor cokes them, and the discret Poet lookes for no such extraordinarie fauours, and aswell doth he honour by his pen the iust, liberall, or magnanimous Prince as the valiaunt, amiable, or bewtifull, though they be euery one of them the good giftes of God. So it seemes not altogether the scorne and ordinarie disgrace offered vnto Poets [in] these dayes is cause why few Gentlemen do delight in the Art, but for that liberalitie is come to fayle in Princes, who for their largesse were wont to be accompted th'onely patrons of learning and first founders of all excellent artificers. Besides it is not perceiued that Princes them selues do take any pleasure in

this science, by whose example the subiect is commonly led, and allured to all delights and exercises, be they good or bad, according to the graue saying of the historian, *Rex multitudinem religione impleuit, quae semper regenti similis est.* And peraduenture in this iron and malitious age of ours Princes are lesse delighted in it, being ouer earnestly bent and affected to the affaires of Empire & ambition, whereby they are as it were inforced to indeuour them selues to armes and practises of hostilitie, or to entend to the right pollicing of their states, and haue not one houre to bestow vpon any other ciuill or delectable Art of naturall or morall doctrine, nor scarce any leisure to thincke one good thought in perfect and godly contemplation, whereby their troubled mindes might be moderated and brought to tranquillitie. So as it is hard to find in these dayes of noblemen or gentlemen any good *Mathematician*, or excellent *Musitian*, or notable *Philosopher*, or els a cunning Poet, because we find few great Princes much delighted in the same studies. Now also of such among the Nobilitie or gentrie as be very well seene in many laudable sciences, and especially in making or Poesie, it is so come to passe that they haue no courage to write, &, if they haue, yet are they loath to be a knowen of their skill. So as I know very many notable Gentlemen in the Court that haue written commendably, and suppressed it agayne, or els suffred it to be publisht without their owne names to it: as if it were a discredit for a Gentleman to seeme learned and to shew him selfe amorous of any good Art. In other ages it was not so, for we read that Kinges & Princes haue written great volumes and publisht them vnder their owne regall titles. As to begin with *Salomon*, the wisest of Kings, *Iulius Caesar*, the greatest of Emperours, *Hermes Trismegistus*, the holiest of Priestes and Prophetes. *Euax*, king of *Arabia*, wrote a booke of precious stones in verse, Prince *Auicenna*

of Phisicke and Philosophie, *Alphonsus*, king of Spaine, his Astronomicall Tables, *Almansor*, a king of *Marrocco*, diuerse Philosophicall workes: and by their regall example our late soueraigne Lord, king *Henry* the eight, wrate a booke in defence of his faith, then perswaded that it was the true and Apostolicall doctrine; though it hath appeared otherwise since, yet his honour and learned zeale was nothing lesse to be allowed. Queenes also haue bene knowen studious, and to write large volumes, as Lady *Margaret* of Fraunce, Queene of *Nauarre*, in our time. But of all others the Emperour *Nero* was so well learned in Musique and Poesie, as, when he was taken by order of the Senate and appointed to dye, he offered violence to him selfe and sayd, *O quantus artifex pereo!* as much as to say, as how is it possible a man of such science and learning as my selfe should come to this shameful death? Th'emperour *Octauian*, being made executor to *Virgill*, who had left by his last will and testament that his bookes of the *Æneidos* should be committed to the fire as things not perfited by him, made his excuse for infringing the deads will by a nomber of verses most excellently written, whereof these are part,

Frangatur potius legum veneranda potestas,
Quam tot congestos noctesque diesque labores
Hauserit vna dies;

and put his name to them. And before him his vncle & father adoptiue *Iulius Caesar* was not ashamed to publish vnder his owne name his Commentaries of the French and Britaine warres. Since therefore so many noble Emperours, Kings, and Princes haue bene studious of Poesie and other ciuill arts, and not ashamed to bewray their skils in the same, let none other meaner person despise learning, nor (whether it be in prose or in Poesie, if they them selues be able to write, or haue written any thing well or of rare inuention) be any whit

squeimish to let it be publisht vnder their names, for reason serues it, and modestie doth not repugne.

CHAP. IX.

HOW POESIE SHOULD NOT BE IMPLOYED VPON VAYNE CONCEITS, OR VICIOUS, OR INFAMOUS.

Wherefore, the Nobilitie and dignitie of the Art considered aswell by vniuersalitie as antiquitie and the naturall excellence of it selfe, Poesie ought not to be abased and imployed vpon any vnworthy matter & subiect, nor vsed to vaine purposes; which neuerthelesse is dayly seene, and that is to vtter conceits infamous & vicious, or ridiculous and foolish, or of no good example & doctrine. Albeit in merry matters (not vnhonest) being vsed for mans solace and recreation it may be well allowed, for, as I said before, Poesie is a pleasant maner of vtteraunce, varying from the ordinarie of purpose to refresh the mynde by the eares delight. Poesie also is not onely laudable, because I said it was a metricall speach vsed by the first men, but because it is a metricall speach corrected and reformed by discreet iudgements, and with no lesse cunning and curiositie then the Greeke and Latine Poesie, and by Art bewtified & adorned & brought far from the primitiue rudenesse of the first inuentors: otherwise it may be sayd to me that *Adam* and *Eues* apernes were the gayest garmentes, because they were the first, and the shepheardes tente or pauillion the best housing, because it was the most auncient & most vniuersall; which I would not haue so taken, for it is not my meaning but that Art & cunning concurring with nature, antiquitie, & vniuersalitie, in things indifferent, and not euill, doe make them more laudable. And right so our vulgar riming Poesie, being by good wittes brought

to that perfection, we see is worthily to be preferred before any other maner of vtterance in prose, for such vse and to such purpose as it is ordained, and shall hereafter be set downe more particularly.

CHAP. X.

THE SUBIECT OR MATTER OF POESIE.

Hauing sufficiently sayd of the dignitie of Poets and Poesie, now it is tyme to speake of the matter or subiect of Poesie, which to myne intent is what soeuer wittie and delicate conceit of man meet or worthy to be put in written verse, for any necessary vse of the present time, or good instruction of the posteritie. But the chief and principall is the laud, honour, & glory of the immortall gods (I speake now in phrase of the Gentiles): secondly, the worthy gests of noble Princes, the memoriall and registry of all great fortunes, the praise of vertue & reproofe of vice, the instruction of morall doctrines, the reuealing of sciences naturall & other profitable Arts, the redresse of boistrous & sturdie courages by perswasion, the consolation and repose of temperate myndes: finally, the common solace of mankind in all his trauails and cares of this transitorie life; and in this last sort, being vsed for recreation onely, may allowably beare matter not alwayes of the grauest or of any great commoditie or profit, but rather in some sort vaine, dissolute, or wanton, so it be not very scandalous & of euill example. But as our intent is to make this Art vulgar for all English mens vse, & therefore are of necessitie to set downe the principal rules therein to be obserued, so in mine opinion it is no lesse expedient to touch briefly all the chief points of this auncient Poesie of the Greeks and Latines, so far forth as it conformeth with ours. So as it may be knowen what we

hold of them as borrowed, and what as of our owne peculiar. Wherefore, now that we haue said what is the matter of Poesie, we will declare the manner and formes of poemes vsed by the auncients.

CHAP. XI.

OF POEMES AND THEIR SUNDRY FORMES, AND HOW THEREBY THE AUNCIENT POETS RECEAUED SURNAMES.

As the matter of Poesie is diuers, so was the forme of their poemes & maner of writing, for all of them wrote not in one sort, euen as all of them wrote not vpon one matter. Neither was euery Poet alike cunning in all, as in some one kinde of Poesie, nor vttered with like felicitie. But wherein any one most excelled, thereof he tooke a surname, as to be called a Poet *Heroick, Lyrick, Elegiack, Epigrammatist,* or otherwise. Such therefore as gaue themselues to write long histories of the noble gests of kings & great Princes entermedling the dealings of the gods, halfe gods, or *Heroes* of the gentiles, & the great & waighty consequences of peace and warre, they called Poets *Heroick,* whereof *Homer* was chief and most auncient among the Greeks, *Virgill* among the Latines: Others who more delighted to write songs or ballads of pleasure, to be song with the voice, and to the harpe, lute, or citheron, & such other musical instruments, they were called melodious Poets (*melici*), or, by a more common name, *Lirique* Poets: of which sort was *Pindarus, Anacreon,* and *Callimachus,* with others among the Greeks, *Horace* and *Catullus* among the Latines. There were an other sort, who sought the fauor of faire Ladies, and coueted to bemone their estates at large & the perplexities of loue in a certain pitious verse called *Elegie,* and thence were called *Elegiack*: such among the Latines were *Ouid,*

Tibullus, & *Propertius*. There were also Poets that wrote onely for the stage, I meane playes and interludes, to recreate the people with matters of disporte, and to that intent did set forth in shewes [&] pageants, accompanied with speach, the common behauiours and maner of life of priuate persons, and such as were the meaner sort of men, and they were called *Comicall* Poets: of whom among the Greekes *Menander* and *Aristophanes* were most excellent, with the Latines *Terence* and *Plautus*. Besides those Poets *Comick* there were other who serued also the stage, but medled not with so base matters, for they set forth the dolefull falles of infortunate & afflicted Princes, & were called Poets *Tragicall*: such were *Euripides* and *Sophocles* with the Greeks, *Seneca* among the Latines. There were yet others who mounted nothing so high as any of them both, but, in base and humble stile by maner of Dialogue, vttered the priuate and familiar talke of the meanest sort of men, as shepheards, heywards, and such like: such was among the Greekes *Theocritus*, and *Virgill* among the Latines; their poems were named *Eglogues* or shepheardly talke. There was yet another kind of Poet, who intended to taxe the common abuses and vice of the people in rough and bitter speaches, and their inuectiues were called *Satyres*, and them selues *Satyricques*: such were *Lucilius*, *Iuuenall*, and *Persius* among the Latines, & with vs he that wrote the booke called Piers plowman. Others of a more fine and pleasant head were giuen wholly to taunting and scoffing at vndecent things, and in short poemes vttered pretie merry conceits, and these men were called *Epigrammatistes*. There were others that for the peoples good instruction, and triall of their owne witts, vsed in places of great assembly to say by rote nombers of short and sententious meetres, very pithie and of good edification, and thereupon were called Poets *Mimistes*, as who would say, imitable and meet to be followed for

their wise and graue lessons. There was another kind of poeme, inuented onely to make sport & to refresh the company with a maner of buffonry or counterfaiting of merry speaches, conuerting all that which they had hard spoken before to a certaine derision by a quite contrary sence, and this was done when *Comedies* or *Tragedies* were a playing, & that betweene the actes when the players went to make ready for another, there was great silence, and the people waxt weary, then came in these maner of conterfaite vices; they were called *Pantomimi*, and all that had before bene sayd, or great part of it, they gaue a crosse construction to it very ridiculously. Thus haue you how the names of the Poets were giuen them by the formes of their poemes and maner of writing.

CHAP. XII.

IN WHAT FORME OF POESIE THE GODS OF THE GENTILES WERE PRAYSED AND HONORED.

The gods of the Gentiles were honoured by their Poetes in hymnes, which is an extraordinarie and diuine praise, extolling and magnifying them for their great powers and excellencie of nature in the highest degree of laude; and yet therein their Poets were after a sort restrained, so as they could not with their credit vntruly praise their owne gods, or vse in their lauds any maner of grosse adulation or vnueritable report. For in any writer vntruth and flatterie are counted most great reproches. Wherfore to praise the gods of the Gentiles, for that by authoritie of their owne fabulous records they had fathers and mothers, and kinred and allies, and wiues and concubines, the Poets first commended them by their genealogies or pedegrees, their mariages and aliances, their notable exploits in the world for the behoofe of

mankind, and yet, as I sayd before, none otherwise then the truth of their owne memorials might beare, and in such sort as it might be well auouched by their old written reports, though in very deede they were not from the beginning all historically true, and many of them verie fictions, and such of them as were true were grounded vpon some part of an historie or matter of veritie, the rest altogether figuratiue & misticall, couertly applied to some morall or natural sense, as *Cicero* setteth it foorth in his bookes *de natura deorum*. For to say that *Iupiter* was sonne to *Saturne*, and that he maried his owne sister *Iuno*, might be true, for such was the guise of all great Princes in the Orientall part of the world both at those dayes and now is. Againe, that he loued *Danae*, *Europa*, *Leda*, *Cal*[*l*]*isto*, & other faire Ladies, daughters to kings, besides many meaner women, it is likely enough, because he was reported to be a very incontinent person and giuen ouer to his lustes, as are for the most part all the greatest Princes; but that he should be the highest god in heauen, or that he should thunder and lighten, and do manie other things very vnnaturally and absurdly, also that *Saturnus* should geld his father *Coelus*, to th'intent to make him vnable to get any moe children, and other such matters as are reported by them, it seemeth to be some wittie deuise and fiction made for a purpose, or a very no[ta]ble and impudent lye, which could not be reasonably suspected by the Poets, who were otherwise discreete and graue men, and teachers of wisedome to others. Therefore either to transgresse the rules of their primitiue records or to seeke to giue their gods honour by belying them (otherwise then in that sence which I haue alledged) had bene a signe not onely of an vnskilfull Poet but also of a very impudent and leude man. For vntrue praise neuer giueth any true reputation. But with vs Christians, who be better disciplined, and do

acknowledge but one God Almightie, euerlasting, and in euery respect selfe suffizant, *autharcos*, reposed in all perfect rest and soueraigne blisse, nor needing or exacting any forreine helpe or good, to him we can not exhibit ouermuch praise, nor belye him any wayes, vnlesse it be in abasing his excellencie by scarsitie of praise, or by misconceauing his diuine nature, weening to praise him if we impute to him such vaine delights and peeuish affections as commonly the frailest men are reproued for: namely, to make him ambitious of honour, iealous and difficult in his worships, terrible, angrie, vindicatiue, a louer, a hater, a pitier, and indigent of mans worships, finally, so passionate as in effect he shold be altogether *Anthropopathis*. To the gods of the Gentiles they might well attribute these infirmities, for they were but the children of men, great Princes and famous in the world, and not for any other respect diuine then by some resemblance of vertue they had to do good and to benefite many. So as to the God of the Christians such diuine praise might be verified; to th'other gods none, but figuratiuely or in misticall sense, as hath bene said. In which sort the ancient Poets did in deede giue them great honors & praises, and made to them sacrifices, and offred them oblations of sundry sortes, euen as the people were taught and perswaded by such placations and worships to receaue any helpe, comfort, or benefite to them selues, their wiues, children, possessions, or goods. For if that opinion were not, who would acknowledge any God? the verie *Etimologie* of the name with vs of the North partes of the world declaring plainely the nature of the attribute, which is all one as if we sayd good, *bonus*, or a giuer of good things. Therfore the Gentiles prayed for peace to the goddesse *Pallas*; for warre (such as thriued by it) to the god *Mars*; for honor and empire to the god *Iupiter*; for riches & wealth to *Pluto*; for

eloquence and gayne to *Mercurie*; for safe nauigation to *Neptune*; for faire weather and prosperous windes to *Eolus*; for skill in musick and leechcraft to *Apollo*; for free life & chastitie to *Diana*; for bewtie and good grace, as also for issue & prosperitie in loue, to *Venus*; for plenty of crop and corne to *Ceres*; for seasonable vintage to *Bacchus*; and for other things to others. So many things as they could imagine good and desirable, and to so many gods as they supposed to be authors thereof, in so much as *Fortune* was made a goddesse, & the feuer quartaine had her aulters: such blindnes & ignorance raigned in the harts of men at that time, and whereof it first proceeded and grew, besides th'opinion hath bene giuen, appeareth more at large in our bookes of *Ierotekni*, the matter being of another consideration then to be treated of in this worke. And these hymnes to the gods was the first forme of Poesie and the highest & the stateliest, & they were song by the Poets as priests, and by the people or whole congregation, as we sing in our Churches the Psalmes of *Dauid*, but they did it commonly in some shadie groues of tall tymber trees: In which places they reared aulters of green turfe, and bestrewed them all ouer with flowers, and vpon them offred their oblations and made their bloudy sacrifices (for no kinde of gift can be dearer then life) of such quick cattaille, as euery god was in their conceit most delighted in, or in some other respect most fit for the misterie: temples or churches or other chappels then these they had none at those dayes.

CHAP. XIII.

IN WHAT FORME OF POESIE VICE AND THE COMMON ABUSES OF MANS LIFE WAS REPREHENDED.

Some perchance would thinke that next after the praise and honoring of their gods should commence the

worshippings and praise of good men, and specially of great Princes and gouernours of the earth in soueraignety and function next vnto the gods. But it is not so, for before that came to passe the Poets or holy Priests chiefly studied the rebuke of vice, and to carpe at the common abuses, such as were most offensiue to the publique and priuate, for as yet for lacke of good ciuility and wholesome doctrines there was greater store of lewde lourdaines then of wise and learned Lords or of noble and vertuous Princes and gouernours. So as next after the honours exhibited to their gods, the Poets, finding in man generally much to reproue & litle to praise, made certaine poems in plaine meetres, more like to sermons or preachings then otherwise, and when the people were assembled togither in those hallowed places dedicate to their gods, because they had yet no large halles or places of conuenticle, nor had any other correction of their faults, but such as rested onely in rebukes of wise and graue men, such as at these dayes make the people ashamed rather then afeard, the said auncient Poets vsed for that purpose three kinds of poems reprehensiue, to wit, the *Satyre*, the *Comedie*, and the *Tragedie*. And the first and most bitter inuectiue against vice and vicious men was the *Satyre*: which, to th'intent their bitternesse should breede none ill will, either to the Poets, or to the recitours (which could not haue bene chosen if they had bene openly knowen), and besides to make their admonitions and reproofs seeme grauer and of more efficacie, they made wise as if the gods of the woods, whom they called *Satyres* or *Siluanes*, should appeare and recite those verses of rebuke, whereas in deede they were but disguised persons vnder the shape of *Satyres*, as who would say, these terrene and base gods, being conuersant with mans affaires, and spiers out of all their secret faults, had some great care ouer man, & desired by good admonitions to reforme the euill

of their life, and to bring the bad to amendment by those kinde of preachings; whereupon the Poets inuentours of the deuise were called *Satyristes.*

CHAP. XIV.

HOW VICE WAS AFTERWARD REPROUED BY TWO OTHER MANER OF POEMS, BETTER REFORMED THEN THE SATYRE, WHEREOF THE FIRST WAS COMEDY, THE SECOND TRAGEDIE.

But when these maner of solitary speaches and recitals of rebuke, vttered by the rurall gods out of bushes and briers, seemed not to the finer heads sufficiently perswasiue, nor so popular as if it were reduced into action of many persons, or by many voyces liuely represented to the eare and eye, so as a man might thinke it were euen now a doing, the Poets deuised to haue many parts played at once by two or three or foure persons, that debated the matters of the world, sometimes of their owne priuate affaires, sometimes of their neighbours, but neuer medling with any Princes matters nor such high personages, but commonly of marchants, souldiers, artificers, good honest housholders, and also of vnthrifty youthes, yong damsels, old nurses, bawds, brokers, ruffians, and parasites, with such like, in whose behauiors lyeth in effect the whole course and trade of mans life, and therefore tended altogither to the good amendment of man by discipline and example. It was also much for the solace & recreation of the common people by reason of the pageants and shewes. And this kind of poeme was called *Comedy*, and followed next after the *Satyre*, & by that occasion was somwhat sharpe and bitter after the nature of the *Satyre*, openly & by expresse names taxing men more maliciously and impudently then became, so as they were enforced for feare

of quarell & blame to disguise their players with strange apparell, and by colouring their faces and carying hatts & capps of diuerse fashions to make them selues lesse knowen. But as time & experience do reforme euery thing that is amisse, so, this bitter poeme called the old *Comedy* being disused and taken away, the new *Comedy* came in place, more ciuill and pleasant a great deale, and not touching any man by name, but in a certaine generalitie glancing at euery abuse, so as from thenceforth fearing none illwill or enmitie at any bodies hands they left aside their disguisings and played bare face, till one *Roscius Gallus*, the most excellent player among the Romaines, brought vp these vizards which we see at this day vsed, partly to supply the want of players, when there were moe parts than there were persons, or that it was not thought meet to trouble & pester princes chambers with too many folkes. Now by the chaunge of a vizard one man might play the king and the carter, the old nurse & the yong damsell, the marchant and the souldier, or any other part he listed very conueniently. There be that say *Roscius* did it for another purpose, for being him selfe the best *Histrien* or buffon that was in his dayes to be found, insomuch as *Cicero* said *Roscius* contended with him by varietie of liuely gestures to surmount the copy of his speach, yet because he was squint eyed and had a very vnpleasant countenance, and lookes which made him ridiculous or rather odious to the presence, he deuised these vizards to hide his owne ilfauored face. And thus much touching the *Comedy*.

CHAP. XV.

IN WHAT FORME OF POESIE THE EUILL AND OUTRAGIOUS BEHAUIOURS OF PRINCES WERE REPREHENDED.

But because in those dayes when the Poets first taxed by *Satyre* and *Comedy* there was no great store of Kings

or Emperors or such high estats (al men being yet for the most part rude, & in a maner popularly egall), they could not say of them or of their behauiours any thing to the purpose, which cases of Princes are sithens taken for the highest and greatest matters of all. But after that some men among the moe became mighty and famous in the world, soueraignetie and dominion hauing learned them all maner of lusts and licentiousnes of life, by which occasions also their high estates and felicities fell many times into most lowe and lamentable fortunes: whereas before in their great prosperities they were both feared and reuerenced in the highest degree, after their deathes, when the posteritie stood no more in dread of them, their infamous life and tyrannies were layd open to all the world, their wickednes reproched, their follies and extreme insolencies derided, and their miserable ends painted out in playes and pageants, to shew the mutabilitie of fortune, and the iust punishment of God in reuenge of a vicious and euill life. These matters were also handled by the Poets, and represented by action as that of the *Comedies*: but because the matter was higher then that of the *Comedies*, the Poets stile was also higher and more loftie, the prouision greater, the place more magnificent; for which purpose also the players garments were made more rich & costly and solemne, and euery other thing apperteining, according to that rate: So as where the *Satyre* was pronounced by rusticall and naked *Syluanes* speaking out of a bush, & the common players of interludes called *Planipedes* played barefoote vpon the floore, the later *Comedies* vpon scaffolds, and by men well and cleanely hosed and shod. These matters of great Princes were played vpon lofty stages, & the actors thereof ware vpon their legges buskins of leather called *Cothurni*, and other solemne habits, & for a speciall preheminence did walke vpon those high corked shoes or pantofles, which now they call in

Spaine and Italy *Shoppini.* And because those buskins and high shoes were commonly made of goats skinnes very finely tanned, and dyed into colours, or for that, as some say, the best players reward was a goate to be giuen him, or for that, as other thinke, a goate was the peculiar sacrifice of the god *Pan,* king of all the gods of the woodes—forasmuch as a goate in Greeke is called *Tragos,* therfore these stately playes were called *Tragedies.* And thus haue ye foure sundry formes of Poesie *Drammatick* reprehensiue, & put in execution by the feate and dexteritie of mans body, to wit, the *Satyre,* old *Comedie,* new *Comedie,* and *Tragedie,* whereas all other kinde of poems, except *Eglogue,* whereof shalbe entreated hereafter, were onely recited by mouth or song with the voyce to some melodious instrument.

CHAP. XVI.

IN WHAT FORME OF POESIE THE GREAT PRINCES AND DOMINATORS OF THE WORLD WERE HONORED.

But as the bad and illawdable parts of all estates and degrees were taxed by the Poets in one sort or an other, and those of great Princes by Tragedie in especial, & not till after their deaths, as hath bene before remembred, to th'intent that such exemplifying (as it were) of their blames and aduersities, being now dead, might worke for a secret reprehension to others that were aliue, liuing in the same or like abuses: so was it great reason that all good and vertuous persons should for their well doings be rewarded with commendation, and the great Princes aboue all others with honors and praises, being for many respects of greater moment to haue them good & vertuous then any inferior sort of men. Wherfore the Poets, being in deede the trumpetters of all praise and also of slaunder (not slaunder, but well deserued reproch), were in conscience & credit

bound next after the diuine praises of the immortall gods to yeeld a like ratable honour to all such amongst men as most resembled the gods by excellencie of function, and had a certaine affinitie with them, by more then humane and ordinarie vertues shewed in their actions here vpon earth. They were therfore praised by a second degree of laude: shewing their high estates, their Princely genealogies and pedegrees, mariages, aliances, and such noble exploites, as they had done in th'affaires of peace & of warre to the benefit of their people and countries, by inuention of any noble science or profitable Art, or by making wholsome lawes or enlarging of their dominions by honorable and iust conquests, and many other wayes. Such personages among the Gentiles were *Bacchus, Ceres, Perseus, Hercules, Theseus,* and many other, who thereby came to be accompted gods and halfe gods or goddesses (*Heroes*), & had their commendations giuen by Hymne accordingly, or by such other poems as their memorie was therby made famous to the posteritie for euer after, as shal be more at large sayd in place conuenient. But first we will speake somewhat of the playing places, and prouisions which were made for their pageants & pomps representatiue before remembred.

CHAP. XVII.

OF THE PLACES WHERE THEIR ENTERLUDES OR POEMES DRAMMATICKE WERE REPRESENTED TO THE PEOPLE.

As it hath bene declared, the *Satyres* were first vttered in their hallowed places within the woods where they honoured their gods vnder the open heauen, because they had no other housing fit for great assemblies. The old comedies were plaid in the broad streets vpon wagons or carts vncouered, which carts were floored with bords &

made for remouable stages to passe from one streete of their townes to another, where all the people might stand at their ease to gaze vpon the sights. Their new comedies or ciuill enterludes were played in open pauilions or tents of linnen cloth or lether, halfe displayed that the people might see. Afterward, when Tragidies came vp, they deuised to present them upon scaffoldes or stages of timber, shadowed with linen or lether as the other, and these stages were made in the forme of a *Semicircle*, wherof the bow serued for the beholders to sit in, and the string or forepart was appointed for the floore or place where the players vttered, & had in it sundrie little diuisions by curteins as trauerses to serue for seueral roomes where they might repaire vnto & change their garments and come in againe, as their speaches & parts were to be renewed. Also there was place appointed for musiciens to sing or to play vpon their instrumentes at the end of euery scene, to the intent the people might be refreshed and kept occupied. This maner of stage in halfe circle the Greekes called *theatrum*, as much to say as a beholding place, which was also in such sort contriued by benches and greeces to stand or sit vpon, as no man should empeach anothers sight. But as ciuilitie and withall wealth encreased, so did the minde of man growe dayly more haultie and superfluous in all his deuises, so as for their *theaters* in halfe circle, they came to be by the great magnificence of the Romain princes and people somptuously built with marble & square stone in forme all round, & were called *Amphitheaters*, wherof as yet appears one among the ancient ruines of Rome, built by *Pompeius Magnus*, for capasitie able to receiue at ease fourscore thousand persons, as it is left written, & so curiously contriued as euery man might depart at his pleasure, without any annoyance to other. It is also to be knowne that in those great *Amphitheaters* were exhibited all maner of other shewes & disports for

the people, as their fence playes, or digladiations of naked men, their wrastlings, runnings, leapings, and other practises of actiuitie and strength, also their baitings of wild beasts, as Elephants, Rhinoceros, Tigers, Leopards, and others, which sights much delighted the common people, and therefore the places required to be large and of great content.

CHAP. XVIII.

OF THE SHEPHEARDS OR PASTORALL POESIE CALLED EGLOGUE, AND TO WHAT PURPOSE IT WAS FIRST INUENTED AND VSED.

Some be of opinion, and the chiefe of those who haue written in this Art among the Latines, that the pastorall Poesie which we commonly call by the name of *Eglogue* and *Bucolick*, a tearme brought in by the Sicilian Poets, should be the first of any other, and before the *Satyre*, *Comedie*, or *Tragedie*, because, say they, the shepheards and haywards assemblies & meetings when they kept their cattell and heards in the common fields and forests was the first familiar conuersation, and their babble and talk vnder bushes and shadie trees the first disputation and contentious reasoning, and their fleshly heates growing of ease the first idle wooings, and their songs made to their mates or paramours either vpon sorrow or iolity of courage the first amorous musicks ; sometime also they sang and played on their pipes for wagers, striuing who should get the best game and be counted cunningest. All this I do agree vnto, for no doubt the shepheards life was the first example of honest felowship, their trade the first art of lawfull acquisition or purchase, for at those daies robbery was a manner of purchase. So saith *Aristotle* in his bookes of the Politiques ; and that pasturage was before tillage, or fishing, or fowling, or any other predatory art or cheuisance.

And all this may be true, for before there was a shepheard keeper of his owne or of some other bodies flocke, there was none owner in the world, quick cattel being the first property of any forreine possession. I say forreine, because alway men claimed property in their apparell and armour, and other like things made by their owne trauel and industry, nor thereby was there yet any good towne, or city, or Kings palace, where pageants and pompes might be shewed by Comedies or Tragedies. But for all this, I do deny that the *Eglogue* should be the first and most auncient forme of artificiall Poesie, being perswaded that the Poet deuised the *Eglogue* long after the other *drammatick* poems, not of purpose to counterfait or represent the rusticall manner of loues and communication, but vnder the vaile of homely persons and in rude speeches to insinuate and glaunce at greater matters, and such as perchance had not bene safe to haue beene disclosed in any other sort, which may be perceiued by the Eglogues of *Virgill*, in which are treated by figure matters of greater importance then the loues of *Titirus* and *Corydon*. These Eglogues came after to containe and enforme morall discipline, for the amendment of mans behauiour, as be those of *Mantuan* and other moderne Poets.

CHAP. XIX.

OF HISTORICALL POESIE, BY WHICH THE FAMOUS ACTS OF PRINCES AND THE VERTUOUS AND WORTHY LIUES OF OUR FOREFATHERS WERE REPORTED.

There is nothing in man of all the potential parts of his mind (reason and will except) more noble or more necessary to the actiue life then memory; because it maketh most to a sound iudgement and perfect worldly wisedome, examining and comparing the times past with the present,

and, by them both considering the time to come, concludeth with a stedfast resolution what is the best course to be taken in all his actions and aduices in this world. It came, vpon this reason, experience to be so highly commended in all consultations of importance, and preferred before any learning or science, and yet experience is no more than a masse of memories assembled, that is, such trials as man hath made in time before. Right so no kinde of argument in all the Oratorie craft doth better perswade and more vniuersally satisfie then example, which is but the representation of old memories, and like successes happened in times past. For these regards the Poesie historicall is of all other next the diuine most honorable and worthy, as well for the common benefit as for the speciall comfort euery man receiueth by it: no one thing in the world with more delectation reuiuing our spirits then to behold as it were in a glasse the liuely image of our deare forefathers, their noble and vertuous maner of life, with other things autentike, which because we are not able otherwise to attaine to the knowledge of by any of our sences, we apprehend them by memory, whereas the present time and things so swiftly passe away, as they giue vs no leasure almost to looke into them, and much lesse to know & consider of them throughly. The things future, being also euents very vncertaine, and such as can not possibly be knowne because they be not yet, can not be vsed for example nor for delight otherwise then by hope; though many promise the contrary, by vaine and deceitfull arts taking vpon them to reueale the truth of accidents to come, which, if it were so as they surmise, are yet but sciences meerely coniecturall, and not of any benefit to man or to the common wealth where they be vsed or professed. Therefore the good and exemplarie things and actions of the former ages were reserued only to the historicall reportes of wise and graue men: those of the

present time left to the fruition and iudgement of our sences: the future, as hazards and incertaine euentes vtterly neglected and layd aside for Magicians and mockers to get their liuings by, such manner of men as by negligence of Magistrates and remiss[n]es of lawes euery countrie breedeth great store of. These historical men neuerthelesse vsed not the matter so precisely to wish that al they wrote should be accounted true, for that was not needeful nor expedient to the purpose, namely to be vsed either for example or for pleasure: considering that many times it is seene a fained matter or altogether fabulous, besides that it maketh more mirth than any other, works no lesse good conclusions for example then the most true and veritable, but often times more, because the Poet hath the handling of them to fashion at his pleasure, but not so of th' other, which must go according to their veritie, and none otherwise, without the writers great blame. Againe, as ye know, mo and more excellent examples may be fained in one day by a good wit then many ages through mans frailtie are able to put in vre; which made the learned and wittie men of those times to deuise many historicall matters of no veritie at all, but with purpose to do good and no hurt, as vsing them for a maner of discipline and president of commendable life. Such was the common wealth of *Plato*, and Sir *Thomas Moores Vtopia*, resting all in deuise, but neuer put in execution, and easier to be wished then to be performed. And you shall perceiue that histories were of three sortes, wholly true, and wholly false, and a third holding part of either, but for honest recreation and good example they were all of them. And this may be apparant to vs not onely by the Poeticall histories but also by those that be written in prose: for as *Homer* wrate a fabulous or mixt report of the siege of Troy and another of *Ulisses* errors or wandrings, so did *Museus* compile a true treatise of the

life & loues of *Leander* and *Hero*, both of them *Heroick*, and to none ill edification. Also, as *Theucidides* wrate a worthy and veritable historie of the warres betwixt the *Athenians* and the *Peloponeses*, so did *Zenophon*, a most graue Philosopher and well trained courtier and counsellour, make another (but fained and vntrue) of the childhood of *Cyrus*, king of *Persia*; neuertheless both to one effect, that is for example and good information of the posteritie. Now because the actions of meane & base personages tend in very few cases to any great good example; for who passeth to follow the steps and maner of life of a craftes man, shepheard, or sailer, though he were his father or dearest frend? yea how almost is it possible that such maner of men should be of any vertue other then their profession requireth? therefore was nothing committed to historie but matters of great and excellent persons & things, that the same by irritation of good courages (such as emulation causeth) might worke more effectually, which occasioned the story writer to chuse an higher stile fit for his subiect, the Prosaicke in prose, the Poet in meetre, and the Poets was by verse exameter for his grauitie and statelinesse most allowable: neither would they intermingle him with any other shorter measure, vnlesse it were in matters of such qualitie as became best to be song with the voyce and to some musicall instrument, as were with the Greeks all your Hymnes & *Encomia* of *Pindarus* & *Callimachus*, not very histories, but a maner of historicall reportes; in which cases they made those poemes in variable measures, & coupled a short verse with a long to serue that purpose the better. And we our selues who compiled this treatise haue written for pleasure a litle brief *Romance* or historicall ditty in the English tong, of the Isle of great *Britaine*, in short and long meetres, and by breaches or diuisions to be more commodiously song to the harpe in places of assembly, where the company shalbe

desirous to heare of old aduentures & valiaunces of noble knights in times past, as are those of king *Arthur* and his knights of the round table, Sir *Beuys* of *Southampton*, *Guy* of *Warwicke*, and others like. Such as haue not premonition hereof, and consideration of the causes alledged, would peraduenture reproue and disgrace euery *Romance* or short historicall ditty for that they be not written in long meeters or verses *Alexandrins*, according to the nature and stile of large histories; wherin they should do wrong, for they be sundry formes of poems, and not all one.

CHAP. XX.

IN WHAT FORME OF POESIE VERTUE IN THE INFERIOUR SORT WAS COMMENDED.

In euerie degree and sort of men vertue is commendable, but not egally: not onely because mens estates are vnegall, but for that also vertue it selfe is not in euery respect of egall value and estimation. For continence in a king is of greater merit then in a carter, th'one hauing all opportunities to allure him to lusts, and abilitie to serue his appetites, th'other partly for the basenesse of his estate wanting such meanes and occasions, partly by dread of lawes more inhibited, and not so vehemently caried away with vnbridled affections; and therfore deserue not in th'one and th'other like praise nor equall reward, by the very ordinarie course of distributiue iustice. Euen so parsimonie and illiberalitie are greater vices in a Prince then in a priuate person, and pusillanimitie and iniustice likewise: for to th'one fortune hath supplied inough to maintaine them in the contrarie vertues, I meane, fortitude, iustice, liberalitie, and magnanimitie, the Prince hauing all plentie to vse largesse by, and no want or neede to driue him to do wrong; also all the aides that may be to lift vp his courage and to make him stout and fearlesse: *augent*

animos fortunae, saith the *Mimist*, and very truly, for nothing pulleth downe a mans heart so much as aduersitie and lacke. Againe, in a meane man prodigalitie and pride are faultes more reprehensible then in Princes, whose high estates do require in their countenance, speech, & expence a certaine extraordinary, and their functions enforce them sometime to exceede the limites of mediocritie, not excusable in a priuat person, whose manner of life and calling hath no such exigence. Besides the good and bad of Princes is more exemplarie, and thereby of greater moment then the priuate persons. Therfore it is that the inferiour persons with their inferiour vertues haue a certaine inferiour praise to guerdon their good with, & to comfort them to continue a laudable course in the modest and honest life and behauiour. But this lyeth not in written laudes so much as ordinary reward and commendation to be giuen them by the mouth of the superiour magistrate. For histories were not intended to so generall and base a purpose, albeit many a meane souldier & other obscure persons were spoken of and made famous in stories, as we finde of *Irus* the begger, and *Thersites* the glorious noddie, whom *Homer* maketh mention of. But that happened (& so did many like memories of meane men) by reason of some greater personage or matter that it was long of, which therefore could not be an vniuersall case nor chaunce to euery other good and vertuous person of the meaner sort. Wherefore the Poet in praising the maner of life or death of anie meane person did it by some litle dittie, or Epigram, or Epitaph, in fewe verses & meane stile conformable to his subiect. So haue you how the immortall gods were praised by hymnes, the great Princes and heroicke personages by ballades of praise called *Encomia*, both of them by historicall reports of great grauitie and maiestie, the inferiour persons by other slight poemes.

CHAP. XXI.

THE FORME WHEREIN HONEST AND PROFITABLE ARTES AND SCIENCES WERE TREATED.

The profitable sciences were no lesse meete to be imported to the greater number of ciuill men for instruction of the people and increase of knowledge then to be reserued and kept for clerkes and great men onely. So as next vnto the things historicall such doctrines and arts as the common wealth fared the better by were esteemed and allowed. And the same were treated by Poets in verse *Exameter* sauouring the *Heroicall*, and for the grauitie and comelinesse of the meetre most vsed with the Greekes and Latines to sad purposes. Such were the Philosophicall works of *Lucretius Carus* among the Romaines, the Astronomicall of *Aratus* and *Manilius*, one Greeke, th'other Latine, the Medicinall of *Nicander*, and that of *Oppianus* of hunting and fishes, and many moe that were too long to recite in this place.

CHAP. XXII.

IN WHAT FORME OF POESIE THE AMOROUS AFFECTIONS AND ALLUREMENTS WERE VTTERED.

The first founder of all good affections is honest loue, as the mother of all the vicious is hatred. It was not therefore without reason that so commendable, yea honourable, a thing as loue well meant, were it in Princely estate or priuate, might in all ciuil common wealths be vttered in good forme and order as other laudable things are. And because loue is of all other humane affections the most puissant and passionate, and most generall to all sortes and ages of men and women, so as whether it be of the

yong or old, or wise or holy, or high estate or low, none euer could truly bragge of any exemption in that case: it requireth a forme of Poesie variable, inconstant, affected, curious, and most witty of any others, whereof the ioyes were to be vttered in one sorte, the sorrowes in an other, and, by the many formes of Poesie, the many moodes and pangs of louers throughly to be discouered; the poore soules sometimes praying, beseeching, sometime honouring, auancing, praising, an other while railing, reuiling, and cursing, then sorrowing, weeping, lamenting, in the ende laughing, reioysing, & solacing the beloued againe, with a thousand delicate deuises, odes, songs, elegies, ballads, sonets, and other ditties, moouing one way and another to great compassion.

CHAP. XXIII.

THE FORME OF POETICALL REIOYSINGS.

Pleasure is the chiefe parte of mans felicity in this world, and also (as our Theologians say) in the world to come. Therefore, while we may (yea alwaies if it coulde be), to reioyce and take our pleasures in vertuous and honest sort, it is not only allowable but also necessary and very naturall to man. And many be the ioyes and consolations of the hart, but none greater than such as he may vtter and discouer by some conuenient meanes: euen as to suppresse and hide a mans mirth, and not to haue therein a partaker, or at least wise a witnes, is no little griefe and infelicity. Therfore nature and ciuility haue ordained (besides the priuate solaces) publike reioisings for the comfort and recreation of many. And they be of diuerse sorts and vpon diuerse occasions growne. One & the chiefe was for the publike peace of a countrie, the greatest of any other ciuill good; and wherein your

Maiestie (my most gracious Soueraigne) haue shewed your selfe to all the world, for this one and thirty yeares space of your glorious raigne, aboue all other Princes of Christendome, not onely fortunate, but also most sufficient, vertuous, and worthy of Empire. An other is for iust & honourable victory atchieued against the forraine enemy. A third at solemne feasts and pompes of coronations and enstallments of honourable orders. An other for iollity at weddings and marriages. An other at the births of Princes children. An other for priuate entertainments in Court, or other secret disports in chamber, and such solitary places. And as these reioysings tend to diuers effects, so do they also carry diuerse formes and nominations; for those of victorie and peace are called *Triumphall*, whereof we our selues haue heretofore giuen some example by our *Triumphals*, written in honour of her Maiesties long peace. And they were vsed by the auncients in like manner as we do our generall processions or Letanies, with bankets and bonefires and all manner of ioyes. Those that were to honour the persons of great Princes or to solemnise the pompes of any installment were called *Encomia*; we may call them carols of honour. Those to celebrate marriages were called songs nuptiall or *Epithalamies*, but in a certaine misticall sense, as shall be said hereafter. Others for magnificence at the natiuities of Princes children, or by custome vsed yearely vpon the same dayes, are called songs natall, or *Genethliaca*. Others for secret recreation and pastime in chambers with company or alone were the ordinary Musickes amorous, such as might be song with voice or to the Lute, Citheron, or Harpe, or daunced by measures, as the Italian Pauan and galliard are at these daies in Princes Courts and other places of honourable or ciuill assembly; and of all these we will speake in order and very briefly.

CHAP. XXIV.

THE FORME OF POETICALL LAMENTATIONS.

Lamenting is altogether contrary to reioising; euery man saith so, and yet is it a peece of ioy to be able to lament with ease, and freely to poure forth a mans inward sorrowes and the greefs wherewith his minde is surcharged. This was a very necessary deuise of the Poet and a fine, besides his poetrie to play also the Phisitian, and not onely by applying a medicine to the ordinary sicknes of mankind, but by making the very greef it selfe (in part) cure of the disease. Nowe are the causes of mans sorrowes many: the death of his parents, frends, allies, and children (though many of the barbarous nations do reioyce at their burials and sorrow at their birthes), the ouerthrowes and discomforts in battell, the subuersions of townes and cities, the desolations of countreis, the losse of goods and worldly promotions, honour and good renowne, finally, the trauails and torments of loue forlorne or ill bestowed, either by disgrace, deniall, delay, and twenty other wayes, that well experienced louers could recite. Such of these greefs as might be refrained or holpen by wisedome and the parties owne good endeuour, the Poet gaue none order to sorrow them. For first, as to the good renowne, it is lost for the more part by some default of the owner, and may be by his well doings recouered againe. And if it be vniustly taken away, as by vntrue and famous libels, the offenders recantation may suffise for his amends: so did the Poet *Stesichorus*, as it is written of him in his *Pallinodie* vpon the disprayse of *Helena*, and recouered his eye sight. Also, for worldly goods, they come and go, as things not long proprietary to any body, and are not yet subiect vnto fortunes dominion so but that we our selues are in great part accessarie to our own losses and hinder-

aunces by ouersight & misguiding of our selues and our things; therefore, why should we bewaile our such voluntary detriment? But death, the irrecouerable losse, death, the dolefull departure of frendes, that can neuer be recontinued by any other meeting or new acquaintance—besides our vncertaintie and suspition of their estates and welfare in the places of their new abode—seemeth to carry a reasonable pretext of iust sorrow. Likewise, the great ouerthrowes in battell and desolations of countreys by warres, aswell for the losse of many liues and much libertie as for that it toucheth the whole state, and euery priuate man hath his portion in the damage. Finally, for loue, there is no frailtie in flesh and bloud so excusable as it, no comfort or discomfort greater then the good and bad successe thereof, nothing more naturall to man, nothing of more force to vanquish his will and to inuegle his iudgement. Therefore of death and burials, of th'aduersities by warres, and of true loue lost or ill bestowed are th'onely sorrowes that the noble Poets sought by their arte to remoue or appease, not with any medicament of a contrary temper, as the *Galenistes* vse to cure *contraria contrariis*, but as the *Paracelsians*, who cure *similia similibus*, making one dolour to expell another, and, in this case, one short sorrowing the remedie of a long and grieuous sorrow. And the lamenting of deathes was chiefly at the very burialls of the dead, also at monethes mindes and longer times, by custome continued yearely, when as they vsed many offices of seruice and loue towardes the dead, and thereupon are called *Obsequies* in our vulgare; which was done not onely by cladding the mourners their friendes and seruauntes in blacke vestures, of shape dolefull and sad, but also by wofull countenaunces and voyces, and besides by Poeticall mournings in verse. Such funerall songs were called *Epicedia* if they were song by many, and *Monodia* if they were vttered by one alone, and this was vsed at the enter-

ment of Princes and others of great accompt, and it was reckoned a great ciuilitie to vse such ceremonies, as at this day is also in some countrey vsed. In Rome they accustomed to make orations funerall and commendatorie of the dead parties in the publique place called *Pro rostris*: and our *Theologians* in stead thereof vse to make sermons, both teaching the people some good learning and also saying well of the departed. Those songs of the dolorous discomfits in battaile and other desolations in warre, or of townes saccaged and subuerted, were song by the remnant of the army ouerthrowen, with great skrikings and outcries, holding the wrong end of their weapon vpwards in signe of sorrow and dispaire. The cities also made generall mournings & offred sacrifices with Poeticall songs to appease the wrath of the martiall gods & goddesses. The third sorrowing was of loues, by long lamentation in *Elegie*: so was their song called, and it was in a pitious maner of meetre, placing a limping *Pentameter* after a lusty *Exameter*, which made it go dolourously, more then any other meeter.

CHAP. XXV.

OF THE SOLEMNE REIOYSINGS AT THE NATIUITIE OF PRINCES CHILDREN.

To returne from sorrow to reioysing, it is a very good hap and no vnwise part for him that can do it; I say, therefore, that the comfort of issue and procreation of children is so naturall and so great, not onely to all men but specially to Princes, as duetie and ciuilitie haue made it a common custome to reioyse at the birth of their noble children, and to keepe those dayes hallowed and festiuall for euer once in the yeare, during the parentes or childrens liues; and that by publique order & consent. Of which reioysings and mirthes the Poet ministred the first occasion

honorable, by presenting of ioyfull songs and ballades, praysing the parentes by proofe, the child by hope, the whole kinred by report, & the day it selfe with wishes of all good successe, long life, health, & prosperitie for euer to the new borne. These poemes were called in Greeke *Genet[h]liaca*; with vs they may be called natall or birth songs.

CHAP. XXVI.

THE MANER OF REIOYSINGS AT MARIAGES AND WEDDINGS.

As the consolation of children well begotten is great, no lesse but rather greater ought to be that which is occasion of children, that is honorable matrimonie, a loue by al lawes allowed, not mutable nor encombred with such vaine cares & passions, as that other loue, whereof there is no assurance, but loose and fickle affection occasioned for the most part by sodaine sights and acquaintance of no long triall or experience, nor vpon any other good ground wherein any suretie may be conceiued: wherefore the Ciuill Poet could do no lesse in conscience and credit, then as he had before done to the ballade of birth, now with much better deuotion to celebrate by his poeme the chearefull day of mariages aswell Princely as others, for that hath alwayes bene accompted with euery countrey and nation of neuer so barbarous people the highest & holiest of any ceremonie apperteining to man; a match forsooth made for euer and not for a day, a solace prouided for youth, a comfort for age, a knot of alliance & amitie indissoluble: great reioysing was therefore due to such a matter and to so gladsome a time. This was done in ballade wise, as the natall song, and was song very sweetely by Musitians at the chamber dore of the Bridegroome and Bride at such times as shalbe hereafter declared, and they were called *Epithalamies*, as much to say as ballades at the

bedding of the bride: for such as were song at the borde at dinner or supper were other Musickes and not properly *Epithalamies.* Here, if I shall say that which apperteineth to th'arte, and disclose the misterie of the whole matter, I must and doe with all humble reuerence bespeake pardon of the chaste and honorable eares, least I should either offend them with licentious speach, or leaue them ignorant of the ancient guise in old times vsed at weddings, in my simple opinion nothing reproueable. This *Epithalamie* was deuided by breaches into three partes to serue for three seuerall fits or times to be song. The first breach was song at the first parte of the night, when the spouse and her husband were brought to their bed, & at the very chamber dore, where in a large vtter roome vsed to be (besides the musitiens) good store of ladies or gentlewomen of their kinsefolkes, & others who came to honor the mariage; & the tunes of the songs were very loude and shrill, to the intent there might no noise be hard out of the bed chamber by the skreeking and outcry of the young damosell feeling the first forces of her stiffe & rigorous young man, she being, as all virgins, tender & weake, and vnexpert in those maner of affaires. For which purpose also they vsed by old nurses (appointed to that seruice) to suppresse the noise by casting of pottes full of nuttes round about the chamber vpon the hard floore or pauement, for they vsed no mattes nor rushes as we doe now. So as the Ladies and gentlewomen should haue their eares so occupied what with Musicke, and what with their handes wantonly scambling and catching after the nuttes, that they could not intend to harken after any other thing. This was, as I said, to diminish the noise of the laughing lamenting spouse. The tenour of that part of the song was to congratulate the first acquaintance and meeting of the young couple, allowing of their parents good discretions in making the match, then afterward to sound cherfully to

the onset and first encounters of that amorous battaile, to declare the comfort of children, & encrease of loue by that meane cheifly caused: the bride shewing her self euery waies well disposed, and still supplying occasions of new lustes and loue to her husband by her obedience and amorous embracings and all other allurementes. About midnight or one of the clocke, the Musicians came again to the chamber dore (all the Ladies and other women as they were of degree hauing taken their leaue, and being gone to their rest). This part of the ballade was to refresh the faint and weried bodies and spirits, and to animate new appetites with cherefull wordes, encoraging them to the recontinuance of the same entertainments, praising and commending (by supposall) the good conformities of them both, & their desire one to vanquish the other by such frendly conflictes; alledging that the first embracementes neuer bred barnes, by reason of their ouermuch affection and heate, but onely made passage for children and enforced greater liking to the late made match; that the second assaultes were lesse rigorous, but more vigorous and apt to auance the purpose of procreation; that therefore they should persist in all good appetite with an inuincible courage to the end. This was the second part of the *Epithalamie*. In the morning when it was faire broad day, & that by liklyhood all tournes were sufficiently serued, the last actes of the enterlude being ended, & that the bride must within few hours arise and apparrell her selfe, no more as a virgine but as a wife, and about dinner time must by order come forth *Sicut sponsa de thalamo* very demurely and stately to be sene and acknowledged of her parents and kinsfolkes whether she were the same woman or a changeling, or dead or aliue, or maimed by any accident nocturnall, the same Musicians came againe with this last part and greeted them both with a Psalme of new applausions, for that they had either of them so

well behaued them selues that night, the husband to rob his spouse of her maidenhead and saue her life, the bride so lustely to satisfie her husbandes loue and scape with so litle daunger of her person; for which good chaunce that they should make a louely truce and abstinence of that warre till next night, sealing the placard of that louely league with twentie maner of sweet kisses; then by good admonitions enformed them to the frugall & thriftie life all the rest of their dayes, the good man getting and bringing home, the wife sauing that which her husband should get, therewith to be the better able to keepe good hospitalitie, according to their estates, and to bring vp their children (if God sent any) vertuously, and the better by their owne good example; finally to perseuer all the rest of their life in true and inuiolable wedlocke. This ceremony was omitted when men maried widowes or such as had tasted the frutes of loue before (we call them well experienced young women), in whom there was no feare of daunger to their persons, or of any outcry at all, at the time of those terrible approches. Thus much touching the vsage of *Epithalamie* or bedding ballad of the ancient times, in which if there were any wanton or lasciuious matter more then ordinarie, which they called *F[es]cenina licentia*, it was borne withal for that time because of the matter no lesse requiring. *Catullus* hath made of them one or two very artificiall and ciuil; but none more excellent then of late yeares a young noble man of Germanie, as I take it, *Iohannes secundus*, who, in that and in his poeme *De basiis*, passeth any of the auncient or moderne Poetes in my iudgment.

CHAP. XXVII.

THE MANNER OF POESIE BY WHICH THEY VTTERED THEIR BITTER TAUNTS, AND PRIUY NIPS OR WITTY SCOFFES, AND OTHER MERRY CONCEITS.

But all the world could not keepe, nor any ciuill ordinance to the contrary so preuaile, but that men would and must needs vtter their splenes in all ordinarie matters also, or else it seemed their bowels would burst: therefore the poet deuised a prety fashioned poeme short and sweete (as we are wont to say) and called it *Epigramma*, in which euery mery conceited man might, without any long studie or tedious ambage, make his frend sport, and anger his foe, and giue a prettie nip, or shew a sharpe conceit in few verses: for this *Epigramme* is but an inscription or writting made as it were vpon a table, or in a windowe, or vpon the wall or mantell of a chimney in some place of common resort, where it was allowed euery man might come, or be sitting to chat and prate, as now in our tauernes and common tabling houses, where many merry heades meete, and scrible with ynke, with chalke, or with a cole, such matters as they would euery man should know & descant vpon. Afterward the same came to be put in paper and in bookes and vsed as ordinarie missiues, some of frendship, some of defiaunce, or as other messages of mirth. *Martiall* was the cheife of this skil among the Latines, & at these days the best Epigrammes we finde, & of the sharpest conceit, are those that haue bene gathered among the reliques of the two muet *Satyres* in Rome, *Pasquill* and *Marphorius*, which in time of *Sede vacante*, when merry conceited men listed to gibe & iest at the dead Pope or any of his Cardinales, they fastened them vpon those Images which now lie in the open streets, and were tollerated, but after that terme expired they were

inhibited againe. These inscriptions or Epigrammes at their begining had no certaine author that would auouch them, some for feare of blame, if they were ouer saucy or sharpe, others for modestie of the writer, as was that *disticke* of *Virgil* which he set vpon the pallace gate of the emperour *Augustus*, which I will recite for the breifnes and quicknes of it, and also for another euente that fell out vpon the mater worthy to be remembred. These were the verses:

Nocte pluit tota, redeunt spectacula mane;
Diuisum imperium cum Ioue Caesar habet.

Which I haue thus Englished:

It raines all night, early the shewes returne;
God and Caesar do raigne and rule by turne.

As much to say, God sheweth his power by the night raines, Caesar his magnificence by the pompes of the day.

These two verses were very well liked, and brought to th'Emperours Maiestie, who tooke great pleasure in them, & willed the author should be knowen. A sausie courtier profered him selfe to be the man, and had a good reward giuen him, for the Emperour him self was not only learned, but of much munificence toward all learned men: whereupon *Virgill*, seing him self by his ouermuch modestie defrauded of the reward, that an impudent had gotten by abuse of his merit, came the next night, and fastened vpon the same place this halfe metre, foure times iterated. Thus:

Sic vos non vobis
Sic vos non vobis
Sic vos non vobis
Sic vos non vobis

And there it remained a great while because no man

wist what it meant, till *Virgill* opened the whole fraude by this deuise. He wrote aboue the same halfe metres this whole verse *Exameter*:

Hos ego versiculos feci: tulit alter honores.

And then finished the foure half metres, thus:

Sic vos non vobis nidificatis aues.
Sic vos non vobis vellera fertis oues.
Sic vos non vobis mellificatis apes.
Sic vos non vobis fertis aratra boues.

And put to his name *Publius Virgilius Maro.* This matter came by and by to Th'emperours eare, who, taking great pleasure in the deuise, called for *Virgill*, and gaue him not onely a present reward, with a good allowance of dyet, a bouche in court as we vse to call it, but also held him for euer after, vpon larger triall he had made of his learning and vertue, in so great reputation as he vouchsafed to giue him the name of a frend (*amicus*), which among the Romanes was so great an honour and speciall fauour as all such persons were allowed to the Emperours table, or to the Senatours who had receiued them (as frendes), and they were the only men that came ordinarily to their boords, & solaced with them in their chambers and gardins when none other could be admitted.

CHAP. XXVIII.

OF THE POEME CALLED EPITAPH VSED FOR MEMORIALL OF THE DEAD.

An Epitaph is but a kind of Epigram only applied to the report of the dead persons estate and degree, or of his other good or bad partes, to his commendation or reproch, and is an inscription such as a man may commodiously write or engraue vpon a tombe in few verses, pithie, quicke,

and sententious, for the passer-by to peruse and iudge vpon without any long tariaunce. So as if it exceede the measure of an Epigram, it is then (if the verse be correspondent) rather an Elegie then an Epitaph, which errour many of these bastard rimers commit, because they be not learned, nor (as we are wont to say) craftes masters, for they make long and tedious discourses and write them in large tables to be hanged vp in Churches and chauncells ouer the tombes of great men and others, which be so exceeding long as one must haue halfe a dayes leasure to reade one of them, & must be called away before he come halfe to the end, or else be locked into the Church by the Sexten, as I my selfe was once serued reading an Epitaph in a certain cathedrall Church of England. They be ignorant of poesie that call such long tales by the name of Epitaphes; they might better call them Elegies, as I said before, and then ought neither to be engrauen nor hanged vp in tables. I haue seene them neuertheles vpon many honorable tombes of these late times erected, which doe rather disgrace then honour either the matter or maker.

CHAP. XXIX.

A CERTAINE AUNCIENT FORME OF POESIE BY WHICH MEN DID VSE TO REPROCH THEIR ENEMIES.

As frendes be a rich and ioyfull possession, so be foes a continual torment and canker to the minde of man; and yet there is no possible meane to auoide this inconuenience, for the best of vs all, he that thinketh he liues most blamelesse, liues not without enemies, that enuy him for his good parts, or hate him for his euill. There be wise men, and of them the great learned man *Plutarch* tooke vpon them to perswade the benefite that men receiue by their enemies, which though it may be true in manner of *Paradoxe*, yet

I finde mans frailtie to be naturally such, and alwayes hath beene, that he cannot conceiue it in his owne case, nor shew that patience and moderation in such greifs, as becommeth the man perfite and accomplisht in all vertue: but either in deede or by word he will seeke reuenge against them that malice him, or practise his harmes, specially such foes as oppose themselues to a mans loues. This made the auncient Poetes to inuent a meane to rid the gall of all such Vindicatiue men: so as they might be awrecked of their wrong, & neuer bely their enemie with slaunderous vntruthes. And this was done by a maner of imprecation, or as we call it by cursing and banning of the parties, and wishing all euill to alight vpon them, and, though it neuer the sooner happened, yet was it great easment to the boiling stomacke. They were called *Dirae*, such as *Virgill* made aginst *Battarus*, and *Ouide* against *Ibis*: we Christians are forbidden to vse such vncharitable fashions, and willed to referre all our reuenges to God alone.

CHAP. XXX.

OF SHORT EPIGRAMES CALLED POSIES.

There be also other like Epigrammes that were sent vsually for new yeares giftes, or to be Printed or put vpon their banketting dishes of suger plate or of march paines, & such other dainty meates as by the curtesie & custome euery gest might carry from a common feast home with him to his owne house, & were made for the nonce. They were called *Nenia* or *apophoreta*, and neuer contained aboue one verse, or two at the most, but the shorter the better; we call them Posies, and do paint them now a dayes vpon the backe sides of our fruite trenchers of wood, or vse them as deuises in rings and armes and about such courtly purposes.

So haue we remembred and set forth to your Maiestie very briefly all the commended fourmes of the auncient Poesie, which we in our vulgare makings do imitate and vse vnder these common names: enterlude, song, ballade, carroll, and ditty; borrowing them also from the French, al sauing this word 'song' which is our naturall Saxon English word: the rest, such as time and vsurpation by custome haue allowed vs out of the primitiue Greeke & Latine, as Comedie, Tragedie, Ode, Epitaphe, Elegie, Epigramme, and other moe. And we haue purposely omitted all nice or scholasticall curiosities not meete for your Maiesties contemplation in this our vulgare arte, and what we haue written of the auncient formes of Poemes we haue taken from the best clerks writing in the same arte. The part that next followeth, to wit of proportion, because the Greeks nor Latines neuer had it in vse nor made any obseruation, no more then we doe of their feete, we may truly affirme to haue bene the first deuisers thereof our selues, as αὐτοδίδακτοι, and not to haue borrowed it of any other by learning or imitation, and thereby trusting to be holden the more excusable if any thing in this our labours happen either to mislike or to come short of th'authors purpose, because commonly the first attempt in any arte or engine artificiall is amendable, & in time by often experiences reformed. And so no doubt may this deuise of ours be, by others that shall take the penne in hand after vs.

CHAP. XXXI.

WHO IN ANY AGE HAUE BENE THE MOST COMMENDED WRITERS IN OUR ENGLISH POESIE, AND THE AUTHORS CENSURE GIUEN VPON THEM.

It appeareth by sundry records of bookes both printed & written that many of our countreymen haue painfully

trauelled in this part: of whose works some appeare to be but bare translations, other some matters of their owne inuention and very commendable, whereof some recitall shall be made in this place, to th'intent chiefly that their names should not be defrauded of such honour as seemeth due to them for hauing by their thankefull studies so much beautified our English tong as at this day it will be found our nation is in nothing inferiour to the French or Italian for copie of language, subtiltie of deuice, good method and proportion in any forme of poeme, but that they may compare with the most, and perchance passe a great many of them. And I will not reach aboue the time of king *Edward* the third and *Richard* the second for any that wrote in English meeter, because before their times, by reason of the late Normane conquest, which had brought into this Realme much alteration both of our langage and lawes, and there withall a certain martiall barbarousnes, whereby the study of all good learning was so much decayd as long time after no man or very few entended to write in any laudable science: so as beyond that time there is litle or nothing worth commendation to be founde written in this arte. And those of the first age were *Chaucer* and *Gower*, both of them, as I suppose, Knightes. After whom followed *Iohn Lydgate*, the monke of Bury, & that nameles, who wrote the *Satyre* called Piers Plowman; next him followed *Harding*, the Chronicler; then, in king *Henry* th'eights time, *Skelton*, (I wot not for what great worthines) surnamed the Poet *Laureat*. In the latter end of the same kings raigne sprong vp a new company of courtly makers, of whom Sir *Thomas Wyat* th'elder & *Henry* Earle of Surrey were the two chieftaines, who hauing trauailed into Italie, and there tasted the sweete and stately measures and stile of the Italian Poesie, as nouices newly crept out of the schooles of *Dante*, *Arioste*, and *Petrarch*, they greatly pollished our rude &

homely maner of vulgar Poesie from that it had bene before, and for that cause may iustly be sayd the first reformers of our English meetre and stile. In the same time, or not long after, was the Lord *Nicholas Vaux*, a man of much facilitie in vulgar makings. Afterward, in king *Edward* the sixths time, came to be in reputation for the same facultie *Thomas Sternehold*, who first translated into English certaine Psalmes of Dauid, and *Iohn Heywood*, the Epigrammatist, who for the myrth and quicknesse of his conceits more then for any good learning was in him came to be well benefited by the king. But the principall man in this profession at the same time was Maister *Edward Ferrys*, a man of no lesse mirth & felicitie that way, but of much more skil & magnificence in his meeter, and therefore wrate for the most part to the stage, in Tragedie and sometimes in Comedie or Enterlude, wherein he gaue the king so much good recreation as he had thereby many good rewardes. In Queenes *Maries* time florished aboue any other Doctour *Phaer*, one that was well learned & excellently well translated into English verse Heroicall certaine bookes of *Virgils Æneidos*. Since him followed Maister *Arthure Golding*, who with no lesse commendation turned into English meetre the Metamorphosis of *Ouide*, and that other Doctour, who made the supplement to those bookes of *Virgils Æneidos* which Maister *Phaer* left vndone. And in her Maiesties time that now is are sprong vp an other crew of Courtly makers, Noble men and Gentlemen of her Maiesties owne seruauntes, who haue written excellently well, as it would appeare if their doings could be found out and made publicke with the rest; of which number is first that noble Gentleman *Edward* Earle of Oxford, *Thomas* Lord of Bukhurst, when he was young, *Henry* Lord Paget, Sir *Philip Sydney*, Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, Master *Edward Dyar*, Maister *Fulke Greuell*, *Gascon*, *Britton*, *Turberuille*, and

a great many other learned Gentlemen, whose names I do not omit for enuie, but to auoyde tediousnesse, and who haue deserued no little commendation. But of them all particularly, this is myne opinion, that *Chaucer*, with *Gower*, *Lidgat*, and *Harding*, for their antiquitie ought to haue the first place, and *Chaucer*, as the most renowmed of them all, for the much learning appeareth to be in him, aboue any of the rest. And though many of his bookes be but bare translations out of the Latin & French, yet are they wel handled, as his bookes of *Troilus* and *Cresseid*, and the Romant of the Rose, whereof he translated but one halfe,—the deuice was *Iohn de Mehunes*, a French Poet: the Canterbury tales were *Chaucers* owne inuention, as I suppose, and where he sheweth more the naturall of his pleasant wit then in any other of his workes; his similitudes, comparisons, and all other descriptions are such as can not be amended. His meetre Heroicall of *Troilus* and *Cresseid* is very graue and stately, keeping the staffe of seuen and the verse of ten; his other verses of the Canterbury tales be but riding ryme, neuerthelesse very well becomming the matter of that pleasaunt pilgrimage, in which euery mans part is playd with much decency. *Gower*, sauing for his good and graue moralities, had nothing in him highly to be commended, for his verse was homely and without good measure, his wordes strained much deale out of the French writers, his ryme wrested, and in his inuentions small subtillitie: the applications of his moralities are the best in him, and yet those many times very grossely bestowed; neither doth the substance of his workes sufficiently aunswere the subtilitie of his titles. *Lydgat*, a translatour onely, and no deuiser of that which he wrate, but one that wrate in good verse. *Harding*, a Poet Epick or Historicall, handled himselfe well according to the time and maner of his subiect. He that wrote the Satyr of Piers Ploughman seemed to haue bene a

malcontent of that time, and therefore bent himselfe wholy to taxe the disorders of that age, and specially the pride of the Romane Clergy, of whose fall he seemeth to be a very true Prophet; his verse is but loose meetre, and his termes hard and obscure, so as in them is litle pleasure to be taken. *Skelton*, a sharpe Satirist, but with more rayling and scoffery then became a Poet Lawreat: such among the Greekes were called *Pantomimi*, with vs Buffons, altogether applying their wits to Scurrillities & other ridiculous matters. *Henry* Earle of Surrey and Sir *Thomas Wyat*, betweene whom I finde very litle difference, I repute them (as before) for the two chief lanternes of light to all others that haue since employed their pennes vpon English Poesie: their conceits were loftie, their stiles stately, their conueyance cleanely, their termes proper, their meetre sweete and well proportioned, in all imitating very naturally and studiously their Maister *Francis Petrarcha*. The Lord *Vaux* his commendation lyeth chiefly in the facillitie of his meetre, and the aptnesse of his descriptions such as he taketh vpon him to make, namely in sundry of his Songs, wherein he sheweth the counterfait action very liuely & pleasantly. Of the later sort I thinke thus. That for Tragedie, the Lord of Buckhurst & Maister *Edward Ferrys*, for such doings as I haue sene of theirs, do deserue the hyest price: Th'Earle of Oxford and Maister *Edwardes* of her Maiesties Chappell for Comedy and Enterlude. For Eglogue and pastorall Poesie, Sir *Philip Sydney* and Maister *Challenner*, and that other Gentleman who wrate the late shepheardes Callender. For dittie and amourous *Ode* I finde Sir *Walter Rawleyghs* vayne most loftie, insolent, and passionate. Maister *Edward Dyar*, for Elegie most sweete, solempne, and of high conceit. *Gascon*, for a good meeter and for a plentifull vayne. *Phaer* and *Golding*, for a learned and well corrected verse, specially in translation

cleare and very faithfully answering their authours intent. Others haue also written with much facillitie, but more commendably perchance if they had not written so much nor so popularly. But last in recitall and first in degree is the Queene our soueraigne Lady, whose learned, delicate, noble Muse easily surmounteth all the rest that haue written before her time or since, for sence, sweetnesse, and subtillitie, be it in Ode, Elegie, Epigram, or any other kinde of poeme Heroick or Lyricke wherein it shall please her Maiestie to employ her penne, euen by as much oddes as her owne excellent estate and degree exceedeth all the rest of her most humble vassalls.

THE SECOND BOOKE
OF PROPORTION POETICAL

CHAP. I.

OF PROPORTION POETICALL.

IT is said by such as professe the Mathematicall sciences, that all things stand by proportion, and that without it nothing could stand to be good or beautiful. The Doctors of our Theologie to the same effect, but in other termes, say that God made the world by number, measure, and weight; some for weight say tune, and peraduenture better. For weight is a kind of measure or of much conueniencie with it; and therefore in their descriptions be alwayes coupled together *statica et metrica*, weight and measures. Hereupon it seemeth the Philosopher gathers a triple proportion, to wit, the Arithmeticall, the Geometricall, and the Musicall. And by one of these three is euery other proportion guided of the things that haue conueniencie by relation, as the visible by light colour and shadow; the audible by stirres, times, and accents; the odorable by smelles of sundry temperaments; the tastible by sauours to the rate; the tangible by his obiectes in this or that regard. Of all which we leaue to speake, returning to our poeticall proportion, which holdeth of the Musical, because, as we sayd before, Poesie is a skill to speake & write harmonically: and verses or rime be a kind of Musicall vtterance, by reason of a certaine congruitie in sounds pleasing the eare, though not perchance so exquisitely as the harmonicall concents of the artificial Musicke, consisting in strained tunes, as is the vocall

Musike, or that of melodious instruments, as Lutes, Harpes, Regals, Records, and such like. And this our proportion Poeticall resteth in fiue points: Staffe, Measure, Concord, Scituation, and Figure, all which shall be spoken of in their places.

CHAP. II.

OF PROPORTION IN STAFFE.

Staffe in our vulgare Poesie I know not why it should be so called, vnlesse it be for that we vnderstand it for a bearer or supporter of a song or ballad, not vnlike the old weake bodie that is stayed vp by his staffe, and were not otherwise able to walke or to stand vpright. The Italian called it *Stanza*, as if we should say a resting place: and if we consider well the forme of this Poeticall staffe, we shall finde it to be a certaine number of verses allowed to go altogether and ioyne without any intermission, and doe or should finish vp all the sentences of the same with a full period, vnlesse it be in som special cases, & there to stay till another staffe follow of like sort: and the shortest staffe conteineth not vnder foure verses, nor the longest aboue ten; if it passe that number it is rather a whole ditty then properly a staffe. Also for the more part the staues stand rather vpon the euen nomber of verses then the odde, though there be of both sorts. The first proportion then of a staffe is by *quadrein* or foure verses. The second of fiue verses, and is seldome vsed. The third by *sizeine* or sixe verses, and is not only most vsual, but also very pleasant to th'eare. The fourth is in seuen verses, & is the chiefe of our ancient proportions vsed by any rimer writing any thing of historical or graue poeme, as ye may see in *Chaucer* and *Lidgate*, th'one writing the loues of *Troylus* and *Cresseida*, th'other of the fall of Princes: both by

them translated, not deuised. The fifth proportion is of eight verses very stately and *Heroicke*, and which I like better then that of seuen, because it receaueth better band. The sixt is of nine verses, rare but very graue. The seuenth proportion is of tenne verses, very stately, but in many mens opinion too long; neuerthelesse of very good grace & much grauitie. Of eleuen and twelue I find none ordinary staues vsed in any vulgar language, neither doth it serue well to continue any historicall report and ballade or other song, but is a dittie of it self, and no staffe; yet some moderne writers haue vsed it, but very seldome. Then last of all haue ye a proportion to be vsed in the number of your staues, as to a caroll and a ballade, to a song, & a round, or virelay. For to an historicall poeme no certain number is limited, but as the matter fals out: also a *distick* or couple of verses is not to be accompted a staffe, but serues for a continuance, as we see in Elegie, Epitaph, Epigramme, or such meetres, of plaine concord, not harmonically entertangled as some other songs of more delicate musick be.

A staffe of foure verses containeth in it selfe matter sufficient to make a full periode or complement of sence, though it doe not alwayes so, and therefore may go by diuisions.

A staffe of fiue verses is not much vsed, because he that can not comprehend his periode in foure verses will rather driue it into six then leaue it in fiue, for that the euen number is more agreable to the eare then the odde is.

A staffe of sixe verses is very pleasant to the eare, and also serueth for a greater complement then the inferiour staues, which maketh him more commonly to be vsed.

A staffe of seuen verses, most vsuall with our auncient makers, also the staffe of eight, nine, and ten of larger complement then the rest, are onely vsed by the later

makers, &, vnlesse they go with very good bande, do not so well as the inferiour staues. Therefore, if ye make your staffe of eight by two fowers not entertangled, it is not a huitaine or a staffe of eight, but two quadreins: so is it in ten verses; not being entertangled, they be but two staues of fiue.

CHAP. III.

OF PROPORTION IN MEASURE.

Meeter and measure is all one, for what the Greekes called *μέτρον*, the Latines call *Mensura*, and is but the quantitie of a verse, either long or short. This quantitie with them consisteth in the number of their feete: & with vs in the number of sillables, which are comprehended in euery verse, not regarding his feete, otherwise then that we allow, in scanning our verse, two sillables to make one short portion (suppose it a foote) in euery verse. And after that sort ye may say we haue feete in our vulgare rymes, but that is improperly; for a foote by his sence naturall is a member of office and function, and serueth to three purposes, that is to say, to go, to runne, & to stand still; so as he must be sometimes swift, sometimes slow, sometime vnegally marching or peraduenture steddy. And if our feete Poeticall want these qualities it can not be sayd a foote in sence translatiue as here. And this commeth to passe, by reason of the euident motion and stirre which is perceiued in the sounding of our wordes not alwayes egall, for some aske longer, some shorter time to be vttered in, & so, by the Philosophers definition, stirre is the true measure of time. The Greekes & Latines, because their wordes hapned to be of many sillables, and very few of one sillable, it fell out right with them to conceiue and also to perceiue a notable diuersitie of motion and times in the pronuntiation of their wordes,

and therefore to euery *bissillable* they allowed two times, & to a *trissillable* three times, & to euery *polisillable* more, according to his quantitie, & their times were some long, some short, according as their motions were slow or swift. For the sound of some sillable stayd the eare a great while, and others slid away so quickly, as if they had not bene pronounced; then euery sillable being allowed one time, either short or long, it fell out that euery *tetrasillable* had foure times, euery *trissillable* three, and the *bissillable* two, by which obseruation euery word, not vnder that sise, as he ranne or stood in a verse, was called by them a foote of such and so many times, namely the *bissillable* was either of two long times, as the *spondeus*, or two short, as the *pir*[*ri*]*chius*, or of a long & a short as the *trocheus*, or of a short and a long as the *iambus*; the like rule did they set vpon the word *trissillable*, calling him a foote of three times, as the *dactilus* of a long and two short, the *molossus* of three long, the *tribracchus* of three short, the *amphibracchus* of two long and a short, the *amphimacer* of two short and a long. The word of foure sillables they called a foote of foure times, some or all of them, either long or short: and yet, not so content, they mounted higher, and, because their wordes serued well thereto, they made feete of sixe times; but this proceeded more of curiositie then otherwise, for whatsoeuer foote passe the *trissillable* is compounded of his inferiour, as euery number Arithmeticall aboue three is compounded of the inferiour number, as twise two make foure, but the three is made of one number, videl. of two and an vnitie. Now because our naturall & primitiue language of the *Saxon English* beares not any wordes (at least very few) of moe sillables then one (for whatsoeuer we see exceede commeth to vs by the alterations of our language growen vpon many conquestes and otherwise), there could be no such obseruation of times in the sound of our wordes, & for that

cause we could not haue the feete which the Greeks and Latines haue in their meetres. But of this stirre & motion of their deuised feete nothing can better shew the qualitie then these runners at common games, who setting forth from the first goale, one giueth the start speedely, & perhaps before he come half way to th'other goale decayeth his pace, as a man weary & fainting; another is slow at the start, but by amending his pace keepes euen with his fellow or perchance gets before him; another one while gets ground, another while loseth it again, either in the beginning or middle of his race, and so proceedes vnegally, sometimes swift, somtimes slow, as his breath or forces serue him; another sort there be that plod on & will neuer change their pace, whether they win or lose the game: in this maner doth the Greeke *dactilus* begin slowly and keepe on swifter till th'end, for his race being deuided into three parts, he spends one, & that is the first slowly, the other twaine swiftly; the *anapestus* his two first parts swiftly, his last slowly: the *Molossus* spends all three parts of his race slowly and egally; *Bacchius* his first part swiftly, & two last parts slowly; the *tribrachus* all his three parts swiftly; the *antibacchius* his two first partes slowly, his last & third swiftly; the *amphimacer* his first & last part slowly & his middle part swiftly; the *amphibracus* his first and last parts swiftly, but his midle part slowly; & so of others by like proportion. This was a pretie phantasticall obseruation of them, and yet brought their meetres to haue a maruelous good grace, which was in Greeke called ῥυθμός; whence we haue deriued this word ryme, but improperly & not wel, because we haue no such feete or times or stirres in our meeters, by whose *simpathie*, or pleasant conueniencie with th'eare, we could take any delight: this *rithmus* of theirs is not therfore our rime, but a certaine musicall numerositie in vtterance, and not a bare number as that of the Arithmeticall computation is,

which therfore is not called *rithmus* but *arithmus.* Take this away from them, I meane the running of their feete, there is nothing of curiositie among them more then with vs, nor yet so much.

CHAP. IV[1].

HOW MANY SORTS OF MEASURES WE VSE IN OUR VULGAR.

To returne from rime to our measure againe, it hath bene sayd that, according to the number of the sillables contained in euery verse, the same is sayd a long or short meeter, and his shortest proportion is of foure sillables, and his longest of twelue; they that vse it aboue passe the bounds of good proportion. And euery meeter may be aswel in the odde as in the euen sillable, but better in the euen, and one verse may begin in the euen, & another follow in the odde, and so keepe a commendable proportion. The verse that containeth but two silables, which may be in one word, is not vsuall: therefore many do deny him to be a verse, saying that it is but a foot, and that a meeter can haue no lesse then two feete at the least; but I find it otherwise, aswell among the best Italian Poets as also with our vulgar makers, and that two sillables serue wel for a short measure in the first place, and midle, and end of a staffe, and also in diuerse scituations and by sundry distances, and is very passionate and of good grace, as shalbe declared more at large in the Chapter of proportion by scituation.

The next measure is of two feete or of foure sillables, and then one word *tetrasillable* diuided in the middest makes vp the whole meeter, as thus, *Rēuē rēuīle*; or a

[1] From this point onwards throughout the Second Book the Chapter numbers of the original are wrong. Here the number of the previous chapter ('III') is repeated.

trissillable and one monosillable, thus, *Soueraine God*; or two bissillables, and that is plesant, thus, *Restore againe*; or with foure monossillables, and that is best of all, thus, *When I doe thinke.* I finde no fauour in a meetre of three sillables, nor in effect in any odde; but they may be vsed for varietie sake, and specially, being enterlaced with others, the meetre of six sillables is very sweete and delicate, as thus,

O God, when I behold
This bright heauen so hye,
By thine owne hands of old
Contriud so cunningly.

The meter of seuen sillables is not vsual, no more is that of nine and eleuen; yet if they be well composed, that is, their *Cesure* well appointed, and their last accent which makes the concord, they are commendable inough, as in this ditty, where one verse is of eight, an other is of seuen, and in the one the accent vpon the last, in the other vpon the last saue on.

The smoakie sighes, the bitter teares,
That I in vaine haue wasted,
The broken sleepes, the woe and feares,
That long in me haue lasted,
Will be my death, all by thy guilt,
And not by my deseruing,
Since so inconstantly thou wilt
Not loue, but still be sweruing.

And all the reason why these meeters in all sillable are alowable is, for that the sharpe accent falles vpon the *penultima* or last saue one sillable of the verse, which doth so drowne the last, as he seemeth to passe away in maner vnpronounced, & so make the verse seeme euen: but if the accent fall vpon the last and leaue two flat to finish

the verse, it will not seeme so; for the odnes will more notoriously appeare, as for example in the last verse before recited, *Not loue, but still be sweruing*, say thus, *Loue it is a maruelous thing*. Both verses be of egall quantitie, vidz. seauen sillables a peece, and yet the first seemes shorter then the later, who shewes a more odnesse then the former by reason of his sharpe accent which is vpon the last sillable, and makes him more audible then if he had slid away with a flat accent, as the word *sweruing*.

Your ordinarie rimers vse very much their measures in the odde, as nine and eleuen, and the sharpe accent vpon the last sillable, which therefore makes him go ill fauouredly and like a minstrels musicke. Thus sayd one in a meeter of eleuen very harshly in mine eare, whether it be for lacke of good rime or of good reason, or of both, I wot not.

Now sucke childe and sleepe childe, thy mothers owne ioy,
Her only sweete comfort, to drowne all annoy;
For beauty surpassing the azured skie,
I loue thee, my darling, as ball of mine eye.

This sort of composition in the odde I like not, vnlesse it be holpen by the *Cesure* or by the accent, as I sayd before.

The meeter of eight is no lesse pleasant then that of sixe, and the *Cesure* fals iust in the middle, as this of the Earle of Surreyes.

When raging loue, with extreme payne.

The meeter of ten sillables is very stately and Heroicall, and must haue his *Cesure* fall vpon the fourth sillable, and leaue sixe behinde him, thus,

I serue at ease, and gouerne all with woe.

This meeter of twelue sillables the French man calleth a verse *Alexandrine*, and is with our moderne rimers most

vsuall; with the auncient makers it was not so. For before Sir *Thomas Wiats* time they were not vsed in our vulgar; they be for graue and stately matters fitter than for any other ditty of pleasure. Some makers write in verses of foureteene sillables, giuing the *Cesure* at the first eight; which proportion is tedious, for the length of the verse kepeth the eare too long from his delight, which is to heare the cadence or the tuneable accent in the ende of the verse. Neuerthelesse that of twelue, if his *Cesure* be iust in the middle, and that ye suffer him to runne at full length, and do not as the common rimers do, or their Printer for sparing of paper, cut them of in the middest, wherin they make in two verses but halfe rime, they do very wel, as wrote the Earle of Surrey, translating the booke of the preacher,

Salomon Dauids sonne, king of Ierusalem.

This verse is very good *Alexandrine*, but perchaunce woulde haue sounded more musically if the first word had bene a dissillable or two monosillables, and not a trissillable: hauing this sharpe accent vppon the *Ante-penultima* as it hath, by which occasion it runnes like a *Dactill*, and carries the two later sillables away so speedily as it seemes but one foote in our vulgar measure, and by that meanes makes the verse seeme but of eleuen sillables, which odnesse is nothing pleasant to the eare. Iudge some body whether it would haue done better if it might haue bene sayd thus,

Robóham Dauids sonne, king of Ierusalem,

letting the sharpe accent fall vpon *bo*; or thus,

Restóre king Dáuids sónne vntó Ierúsalém.

For now the sharpe accent falles vpon *bo*, and so doth it vpon the last in *restóre*, which was not in th'other verse. But because we haue seemed to make mention of *Cesure*,

and to appoint his place in euery measure, it shall not be amisse to say somewhat more of it, & also of such pauses as are vsed in vtterance, and what commoditie or delectation they bring either to the speakers or to the hearers.

CHAP. V.

OF CESURE.

There is no greater difference betwixt a ciuill and brutish vtteraunce then cleare distinction of voices; and the most laudable languages are alwaies most plaine and distinct, and the barbarous most confuse and indistinct: it is therefore requisit that leasure be taken in pronuntiation, such as may make our wordes plaine & most audible and agreable to the eare; also the breath asketh to be now and then releeued with some pause or stay more or lesse; besides that the very nature of speach (because it goeth by clauses of seuerall construction & sence) requireth some space betwixt them with intermission of sound, to th'end they may not huddle one vpon another so rudly & so fast that th'eare may not perceiue their difference. For these respectes the auncient reformers of language inuented three maner of pauses, one of lesse leasure then another, and such seuerall intermissions of sound to serue (besides easment to the breath) for a treble distinction of sentences or parts of speach, as they happened to be more or lesse perfect in sence. The shortest pause or intermission they called *comma*, as who would say a peece of a speach cut of. The second they called *colon*, not a peece, but as it were a member for his larger length, because it occupied twise as much time as the *comma*. The third they called *periodus*, for a complement or full pause, and as a resting place and perfection of so much former speach as had

bene vttered, and from whence they needed not to passe any further, vnles it were to renew more matter to enlarge the tale. This cannot be better represented then by example of these common trauailers by the hie ways, where they seeme to allow themselues three maner of staies or easements: one a horsebacke calling perchaunce for a cup of beere or wine, and, hauing dronken it vp, rides away and neuer lights; about noone he commeth to his Inne, & there baites him selfe and his horse an houre or more; at night, when he can conueniently trauaile no further, he taketh vp his lodging, and rests him selfe till the morrow; from whence he followeth the course of a further voyage, if his businesse be such. Euen so our Poet when he hath made one verse, hath as it were finished one dayes iourney, & the while easeth him selfe with one baite at the least, which is a *Comma* or *Cesure* in the mid way, if the verse be euen and not odde, otherwise in some other place, and not iust in the middle. If there be no *Cesure* at all, and the verse long, the lesse is the makers skill and hearers delight. Therefore in a verse of twelue sillables the *Cesure* ought to fall right vpon the sixt sillable; in a verse of eleuen vpon the sixt also, leauing fiue to follow. In a verse of ten vpon the fourth, leauing sixe to follow. In a verse of nine vpon the fourth, leauing fiue to follow. In a verse of eight iust in the middest, that is, vpon the fourth. In a verse of seauen, either vpon the fourth or none at all, the meeter very ill brooking any pause. In a verse of sixe sillables and vnder is needefull no *Cesure* at all, because the breath asketh no reliefe: yet if ye giue any *Comma*, it is to make distinction of sense more then for any thing else; and such *Cesure* must neuer be made in the middest of any word, if it be well appointed. So may you see that the vse of these pawses or distinctions is not generally with the vulgar Poet as it is with the Prose writer, because the

Poetes cheife Musicke lying in his rime or concorde to heare the Simphonie, he maketh all the hast he can to be at an end of his verse, and delights not in many stayes by the way, and therefore giueth but one *Cesure* to any verse: and thus much for the sounding of a meetre. Neuerthelesse, he may vse in any verse both his *comma*, *colon*, and *interrogatiue* point, as well as in prose. But our auncient rymers, as *Chaucer*, *Lydgate*, & others, vsed these *Cesures* either very seldome, or not at all, or else very licentiously, and many times made their meetres (they called them riding ryme) of such vnshapely wordes as would allow no conuenient *Cesure*, and therefore did let their rymes runne out at length, and neuer stayd till they came to the end: which maner though it were not to be misliked in some sort of meetre, yet in euery long verse the *Cesure* ought to be kept precisely, if it were but to serue as a law to correct the licentiousnesse of rymers, besides that it pleaseth the eare better, & sheweth more cunning in the maker by following the rule of his restraint. For a rymer that will be tyed to no rules at all, but range as he list, may easily vtter what he will: but such maner of Poesie is called, in our vulgar, ryme dogrell, with which rebuke we will in no case our maker should be touched. Therfore before all other things let his ryme and concordes be true, cleare, and audible, with no lesse delight then almost the strayned note of a Musicians mouth, and not darke or wrenched by wrong writing, as many doe to patch vp their meetres, and so follow in their arte neither rule, reason, nor ryme. Much more might be sayd for the vse of your three pauses, *comma*, *colon*, & *periode*, for perchance it be not all a matter to vse many *commas* and few, nor *colons* likewise, or long or short *periodes* for it is diuersly vsed by diuers good writers. But because it apperteineth more to the oratour or writer in prose then in verse, I will say no more in it then thus, that they

be vsed for a commodious and sensible distinction of clauses in prose, since euery verse is as it were a clause of it selfe, and limited with a *Cesure* howsoeuer the sence beare, perfect or imperfect, which difference is obseruable betwixt the prose and the meeter.

CHAP. VI.

OF PROPORTION IN CONCORD, CALLED SYMPHONIE OR RIME.

Because we vse the word rime (though by maner of abusion), yet to helpe that fault againe we apply it in our vulgar Poesie another way very commendably & curiously. For wanting the currantnesse of the Greeke and Latine feete, in stead thereof we make in th' ends of our verses a certaine tunable sound: which anon after with another verse reasonably distant we accord together in the last fall or cadence, the eare taking pleasure to heare the like tune reported and to feel his returne. And for this purpose serue the *monosillables* of our English Saxons excellently well, because they do naturally and indifferently receiue any accent, & in them, if they finish the verse, resteth the shrill accent of necessitie, and so doth it not in the last of euery *bissillable*, nor of euery *polisillable* word. But to the purpose, *ryme* is a borrowed word from the Greeks by the Latines and French, from them by vs Saxon angles, and by abusion as hath bene sayd, and therefore it shall not do amisse to tell what this *rithmos* was with the Greekes, for what is it with vs hath bene already sayd. There is an accomptable number which we call *arithmeticall* (*arithmos*) as one, two, three. There is also a musicall or audible number, fashioned by stirring of tunes & their sundry times in the vtterance of our wordes, as when the voice goeth high or low, or sharpe or flat, or swift or slow:

& this is called *rithmos* or numerositie, that is to say, a certaine flowing vtteraunce by slipper words and sillables, such as the toung easily vtters, and the eare with pleasure receiueth, and which flowing of words with much volubilitie smoothly proceeding from the mouth is in some sort *harmonicall* and breedeth to th'eare a great compassion. This point grew by the smooth and delicate running of their feete, which we haue not in our vulgare, though we vse as much as may be the most flowing words & slippery sillables that we can picke out: yet do not we call that by the name of ryme, as the Greekes did, but do giue the name of ryme onely to our concordes, or tunable consentes in the latter end of our verses, and which concordes the Greekes nor Latines neuer vsed in their Poesie till by the barbarous souldiers out of the campe it was brought into the Court and thence to the schoole, as hath bene before remembred; and yet the Greekes and Latines both vsed a maner of speach by clauses of like termination, which they called ὁμοιοτέλευτον, and was the nearest that they approched to our ryme, but is not our right concord; so as we in abusing this terme (*ryme*) be neuerthelesse excusable applying it to another point in Poesie no lesse curious then their *rithme* or numerositie, which in deede passed the whole verse throughout, whereas our concordes keepe but the latter end of euery verse, or perchaunce the middle and the end in meetres that be long.

CHAP. VII.

OF ACCENT, TIME, AND STIR PERCEIUED EUIDENTLY IN THE DISTINCTION OF MANS VOICE, AND WHICH MAKES THE FLOWING OF A METER.

Nowe because we haue spoken of accent, time, and stirre or motion in wordes, we will set you downe more at large

what they be. The auncient Greekes and Latines by reason their speech fell out originally to be fashioned with words of many sillables for the most part, it was of necessity that they could not vtter euery sillable with one like and egall sounde, nor in like space of time, nor with like motion or agility, but that one must be more suddenly and quickely forsaken, or longer pawsed vpon then another, or sounded with a higher note & clearer voyce then another; and of necessitie this diuersitie of sound must fall either vpon the last sillable, or vpon the last saue one, or vpon the third, and could not reach higher to make any notable difference. It caused them to giue vnto three different sounds three seuerall names: to that which was highest lift vp and most eleuate or shrillest in the eare they gaue the name of the sharpe accent; to the lowest and most base, because it seemed to fall downe rather then to rise vp, they gaue the name of the heauy accent; and that other which seemed in part to lift vp and in part to fall downe they called the circumflex, or compast accent, and, if new termes were not odious, we might very properly call him the windabout, for so is the Greek word. Then bycause euery thing that by nature fals down is said heauy, & whatsoeuer naturally mounts vpward is said light, it gaue occasion to say that there were diuersities in the motion of the voice, as swift & slow, which motion also presupposes time, bycause time is *mensura motus* by the Philosopher. So haue you the causes of their primitiue inuention and vse in our arte of Poesie. All this by good obseruation we may perceiue in our vulgar wordes if they be of mo sillables then one, but specially if they be *trissillables*; as, for example, in these wordes *altitude* and *heauinesse* the sharpe accent falles vpon *al* & *he* which be the *antepenultimaes*, the other two fall away speedily as if they were scarse sounded; in this *trissilable forsaken* the sharp accent fals vpon *sa*, which is the *penultima*, and in the other

two is heauie and obscure. Againe, in these *bissillables, endúre, vnsúre, demúre, aspíre, desíre, retíre,* your sharpe accent falles vpon the last sillable; but in words *monosillable*, which be for the more part our naturall Saxon English, the accent is indifferent, and may be vsed for sharp or flat and heauy at our pleasure. I say Saxon English, for our Normane English alloweth vs very many *bissillables*, and also *trissillables*, as *reuerence, diligence, amorous, desirous*, and such like.

CHAP. VIII.

OF YOUR CADENCES BY WHICH YOUR METER IS MADE SYMPHONICALL, WHEN THEY BE SWEETEST AND MOST SOLEMNE IN A VERSE.

As the smoothnesse of your words and sillables running vpon feete of sundrie quantities make with the Greekes and Latines the body of their verses numerous or Rithmicall, so in our vulgar Poesie, and of all other nations at this day, your verses answering eche other by couples, or at larger distances in good *cadence*, is it that maketh your meeter symphonicall. This cadence is the fal of a verse in euery last word with a certaine tunable sound, which, being matched with another of like sound, do make a *concord*. And the whole cadence is contained sometime in one sillable, sometime in two, or in three at the most: for aboue the *antepenultima* there reacheth no accent (which is chiefe cause of the cadence), vnlesse it be by vsurpation in some English words, to which we giue a sharpe accent vpon the fourth, as *Hónorable, mátrimonie, pátrimonie, míserable*, and such other as would neither make a sweete cadence, nor easily find any word of like quantitie to match them. And the accented sillable with all the rest vnder him make the cadence, and no sillable aboue, as in

these words, *Agillitie, facillitie, subiection, direction,* and these bissilables, *Tender, slender, trustie, lustie*; but alwayes the cadence which falleth vpon the last sillable of a verse is sweetest and most commendable; that vpon the *penultima* more light, and not so pleasant; but falling vpon the *ante-penultima* is most vnpleasant of all, because they make your meeter too light and triuiall, and are fitter for the Epigrammatist or Comicall Poet then for the Lyrick and Elegiack, which are accompted the sweeter Musickes. But though we haue sayd that (to make good concord) your seuerall verses should haue their cadences like, yet must there be some difference in their orthographie, though not in their sound, as if one cadence be *constraine*, the next *restraine*, or one *aspire*, another *respire*, this maketh no good concord, because they are all one; but if ye will exchange both these consonants of the accented sillable, or voyde but one of them away, then will your cadences be good and your concord to, as to say, *restraine, refraine, remaine*; *aspire, desire, retire*; which rule neuerthelesse is not well obserued by many makers, for lacke of good iudgement and delicate eare. And this may suffise to shew the vse and nature of your cadences, which are in effect all the sweetnesse and cunning in our vulgar Poesie.

CHAP. IX.

HOW THE GOOD MAKER WILL NOT WRENCH HIS WORD TO HELPE HIS RIME, EITHER BY FALSIFYING HIS ACCENT, OR BY VNTRUE ORTHOGRAPHIE.

Now there can not be in a maker a fowler fault then to falsifie his accent to serue his cadence, or by vntrue orthographie to wrench his words to helpe his rime, for it is a signe that such a maker is not copious in his owne

language, or (as they are wont to say) not halfe his crafts maister: as for example, if one should rime to this word *Restore*, he may not match him with *Doore* or *Poore*, for neither of both are of like terminant, either by good orthography or in naturall sound; therfore such rime is strained; so is it to this word *Ram* to say *came*, or to *Beane*, *Den*, for they sound not nor be written a like; & many other like cadences which were superfluous to recite, and are vsuall with rude rimers who obserue not precisely the rules of *prosodie*; neuerthelesse in all such cases (if necessitie constrained) it is somewhat more tollerable to help the rime by false orthographie then to leaue an vnplesant dissonance to the eare by keeping trewe orthographie and loosing the rime, as for example it is better to rime *Dore* with *Restore* then in his truer orthographie, which is *Doore*, and to this word *Desire* to say *Fier* then *fyre*, though it be otherwise better written *fire*. For since the cheife grace of our vulgar Poesie consisteth in the Symphonie, as hath bene already sayd, our maker must not be too licentious in his concords, but see that they go euen, iust, and melodious in the eare, and right so in the numerositie or currantnesse of the whole body of his verse, and in euery other of his proportions. For a licentious maker is in truth but a bungler and not a Poet. Such men were in effect the most part of all your old rimers, and specially *Gower*, who to make vp his rime would for the most part write his terminant sillable with false orthographie, and many times not sticke to put in a plaine French word for an English; & so, by your leaue, do many of our common rimers at this day, as he that by all likelyhood hauing no word at hand to rime to this word *ioy*, he made his other verse ende in *Roy*, saying very impudently thus,

O mightie Lord of loue, dame Venus onely ioy,
Who art the highest God of any heauenly Roy.

Which word was neuer yet receiued in our language for an English word. Such extreme licentiousnesse is vtterly to be banished from our schoole, and better it might haue bene borne with in old riming writers, bycause they liued in a barbarous age, & were graue morall men but very homely Poets, such also as made most of their workes by translation out of the Latine and French toung, & few or none of their owne engine, as may easely be knowen to them that list to looke vpon the Poemes of both languages.

Finally, as ye may ryme with wordes of all sortes, be they of many sillables or few, so neuerthelesse is there a choise by which to make your cadence (before remembred) most commendable, for some wordes of exceeding great length, which haue bene fetched from the Latine inkhorne or borrowed of strangers, the vse of them in ryme is nothing pleasant, sauing perchaunce to the common people, who reioyse much to be at playes and enterludes, and, besides their naturall ignoraunce, haue at all such times their eares so attentiue to the matter, and their eyes vpon the shewes of the stage, that they take little heede to the cunning of the rime, and therefore be as well satisfied with that which is grosse, as with any other finer and more delicate.

CHAP. X.

OF CONCORDE IN LONG AND SHORT MEASURES, AND BY NEARE OR FARRE DISTAUNCES, AND WHICH OF THEM IS MOST COMMENDABLE.

But this ye must obserue withall, that, bycause your concordes containe the chief part of Musicke in your meetre, their distaunces may not be too wide or farre a sunder, lest th'eare should loose the tune and be defrauded of his delight; and whensoeuer ye see any

maker vse large and extraordinary distaunces, ye must thinke he doth intende to shew himselfe more artificiall then popular, and yet therein is not to be discommended, for respects that shalbe remembred in some other place of this booke.

Note also that rime or concorde is not commendably vsed both in the end and middle of a verse, vnlesse it be in toyes and trifling Poesies, for it sheweth a certaine lightnesse either of the matter or of the makers head, albeit these common rimers vse it much, for, as I sayd before, like as the Symphonie in a verse of great length is, as it were, lost by looking after him, and yet may the meetre be very graue and stately, so on the other side doth the ouer busie and too speedy returne of one maner of tune too much annoy &, as it were, glut the eare, vnlesse it be in small & popular Musickes song by these *Cantabanqui* vpon benches and barrels heads, where they haue none other audience then boys or countrey fellowes that passe by them in the strecte, or else by blind harpers or such like tauerne minstrels that giue a fit of mirth for a groat, & their matters being for the most part stories of old time, as the tale of Sir *Topas*, the reportes of *Beuis* of *Southampton*, *Guy* of *Warwicke*, *Adam Bell*, and *Clymme* of the *Clough*, & such other old Romances or historicall rimes, made purposely for recreation of the common people at Christmasse diners & brideales, and in tauernes & alehouses, and such other places of base resort; also they be vsed in Carols and rounds and such light or lasciuious Poemes, which are commonly more commodiously vttered by these buffons or vices in playes then by any other person. Such were the rimes of *Skelton*, vsurping the name of a Poet Laureat, being in deede but a rude rayling rimer & all his doings ridiculous: he vsed both short distaunces and short measures, pleasing onely the popular eare: in our courtly maker we banish

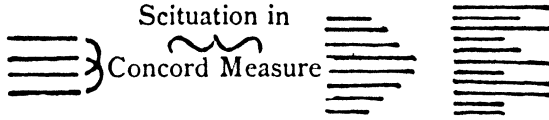
them vtterly. Now also haue ye in euery song or ditty concorde by compasse & concorde entertangled and a mixt of both: what that is and how they be vsed shalbe declared in the chapter of proportion by *scituation.*

CHAP. XI.

OF PROPORTION BY SITUATION.

This proportion consisteth in placing of euery verse in a staffe or ditty by such reasonable distaunces as may best serue the eare for delight, and also to shew the Poets art and variety of Musick. And the proportion is double: one by marshalling the meetres, and limiting their distaunces, hauing regard to the rime or concorde how they go and returne; another by placing euery verse, hauing a regard to his measure and quantitie onely, and not to his concorde, as to set one short meetre to three long, or foure short and two long, or a short measure and a long, or of diuers lengthes with relation one to another, which maner of *Situation,* euen without respect of the rime, doth alter the nature of the Poesie, and make it either lighter or grauer, or more merry, or mournfull, and many wayes passionate to the eare and hart of the hearer, seeming for this point that our maker by his measures and concordes of sundry proportions doth counterfait the harmonicall tunes of the vocall and instrumentall Musickes. As the *Dorien,* because his falls, sallyes, and compasse be diuers from those of the *Phrigien,* the *Phrygien* likewise from the *Lydien,* and all three from the *Eolien, Miolidien,* and *Ionien,* mounting and falling from note to note such as be to them peculiar, and with more or lesse leasure or precip[it]ation; euen so by diuersitie of placing and scituation of your measures and concords, a short with a long, and by

narrow or wide distances, or thicker or thinner bestowing of them, your proportions differ, and breedeth a variable and strange harmonie not onely in the eare, but also in the conceit of them that heare it; whereof this may be an ocular example.



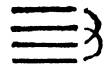
Where ye see the concord or rime in the third distance, and the measure in the fourth, sixth, or second distaunces, whereof ye may deuise as many other as ye list, so the staffe be able to beare it. And I set you downe an occular example, because ye may the better conceiue it. Likewise it so falleth out most times your occular proportion doeth declare the nature of the audible; for if it please the eare well, the same represented by delineation to the view pleaseth the eye well, and *e conuerso*; and this is by a naturall *simpathie* betweene the eare and the eye, and betweene tunes & colours, even as there is the like betweene the other sences and their obiects, of which it apperteineth not here to speake.

Now for the distances vsually obserued in our vulgar Poesie. They be in the first, second, third, and fourth verse, or, if the verse be very short, in the fift and sixt, and in some maner of Musickes farre aboue.

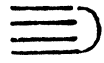
And the first distance for the most part goeth all by *distick* or couples of verses agreeing in one cadence, and do passe so speedily away and so often returne agayne, as their tunes are neuer lost nor out of the eare, one couple supplying another so nye and so suddenly: and this is the most vulgar proportion of distance or situation, such as vsed *Chaucer* in his Canterbury tales, and *Gower* in all his workes.

Second distance is when ye passe ouer one verse, and

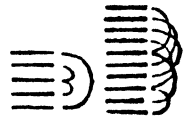
ioyne the first and the third, and so continue on till an other like distance fall in, and this is also vsuall and common, as



Third distaunce is when your rime falleth vpon the first and fourth verse, ouerleaping two: this maner is not so common, but pleasant and allowable inough. In which case the two verses ye leaue out are ready to receiue their concordes by the same distaunce or any other ye like better.



The fourth distaunce is by ouerskipping three verses and lighting upon the fift: this maner is rare and more artificiall then popular, vnlesse it be in some speciall case, as when the meetres be so little and short as they make no shew of any great delay before they returne. Ye shall haue example of both. And these ten litle meeters make but one *Exameter* at length.



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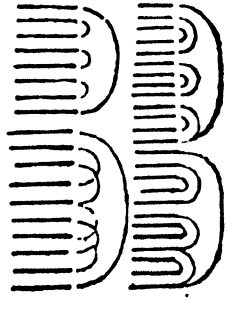
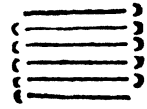
There be larger distances also, as when the first concord falleth vpon the sixt verse, & is very pleasant if they be ioyned with other distances not so large, as

There be also of the seuenth, eight, tenth, twe[l]fth distance, but then they may not go thicke; but two or three such distances serue to proportion a whole song, and all betweene must be of other lesse distances, and these wide distaunces serue for coupling of staues, or for to declare high and passionate or graue matter, and also for art: *Petrarch* hath giuen vs examples hereof in his *Canzoni*, and we by lines of sundry lengths and distances, as followeth:



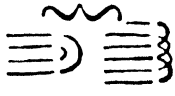
And all that can be obiected against this wide distance is to say that the eare by loosing his concord is not satisfied. So is in deede the rude and popular eare, but not the learned; and therefore the Poet must know to whose eare he maketh his rime, and accommodate himselfe thereto, and not giue such musicke to the rude and barbarous, as he would to the learned and delicate eare.

There is another sort of proportion vsed by *Petrarche* called the *Seizino*, not riming as other songs do, but by chusing sixe wordes out of which all the whole dittie is made, euery of those sixe commencing and ending his verse by course, which restraint to make the dittie sensible will try the makers cunning, as thus:



Besides all this there is in *Situation* of the concords two other points, one that it go by plaine and cleere compasse not intangled, another by enterweauing one with another by knots, or, as it were, by band, which is more or lesse busie and curious, all as the maker will double or redouble his rime or concords, and set his distances farre or nigh, of all which I will giue you ocular examples, as thus:

Concord in

Plaine compasse  Entertangle.

And first in a *Quadrcine* there are but two proportions, for foure verses in this last sort coupled are but two *Disticks*, and not a staffe *quadrcine* or of foure.

The staffe of fiue hath seuen proportions, as

whereof some of them be harsher and vnpleasaunter to the eare then other some be.

The *Sixaine* or staffe of sixe hath ten proportions, wherof some be vsuall, some not vsuall, and not so sweet one as another.

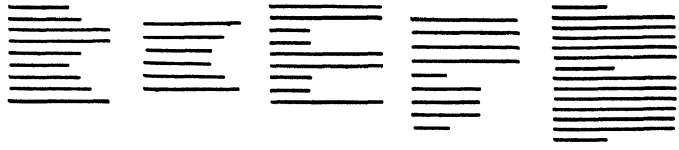
The staffe of seuen verses hath seuen proportions, whereof one onely is the vsuall of our vulgar, and kept by our old Poets *Chaucer* and other in their historicall reports and other ditties: as in the last part of them that follow next.

The *huitain*, or staffe of eight verses, hath eight proportions such as the former staffe, and, because he is longer, he hath one more than the *settaine*.

The staffe of nine verses hath yet moe then the eight, and the staffe of ten more then the ninth, and the twelfth, if such were allowable in ditties, more then any of them all, by reason of his largenesse receiuing moe compasses and enterweauings, alwayes considered that the very large distances be more artificiall then popularly pleasant, and yet do giue great grace and grauitie, and moue passion and affections more vehemently, as it is well to be obserued by *Petrarcha* his *Canzoni*.

Now ye may perceiue by these proportions before described that there is a band to be giuen euery verse in a staffe, so as none fall out alone or vncoupled, and this band maketh that the staffe is sayd fast and not loose; euen as ye see in buildings of stone or bricke the mason giueth a band, that is a length to two breadths, & vpon necessitie diuers other sorts of bands to hold in the worke fast and maintaine the perpendicularitie of the wall: so, in any staffe of seuen or eight or more verses, the coupling of the moe meeters by rime or concord is the faster band, the fewer the looser band, and therfore in a *huitcine* he that putteth foure verses in one concord and foure in another concord, and in a *dizaine* fiue, sheweth him selfe more cunning, and also more copious in his owne language. For he that can find two words of concord can not find foure or fiue or sixe, vnlesse he haue his owne language at will. Sometime also ye are driuen of necessitie to close and make band more then ye would, lest otherwise the staffe should fall asunder and seeme two staues: and this is in a staffe of eight and ten verses: whereas without a band in the middle, it would seeme two *quadreins* or two *quintaines*, which is an error that many makers slide away with. Yet *Chaucer* and others in the staffe of seuen and sixe do almost as much a misse, for they shut vp the staffe with a *distiche*, concording with none other verse that went before, and maketh but a loose rime, and yet, bycause of the double cadence in the last two verses, serue the care well inough. And as there is in euery staffe band giuen to the verses by concord more or lesse busie, so is there in some cases a band giuen to euery staffe, and that is by one whole verse running alone throughout the ditty or ballade, either in the middle or end of euery staffe. The Greekes called such vncoupled verse *Epimonie*, the Latines *Versus intercalaris*. Now touching the situation of measures, there are as

manie or more proportions of them which I referre to the makers phantasie and choise, contented with two or three ocular examples and no moe.



Which maner of proportion by situation of measures giueth more efficacie to the matter oftentimes then the concords them selues, and both proportions concurring together as they needes must, it is of much more beautie and force to the hearers mind.

To finish the learning of this diuision, I will set you downe one example of a dittie written extempore with this deuise, shewing not onely much promptnesse of wit in the maker, but also great arte and a notable memorie. Make me, saith this writer to one of the companie, so many strokes or lines with your pen as ye would haue your song containe verses; and let euery line beare his seuerall length, euen as ye would haue your verse of measure. Suppose of foure, fiue, sixe, or eight, or more sillables, and set a figure of euerie number at th' end of the line, whereby ye may knowe his measure. Then where you will haue your rime or concord to fall, marke it with a compast stroke or semicircle passing ouer those lines, be they farre or neare in distance, as ye haue seene before described. And bycause ye shall not thinke the maker hath premeditated beforehand any such fashioned ditty, do ye your selfe make one verse, whether it be of perfect or imperfect sense, and giue it him for a theame to make all the rest vpon. If ye shall perceiue the maker do keepe the measures and rime as ye haue appointed him, and besides do make his dittie sensible and ensuant

to the first verse in good reason, then may ye say he is his crafts maister. For, if he were not of a plentiful discourse, he could not vpon the sudden shape an entire dittie.vpon your imperfect theame or proposition in one verse. And, if he were not copious in his language, he could not haue such store of wordes at commaundement as should supply your concords. And, if he were not of a maruelous good memory, he could not obserue the rime and measures after the distances of your limitation, keeping with all grauitie and good sense in the whole dittie.

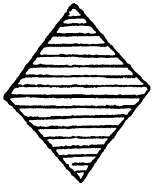
CHAP. XII.

OF PROPORTION IN FIGURE.

Your last proportion is that of figure, so called for that it yelds an ocular representation, your meeters being by good symmetrie reduced into certaine Geometricall figures, whereby the maker is restrained to keepe him within his bounds, and sheweth not onely more art, but serueth also much better for briefenesse and subtiltie of deuice; and for the same respect are also fittest for the pretie amourets in Court to entertaine their seruants and the time withall, their delicate wits requiring some commendable exercise to keepe them from idlenesse. I find not of this proportion vsed by any of the Greeke or Latine Poets, or in any vulgar writer, sauing of that one forme which they cal *Anacreons egge*. But being in Italie conuersant with a certaine gentleman who had long trauailed the Orientall parts of the world and seene the Courts of the great Princes of China and Tartarie, I being very inquisitiue to know of the subtillities of those countreyes, and especially in matter of learning and of their vulgar Poesie, he told me that they are in all their inuentions most wittie, and haue the vse of Poesie or riming, but do not delight so

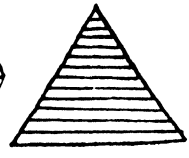
much as we do in long tedious descriptions, and therefore when they will vtter any pretie conceit, they reduce it into metricall feet, and put it in forme of a *Lozange* or square, or such other figure; and so engrauen in gold, siluer, or iuorie, and sometimes with letters of ametist, rubie, emeralde, or topas curiousely cemented and peeced together, they sende them in chaines, bracelets, collars, and girdles to their mistresses to weare for a remembrance. Some fewe measures composed in this sort this gentleman gaue me, which I translated word for word, and as neere as I could followed both the phrase and the figure, which is somewhat hard to performe, because of the restraint of the figure from which ye may not digresse. At the beginning they wil seeme nothing pleasant to an English eare, but time and vsage wil make them acceptable inough, as it doth in all other new guises, be it for wearing of apparell or otherwise. The formes of your Geometricall figures be hereunder represented.

The Lozange, called Rombus.

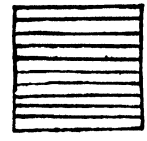


The Fuzie or spindle, called Romboides.

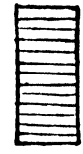
The Triangle or Tricquet.



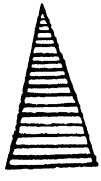
The Square or quadrangle.



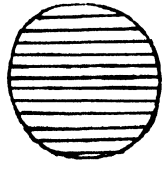
The Pillaster or Cillinder.



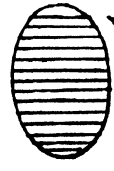
The Spire or taper, called piramis.



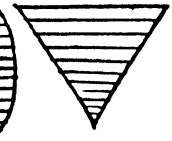
The Rondel or Sphere.



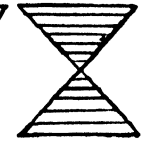
The egge or figure ouall.

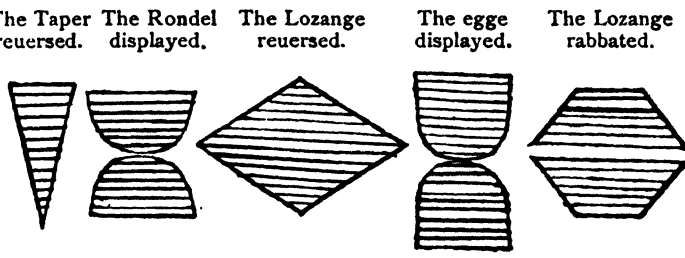


The Tricquet reuerst.



The Tricquet displayed.





Of the Lozange.

The Lozange is a most beautifull figure, & fit for this purpose, being in his kind a quadrangle reuerst, with his point vpward like to a quarrell of glasse. The Greekes and Latines both call it *Rombus*, which may be the cause, as I suppose, why they also gaue that name to the fish commonly called the *Turbot*, who beareth iustly that figure. It ought not to containe aboue thirteene or fifteene or one & twentie meetres, & the longest furnisheth the middle angle, the rest passe vpward and downward, still abating their lengthes by one or two sillables till they come to the point. The Fuzie is of the same nature but that he is sharper and slenderer. I will giue you an example or two of those which my Italian friend bestowed vpon me, which as neare as I could I translated into the same figure, obseruing the phrase of the Orientall speach word for word.

A great Emperor in Tartary whom they cal *Can*, for his good fortune in the wars & many notable conquests he had made, was surnamed *Temir Cutzclewe*. This man loued the Lady *Kermesine*, who presented him returning from the conquest of *Corasoon* (a great kingdom adioyning) with this *Lozange* made in letters of rubies & diamants entermingled thus:

Sound,
O Harpe,
Shril lie out
Temir the stout
Rider who with sharpe
Trenching blade of bright steele
Hath made his fiercest foes to feele.
All such as wrought him shame or harme,
The strength of his braue right arme,
Cleauing hard downe vnto the eyes
The raw skulles of his enemies,
Much honor hath he wonne
By doughtie deedes done
In Cora soon
And all the
Worlde
Round.

To which *Can Temir* answered in *Fuzie*, with letters of Emeralds and Ametists artificially cut and entermingled, thus:

Fiue
Sore batailes
Manfully fought
In blouddy fielde
With bright blade in hand
Hath Temir won, & forst to yeld
Many a Captaine strong & stoute,
And many a king his Crowne to vayle,
Conquering large countreys and land,
Yet ne uer wanne I vi cto rie,
I speake it to my greate glo rie,
So deare and ioy full vn to me,
As when I did first con quere thee,
O Kerme sine, of all myne foes
The most cruell, of all myne woes
The smartest, the sweetest,
My proude Con quest,
My ri chest pray.
O once a daye
Lend me thy sight,
Whose only light
Keepes me
Aliue.

Of the Triangle or Triquet.

The Triangle is an halfe square, Lozange, or Fuzie parted vpon the crosse angles; and so, his base being brode and his top narrow, it receaueth meetres of many sizes, one shorter then another: and ye may vse this figure standing or reuersed, as thus.

A certaine great Sultan of Persia, called *Ribuska*, entertaynes in loue the Lady *Selamour*, sent her this triquet reue[r]st pitiously bemoning his estate, all set in merquetry,

with letters of blew Saphire and Topas artificially cut and entermingled.

Selamour, dearer than his owne life,
To thy di stressed wretch, captiue
Ri buska, whome late ly erst
Most cru el ly thou perst
With thy dead ly dart,
That paire of starres
Shi ning a farre
Turne from me, to me
That I may & may not see
The smile, the loure,
That lead and driue
Me to die to liue,
Twise yea thrise
In one
houre.

To which *Selamour*, to make the match egall, and the figure entire, answered in a standing Triquet, richly engrauen with letters of like stuffe.

Power
Of death
Nor of life
Hath Selamour;
With Gods it is rife
To geue and bereue breath.
I may for pitie perchaunce
Thy lost libertie re store,
Vpon thine othe with this penaunce,
That while thou liuest thou neuer loue no more.

This condition seeming to Sultan *Ribuska* very hard to performe, and cruell to be enioyned him, doeth by another figure in Taper, signifying hope, answere the Lady *Selamour*, which dittie for lack of time I translated not.

Of the Spire or Taper called Pyramis.

The Taper is the longest and sharpest triangle that is, & while he mounts vpward he waxeth continually more slender, taking both his figure and name of the fire, whose flame, if ye marke it, is alwaies pointed, and naturally by his forme couets to clymbe: the Greekes call him *Pyramis*, of πῦρ. The Latines, in use of Architecture, called him *Obeliscus*. It holdeth the altitude of six ordinary triangles, and in metrifying his base can

not well be larger then a meetre of six; therefore in his altitude he wil require diuers rabates to hold so many sizes of meetres as shall serue for his composition, for neare the toppe there wilbe roome litle inough for a meetre of two sillables, and sometimes of one to finish the point. I haue set you downe one or two examples to try how ye can disgest the maner of the deuise.

Her Maiestie, for many parts in her most noble and vertuous nature to be found, resembled to the spire. Ye must begin beneath according to the nature of the deuice.

Skie. 1

Azurd 2
in the
assurde,

And better, [3]
And richer,
Much greter,

Crown & empir
After an hier
For to aspire 4
Like flame of fire
In forme of spire
To mount on hie,

Con ti nu al ly
With trauel & teen
Most gratious queen,
Ye haue made a vow, 5
Shews vs plainly how
Not fained but true,
To euery mans vew,
Shining cleere in you
Of so bright an hewe,
Euen thus vertewe

Vanish out of our sight
Till his fine top be quite
To Taper in the ayre 6
Endeuors soft and faire
By his kindly nature
Of tall comely stature
Like as this faire figure

From God, the fountaine of all good, are deriued into the world all good things: and vpon her maiestie all the good fortunes any worldly creature can be furnished with. Reade downward according to the nature of the deuice.

1 *God*
On
Hie
2 *From*
Aboue
Sends loue,
Wisedome,
Iu stice,
Cou rage,
Boun tie,
[3] *And doth geue*
Al that liue
Life & breath,
Hartsese, helth,
Children, welth,
Beauty, strength,
Restfull age,
And at length
A mild death,
4 *He doeth bestow*
All mens fortunes
Both high & low,
And the best things
That earth can haue
Or mankind craue,
Good queens & kings,
Fi nally is the same
Who gaue you (madam)
Seyson of this Crowne
With poure soueraigne,
5 *Impug nable right.*
Redoubtable might,
Most prosperous raigne,
Eternall re nowme,
And that your chiefest is
Sure hope of heauens blis.

The Piller, Pillaster, or Cillinder.

The Piller is a figure among all the rest of the Geometricall most beawtifull, in respect that he is tall and vpright and of one bignesse from the bottom to the toppe.

In Architecture he is considered with two aecessarie parts, a pedestall or base, and a chapter or head; the body is the shaft. By this figure is signified stay, support, rest, state, and magnificence. Your dittie then being reduced into the forme of the Piller, his base will require to beare the brea[d]th of a meetre of six or seuen or eight sillables; the shaft of foure; the chapter egall with the base. Of this proportion I will giue you one or two examples, which may suffise.

Her Maiestie resembled to the crowned pillar. Ye must read vpward.

Is blisse with immortalitie.
Her trymest top of all ye see
Garnish the crowne,
Her iust renowne
Chapter and head,
Part that maintain
And womanhead
Her mayden raigne
In te gri tie:
In ho nour and
With ve ri tie,
Her roundnes stand
Strengthen the state.
By their increase
With out de bate
Concord and peace
Of her sup port,
They be the base
With stedfastnesse
Vertue and grace
Stay, and comfort;
Of Albi ons rest,
The sounde Pillar
And seene a farre
Is plainely exprest
Tall stately and strayt
By this no ble pour trayt

Philo to the Lady Calia sendeth this Odelet of her prayse in forme of a Piller, which ye must read downeward.

Thy Princely port and Maiestie
Is my ter rene dei tie,
Thy wit and sence
The streame & source
Of e lo quence
And deepe discours,
Thy faire eyes are
My bright loadstarre,
Thy speache a darte
Percing my harte,
Thy face, a las,
My loo king glasse,
Thy loue ly lookes
My prayer bookes,
Thy pleasant cheare
My sunshine cleare,
Thy ru full sight
My darke midnight,
Thy will the stent
Of my con tent,
Thy glo rye flour
Of myne ho nour,
Thy loue doth giue
The lyfe I lyue,
Thy lyfe it is
Mine earthly blisse:
But grace & fauour in thine eies
My bodies soule & souls paradise.

The Roundell or Spheare.

The most excellent of all the figures Geometrical is the Round, for his many perfections. First, because he is euen & smooth, without any angle or interruption, most voluble and apt to turne, and to continue motion, which is the author of life: he conteyneth in him the commodious description of euery other figure, & for his

ample capacitie doth resemble the world or vniuers, & for his indefinitenesse, hauing no speciall place of beginning nor end, beareth a similitude with God and eternitie. This figure hath three principall partes in his nature and vse much considerable: the circle, the beame, and the center. The circle is his largest compasse or circumference; the center is his middle and indiuisible point; the beame is a line stretching directly from the circle to the center, & contrariwise from the center to the circle. By this description our maker may fashion his meetre in Roundel, either with the circumference, and that is circlewise, or from the circumference, that is like a beame, or by the circumference, and that is ouerthwart and dyametrally from one side of the circle to the other.

A generall resemblance of the Roundell to God, the World, and the Queene.

All and whole, and euer, and one,
Single, simple, eche where, alone,
These be counted, as Clerkes can tell,
True properties of the Roundell.
His still turning by consequence
And change doe breede both life and sence.
Time, measure of stirre and rest,
Is also by his course exprest.
How swift the circle stirre aboue,
His center point doeth neuer moue:
All things that euer were or be
Are closde in his concauitie.
And though he be still turnde and tost,
No roome there wants, nor none is lost.
The Roundell hath no bonch nor angle,
Which may his course stay or entangle.
The furthest part of all his spheare
Is equally both farre and neare.
So doth none other figure fare
Where natures chattels closed are:

And beyond his wide compasse
There is no body nor no place,
Nor any wit that comprehends
Where it begins, or where it ends:
And therefore all men doe agree,
That it purports eternitie.
God aboue the heauens so hie
Is this Roundell; in world the skie;
Vpon earth she who beares the bell
Of maydes and Queenes is this Roundell:
All and whole, and euer alone,
Single, sans peere, simple, and one.

A special and particular resemblance of her Maiestie to the Roundell.

First her authoritie regall
Is the circle compassing all,
The dominion great and large
Which God hath geuen to her charge:
Within which most spatious bound
She enuirons her people round,
Retaining them by oth and liegeance
Within the pale of true obeysance,
Holding imparked, as it were,
Her people like to heards of deere,
Sitting among them in the middes
Where she allowes and bannes and bids,
In what fashion she list and when,
The seruices of all her men.
Out of her breast as from an eye
Issue the rayes incessantly
Of her iustice, bountie, and might,
Spreading abroad their beames so bright,
And reflect not, till they attaine
The fardest part of her domaine.
And makes eche subiect clearely see
What he is bounden for to be
To God, his Prince, and common wealth,
His neighbour, kinred, and to himselfe.

The same centre and middle pricke,
Whereto our deedes are drest so thicke,
From all the parts and outmost side
Of her Monarchie large and wide,
Also fro whence reflect these rayes
Twentie hundred maner of wayes,
Where her will is them to conuey
Within the circle of her suruey.
So is the Queene of Briton ground,
Beame, circle, center of all my round.

Of the Square or Quadrangle equilater.

The Square is of all other accompted the figure of most solliditie and stedfastnesse, and for his owne stay and firmitie requireth none other base then himselfe, and therefore as the Roundell or Spheare is appropriat to the heauens, the Spire to the element of the fire, the Triangle to the ayre, and the Lozange to the water, so is the Square for his inconcussable steadinesse likened to the earth, which perchaunce might be the reason that the Prince of Philosophers, in his first booke of the *Ethicks*, termeth a constant minded man euen egal and direct on all sides, and not easily ouerthrowne by euery litle aduersitie, *hominem quadratum*, a square man. Into this figure may ye reduce your ditties by vsing no moe verses then your verse is of sillables, which will make him fall out square; if ye go aboue it wil grow into the figure *Trapezion*, which is some portion longer then square. I neede not giue you any example, bycause in good arte all your ditties, Odes, & Epigrammes should keepe & not exceede the nomber of twelue verses, and the longest verse to be of twelue sillables & not aboue, but vnder that number as much as ye will.

The figure Ouall.

This figure taketh his name of an egge, and also as it is thought his first origine, and is, as it were, a bastard or

imperfect rounde declining toward a longitude, and yet keeping within one line for his periferie or compasse as the rounde; and it seemeth that he receiueth this forme not as an imperfection by any impediment vnnaturally hindring his rotunditie, but by the wisedome and prouidence of nature for the commoditie of generation, in such of her creatures as bring not forth a liuely body (as do foure footed beasts), but in stead thereof a certaine quantitie of shapelesse matter contained in a vessell, which, after it is sequestred from the dames body, receiueth life and perfection, as in the egges of birdes, fishes, and serpents: for the matter being of some quantitie, and to issue out at a narrow place, for the easie passage thereof it must of necessitie beare such shape as might not be sharpe and greeuous to passe, as an angle, nor so large or obtuse as might not essay some issue out with one part moe then other, as the rounde; therefore it must be slenderer in some part, & yet not without a rotunditie & smoothnesse to giue the rest an easie deliuerie. Such is the figure Ouall whom for his antiquitie, dignitie, and vse, I place among the rest of the figures to embellish our proportions: of this sort are diuers of *Anacreons* ditties, and those other of the Grecian Liricks who wrate wanton amorous deuises, to solace their witts with all; and many times they would (to giue it right shape of an egge) deuide a word in the midst, and peece out the next verse with the other halfe, as ye may see by perusing their meetres[1].

Of the Deuice or Embleme, and that other which the Greekes call Anagramma, and we the Posie transposed.

And besides all the remembred points of Metricall proportion, ye haue yet two other sorts of some affinitie with

[1] The two following paragraphs, 'Of the deuice or embleme' and 'Of the Anagrame,' are inserted in the British Museum copy. They occupy eight pages, but have no page-numbers.

them, which also first issued out of the Poets head, and whereof the Courtly maker was the principall artificer, hauing many high conceites and curious imaginations, with leasure inough to attend his idle inuentions: and these be the short, quicke, and sententious propositions, such as be at these dayes all your deuices of armes and other amorous inscriptions which courtiers vse to giue and also to weare in liuerie for the honour of their ladies, and commonly containe but two or three words of wittie sentence or secrete conceit till they [be] vnfolded or explaned by some interpretation. For which cause they be commonly accompanied with a figure or purtraict of ocular representation, the words so aptly corresponding to the subtilitie of the figure that aswel the eye is therwith recreated as the eare or the mind. The Greekes call it *Emblema*, the Italiens *Impresa*, and we, a Deuice, such as a man may put into letters of gold and sende to his mistresses for a token, or cause to be embrodered in scutchions of armes, or in any bordure of a rich garment to giue by his noueltie maruell to the beholder. Such were the figures and inscriptions the Romane Emperours gaue in their money and coignes of largesse, and in other great medailles of siluer and gold, as that of the Emperour *Augustus*, an arrow entangled by the fish *Remora*, with these words, *Festina lente*, signifying that celeritie is to be vsed with deliberation; all great enterprises being for the most part either ouerthrowen with hast or hindred by delay, in which case leasure in th'aduice and speed in th'execution make a very good match for a glorious successe.

Th'Emperour *Heliogabalus*, by his name alluding to the sunne, which in Greeke is *Helios*, gaue for his deuice the cœlestial sunne, with these words *Soli inuicto*: the subtilitie lyeth in the word *soli* which hath a double sense, viz. to the Sunne, and to him onely.

We our selues attributing that most excellent figure, for his incomparable beauty and light, to the person of our Soueraigne lady, altring the mot, made it farre passe that of Th'Emperour *Heliogabalus* both for subtilitie and multiplicitie of sense, thus, *Soli nunquam deficienti*, To her onely that neuer failes, viz. in bountie and munificence toward all hers that deserue, or else thus, To her onely whose glorie and good fortune may neuer decay or wane. And so it inureth as a wish by way of resemblaunce in *Simile dissimile*, which is also a subtillitie, likening her Maiestie to the Sunne for his brightnesse, but not to him for his passion, which is ordinarily to go to glade, and sometime to suffer eclypse.

King *Edwarde* the thirde, her Maiesties most noble progenitour, first founder of the famous order of the Garter, gaue this posie with it, *Honi soit qui mal y pense*, commonly thus Englished, Ill be to him that thinketh ill, but in mine opinion better thus, Dishonored be he who meanes vnhonorably. There can not be a more excellent deuise, nor that could containe larger intendment, nor greater subtilitie, nor (as a man may say) more vertue or Princely generositie. For first he did by it mildly & grauely reproue the peruers construction of such noble men in his court as imputed the kings wearing about his neck the garter of the lady with whom he danced to some amorous alliance betwixt them, which was not true. He also iustly defended his owne integritie, saued the noble womans good renowme, which by licentious speeches might haue bene empaired, and liberally recompenced her iniurie with an honor, such as none could haue bin deuised greater nor more glorious or permanent vpon her and all the posteritie of her house. It inureth also as a worthy lesson and discipline for all Princely personages, whose actions, imaginations, countenances, and speeches should euermore correspond in all trueth and honorable simplicitie.

Charles the fift Emperour, euen in his yong yeares shewing his valour and honorable ambition, gaue for his new order the golden Fleece, vsurping it vpon Prince Iason and his Argonauts rich spoile brought from *Cholcos.* But for his deuice two pillers with this mot *Plus vltra,* as one not content to be restrained within the limits that *Hercules* had set for an vttermost bound to all his trauailes, viz. two pillers in the mouth of the straight *Gibraltare,* but would go furder: which came fortunately to passe, and whereof the good successe gaue great commendation to his deuice; for by the valiancy of his Captaines before he died he conquered great part of the west Indias, neuer knowen to *Hercules* or any of our world before.

In the same time (seeming that the heauens and starres had conspired to replenish the earth with Princes and gouernours of great courage and most famous conquerours) *Selim,* Emperour of Turkie, gaue for his deuice a croissant or new moone, promising to himself increase of glory and enlargement of empire til he had brought all Asia vnder his subiection, which he reasonably well accomplished. For in lesse then eight yeres which he raigned he conquered all Syria and Egypt, and layd it to his dominion. This deuice afterward was vsurped by *Henry* the second, French king, with this mot, *Donec totum compleat orbem,* till he be at his full; meaning it not so largely as did *Selim,* but onely that his friendes should knowe how vnable he was to do them good and to shew benificence vntil he attained the crowne of France, vnto which he aspired as next successour.

King *Lewis* the twelfth, a valiant and magnanimous prince, who because hee was on euery side enuironed with mightie neighbours, and most of them his enemies, to let them perceiue that they should not finde him vnable or vnfurnished (incase they should offer any vnlawfull hostillitie) of sufficient forces of his owne, aswell to offende as

to defend, and to reuenge an iniurie as to repulse it, he gaue for his deuice the Porkespick with this posie, *pres & loign*, both farre and neare. For the Purpentines nature is, to such as stand aloofe, to dart her prickles from her, and, if they come neare her, with the same as they sticke fast to wound them that hurt her.

But of late yeares in the ransacke of the Cities of *Cartagena* and S. *Dominico* in the West Indias, manfully put in execution by the prowesse of her Maiesties men, there was found a deuice made peraduenture without King *Philips* knowledge, wrought al in massiue copper, a king sitting on horsebacke vpon a *monde* or world, the horse prauncing forward with his forelegges as if he would leape of, with this inscription, *Non sufficit orbis*, meaning, as it is to be conceaued, that one whole world could not content him. This immeasurable ambition of the Spaniards, if her Maiestie by Gods prouidence had not with her forces prouidently stayed and retranched, no man knoweth what inconuenience might in time haue insued to all the Princes and common wealthes in Christendome, who haue founde them selues long annoyed with his excessiue greatnesse.

Atila, king of the Huns, inuading France with an army of 300000 fighting men, as it is reported, thinking vtterly to abbase the glory of the Romane Empire, gaue for his deuice of armes a sword with a firie point and these words, *Ferro & flamma*, with sword and fire. This very deuice, being as ye see onely accommodate to a king or conquerour and not a coillen or any meane souldier, a certaine base man of England, being knowen euen at that time a bricklayer or mason by his science, gaue for his crest: whom it had better become to beare a truell full of morter then a sword and fire, which is onely the reuenge of a Prince, and lieth not in any other mans abilitie to performe, vnlesse ye will allow it to euery poore knaue that is able to set fire on a thacht house. The heraldes

ought to vse great discretion in such matters: for neither any rule of their arte doth warrant such absurdities, nor though such a coat or crest were gained by a prisoner taken in the field, or by a flag found in some ditch & neuer fought for (as many times happens), yet is it no more allowable then it were to beare the deuice of *Tamerlan*, an Emperour in Tartary, who gaue the lightning of heauen, with a posie in that language purporting these words, *Ira Dei*, which also appeared well to answer his fortune. For from a sturdie shepeheard he became a most mighty Emperour, and with his innumerable great armies desolated so many countreyes and people as he might iustly be called *the wrath of God*. It appeared also by his strange ende, for in the midst of his greatnesse and prosperitie he died sodainly, & left no child or kinred for a successour to so large an Empire, nor any memory after him more then of his great puissance and crueltie.

But that of the king of China in the fardest part of the Orient, though it be not so terrible, is no lesse admirable, & of much sharpnesse and good implication, worthy for the greatest king and conqueror: and it is, two strange serpents entertangled in their amorous congresse, the lesser creeping with his head into the greaters mouth, with words purporting *ama & time*, loue & feare. Which posie with maruellous much reason and subtillity implieth the dutie of euery subiect to his Prince, and of euery Prince to his subiect, and that without either of them both no subiect could be sayd entirely to performe his liegeance, nor the Prince his part of lawfull gouernement. For without feare and loue the soueraigne authority could not be vpholden, nor without iustice and mercy the Prince be renowmed and honored of his subiect. All which parts are discouered in this figure: loue by the serpents amorous entertangling; obedience and feare by putting the inferiours head into the others mouth hauing puissance to

destroy. On th'other side, iustice in the greater to prepare and manace death and destruction to offenders; and if he spare it, then betokeneth it mercie, and a grateful recompence of the loue and obedience which the soueraigne receaueth.

It is also worth the telling how the king vseth the same in pollicie; he giueth it in his ordinarie liueries to be worne in euery vpper garment of all his noblest men and greatest Magistrats & the rest of his officers and seruants, which are either embrodered vpon the breast and the back with siluer or gold or pearle or stone more or lesse richly, according to euery mans dignitie and calling, and they may not presume to be seene in publick without them, nor also in any place where by the kings commission they vse to sit in iustice, or any other publike affaire; wherby the king is highly both honored and serued, the common people retained in dutie and admiration of his greatnesse, the noblemen, magistrats, and officers euery one in his degree so much esteemed & reuerenced, as in their good and loyall seruice they want vnto their persons litle lesse honour for the kings sake then can be almost due or exhibited to the king him selfe.

I could not forbeare to adde this forraine example to accomplish our discourse touching deuices. For the beauty and gallantnesse of it, besides the subtillitie of the conceit, and princely pollicy in the vse, more exact then can be remembred in any other of any *European* Prince; whose deuises I will not say but many of them be loftie and ingenious, many of them louely and beautifull, many other ambitious and arrogant, and the chiefest of them terrible and ful of horror to the nature of man, but that any of them be comparable with it, for wit, vertue, grauitie, and if ye list brauerie, honour, and magnificence, not vsurping vpon the peculiars of the gods—in my conceipt there is none to be found.

This may suffice for deuices, a terme which includes in his generality all those other, viz. liueries, cognizances, emblemes, enseigns, and impreses. For though the termes be diuers, the vse and intent is but one, whether they rest in colour or figure or both, or in word or in muet shew, and that is to insinuat some secret, wittie, morall, and braue purpose presented to the beholder, either to recreate his eye, or please his phantasie, or examine his iudgement, or occupie his braine, or to manage his will either by hope or by dread, euery of which respectes be of no litle moment to the interest and ornament of the ciuill life, and therefore giue them no little commendation. Then hauing produced so many worthy and wise founders of these deuices, and so many puissant patrons and protectours of them, I feare no reproch in this discourse, which otherwise the venimous appetite of enuie by detraction or scorne would peraduenture not sticke to offer me.

Of the Anagrame, or Posie transposed.

One other pretie conceit we will impart vnto you and then trouble you with no more, and is also borrowed primitiuely of the Poet, or courtly maker we may terme him, the *posie transposed*, or in one word *a transpose*, a thing if it be done for pastime and exercise of the wit without superstition commendable inough and a meete study for Ladies, neither bringing them any great gayne nor any great losse, vnlesse it be of idle time. They that vse it for pleasure is to breed one word out of another, not altering any letter nor the number of them, but onely transposing of the same, wherupon many times is produced some grateful newes or matter to them for whose pleasure and seruice it was intended: and bicause there is much difficultie in it, and altogether standeth upon hap hazard, it is compted for a courtly conceit no lesse then the deuice

before remembred. *Lycophron*, one of the seuen Greeke Lyrickes who when they met together (as many times they did) for their excellencie and louely concorde were called the seuen starres, *pleiades*, this man was very perfit & fortunat in these transposes, & for his delicate wit and other good parts was greatly fauoured by *Ptolome* king of Egypt and Queene *Arsinoe* his wife. He after such sort called the king ἀπομελίτος, which is letter for letter *Ptolomaeus*, and Queene *Arsinoe* he called ἴον ἥρας, which is *Arsinoe*: now the subtillitie lyeth not in the conuersion but in the sence, in this that *Apomelitos* signifieth in Greek *hony sweet*, so was *Ptolome* the sweetest natured man in the world both for countenance and conditions, and *Ioneras* signifieth the violet or flower of *Iuno*, a stile among the Greekes for a woman endued with all bewtie and magnificence; which construction, falling out grateful and so truly, exceedingly well pleased the King and the Queene, and got *Lycophron* no litle thanke and benefite at both their hands.

The French Gentlemen haue very sharpe witts and withall a delicate language, which may very easily be wrested to any alteration of words sententious, and they of late yeares haue taken this pastime vp among them, many times gratifying their Ladies, and often times the Princes of the Realme, with some such thankfull noueltie. Whereof one made by *François de Vallois* thus, *De façon suis Roy*, who in deede was of fashion, countenance, and stature, besides his regall vertues, a very king, for in a world there could not be seene a goodlier man of person. Another found this by *Henry de Vallois, Roy de nulz hay*, a king hated of no man, and was apparant in his conditions and nature, for there was not a Prince of greater affabilitie and mansuetude than he.

I my selfe seeing this conceit so well allowed of in Fraunce and Italie, and being informed that her Maiestie

tooke pleasure sometimes in desciphring of names, and hearing how diuers Gentlemen of her Court had essayed but with no great felicitie to make some delectable transpose of her Maiesties name, I would needs try my luck, for cunning I [k]now not why I should call it, vnlesse it be for the many and variable applications of sence, which requireth peraduenture some wit & discretion more then of euery vnlearned man; and for the purpose I tooke me these three wordes (if any other in the world) containing in my conceit greatest mysterie, and most importing good to all them that now be aliue vnder her noble gouernement,

Elissabet Anglorum Regina.

Which orthographie (because ye shall not be abused) is true & not mistaken, for the letter *zeta* of the Hebrewes & Greeke and of all other toungs is in truth but a double *ss*, hardly vttered, and *H* is but a note of aspiration onely and no letter, which therefore is by the Greeks omitted. Vpon the transposition I found this to redound:

Multa regnabis ense gloria.
By thy sword shalt thou raigne in great renowne.

Then transposing the word *ense* it came to be

Multa regnabis sene gloria.
Aged and in much glorie shall ye raigne.

Both which resultes falling out vpon the very first marshalling of the letters, without any darknesse or difficultie, and so sensibly and well appropriat to her Maiesties person and estate, and finally so effectually to mine own wish (which is a matter of much moment in such cases), I took them both for a good boding, and very fatallitie to her Maiestie appointed by Gods prouidence for all our comfortes. Also I imputed it for no litle good luck and glorie to my selfe to haue pronounced to her so good and pros-

perous a fortune, and so thankefull newes to all England, which though it cannot be said by this euent any destinie or fatal necessitie, yet surely is it by all probabillitie of reason so likely to come to passe as any other worldly euent of things that be vncertaine, her Maiestie continuing the course of her most regal proceedings and vertuous life in all earnest zeale and godly contemplation of his word, & in the sincere administration of his terrene iustice, assigned ouer to her execution as his Lieutenant vpon earth within the compasse of her dominions.

This also is worth the noting, and I will assure you of it, that, after the first search whereupon this transpose was fashioned, the same letters being by me tossed & tranlaced fiue hundreth times, I could neuer make any other, at least of some sence & conformitie to her Maiesties estate and the case. If any other man by triall happen vpon a better omination, or what soeuer els ye will call it, I will reioyse to be ouermatched in my deuise, and renounce him all the thankes and profite of my trauaile[1].

When I wrate of these deuices, I smiled with my selfe, thinking that the readers would do so to, and many of them say, that such trifles as these might well haue bene spared, considering the world is full inough of them, and that it is pitie mens heades should be fedde with such vanities as are to none edification nor instruction, either of morall vertue or otherwise behooffull for the common wealth, to whose seruice (say they) we are all borne, and not to fill and replenish a whole world full of idle toyes. To which sort of reprehendours, being either all holy and mortified to the world, and therfore esteeming nothing that sauoureth not of Theologie, or altogether graue and worldly, and therefore caring for nothing but matters of pollicie & discourses of estate, or all giuen to thrift and passing for none art that is not gainefull and lucratiue, as the sciences

[1] The additional matter ends here. See p. 105, *note*.

of the Law, Phisicke, and marchaundise: to these I will giue none other answere then referre them to the many trifling poemes of *Homer*, *Ouid*, *Virgill*, *Catullus*, and other notable writers of former ages, which were not of any grauitie or seriousnesse, and many of them full of impudicitie and ribaudrie, as are not these of ours, nor for any good in the world should haue bene; and yet those trifles are come from many former siecles vnto our times, vncontrolled or condemned or supprest by any Pope or Patriarch or other seuere censor of the ciuill maners of men, but haue bene in all ages permitted as the conuenient solaces and recreations of mans wit. And as I can not denie but these conceits of mine be trifles, no lesse in very deede be all the most serious studies of man, if we shall measure grauitie and lightnesse by the wise mans ballance, who, after he had considered of all the profoundest artes and studies among men, in th'ende cryed out with this Epyphoneme, *Vanitas vanitatum & omnia vanitas.* Whose authoritie if it were not sufficient to make me beleeue so, I could be content with *Democritus* rather to condemne the vanities of our life by derision then as *Heraclitus* with teares, saying with that merrie Greeke thus,

Omnia sunt risus, sunt puluis, & omnia nil sunt.
Res hominum cunctae, nam ratione carent.

Thus Englished,

All is but a iest, all dust, all not worth two peason:
For why in mans matters is neither rime nor reason.

Now passing from these courtly trifles, let vs talke of our scholastical toyes, that is of the Grammaticall versifying of the Greeks and Latines, and see whether it might be reduced into our English arte or no.

CHAP. XIII.

HOW IF ALL MANER OF SODAINE INNOUATIONS WERE NOT VERY SCANDALOUS, SPECIALLY IN THE LAWES OF ANY LANGAGE OR ARTE, THE VSE OF THE GREEKE AND LATINE FEETE MIGHT BE BROUGHT INTO OUR VULGAR POESIE, AND WITH GOOD GRACE INOUGH.

Now neuerthelesse albeit we haue before alledged that our vulgar *Saxon English* standing most vpon wordes *monosillable*, and little vpon *polysillables*, doth hardly admit the vse of those fine inuented feete of the Greeks & Latines, and that for the most part wise and graue men doe naturally mislike with all sodaine innouations, specially of lawes (and this the law of our auncient English Poesie), and therefore lately before we imputed it to a nice & scholasticall curiositie in such makers as haue sought to bring into our vulgar Poesie some of the auncient feete, to wit the *Dactile* into verses *exameters*, as he that translated certaine bookes of *Virgils Eneydos* in such measures & not vncommendably—if I should now say otherwise, it would make me seeme contradictorie to my selfe : yet for the information of our yong makers, and pleasure of all others who be delighted in noueltie, and to th'intent we may not seeme by ignorance or ouersight to omit any point of subtillitie, materiall or necessarie to our vulgar arte, we will in this present chapter & by our own idle obseruations shew how one may easily and commodiously lead all those feete of the auncients into our vulgar langage; and if mens eares were not perchaunce to daintie, or their iudgementes ouer partiall, would peraduenture nothing at all misbecome our arte, but make in our meetres a more pleasant numerositie then now is. Thus farre therefore we will aduenture and not beyond, to th'intent to shew some singularitie in our arte that euery man hath not

heretofore obserued, and (her maiesty good liking always had) whether we make the common readers to laugh or to lowre, all is a matter, since our intent is not so exactlie to prosecute the purpose, nor so earnestly, as to thinke it should by authority of our owne iudgement be generally applauded at to the discredit of our forefathers maner of vulgar Poesie, or to the alteration or peraduenture totall destruction of the same, which could not stand with any good discretion or curtesie in vs to attempt; but thus much I say, that by some leasurable trauell it were no hard matter to induce all their auncient feete into vse with vs, and that it should proue very agreable to the eare and well according with our ordinary times and pronunciation, which no man could then iustly mislike, and that is to allow euery word *polisillable* one long time of necessitie, which should be where his sharpe accent falls in our owne *ydiome* most aptly and naturally, wherein we would not follow the licence of the Greeks and Latines, who made not their sharpe accent any necessary prolongation of their times, but vsed such sillable sometimes long, sometimes short, at their pleasure; the other sillables of any word where the sharpe accent fell not to be accompted of such time and quantitie as his *ortographie* would best beare, hauing regard to himselfe or to his next neighbour word bounding him on either side, namely to the smoothnes & hardnesse of the sillable in his vtterance, which is occasioned altogether by his *ortographie* & scituation; as in this word *dáyly* the first sillable for his vsuall and sharpe accentes sake to be alwayes long, the second for his flat accents sake to be alwayes short, and the rather for his *ortographie*, bycause if he goe before another word commencing with a vowell not letting him to be eclipsed, his vtterance is easie & currant; in this trissillable *daūngĕrŏus* the first to be long, th'other two short for the same causes; in this word *dāngĕroŭsnēsse* the first & last to be both

long, bycause they receiue both of them the sharpe accent, and the two middlemost to be short; in these words *remedie* & *remedilesse* the time to follow also the accent, so as if it please better to set the sharpe accent vpon *re* then vpon *dye* that sillable should be made long and *e conuerso*; but in this word *remedilesse*, bycause many like better to accent the sillable *me* then the sillable *les*, therfore I leaue him for a common sillable to be able to receiue both a long and a short time as occasion shall serue. The like law I set in these wordes *reuocable*, *recouerable*, *irreuocable*, *irrecouerable*, for sometime it sounds better to say *rĕuŏ cāblĕ* then *rĕ uōcăblĕ*, *rēcŏuĕr āblĕ* then *rĕcōuĕr ăblĕ*: for this one thing ye must alwayes marke that if your time fall either by reason of his sharpe accent or otherwise vpon the *penultima*, ye shal finde many other words to rime with him, bycause such terminations are not geazon, but if the long time fall vpon the *antepenultima* ye shall not finde many wordes to match him in his termination, which is the cause of his concord or rime, but if you would let your long time by his sharpe accent fall aboue the *antepenultima*, as to say *cōuĕrăblĕ*, ye shall seldome or perchance neuer find one to make vp rime with him, vnlesse it be badly and by abuse; and therefore in all such long *polisillables* ye doe commonly giue two sharpe accents, and thereby reduce him into two feete, as in this word *rēmŭ nĕrālĭŏn* which makes a couple of good *dactils*, and in this word *cōntrībūtĭŏn* which makes a good *spondeus* and a good *dactill*, and in this word *recāpĭtŭlātĭŏn* it makes two *dactills* and a sillable ouerplus to annexe to the word precedent to helpe peece vp another foote. But for wordes *monosillables* (as be most of ours), because in pronouncing them they do of necessitie retaine a sharpe accent, ye may iustly allow them to be all long if they will so best serue your turne, and, if they be tailed one to another, or th'one to a *dissillable* or *polyssillable*, ye ought to allow them that

time that best serues your purpose and pleaseth your eare most, and truliest aunsweres the nature of the *ortographie*, in which I would as neare as I could obserue and keepe the lawes of the Greeke and Latine versifiers, that is to prolong the sillable which is written with double consonants or by dipthong or with single consonants that run hard and harshly vpon the toung, and to shorten all sillables that stand vpon vowels, if there were no cause of *elision*, and single consonants & such of them as are most flowing and slipper vpon the toung, as *n, r, t, d, l*; and for this purpose to take away all aspirations, and many times the last consonant of a word, as the Latine Poetes vsed to do, specially *Lucretius* and *Ennius*, as to say *finibu* for *finibus*; and so would not I stick to say thus *delite* for *delight*, *hye* for *high*, and such like, & doth nothing at all impugne the rule I gaue before against the wresting of wordes by false *ortographie* to make vp rime, which may not be falsified. But this omission of letters in the middest of a meetre to make him the more slipper helpes the numerositie and hinders not the rime. But generally the shortning or prolonging of the *monosillables* dependes much vpon the nature of their *ortographie*, which the Latin Grammariens call the rule of position; as for example, if I shall say thus,

Nōt mănĭe dayēs pāst. Twentie dayes after.

This makes a good *dactill* and a good *spondeus*, but if ye turne them backward it would not do so, as

Many dayes, not past.

And the *distick* made all of *monosillables*:

Būt nōne ōf ūs trūe mēn ānd frēe,
Could finde so great good lucke as he.

Which words serue well to make the verse all *spondiacke* or *iambicke*, but not in *dactil*, as other words or the same

otherwise placed would do, for it were an ill-fauored *dactil* to say,

Būt nŏne ŏf, ūs ăll trĕwe.

Therefore, whensoeuer your words will not make a smooth *dactil*, ye must alter them or their situations, or else turne them to other feete that may better beare their maner of sound and orthographie; or, if the word be *polysillable*, to deuide him, and to make him serue by peeces, that he could not do whole and entierly. And no doubt by like consideration did the Greeke & Latine versifiers fashion all their feete at the first to be of sundry times, and the selfe same sillable to be sometime long and sometime short, for the eares better satisfaction, as hath bene before remembred.

Now also wheras I said before that our old Saxon English for his many *monosillables* did not naturally admit the vse of the ancient feete in our vulgar measures so aptly as in those languages which stood most vpon *polisillables*, I sayd it in a sort truly, but now I must recant and confesse that our Normane English which hath growen since *William* the Conquerour doth admit any of the auncient feete, by reason of the many *polysillables*, euen to sixe and seauen in one word, which we at this day vse in our most ordinarie language; and which corruption hath bene occasioned chiefly by the peeuish affectation not of the Normans them selues, but of clerks and scholers or secretaries long since, who, not content with the vsual Normane or Saxon word, would conuert the very Latine and Greeke word into vulgar French, as to say innumerable for innombrable, reuocable, irreuocable, irradiation, depopulation, & such like, which are not naturall Normans nor yet French, but altered Latines, and without any imitation at all; which therefore were long time despised for inkehorne termes, and now be reputed the best & most delicat of any other. Of which & many other causes of

corruption of our speach we haue in another place more amply discoursed; but by this meane we may at this day very well receiue the auncient feete *metricall* of the Greeks and Latines, sauing those that be superflous, as be all the feete aboue the *trissillable*, which the old Grammarians idly inuented and distinguisht by speciall names, whereas in deede the same do stand compounded with the inferiour feete, and therefore some of them were called by the names of *didactilus*, *dispondeus*, and *disiambus*: all which feete, as I say, we may be allowed to vse with good discretion & precise choise of wordes and with the fauorable approbation of readers; and so shall our plat in this one point be larger and much surmount that which *Stanihurst* first tooke in hand by his *exameters dactilicke* and *spondaicke* in the translation of *Virgills Eneidos*, and such as for a great number of them my stomacke can hardly digest for the ill shapen sound of many of his wordes *polisillable*, and also his copulation of *monosillables* supplying the quantitie of a *trissillable* to his intent. And right so in promoting this deuise of ours, being (I feare me) much more nyce and affected, and therefore more misliked then his, we are to bespeake fauour, first of the delicate eares, then of the rigorous and seuere dispositions, lastly to craue pardon of the learned & auncient makers in our vulgar; for if we should seeke in euery point to egall our speach with the Greeke and Latin in their *metricall* obseruations it could not possible be by vs perfourmed, because their sillables came to be timed some of them long, some of them short, not by reason of any euident or apparant cause in writing or sounde remaining vpon one more then another, for many times they shortned the sillable of sharpe accent and made long that of the flat, & therefore we must needes say it was in many of their wordes done by preelection in the first Poetes, not hauing regard altogether to the *ortographie* and hardnesse or

softnesse of a sillable, consonant, vowell, or dipthong, but at their pleasure, or as it fell out: so as he that first put in a verse this word *Penelope*, which might be *Homer* or some other of his antiquitie, where he made *pē* in both places long and *nĕ* and *lŏ* short, he might haue made them otherwise and with as good reason, nothing in the world appearing that might moue them to make such preelection more in th'one sillable then in the other, for *pe*, *ne*, and *lo* being sillables vocals be egally smoth and currant vpon the toung, and might beare aswel the long as the short time, but it pleased the Poet otherwise: so he that first shortned *ca* in this word *cano*, and made long *tro* in *troia*, and *o* in *oris*, might haue aswell done the contrary, but because he that first put them into a verse found, as it is to be supposed, a more sweetnesse in his owne eare to haue them so tymed, therefore all other Poets who followed were fayne to doe the like, which made that *Virgill*, who came many yeares after the first reception of wordes in their seuerall times, was driuen of necessitie to accept them in such quantities as they were left him, and therefore said,

ārmă uĭ rūmqŭe că nō trō iē quī prīmŭs ăb ōrĭs.

Neither truely doe I see any other reason in that lawe (though in other rules of shortning and prolonging a sillable there may be reason) but that it stands vpon bare tradition. Such as the *Cabalists* auouch in their mysticall constructions Theologicall and others, saying that they receaued the same from hand to hand from the first parent *Adam*, *Abraham*, and others; which I will giue them leaue alone both to say and beleeue for me, thinking rather that they haue bene the idle occupations or perchaunce the malitious and craftie constructions of the *Talmudists* and others of the Hebrue clerks, to bring the world into admiration of their lawes and Religion. Now peraduenture with vs Englishmen it be somewhat

too late to admit a new inuention of feete and times that our forefathers neuer vsed nor neuer obserued till this day, either in their measures or in their pronuntiation, and perchaunce will seeme in vs a presumptuous part to attempt, considering also it would be hard to find many men to like of one mans choise in the limitation of times and quantities of words, with which not one but euery eare is to be pleased and made a particular iudge, being most truly sayd that a multitude or comminaltie is hard to please and easie to offend; and therefore I intend not to proceed any further in this curiositie then to shew some small subtillitie that any other hath not yet done, and not by imitation but by obseruation, nor to th'intent to haue it put in execution in our vulgar Poesie, but to be pleasantly scanned vpon, as are all nouelties so friuolous and ridiculous as it.

CHAP. XIV.

A MORE PARTICULAR DECLARATION OF THE METRICALL FEETE OF THE ANCIENT POETS GREEKE AND LATINE, AND CHIEFLY OF THE FEETE OF TWO TIMES.

Their Grammarians made a great multitude of feete, I wot not to what huge number, and of so many sizes as their wordes were of length, namely sixe sizes; whereas, in deede, the metricall feete are but twelue in number, wherof foure only be of two times, and eight of three times, the rest compounds of the premised two sorts, euen as the Arithmeticall numbers aboue three are made of two and three. And if ye will know how many of these feete will be commodiously receiued with vs, I say all the whole twelue. For first for the foote *spondeus* of two long times, ye haue these English wordes *mōrnīng*, *mīdnīght*, *mīschāunce*, and a number moe whose ortographie may direct your iudgement in this point: for your *trocheus* of a long

and short, ye haue these wordes *mānĕr, brōkĕn, tākĕn, bōdiĕ, mēmbĕr,* and a great many moe, if their last sillables abut not vpon the consonant in the beginning of another word, and in these, whether they do abut or no, *wītlĭe, dītlĭe, sōrrŏw, mōrrŏw,* & such like, which end in a vowell. For your *iambus* of a short and a long, ye haue these wordes *rĕstōre, rĕmōrse, dĕsīre, ĕndūre,* and a thousand besides. For your foote *pirrichius* or of two short silables, ye haue these words *mănĭe, mŏnĕy, pĕnĭe, sĭlĭĕ,* and others of that constitution or the like. For your feete of three times, and first your *dactill,* ye haue these wordes & a number moe, *pātĭĕnce, tēmpĕrănce, wōmănheăd, īōlĭtĭe, dāungĕrŏus, dūetĭfŭll,* and others. For your *molossus* of all three long, ye haue a number of wordes also, and specially most of your participles actiue, as *pērsīstīng, dēspōilīng, ēndēntīng,* and such like in ortographie: for your *anapestus* of two short and a long, ye haue these words but not many moe, as *mănĭfōld, mŏnĭlēsse, rĕmănēnt, hŏlĭnēsse.* For your foote *tribracchus* of all three short, ye haue very few *trissillables,* because the sharpe accent will always make one of them long by pronunciation, which els would be by ortographie short, as *mĕrĭly, minion,* & such like. For your foote *bacchius* of a short & two long, ye haue these and the like words *trissillables, lămēntīng, rĕquēstīng, rĕnoūncīng, rĕpēntance, ĕnūrīng.* For your foote *antibacchius* of two long and a short, ye haue these wordes, *fōrsākĕn, īmpūgnĕd,* and others many. For your *amphimacer,* that is a long, a short, and a long, ye haue these wordes and many moe, *excellĕnt, īmĭnĕnt,* and specially such as be proper names of persons or townes or other things, and namely Welsh wordes. For your foote *amphibracchus* of a short, a long, and a short, ye haue these wordes and many like to these, *rĕsīstĕd, dĕlīghtfŭll, rĕprīsăll, ĭnaūntĕr, ĕnāmĭll.* So as for want of English wordes, if your eare be not to daintie and your rules to precise, ye neede not

be without the *metricall* feete of the ancient Poets such as be most pertinent and not superfluous. This is (ye will perchaunce say) my singular opinion: then ye shall see how well I can maintaine it. First, the quantitie of a word comes either by preelection, without reason or force as hath bene alledged, and as the auncient Greekes and Latines did in many wordes, but not in all; or by election, with reason as they did in some, and not a few. And a sound is drawen at length either by the infirmitie of the toung, because the word or sillable is of such letters as hangs long in the palate or lippes ere he will come forth, or because he is accented and tuned hier and sharper then another, whereby he somewhat obscureth the other sillables in the same word that be not accented so high— in both these cases we will establish our sillable long; contrariwise, the shortning of a sillable is when his sounde or accent happens to be heauy and flat, that is to fall away speedily and as it were inaudible, or when he is made of such letters as be by nature slipper & voluble and smoothly passe from the mouth. And the vowell is alwayes more easily deliuered then the consonant; and of consonants the liquide more then the mute, & a single consonant more then a double, and one more then twayne coupled together: all which points were obserued by the Greekes and Latines, and allowed for *maximes* in versifying. Now if ye will examine these foure *bissillables, rēmnānt, rĕmāine, rēndĕr, rĕnĕt,* for an example by which ye may make a generall rule, and ye shall finde that they aunswere our first resolution. First in *remnant, rem,* bearing the sharpe accent and hauing his consonant abbut vpon another, soundes long. The sillable *nant* being written with two consonants must needs be accompted the same, besides that *nant* by his Latin originall is long, viz. *remanēns.* Take this word *remaine*: because the last sillable beares the sharpe accent, he is long in the eare, and *re,* being the

first sillable, passing obscurely away with a flat accent, is short, besides that *re* by his Latine originall and also by his ortographie is short. This word *render* bearing the sharpe accent vpon *ren* makes it long; the sillable *der*, falling away swiftly and being also written with a single consonant or liquide, is short, and makes the *trocheus*. This word *rĕnĕt* hauing both sillables sliding and slipper make[s] the foote *Pirrichius*, because, if he be truly vttered, he beares in maner no sharper accent vpon the one then the other sillable, but be in effect egall in time and tune, as is also the *Spondeus*. And because they be not written with any hard or harsh consonants, I do allow them both for short sillables, or to be vsed for common, according as their situation and place with other words shall be. And as I haue named to you but onely foure words for an example, so may ye find out by diligent obseruation foure hundred if ye will. But of all your words *bissillables* the most part naturally do make the foote *Iambus*, many the *Trocheus*, fewer the *Spondeus*, fewest of all the *Pirrichius*, because in him the sharpe accent (if ye follow the rules of your accent, as we haue presupposed) doth make a litle oddes: and ye shall find verses made all of *monosillables*, and do very well, but lightly they be *Iambickes*, bycause for the more part the accent falles sharpe vpon euery second word rather then contrariwise, as this of Sir *Thomas Wiats*,

I fīnde nŏ peāce ănd yēt mĭe wārre ĭs dōne,
I feare and hope, and burne and freese like ise.

And some verses where the sharpe accent falles vpon the first and third, and so make the verse wholly *Trochaicke*, as thus,

Worke not, no nor wish thy friend or foes harme;
Try, but trust not all that speake thee so faire.

And some verses made of *monosillables* and *bissillables* enterlaced, as this of th'Earles,

be without the *metricall* feete of the ancient Poets such as be most pertinent and not superfluous. This is (ye will perchaunce say) my singular opinion: then ye shall see how well I can maintaine it. First, the quantitie of a word comes either by preelection, without reason or force as hath bene alledged, and as the auncient Greekes and Latines did in many wordes, but not in all; or by election, with reason as they did in some, and not a few. And a sound is drawen at length either by the infirmitie of the toung, because the word or sillable is of such letters as hangs long in the palate or lippes ere he will come forth, or because he is accented and tuned hier and sharper then another, whereby he somewhat obscureth the other sillables in the same word that be not accented so high— in both these cases we will establish our sillable long; contrariwise, the shortning of a sillable is when his sounde or accent happens to be heauy and flat, that is to fall away speedily and as it were inaudible, or when he is made of such letters as be by nature slipper & voluble and smoothly passe from the mouth. And the vowell is alwayes more easily deliuered then the consonant; and of consonants the liquide more then the mute, & a single consonant more then a double, and one more then twayne coupled together: all which points were obserued by the Greekes and Latines, and allowed for *maximes* in versifying. Now if ye will examine these foure *bissillables, rēmnānt, rĕmāine, rēndĕr, rĕnĕt,* for an example by which ye may make a generall rule, and ye shall finde that they aunswere our first resolution. First in *remnant, rem,* bearing the sharpe accent and hauing his consonant abbut vpon another, soundes long. The sillable *nant* being written with two consonants must needs be accompted the same, besides that *nant* by his Latin originall is long, viz. *remanēns.* Take this word *remaine*: because the last sillable beares the sharpe accent, he is long in the eare, and *re,* being the

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And some verses where the sharpe accent falles vpon the first and third, and so make the verse wholly *Trochaicke*, as thus,

Worke not, no nor wish thy friend or foes harme;
Try, but trust not all that speake thee so faire.

And some verses made of *monosillables* and *bissillables* enterlaced, as this of th'Earles,

When raging loue with extreme paine.

And this,

A fairer beast of fresher hue beheld I neuer none.

And some verses made all of *bissillables*, and others all of *trissillables*, and others of *polisillables* egally increasing and of diuers quantities and sundry situations, as in this of our owne, made to daunt the insolence of a beautifull woman,

Brittle beauty, blossome daily fading,
Morne, noone, and eue, in age and eke in eld,
Dangerous disdainefull, pleasantly perswading,
Easie to gripe but combrous to weld,
For slender bottome hard and heauy lading,
Gay for a while, but little while durable,
Suspicious, incertaine, irreuocable,
O since thou art by triall not to trust,
Wisedome it is, and it is also iust
To sound the stemme before the tree be feld,
That is, since death will driue vs all to dust,
To leaue thy loue ere that we be compeld.

In which ye haue your first verse all of *bissillables* and of the foot *trocheus*; the second all of *monosillables*, and all of the foote *iambus*; the third all of *trissillables*, and all of the foote *dactilus*; your fourth of one *bissillable*, and two *monosillables* interlarded; the fift of one *monosillable* and two *bissillables* enterlaced; and the rest of other sortes and scituations, some by degrees encreasing, some diminishing: which example I haue set downe to let you perceiue what pleasant numerosity in the measure and disposition of your words in a meetre may be contriued by curious wits: & these with other like were the obseruations of the Greeke and Latine versifiers.

CHAP. XV.

OF YOUR FEET OF THREE TIMES, AND FIRST OF THE DACTIL.

Your feete of three times by prescription of the Latine Grammariens are of eight sundry proportions, for some notable difference appearing in euery sillable of three falling in a word of that size: but because aboue the *antepenultima* there was (among the Latines) none accent audible in any long word, therfore to deuise any foote of longer measure then of three times was to them but superfluous, because all aboue the number of three are but compounded of their inferiours. Omitting therefore to speake of these larger feete, we say that of all your feete of three times the *Dactill* is most vsuall and fit for our vulgar meeter, & most agreeable to the eare, specially if ye ouerlade not your verse with too many of them, but here and there enterlace a *Iambus* or some other foote of two times to giue him grauitie and stay, as in this *quadrein Trimeter* or of three measures.

Rēndĕr ăgaīne mĭe lībĕrtĭe,
ănd sēt yoŭr cāptĭue frēe.
Glōrĭoŭs īs thĕ vīctŏrĭe
Cōnquĕrŏurs ūse wĭth lēnĭtĭe.

Where ye see euery verse is all of a measure, and yet vnegall in number of sillables; for the second verse is but of sixe sillables, where the rest are of eight. But the reason is for that in three of the same verses are two *Dactils* a peece, which abridge two sillables in euery verse, and so maketh the longest euen with the shortest. Ye may note besides by the first verse, how much better some *bissillable* becommeth to peece out an other longer foote then another word doth; for in place of *render* if ye had

sayd *restore*, it had marred the *Dactil* and of necessitie driuen him out at length to be a verse *Iambic* of foure feete, because *render* is naturally a *Trocheus* & makes the first two times of a *Dactil*. *Restore* is naturally a *Iambus*, & in this place could not possibly haue made a pleasant *Dactil*.

Now, againe, if ye will say to me that these two words *libertie* and *conquerours* be not precise *Dactils* by the Latine rule, so much will I confesse to, but since they go currant inough vpon the tongue, and be so vsually pronounced, they may passe wel inough for *Dactils* in our vulgar meeters; & that is inough for me, seeking but to fashion an art, & not to finish it: which time only & custom haue authoritie to do, specially in all cases of language, as the Poet hath wittily remembred in this verse,

si volet usus,
Quem penes arbitrium est & vis & norma loquendi.

The Earle of Surrey vpon the death of Sir *Thomas Wiat* made among other this verse *Pentameter* and of ten sillables,

What holy graue? alas, what sepulcher?

But if I had the making of him, he should haue bene of eleuen sillables and kept his measure of fiue still, and would so haue runne more pleasantly a great deale; for as he is now, though he be euen, he seemes odde and defectiue, for not well obseruing the natural accent of euery word; and this would haue bene soone holpen by inserting one *monosillable* in the middle of the verse, and drawing another sillable in the beginning into a *Dactil*, this word *holy* being a good *Pirrichius* and very well seruing the turne, thus,

Whāt hŏlĭe grāue? ă lās, whĕt fĭt sĕpūlchĕr?

Which verse if ye peruse throughout, ye shall finde him

after the first *Dactil* all *Trochaick* & not *Iambic*, nor of any other foot of two times. But perchance if ye would seeme yet more curious, in place of these foure *Trocheus* ye might induce other feete of three times, as to make the three sillables next following the *Dactil* the foote *Amphimacer*, the last word *sepulcher* the foote *Amphibracus*, leauing the other midle word for a *Iambus* thus,

Whāt hŏlĭe grāue? ă lās, whăt fīt sĕpūlchĕr?

If ye aske me further why I make *what* first long & after short in one verse, to that I satisfied you before, that it is by reason of his accent sharpe in one place and flat in another, being a common *monosillable*, that is apt to receiue either accent, & so in the first place receiuing aptly the sharpe accent he is made long; afterward receiuing the flat accent more aptly then the sharpe, because the sillable precedent *las* vtterly distaines him, he is made short & not long, & that with very good melodie; but to haue giuen him the sharpe accent & plucked it from the sillable *las* it had bene to any mans eare a great discord: for euermore this word *alás* is accented vpon the last, & that lowdly & notoriously as appeareth by all our exclamations vsed vnder that terme. The same Earle of Surrey & Sir *Thomas Wyat*, the first reformers & polishers of our vulgar Poesie, much affecting the stile and measures of the Italian *Petrarcha*, vsed the foote *dactil* very often but not many in one verse, as in these,

Fūll mănĭe that in presence of thy līuelĭe hĕd.
Shed Cæsars teares vpon Pōmpĕiūs hĕd.
Th'ēnĕmĭe to life destroi er of all kinde.
If āmŏ rŏus faith in an hart vn fayned.
Myne old deēre ĕnĕ my my froward master.
Thē fŭrĭ ous gone in his most ra ging ire.

And many moe which if ye would not allow for *Dactils* the verse would halt, vnlesse ye would seeme to helpe it

contracting a sillable by vertue of the figure *Syneresis*, which I thinke was neuer their meaning, nor in deede would haue bred any pleasure to the eare, but hindred the flowing of the verse. Howsoeuer ye take it, the *Dactil* is commendable inough in our vulgar meetres, but most plausible of all when he is sounded vpon the stage, as in these comicall verses shewing how well it becommeth all noble men and great personages to be temperat and modest, yea more then any meaner man, thus:

Lēt nŏ nŏbīlĭtĭe, rīchĕs, ŏr hērĭtăge,
Hōnŏur, ŏr ēmpīre, ŏr eārthlĭe dŏmīnĭŏn
Brēed ĭn yŏur heād ănie pēeuish ŏpīnĭŏn
That yĕ măy sāfĕr ăuōuch ănĭe ōutrāge.

And in this distique taxing the Prelate symoniake, standing all vpon perfect *Dactils*,

Nōw mānīe bīe mōnēy pūruĕy prŏmōtĭŏn,
For mony mooues any hart to deuotion.

But this aduertisement I will giue you withall, that if ye vse too many *Dactils* together ye make your musike too light and of no solemne grauitie such as the amorous *Elegies* in court naturally require, being alwaies either very dolefull or passionate as the affections of loue enforce, in which busines ye must make your choise of very few words *dactilique*, or them that ye can not refuse, to dissolue and breake them into other feete by such meanes as it shall be taught hereafter: but chiefly in your courtly ditties take heede ye vse not these maner of long *polisillables*, and specially that ye finish not your verse with them, as *retribution, restitution, remuneration, recapitulation*, and such like: for they smatch more the schoole of common players than of any delicate Poet, *Lyricke* or *Elegiacke*.

CHAP. XVI.

OF ALL YOUR OTHER FEETE OF THREE TIMES, AND HOW WELL THEY WOULD FASHION A MEETRE IN OUR VULGAR.

All your other feete of three times I find no vse of them in our vulgar meeters nor no sweetenes at all, and yet words inough to serue their proportions. So as though they haue not hitherto bene made artificiall, yet nowe by more curious obseruation they might be, since all artes grew first by obseruation of natures proceedings and custome. And first your *Molossus*, being of all three long, is euidently discouered by this word *pērmīltīng*; the *Anapestus*, of two short and a long, by this word *fŭrĭōus*, if the next word beginne with a consonant; the foote *Bacchius*, of a short and two long, by this word *rĕsīstānce*; the foote *Antibac[c]hius*, of two long [and] a short, by this word *cōnquērĭng*; the foote *Amphimacer*, of a long a short & a long, by this word *cōnquĕrīng*; the foote *Amphibrachus*, of a short a long and a short, by this word *rĕmēmbĕr*, if a vowell follow. The foote *Tribrachus*, of three short times, is very hard to be made by any of our *trissillables*, vnles they be compounded of the smoothest sort of consonants or sillables vocals, or of three smooth *monosillables*, or of some peece of a long *polysillable*, & after that sort we may with wresting of words shape the foot *Tribrachus* rather by vsurpation then by rule, which neuertheles is allowed in euery primitiue arte & inuention: & so it was by the Greekes and Latines in their first versifying, as if a rule should be set downe that from henceforth these words should be counted al *Tribrachus*, *ĕnĕmĭe*, *rĕmĕdĭe*, *sĕlĭnĕs*, *mŏnĭlĕs*, *pĕnĭlĕs*, *crŭĕllĭe*, & such like, or a peece of this long word *rĕcōuĕrăblĕ*, *innūmĕrăblĕ*, *reădĭlĭe*, and others. Of all which manner of apt wordes to make these stranger feet of three times which go not so currant with our eare

as the *Dactil*, the maker should haue a good iudgement to know them by their manner of orthographie and by their accent which serue most fitly for euery foote, or else he shoulde haue alwaies a little calender of them apart to vse readily when he shall neede them. But because in very truth I thinke them but vaine & superstitious obseruations nothing at all furthering the pleasant melody of our English meeter, I leaue to speake any more of them, and rather wish the continuance of our old maner of Poesie, scanning our verse by sillables rather than by feete, and vsing most commonly the word *Iambique* & sometime the *Trochaike*, which ye shall discerne by their accents, and now and then a *Dactill*, keeping precisely our symphony or rime without any other mincing measures, which an idle inuentiue head could easily deuise, as the former examples teach.

CHAP. XVII.

OF YOUR VERSES PERFECT AND DEFECTIUE, AND THAT WHICH THE GRAECIANS CALLED THE HALFE FOOTE.

The Greekes and Latines vsed verses in the odde sillable of two sortes, which they called *Catalecticke* and *Acatalecticke*, that is odde vnder and odde ouer the iust measure of their verse, & we in our vulgar finde many of the like, and specially in the rimes of Sir Thomas Wiat, strained perchaunce out of their originall made first by *Francis Petrarcha*: as these,

> Like vnto these immeasurable mountaines,
> So is my painefull life the burden of ire:
> For hie be they, and hie is my desire,
> And I of teares and they are full of fountaines.

Where in your first, second, and fourth verse ye may find a sillable superfluous, and though in the first ye will

seeme to helpe it by drawing these three sillables, *īm mĕ sŭ* into a *Dactil*, in the rest it can not be so excused; wherefore we must thinke he did it of purpose, by the odde sillable to giue greater grace to his meetre; and we finde in our old rimes this odde sillable, sometime placed in the beginning and sometimes in the middle of a verse, and is allowed to go alone & to hang to any other sillable. But this odde sillable in our meetres is not the halfe foote as the Greekes and Latines vsed him in their verses, and called such measure *pentimimeris* and *eptamimeris*, but rather is that which they called the *catalectik* or maymed verse. Their *hemimeris* or halfe foote serued not by licence Poeticall or necessitie of words but to bewtifie and exornate the verse by placing one such halfe foote in the middle *Cesure*, & one other in the end of the verse, as they vsed all their *pentameters elegiack*, and not by coupling them together, but by accompt to make their verse of a iust measure and not defectiue or superflous: our odde sillable is not altogether of that nature, but is in a maner drowned and suppresst by the flat accent, and shrinks away as it were inaudible, and by that meane the odde verse comes almost to be an euen in euery mans hearing. The halfe foote of the auncients was reserued purposely to an vse, and therefore they gaue such odde sillable, wheresoeuer he fell, the sharper accent, and made by him a notorious pause as in this *pentameter*,

Nīl mĭ hĭ rēscrībàs āttămĕn īpsĕ vĕ nì.

Which in all make fiue whole feete, or the verse *Pentameter*. We in our vulgar haue not the vse of the like halfe foote.

CHAP. XVIII.

OF THE BREAKING YOUR BISSILLABLES AND POLYSILLABLES, AND WHEN IT IS TO BE VSED.

But whether ye suffer your sillable to receiue his quantitie by his accent, or by his ortography, or whether ye keepe your *bissillable* whole, or whether ye breake him, all is one to his quantitie, and his time will appeare the selfe same still, and ought not to be altered by our makers, vnlesse it be when such sillable is allowed to be common and to receiue any of both times, as in the *dimeter*, made of two sillables entier,

ēxtrēame dĕsīre.

The first is a good *spondeus*, the second a good *iambus*; and if the same wordes be broken thus it is not so pleasant,

ĭn ēx trēame dĕ sire.

And yet the first makes a *iambus*, and the second a *trocheus*, ech sillable retayning still his former quantities.

And alwaies ye must haue regard to the sweetenes of the meetre, so as if your word *polysillable* would not sound pleasantly whole, ye should for the nonce breake him, which ye may easily doo by inserting here and there one *monosillable* among your *polysillables*, or by chaunging your word into another place then where he soundes vnpleasantly, and, by breaking, turne a *trocheus* to a *iambus*, or contrariwise, as thus,

Hōllŏw vālle̊is ūndĕr hīĕst moūntaĭnes;
Crāggĭe clīffes brĭng foōrth thĕ faīrĕst foūntaĭnes.

These verses be *trochaik*, and in mine eare not so sweete and harmonicall as the *iambicque*, thus,

Thĕ hōllŏwst vāls lĭe ūndĕr hīĕst mōuntāines;
Thĕ crāggĭst clīfs brĭng fōrth thĕ faīrĕst foūntāines.

All which verses bee now become *iambicque* by breaking the first *bissillables*, and yet alters not their quantities though the feete be altered: and thus,

Restlesse is the heart in his desires,
Rauing after that reason doth denie.

Which being turned thus makes a new harmonie,

The restlesse heart renues his old desires,
Ay rauing after that reason doth it deny.

And following this obseruation, your meetres being builded with *polysillables* will fall diuersly out, that is some to be *spondaick*, some *iambick*, others *dactilick*, others *trochaick*, and of one mingled with another, as in this verse,

Hēauĭe īs thĕ būrdĕn of Prīncĕs īre.

The verse is *trochaick*, but being altered thus is *iambicque*,

Fŭll hēauĭe īs thĕ pāise ŏf Prīncĕs īre.

And as Sir *Thomas Wiat* song in a verse wholly *trochaick*, because the wordes do best shape to that foote by their naturall accent, thus,

Fārewĕll lōue ănd āll thĭe lāwes fŏr ēuĕr.

And in this ditty of th'Erle of Surries, passing sweete and harmonicall, all be *Iambick*,

When raging loue with extreme paine
So cruelly doth straine my hart,
And that the teares like fluds of raine
Bear witnesse of my wofull smart.

Which beyng disposed otherwise or not broken would proue all *trochaick*, but nothing pleasant.

Now furthermore ye are to note that al your *monosyllables* may receiue the sharp accent, but not so aptly one as another, as in this verse where they serue well to make him *iambicque*, but not *trochaick*,

Gŏd graūnt thĭs peāce măy lōng ĕndūre,

where the sharpe accent falles more tunably vpon *graunt, peace, long, dure,* then it would by conuersion, as to accent them thus,

Gōd graŭnt—thīs peăce—māy lŏng—ēndūre,

And yet if ye will aske me the reason, I can not tell it, but that it shapes so to myne eare, and as I thinke to euery other mans. And in this meeter where ye haue whole words *bissillable* vnbroken, that maintaine (by reason of their accent) sundry feete, yet going one with another be very harmonicall.

Where ye see one to be a *Trocheus* another the *Iambus,* and so entermingled not by election but by constraint of their seuerall accents, which ought not to be altred, yet comes it to passe that many times ye must of necessitie alter the accent of a sillable, and put him from his naturall place, and then one sillable of a word *polysillable,* or one word *monosillable,* will abide to be made sometimes long, sometimes short; as in this *quadreyne* of ours playd in a mery moode,

Gèue mé mìne ówne àndwhén I dó dèsíre,
Geue others theirs, and nothing that is mine,
Nòr gíue mè thát wherto all men aspire
Then neither gold, nor faire women, nor wine.

Where in your first verse these two words, *giue* and *me,* are accented one high, th'other low; in the third verse the same words are accented contrary: and the reason of this exchange is manifest, because the maker playes with these two clauses of sundry relations, *giue me* and *giue others,* so as the *monosillable me,* being respectiue to the word *others,* and inferring a subtilitie or wittie implication, ought not to haue the same accent as when he hath no such respect; as in this *distik* of ours,

Prōue mĕ (Madame) ere ye rēprŏue;
Meeke minds should ēxcŭse not āccŭse.

In which verse ye see this word *reprooue*, the sillable *prooue* alters his sharpe accent into a flat, for naturally it is long in all his singles and compoundes *reproòue*, *approòue*, *disproòue*, & so is the sillable *cuse* in *excuse*, *accuse*, *recuse*, yet in these verses by reason one of them doth as it were nicke another, and haue a certaine extraordinary sence with all, it behoueth to remoue the sharpe accents from whence they are most naturall, to place them where the nicke may be more expresly discouered; and therefore in this verse where no such implication is, nor no relation, it is otherwise, as thus,

If ye rĕprōue my constancie,
I will excūse you curtesly.

For in this word *reproóue*, because there is no extraordinary sence to be inferred, he keepeth his sharpe accent vpon the sillable *proóue*, but in the former verses, because they seeme to encounter ech other, they do thereby merite an audible and pleasant alteration of their accents in those sillables that cause the subtiltie. Of these maner of nicetees ye shal finde in many places of our booke, but specially where we treate of ornament, vnto which we referre you, sauing that we thought good to set down one example more to solace your mindes with mirth after all these scholasticall preceptes, which can not but bring with them (specially to Courtiers) much tediousnesse, and so to end. In our Comedie intituled *Ginecocratia* the king was supposed to be a person very amorous and effeminate, and therefore most ruled his ordinary affaires by the aduise of women, either for the loue he bare to their persons or liking he had to their pleasant ready witts and vtterance. Comes me to the Court one *Polemon*, an honest plaine man of the country, but rich; and, hauing a suite to the

king, met by chaunce with one *Philino*, a louer of wine and a merry companion in Court, and praied him in that he was a stranger that he would vouchsafe to tell him which way he were best to worke to get his suite, and who were most in credit and fauour about the king, that he might seeke to them to furder his attempt. *Philino*, perceyuing the plainnesse of the man, and that there would be some good done with him, told *Polemon* that if he would well consider him for his labor he would bring him where he should know the truth of all his demaundes by the sentence of the Oracle. *Polemon* gaue him twentie crownes; *Philino* brings him into a place where behind an arras cloth hee himselfe spake in manner of an Oracle in these meeters, for so did all the Sybils and sothsaiers in old times giue their answers.

Your best way to worke, and marke my words well,
Not money; nor many;
Nor any; but any;
Not weemen; but weemen beare the bell.

Polemon wist not what to make of this doubtful speach, &, not being lawfull to importune the oracle more then once in one matter, conceyued in his head the pleasanter construction, and stacke to it: and hauing at home a fayre young damsell of eighteene yeares old to his daughter, that could very well behaue her selfe in countenance & also in her language, apparelled her as gay as he could, and brought her to the Court, where *Philino*, harkning daily after the euent of this matter, met him, and recommended his daughter to the Lords, who perceiuing her great beauty and other good parts, brought her to the King, to whom she exhibited her fathers supplication, and found so great fauour in his eye, as without any long delay she obtained her sute at his hands. *Polemon* by the diligent solliciting of his daughter wanne his purpose: *Philino* gat a good

reward and vsed the matter so, as, howsoeuer the oracle had bene construed, he could not haue receiued blame nor discredit by the successe, for euery waies it would haue proued true, whether *Polemons* daughter had obtayned the sute, or not obtained it. And the subtiltie lay in the accent and Ortographie of these two wordes *any* and *weemen*, for *any* being deuided sounds *a nie* or neere person to the king, and *weemen* being diuided soundes *wee men*, and not *weemen*, and so by this meane *Philino* serued all turnes and shifted himselfe from blame; not vnlike the tale of the Rattlemouse who in the warres proclaimed betweene the foure footed beasts and the birdes, beyng sent for by the Lyon to be at his musters, excused himselfe for that he was a foule and flew with winges; and beyng sent for by the Eagle to serue him, sayd that he was a foure footed beast; and by that craftie cauill escaped the danger of the warres, and shunned the seruice of both Princes, and euer since sate at home by the fires side, eating vp the poore husbandmans baken, halfe lost for lacke of a good huswifes looking too.

THE THIRD BOOKE
OF ORNAMENT
CHAP. I.

OF ORNAMENT POETICALL.

AS no doubt the good proportion of any thing doth gretly adorne and commend it, and right so our late remembred proportions doe to our vulgar Poesie, so is there yet requisite to the perfection of this arte another maner of exornation, which resteth in the fashioning of our makers language and stile, to such purpose as it may delight and allure as well the mynde as the eare of the hearers with a certaine noueltie and strange maner of conueyance, disguising it no litle from the ordinary and accustomed; neuerthelesse making it nothing the more vnseemely or misbecomming, but rather decenter and more agreable to any ciuill eare and vnderstanding. And as we see in these great Madames of honour, be they for personage or otherwise neuer so comely and bewtifull, yet if they want their courtly habillements or at leastwise such other apparell as custome and ciuilitie haue ordained to couer their naked bodies, would be halfe ashamed or greatly out of countenaunce to be seen in that sort, and perchance do then thinke themselues more amiable in euery mans eye when they be in their richest attire, suppose of silkes or tyssewes & costly embroderies, then when they go in cloth or in any other plaine and simple apparell; euen so cannot our vulgar Poesie shew it selfe either gallant or gorgious, if any lymme be left naked and bare and not clad in his kindly clothes and coulours, such as may conuey them somwhat out of sight, that is from

the common course of ordinary speach and capacitie of the vulgar iudgement, and yet being artificially handled must needes yeld it much more bewtie and commendation. This ornament we speake of is giuen to it by figures and figuratiue speaches, which be the flowers, as it were, and coulours that a Poet setteth vpon his language of arte, as the embroderer doth his stone and perle or passements of gold vpon the stuffe of a Princely garment, or as th'excellent painter bestoweth the rich Orient coulours vpon his table of pourtraite: so neuerthelesse as if the same coulours in our arte of Poesie (as well as in those other mechanicall artes) be not well tempered, or not well layd, or be vsed in excesse, or neuer so litle disordered or misplaced, they not onely giue it no maner of grace at all, but rather do disfigure the stuffe and spill the whole workmanship, taking away all bewtie and good liking from it, no lesse then if the crimson tainte, which should be laid vpon a Ladies lips, or right in the center of her cheekes, should by some ouersight or mishap be applied to her forhead or chinne, it would make (ye would say) but a very ridiculous bewtie; wherfore the chief prayse and cunning of our Poet is in the discreet vsing of his figures, as the skilfull painters is in the good conueyance of his coulours and shadowing traits of his pensill, with a delectable varietie, by all measure and iust proportion, and in places most aptly to be bestowed.

CHAP. II.

HOW OUR WRITING AND SPEACHES PUBLIKE OUGHT TO BE FIGURATIUE; AND, IF THEY BE NOT, DOE GREATLY DISGRACE THE CAUSE AND PURPOSE OF THE SPEAKER AND WRITER.

But as it hath bene alwayes reputed a great fault to vse figuratiue speaches foolishly and indiscretly, so is it

esteemed no lesse an imperfection in mans vtterance to haue none vse of figure at all, specially in our writing and speaches publike, making them but as our ordinary talke, then which nothing can be more vnsauourie and farre from all ciuilitie. I remember in the first yeare of Queenes Maries raigne a Knight of Yorkshire was chosen speaker of the Parliament, a good gentleman and wise in the affaires of his shire and not vnlearned in the lawes of the Realme, but as well for some lack of his teeth as for want of language nothing well spoken, which at that time and businesse was most behooffull for him to haue bene; this man after he had made his Oration to the Queene, which ye know is of course to be done at the first assembly of both houses, a bencher of the Temple both well learned and very eloquent, returning from the Parliament house, asked another gentleman, his frend, how he liked M. Speakers Oration: 'mary,' quoth th'other, 'me thinks I heard not a better alehouse tale told this seuen yeares.' This happened because the good old Knight made no difference betweene an Oration or publike speach to be deliuered to th'eare of a Princes Maiestie and state of a Realme then he would haue done of an ordinary tale to be told at his table in the countrey, wherein all men know the oddes is very great. And though graue and wise counsellours in their consultations doe not vse much superfluous eloquence, and also in their iudiciall hearings do much mislike all scholasticall rhetoricks, yet in such a case as it may be (and as this Parliament was) if the Lord Chancelour of England or Archbishop of Canterbury himselfe were to speake, he ought to doe it cunningly and eloquently, which can not be without the vse of figures: and neuerthelesse none impeachment or blemish to the grauitie of their persons or of the cause: wherein I report me to them that knew Sir *Nicholas Bacon*, Lord keeper of the great Seale, or the now Lord Treasorer of England,

and haue bene conuersant with their speaches made in the Parliament house & Starrechamber. From whose lippes I haue seene to proceede more graue and naturall eloquence then from all the Oratours of Oxford or Cambridge; but all is as it is handled, and maketh no matter whether the same eloquence be naturall to them or artificiall (though I thinke rather naturall), yet were they knowen to be learned and not vnskilfull of th'arte when they were yonger men. And as learning and arte teacheth a schollar to speake, so doth it also teach a counsellour, and aswell an old man as a yong, and a man in authoritie aswell as a priuate person, and a pleader aswell as a preacher, euery man after his sort and calling as best becommeth: and that speach which becommeth one doth not become another, for maners of speaches, some serue to work in excesse, some in mediocritie, some to graue purposes, some to light, some to be short and brief, some to be long, some to stirre vp affections, some to pacifie and appease them, and these common despisers of good vtterance, which resteth altogether in figuratiue speaches, being well vsed whether it come by nature or by arte or by exercise, they be but certaine grosse ignorance, of whom it is truly spoken *scientia non habet inimicum nisi ignorantem.* I haue come to the Lord Keeper Sir *Nicholas Bacon*, & found him sitting in his gallery alone with the works of *Quintilian* before him; in deede he was a most eloquent man, and of rare learning and wisedome, as euer I knew England to breed, and one that ioyed as much in learned men and men of good witts. A Knight of the Queenes priuie chamber once intreated a noble woman of the Court, being in great fauour about her Maiestie (to th'intent to remoue her from a certaine displeasure, which by sinister opinion she had conceiued against a gentleman his friend), that it would please her to heare him speake in his own cause, & not to condemne him

vpon his aduersaries report: 'God forbid,' said she, 'he is to wise for me to talke with; let him goe and satisfie such a man, naming him.' 'Why,' quoth the Knight againe, 'had your Ladyship rather heare a man talke like a foole or like a wise man?' This was because the Lady was a litle peruerse, and not disposed to reforme her selfe by hearing reason, which none other can so well beate into the ignorant head as the well spoken and eloquent man. And because I am so farre waded into this discourse of eloquence and figuratiue speaches, I will tell you what hapned on a time, my selfe being present, when certaine Doctours of the ciuil law were heard in a litigious cause betwixt a man and his wife, before a great Magistrat who (as they can tell that knew him) was a man very well learned and graue, but somewhat sowre, and of no plausible vtterance. The gentlemans chaunce was to say: 'my Lord the simple woman is not so much to blame as her lewde abbettours, who by violent perswasions haue lead her into this wilfulnesse.' Quoth the iudge, 'what neede such eloquent termes in this place.' The gentleman replied, 'doth your Lordship mislike the terme *violent*, & me thinkes I speake it to great purpose, for I am sure she would neuer haue done it but by force of perswasion, & if perswasions were not very violent, to the minde of man it could not haue wrought so strange an effect as we read that it did once in Ægypt,' & would haue told the whole tale at large, if the Magistrate had not passed it ouer very pleasantly. Now to tell you the whole matter as the gentleman intended, thus it was. There came into Ægypt a notable Oratour, whose name was *Hegesias*, who inueyed so much against the incommodities of this transitory life, & so highly commended death the dispatcher of all euils, as a great number of his hearers destroyed themselues, some with weapon, some with poyson, others by drowning and hanging themselues, to be rid out of this

vale of misery, in so much as it was feared least many moe of the people would haue miscaried by occasion of his perswasions, if king *Ptolome* had not made a publicke proclamation that the Oratour should auoyde the countrey and no more be allowed to speake in any matter. Whether now perswasions may not be said violent and forcible to simple myndes in speciall, I referre it to all mens iudgements that heare the story. At least waies, I finde this opinion confirmed by a pretie deuise or embleme that *Lucianus* alleageth he saw in the pourtrait of *Hercules* within the Citie of Marseills in Prouence, where they had figured a lustie old man with a long chayne tyed by one end at his tong, by the other end at the peoples eares, who stood a farre of and seemed to be drawen to him by the force of that chayne fastned to his tong, as who would say, by force of his perswasions. And to shew more plainly that eloquence is of great force and not (as many men thinke amisse) the propertie and gift of yong men onely, but rather of old men, and a thing which better becommeth hory haires then beardlesse boyes, they seeme to ground it vpon this reason: age (say they and most truly) brings experience, experience bringeth wisedome, long life yeldes long vse and much exercise of speach, exercise and custome with wisedome make an assured and volluble vtterance: so is it that old men more then any other sort speake most grauely, wisely, assuredly, and plausibly, which partes are all that can be required in perfite eloquence, and so in all deliberations of importance, where counsellours are allowed freely to opyne & shew their conceits, good perswasion is no lesse requisite then speach it selfe; for in great purposes to speake and not to be able or likely to perswade is a vayne thing. Now let vs returne backe to say more of this Poeticall ornament.

CHAP. III.

HOW ORNAMENT POETICALL IS OF TWO SORTES ACCORDING TO THE DOUBLE VERTUE AND EFFICACIE OF FIGURES.

This ornament then is of two sortes, one to satisfie & delight th'eare onely by a goodly outward shew set vpon the matter with wordes and speaches smothly and tunably running, another by certaine intendments or sence of such wordes & speaches inwardly working a stirre to the mynde. That first qualitie the Greeks called *Enargia*, of this word *argos*, because it geueth a glorious lustre and light. This latter they called *Energia*, of *ergon*, because it wrought with a strong and vertuous operation. And figure breedeth them both, some seruing to giue glosse onely to a language, some to geue it efficacie by sence; and so by that meanes some of them serue th'eare onely, some serue the conceit onely and not th'eare. There be of them also that serue both turnes as common seruitours appointed for th'one and th'other purpose, which shalbe hereafter spoken of in place; but because we haue alleaged before that ornament is but the good or rather bewtifull habite of language or stile, and figuratiue speaches the instrument wherewith we burnish our language, fashioning it to this or that measure and proportion, whence finally resulteth a long and continuall phrase or maner of writing or speach, which we call by the name of *stile*, we wil first speake of language, then of stile, lastly of figure, and declare their vertue and differences, and also their vse and best application, & what portion in exornation euery of them bringeth to the bewtifying of this Arte.

CHAP. IV.

OF LANGUAGE.

Speach is not naturall to man sauing for his onely habilitie to speake, and that he is by kinde apt to vtter all his conceits with sounds and voyces diuersified many maner of wayes, by meanes of the many & fit instruments he hath by nature to that purpose, as a broad and voluble tong, thinne and mouable lippes, teeth euen and not shagged, thick ranged, a round vaulted pallate, and a long throte, besides an excellent capacitie of wit that maketh him more disciplinable and imitatiue then any other creature: then as to the forme and action of his speach, it commeth to him by arte & teaching, and by vse or exercise. But after a speach is fully fashioned to the common vnderstanding, & accepted by consent of a whole countrey and nation, it is called a language, & receaueth none allowed alteration but by extraordinary occasions, by little & little, as it were insensibly, bringing in of many corruptions that creepe along with the time: of all which matters we haue more largely spoken in our bookes of the originals and pedigree of the English tong. Then when I say language, I meane the speach wherein the Poet or maker writeth, be it Greek or Latine, or as our case is the vulgar English, & when it is peculiar vnto a countrey it is called the mother speach of that people: the Greekes terme it *Idioma*: so is ours at this day the Norman English. Before the Conquest of the Normans it was the Anglesaxon, and before that the British, which, as some will, is at this day the Walsh, or as others affirme the Cornish: I for my part thinke neither of both, as they be now spoken and pronounced. This part in our maker or Poet must be heedyly looked vnto, that it be naturall, pure, and the most vsuall of all his countrey; and for the

same purpose rather that which is spoken in the kings Court, or in the good townes and Cities within the land, then in the marches and frontiers, or in port townes, where straungers haunt for traffike sake, or yet in Vniuersities where Schollers vse much peeuish affectation of words out of the primatiue languages, or finally, in any vplandish village or corner of a Realme, where is no resort but of poore rusticall or vnciuill people: neither shall he follow the speach of a craftes man or carter, or other of the inferiour sort, though he be inhabitant or bred in the best towne and Citie in this Realme, for such persons doe abuse good speaches by strange accents or ill shapen soundes and false ortographie. But he shall follow generally the better brought vp sort, such as the Greekes call *charientes*, men ciuill and graciously behauoured and bred. Our maker therfore at these dayes shall not follow *Piers plowman* nor *Gower* nor *Lydgate* nor yet *Chaucer*, for their language is now out of vse with vs; neither shall he take the termes of Northern-men, such as they vse in dayly talke, whether they be noble men or gentlemen or of their best clarkes, all is a matter; nor in effect any speach vsed beyond the riuer of Trent, though no man can deny but that theirs is the purer English Saxon at this day, yet it is not so Courtly nor so currant as our Southerne English is; no more is the far Westerne mans speach. Ye shall therefore take the vsuall speach of the Court, and that of London and the shires lying about London within lx. myles, and not much aboue. I say not this but that in euery shyre of England there be gentlemen and others that speake, but specially write, as good Southerne as we of Middlesex or Surrey do, but not the common people of euery shire, to whom the gentlemen, and also their learned clarkes, do for the most part condescend; but herein we are already ruled by th'English Dictionaries and other bookes written by

learned men, and therefore it needeth none other direction in that behalfe. Albeit peraduenture some small admonition be not impertinent, for we finde in our English writers many wordes and speaches amendable, & ye shall see in some many inkhorne termes so ill affected brought in by men of learning as preachers and schoolemasters, and many straunge termes of other languages by Secretaries and Marchaunts and trauailours, and many darke wordes and not vsuall nor well sounding, though they be dayly spoken in Court. Wherefore great heed must be taken by our maker in this point that his choise be good. And peraduenture the writer hereof be in that behalfe no lesse faultie then any other, vsing many straunge and vnaccustomed wordes and borrowed from other languages, and in that respect him selfe no meete Magistrate to reforme the same errours in any other person; but since he is not vnwilling to acknowledge his owne fault, and can the better tell how to amend it, he may seem a more excusable correctour of other mens: he intendeth therefore for an indifferent way and vniuersall benefite to taxe him selfe first and before any others.

These be words vsed by th'author in this present treatise: *scientificke*, but with some reason, for it answereth the word *mechanicall*, which no other word could haue done so properly, for when hee spake of all artificers which rest either in science or in handy craft, it followed necessarilie that *scientifique* should be coupled with *mechanicall*, or els neither of both to haue bene allowed but in their places—a man of science liberall and a handicrafts man, which had not bene so cleanly a speech as the other. *Maior-domo*, in truth this word is borrowed of the *Spaniard* and *Italian*, and therefore new and not vsuall but to them that are acquainted with the affaires of Court, and so for his iolly magnificence (as this case is) may be accepted among Courtiers, for whom this is specially

written. A man might haue said in steade of *Maior-domo* the French word *maistre d'hostell*, but ilfauouredly, or the right English word *Lord Steward*. But me thinks for my owne opinion this word *Maior-domo*, though he be borrowed, is more acceptable than any of the rest; other men may iudge otherwise. *Politien*, this word also is receiued from the Frenchmen, but at this day vsuall in Court and with all good Secretaries; and cannot finde an English word to match him, for to haue said a man politique had not bene so wel, bicause in trueth that had bene no more than to haue said a ciuil person. *Politien* is rather a surueyour of ciuilitie than ciuil, & a publique minister or Counseller in the state. Ye haue also this worde *Conduict*, a French word, but well allowed of vs and long since vsuall; it soundes somewhat more than this word *leading*, for it is applied onely to the leading of a Captaine, and not as a little boy should leade a blinde man, therefore more proper to the case when he saide *conduict* of whole armies: ye finde also this word *Idiome*, taken from the Greekes, yet seruing aptly when a man wanteth to expresse so much vnles it be in two words, which surplussage to auoide we are allowed to draw in other words single, and asmuch significatiue. This word *significatiue* is borrowed of the Latine and French, but to vs brought in first by some Noblemans Secretarie, as I thinke, yet doth so well serue the turne, as it could not now be spared: and many more like vsurped Latine and French words, as, *Methode, methodicall, placation, function, assubtiling, refining, compendious, prolixe, figuratiue, inueigle*, a terme borrowed of our common Lawyers, *impression*, also a new terme, but well expressing the matter and more than our English word. These words, *Numerous, numerositee, metricall, harmonicall*, but they cannot be refused, specially in this place for description of the arte. Also ye finde these words, *Penetrate, pene-*

trable, indignitie, which I cannot see how we may spare them, whatsoeuer fault wee finde with Ink-horne termes, for our speach wanteth wordes to such sence so well to be vsed; yet in steade of *indignitie* yee haue vnworthinesse, and for *penetrate* we may say *peerce,* and that a French terme also, or *broche,* or enter into with violence, but not so well sounding as *penetrate.* Item, *sauage,* for wilde; *obscure,* for darke. Item, these words, *declination, delineation, dimention* are scholasticall termes in deede, and yet very proper. But peraduenture (& I could bring a reason for it) many other like words borrowed out of the Latin and French were not so well to be allowed by vs, as these words, *audacious,* for bold, *facunditie,* for eloquence, *egregious,* for great or notable, *implete,* for replenished, *attemptat,* for attempt, *compatible,* for agreeable in nature, and many more. But herein the noble Poet *Horace* hath said inough to satisfie vs all in these few verses.

Multa renascentur quae iam cecidere cadentque
Quae nunc sunt in honore vocabula, si volet vsus,
Quem penes arbitrium est & vis & norma loquendi.

Which I haue thus englished, but nothing with so good grace, nor so briefly as the Poet wrote.

Many a word yfalne shall eft arise,
And such as now bene held in hiest prise
Will fall as fast, when vse and custome will,
Onely vmpiers of speach, for force and skill.

CHAP. V.

OF STILE.

Stile is a constant & continual phrase or tenour of speaking and writing, extending to the whole tale or processe of the poeme or historie, and not properly to

any peece or member of a tale, but is, of words, speeches, and sentences together, a certaine contriued forme and qualitie, many times naturall to the writer, many times his peculier by election and arte, and such as either he keepeth by skill, or holdeth on by ignorance, and will not or peraduenture cannot easily alter into any other. So we say that *Ciceroes* stile and *Salusts* were not one, nor *Cesars* and *Liuies*, nor *Homers* and *Hesiodus*, nor *Herodotus* and *Theucidides*, nor *Euripides* and *Aristophanes*, nor *Erasmus* and *Budeus* stiles. And because this continuall course and manner of writing or speech sheweth the matter and disposition of the writers minde more than one or few words or sentences can shew, therefore there be that haue called stile the image of man, *mentis character*; for man is but his minde, and as his minde is tempered and qualified, so are his speeches and language at large, and his inward conceits be the mettall of his minde, and his manner of vtterance the very warp & woofe of his conceits, more plaine, or busie and intricate, or otherwise affected after the rate. Most men say that not any one point in all *Phisiognomy* is so certaine as to iudge a mans manner by his eye; but more assuredly in mine opinion, by his dayly maner of speech and ordinary writing. For if the man be graue, his speech and stile is graue; if light-headed, his stile and language also light; if the minde be haughtie and hoate, the speech and stile is also vehement and stirring; if it be colde and temperate, the stile is also very modest; if it be humble, or base and meeke, so is also the language and stile. And yet peraduenture not altogether so, but that euery mans stile is for the most part according to the matter and subiect of the writer, or so ought to be and conformable thereunto. Then againe may it be said as wel, that men doo chuse their subiects according to the mettal of their minds, & therfore a high minded man chuseth him high & lofty matter to write of;

the base courage, matter base & lowe; the meane & modest mind, meane & moderate matters after the rate. Howsoeuer it be, we finde that vnder these three principall complexions (if I may with leaue so terme them), high, meane, and base stile, there be contained many other humors or qualities of stile, as the plaine and obscure, the rough and smoth, the facill and hard, the plentifull and barraine, the rude and eloquent, the strong and feeble, the vehement and cold stiles, all which in their euill are to be reformed, and the good to be kept and vsed. But generally, to haue the stile decent & comely it behooueth the maker or Poet to follow the nature of his subiect, that is if his matter be high and loftie that the stile be so to, if meane, the stile also to be meane, if base, the stile humble and base accordingly: and they that do otherwise vse it, applying to meane matter hie and loftie stile, and to hie matters stile eyther meane or base, and to the base matters the meane or hie stile, do vtterly disgrace their poesie and shew themselues nothing skilfull in their arte, nor hauing regard to the decencie, which is the chiefe praise of any writer. Therefore to ridde all louers of learning from that errour, I will, as neere as I can, set downe which matters be hie and loftie, which be but meane, and which be low and base, to the intent the stiles may be fashioned to the matters, and keepe their *decorum* and good proportion in euery respect. I am not ignorant that many good clerkes be contrary to mine opinion, and say that the loftie style may be decently vsed in a meane and base subiect & contrariwise, which I do in parte acknowledge, but with a reasonable qualification. For *Homer* hath so vsed it in his trifling worke of *Batrachomyomachia*, that is in his treatise of the warre, betwixt the frogs and the mice: *Virgill* also in his *bucolickes*, and in his *georgicks*, whereof the one is counted meane, the other base, that is the

husbandmans discourses and the shepheards. But hereunto serueth a reason in my simple conceite: for first to that trifling poeme of *Homer*, though the frog and the mouse be but litle and ridiculous beasts, yet to treat of warre is an high subiect, and a thing in euery respect terrible and daungerous to them that it alights on; and therefore of learned dutie asketh martiall grandiloquence, if it be set foorth in his kind and nature of warre, euen betwixt the basest creatures that can be imagined: so also is the Ante or pismire, and they be but little creeping things, not perfect beasts, but *insect*, or wormes: yet in describing their nature & instinct, and their manner of life approching to the forme of a common-welth, and their properties not vnlike to the vertues of most excellent gouernors and captaines, it asketh a more maiestie of speach then would the description of an other beastes life or nature, and perchance of many matters perteyning vnto the baser sort of men, because it resembleth the historie of a ciuill regiment, and of them all the chiefe and most principall, which is *Monarchie*. So also in his *bucolicks*, which are but pastorall speaches and the basest of any other poeme in their owne proper nature, *Virgill* vsed a somewhat swelling stile when he came to insinuate the birth of *Marcellus*, heire apparant to the Emperour *Augustus* as child to his sister, aspiring by hope and greatnes of the house to the succession of the Empire, and establishment thereof in that familie; whereupon *Virgill* could no lesse then to vse such manner of stile, whatsoeuer condition the poeme were of, and this was decent, & no fault or blemish to confound the tennors of the stiles for that cause. But now when I remember me againe that this *Eglogue* (for I haue read it somewhere) was conceiued by *Octauian* th'Emperour to be written to the honour of *Pollio*, a citizen of Rome & of no great nobilitie, the same was misliked againe as an

implicatiue, nothing decent nor proportionable to *Pollio* his fortunes and calling, in which respect I might say likewise the stile was not to be such as if it had bene for the Emperours owne honour and those of the bloud imperiall, then which subiect there could not be among the *Romane* writers an higher nor grauer to treat vpon. So can I not be remoued from mine opinion, but still me thinks that in all decencie the stile ought to conforme with the nature of the subiect, otherwise if a writer will seeme to obserue no *decorum* at all, nor passe how he fashion his tale to his matter, who doubteth but he may in the lightest cause speake like a Pope, & in the grauest matters prate like a parrat, & finde wordes & phrases ynough to serue both turnes, and neither of them commendably; for neither is all that may be written of Kings and Princes such as ought to keepe a high stile, nor all that may be written vpon a shepheard to keepe the low, but according to the matter reported, if that be of high or base nature; for euery pety pleasure and vayne delight of a king are not to [be] accompted high matter for the height of his estate, but meane and perchaunce very base and vile. Nor so a Poet or historiographer could decently with a high stile reporte the vanities of *Nero*, the ribaudries of *Caligula*, the idlenes of *Domitian*, and the riots of *Heliogabalus*; but well the magnanimitie and honorable ambition of *Caesar*, the prosperities of *Augustus*, the grauitie of *Tiberius*, the bountie of *Traiane*, the wisedome of *Aurelius*, and generally all that which concerned the highest honours of Emperours, their birth, alliaunces, gouernement, exploits in warre and peace, and other publike affaires; for they be matter stately and high, and require a stile to be lift vp and aduaunced by choyse of wordes, phrases, sentences, and figures, high, loftie, eloquent, & magnifik in proportion. So be the meane matters, to be caried with all wordes and speaches of smothnesse and pleasant

moderation, & finally the base things to be holden within their teder, by a low, myld, and simple maner of vtterance, creeping rather than clyming, & marching rather then mounting vpwardes, with the wings of the stately subiects and stile.

CHAP. VI.

OF THE HIGH, LOW, AND MEANE SUBIECT.

The matters therefore that concerne the Gods and diuine things are highest of all other to be couched in writing; next to them the noble gests and great fortunes of Princes, and the notable accidents of time, as the greatest affaires of war & peace: these be all high subiectes, and therefore are deliuered ouer to the Poets *Hymnick* & historicall who be occupied either in diuine laudes or in *heroicall* reports. The meane matters be those that concerne meane men, their life and busines, as lawyers, gentlemen, and marchants, good housholders and honest Citizens, and which sound neither to matters of state nor of warre, nor leagues, nor great alliances, but smatch all the common conuersation, as of the ciuiller and better sort of men. The base and low matters be the doings of the common artificer, seruingman, yeoman, groome, husbandman, day-labourer, sailer, shepheard, swynard, and such like of homely calling, degree, and bringing vp. So that in euery of the sayd three degrees not the selfe same vertues be egally to be praysed nor the same vices egally to be dispraised, nor their loues, mariages, quarels, contracts, and other behauiours be like high nor do require to be set fourth with the like stile, but euery one in his degree and decencie, which made that all *hymnes* and histories and Tragedies were written in the high stile, all Comedies and Enterludes and other common Poesies of loues and such like in the meane stile,

all *Eglogues* and pastorall poemes in the low and base stile; otherwise they had bene vtterly disproporcioned. Likewise for the same cause some phrases and figures be onely peculiar to the high stile, some to the base or meane, some common to all three, as shalbe declared more at large hereafter when we come to speake of figure and phrase: also some wordes and speaches and sentences doe become the high stile that do not become th'other two, and contrariwise, as shalbe said when we talke of words and sentences: finally, some kinde of measure and concord doe not beseeme the high stile, that well become the meane and low, as we haue said speaking of concord and measure. But generally the high stile is disgraced and made foolish and ridiculous by all wordes affected, counterfait, and puffed vp, as it were a windball carrying more countenance then matter, and can not be better resembled then to these midsommer pageants in London, where, to make the people wonder, are set forth great and vglie Gyants marching as if they were aliue, and armed at all points, but within they are stuffed full of browne paper and tow, which the shrewd boyes vnderpeering do guilefully discouer and turne to a great derision: also all darke and vnaccustomed wordes, or rusticall and homely, and sentences that hold too much of the mery & light, or infamous & vnshamefast, are to be accounted of the same sort, for such speaches become not Princes, nor great estates, nor them that write of their doings to vtter or report and intermingle with the graue and weightie matters.

CHAP. VII.

OF FIGURES AND FIGURATIUE SPEACHES.

As figures be the instruments of ornament in euery language, so be they also in a sorte abuses or rather

trespasses in speach, because they passe the ordinary limits of common vtterance, and be occupied of purpose to deceiue the eare and also the minde, drawing it from plainnesse and simplicitie to a certaine doublenesse, whereby our talke is the more guilefull & abusing. For what els is your *Metaphor* but an inuersion of sence by transport; your *allegorie* by a duplicitie of meaning or dissimulation vnder couert and darke intendments; one while speaking obscurely and in riddle called *Ænigma*; another while by common prouerbe or Adage called *Paremia*; then by merry skoffe called *Ironia*; then by bitter tawnt called *Sarcasmus*; then by periphrase or circumlocution when all might be said in a word or two; then by incredible comparison giuing credit, as by your *Hyperbole*; and many other waies seeking to inueigle and appassionate the mind: which thing made the graue iudges *Areopagites* (as I find written) to forbid all manner of figuratiue speaches to be vsed before them in their consistorie of Iustice, as meere illusions to the minde, and wresters of vpright iudgement, saying that to allow such manner of forraine & coulored talke to make the iudges affectioned were all one as if the carpenter before he began to square his timber would make his squire crooked; in so much as the straite and vpright mind of a Iudge is the very rule of iustice till it be peruerted by affection. This no doubt is true and was by them grauely considered; but in this case, because our maker or Poet is appointed not for a iudge, but rather for a pleader, and that of pleasant & louely causes and nothing perillous, such as be those for the triall of life, limme, or liuelyhood, and before iudges neither sower nor seuere, but in the eare of princely dames, yong ladies, gentlewomen, and courtiers, beyng all for the most part either meeke of nature, or of pleasant humour, and that all his abuses tende but to dispose the hearers to mirth and sollace by pleasant conueyance and

efficacy of speach, they are not in truth to be accompted vices but for vertues in the poetical science very commendable. On the other side, such trespasses in speach (whereof there be many) as geue dolour and disliking to the eare & minde by any foule indecencie or disproportion of sounde, situation, or sence, they be called and not without cause the vicious parts or rather heresies of language: wherefore the matter resteth much in the definition and acceptance of this word *decorum*, for whatsoeuer is so cannot iustly be misliked. In which respect it may come to passe that what the Grammarian setteth downe for a viciositee in speach may become a vertue and no vice; contrariwise his commended figure may fall into a reprochfull fault: the best and most assured remedy whereof is generally to follow the saying of *Bias*: *ne quid nimis*. So as in keeping measure, and not exceeding nor shewing any defect in the vse of his figures, he cannot lightly do amisse, if he haue besides (as that must needes be) a speciall regard to all circumstances of the person, place, time, cause, and purpose he hath in hand; which being well obserued, it easily auoideth all the recited inconueniences, and maketh now and then very vice goe for a formall vertue in the exercise of this Arte.

CHAP. VIII.

SIXE POINTS SET DOWNE BY OUR LEARNED FOREFATHERS FOR A GENERALL REGIMENT OF ALL GOOD VTTERANCE, BE IT BY MOUTH OR BY WRITING.

But before there had bene yet any precise obseruation made of figuratiue speeches, the first learned artificers of language considered that the bewtie and good grace of vtterance rested in [s]o many pointes; and whatsoeuer transgressed those lymits, they counted it for vitious; and

thereupon did set downe a manner of regiment in all speech generally to be obserued, consisting in sixe pointes. First, they said that there ought to be kept a decent proportion in our writings and speach, which they termed *Analogia.* Secondly, that it ought to be voluble vpon the tongue, and tunable to the eare, which they called *Tasis.* Thirdly, that it were not tediously long, but briefe and compendious, as the matter might beare, which they called *Syntomia.* Fourthly, that it should cary an orderly and good construction, which they called *Synthesis.* Fiftly, that it should be a sound, proper, and naturall speach, which they called *Ciriologia.* Sixtly, that it should be liuely & stirring, which they called *Tropus.* So as it appeareth by this order of theirs that no vice could be committed in speech, keeping within the bounds of that restraint. But, sir, all this being by them very well conceiued, there remayned a greater difficultie to know what this proportion, volubilitie, good construction, & the rest were, otherwise we could not be euer the more relieued. It was therefore of necessitie that a more curious and particular description should bee made of euery manner of speech, either transgressing or agreeing with their said generall prescript. Whereupon it came to passe that all the commendable parts of speech were set foorth by the name of figures, and all the illaudable partes vnder the name of vices or viciosities, of both which it shall bee spoken in their places.

CHAP. IX.

HOW THE GREEKS FIRST, AND AFTERWARD THE LATINES, INUENTED NEW NAMES FOR EUERY FIGURE, WHICH THIS AUTHOR IS ALSO ENFORCED TO DOO IN HIS VULGAR.

The Greekes were a happy people for the freedome & liberty of their language, because it was allowed them

to inuent any new name that they listed, and to peece many words together to make of them one entire, much more significatiue than the single word. So among other things did they to their figuratiue speeches deuise certaine names. The Latines came somewhat behind them in that point, and for want of conuenient single wordes to expresse that which the Greeks could do by cobling many words together, they were faine to vse the Greekes still, till after many yeares that the learned Oratours and good Grammarians among the Romaines, as *Cicero*, *Varro*, *Quintilian*, & others, strained themselues to giue the Greeke wordes Latin names, and yet nothing so apt and fitty. The same course are we driuen to follow in this description, since we are enforced to cull out for the vse of our Poet or maker all the most commendable figures. Now to make them knowen (as behoueth), either we must do it by th'original Greeke name or by the Latine, or by our owne. But when I consider to what sort of Readers I write, & how ill faring the Greeke terme would sound in the English eare, then also how short the Latines come to expresse manie of the Greeke originals, finally, how well our language serueth to supplie the full signification of them both, I haue thought it no lesse lawfull, yea peraduenture, vnder licence of the learned, more laudable, to vse our owne naturall, if they be well chosen and of proper signification, than to borrow theirs. So shall not our English Poets, though they be to seeke of the Greeke and Latin languages, lament for lack of knowledge sufficient to the purpose of this arte. And in case any of these new English names giuen by me to any figure shall happen to offend, I pray that the learned will beare with me and to thinke the straungenesse thereof proceedes but of noueltie and disaquaintance with our eares, which in processe of tyme and by custome will frame very well: and such others as are not learned in the primitive

languages, if they happen to hit vpon any new name of myne (so ridiculous in their opinion) as may moue them to laughter, let such persons yet assure themselues that such names go as neare as may be to their originals, or els serue better to the purpose of the figure then the very originall, reseruing alwayes that such new name should not be vnpleasant in our vulgar nor harsh vpon the tong; and where it shall happen otherwise, that it may please the reader to thinke that hardly any other name in our English could be found to serue the turne better. Againe, if to auoid the hazard of this blame I should haue kept the Greek or Latin, still it would haue appeared a little too scholasticall for our makers, and a peece of worke more fit for clerkes then for Courtiers, for whose instruction this trauaile is taken; and if I should haue left out both the Greeke and Latine name, and put in none of our owne neither, well perchance might the rule of the figure haue bene set downe, but no conuenient name to hold him in memory. It was therfore expedient we deuised for euery figure of importance his vulgar name, and to ioyne the Greeke or Latine originall with them; after that sort much better satisfying aswel the vulgar as the learned learner, and also the authors owne purpose, which is to make of a rude rimer a learned and a Courtly Poet.

CHAP. X.

A DIUISION OF FIGURES, AND HOW THEY SERUE IN EXORNATION OF LANGUAGE.

And because our chiefe purpose herein is for the learning of Ladies and young Gentlewomen, or idle Courtiers, desirous to become skilful in their owne mother tongue, and for their priuate recreation to make now & then ditties of pleasure, thinking for our parte none other science so

fit for them & the place as that which teacheth *beau semblant*, the chiefe profession aswell of Courting as of poesie, since to such manner of mindes nothing is more combersome then tedious doctrines and schollarly methodes of discipline, we haue in our owne conceit deuised a new and 'strange modell of this arte, fitter to please the Court then the schoole, and yet not vnnecessarie for all such as be willing themselues to become good makers in the vulgar, or to be able to iudge of other mens makings: wherefore, intending to follow the course which we haue begun, thus we say that, though the language of our Poet or maker be pure & clenly, &, not disgraced by such vicious parts as haue bene before remembred in the Chapter of language, be sufficiently pleasing and commendable for the ordinarie vse of speech, yet is not the same so well appointed for all purposes of the excellent Poet as when it is gallantly arrayed in all his colours which figure can set vpon it; therefore we are now further to determine of figures and figuratiue speeches. Figuratiue speech is a noueltie of language euidently (and yet not absurdly) estranged from the ordinarie habite and manner of our dayly talke and writing, and figure it selfe is a certaine liuely or good grace set vpon wordes, speaches, and sentences to some purpose and not in vaine, giuing them ornament or efficacie by many maner of alterations in shape, in sounde, and also in sence, sometime by way of surplusage, sometime by defect, sometime by disorder, or mutation, & also by putting into our speaches more pithe and substance, subtilitie, quicknesse, efficacie, or moderation, in this or that sort tuning and tempring them, by amplification, abridgement, opening, closing, enforcing, meekening, or otherwise disposing them to the best purpose: whereupon the learned clerks who haue written methodically of this Arte in the two master languages, Greeke and Latine, haue sorted all their figures into three

rankes, and the first they bestowed vpon the Poet onely, the second vpon the Poet and Oratour indifferently, the third vpon the Oratour alone. And that first sort of figures doth serue th'eare onely and may be therefore called *auricular*: your second serues the conceit onely and not th'eare, and may be called *sensable*, not sensible nor yet sententious: your third sort serues as well th'eare as the conceit, and may be called *sententious figures*, because not only they properly apperteine to full sentences, for bewtifying them with a currant & pleasant numerositie, but also giuing them efficacie and enlarging the whole matter besides with copious amplifications. I doubt not but some busie carpers will scorne at my new deuised termes *auricular* and *sensable*, saying that I might with better warrant haue vsed in their steads these words *orthographicall* or *syntacticall*, which the learned Grammarians left ready made to our hands, and do importe as much as th'other that I haue brought. Which thing peraduenture I deny not in part, and neuerthelesse for some causes thought them not so necessarie: but with these maner of men I do willingly beare, in respect of their laudable endeuour to allow antiquitie and flie innouation. With like beneuolence I trust they will beare with me writing in the vulgar speach and seeking by my nouelties to satisfie not the schoole but the Court: whereas they know very well all old things soone waxe stale & lothsome, and the new deuises are euer dainty and delicate, the vulgar instruction requiring also vulgar and communicable termes, not clerkly or vncouthe, as are all these of the Greeke and Latine languages primitiuely receiued, vnlesse they be qualified or by much vse and custome allowed and our eares made acquainted with them. Thus then I say that *auricular* figures be those which worke alteration in th'eare by sound, accent, time, and slipper volubilitie in vtterance, such as for that respect was called by the

auncients numerositie of speach. And not onely the whole body of a tale in a poeme or historie may be made in such sort pleasant and agreable to the eare, but also euery clause by it selfe, and euery single word carried in a clause may haue their pleasant sweetenesse apart. And so long as this qualitie extendeth but to the outward tuning of the speach, reaching no higher then th'eare and forcing the mynde little or nothing, it is that vertue which the Greeks call *Enargia* and is the office of the *auricular* figures to performe. Therefore, as the members of language at large are whole sentences, and sentences are compact of clauses, and clauses of words, and euery word of letters and sillables, so is the alteration (be it but of a sillable or letter) much materiall to the sound and sweetenesse of vtterance. Wherefore beginning first at the smallest alterations which rest in letters and sillables, the first sort of our figures *auricular* we do appoint to single words as they lye in language; the second to clauses of speach; the third to perfit sentences and to the whole masse or body of the tale, be it poeme or historie, written or reported.

[*Puttenham then proceeds to a detailed description of the grammatical and rhetorical tropes and figures included in his general scheme. In each case he gives a definition and illustrates it by quotations or by anecdotes, but he seldom adds any matter of purely critical value. The more interesting points are indicated in the following summary of the chapters and figures.*]

CHAP. XI. OF AURICULAR FIGURES APPERTEINING TO SINGLE WORDES AND WORKING BY THEIR DIUERS SOUNDES AND AUDIBLE TUNES, ALTERATION TO THE EARE ONELY AND NOT THE MYNDE.

CHAP. XII. OF AURICULAR FIGURES PERTAINING TO CLAUSES OF SPEECH AND BY THEM WORKING NO LITTLE ALTERATION TO THE EARE. *These include—Eclipsis*, or the Figure of Default; *Zeugma*, or the Single Supply; *Prozeugma*, or the Ringleader; *Mezozeugma*, or the Middlemarcher; *Hypozeugma*, or the Rerewarder; *Sillepsis*, or the Double

Supply; *Hypozeuxis*, or the Substitute; *Aposiopesis*, or the Figure of Silence, otherwise called the Figure of Interruption; and *Prolepsis*, or the Propounder.

CHAP. XIII. OF YOUR FIGURES AURICULAR WORKING BY DISORDER. *These are—Hiperbaton*, or the Trespasser; *Parenthesis*, or the Insertour; and *Histeron proteron*, or the Preposterous.

CHAP. XIV. OF YOUR FIGURES AURICULAR THAT WORKE BY SURPLUSAGE.

CHAP. XV. OF AURICULAR FIGURES WORKING BY EXCHANGE, *namely—Enallage*, or the Figure of Exchange, and *Hipallage*, or the Changeling.

CHAP. XVI. OF SOME OTHER FIGURES WHICH, BECAUSE THEY SERUE CHIEFLY TO MAKE THE MEETERS TUNABLE AND MELODIOUS, AND AFFECT NOT THE MINDE BUT VERY LITTLE, BE PLACED AMONG THE AURICULAR. *These are—Omoiotele*[*u*]*ton*, or the Like Loose; *Parimion*, or the Figure of Like Letter; *Asyndeton*, or the Loose Language; *Polisindeton*, or the Coople Clause; *Irmus*, or the Long Loose; *Epitheton*, or the Qualifier; and *Endiadis*, or the Figure of Twinnes.

Under the first we read: 'For a rime of good simphonie should not conclude his concords with one & the same terminant sillable, as *less, less, less*, but with diuers and like terminants, as *les, pres, mes*, as was before declared in the chapter of your cadences, and your clauses in prose should neither finish with the same nor with the like terminants, but with the contrary, as hath bene shewed before in the booke of proportions; yet many vse it otherwise, neglecting the Poeticall harmonie and skill. And th'Earle of *Surrey* with Syr *Thomas Wyat*, the most excellent makers of their time, more peraduenture respecting the fitnesse and ponderositie of their wordes then the true cadence or simphonie, were very licencious in this point. We call this figure, following the originall, the *like loose*, alluding to th'Archers terme who is not said to finish the feate of his shot before he giue the loose and deliuer his arrow from his bow; in which respect we vse to say marke the loose of a thing for marke the end of it.'

CHAP. XVII. OF THE FIGURES WHICH WE CALL SENSABLE,

BECAUSE THEY ALTER AND AFFECT THE MINDE BY ALTERATION OF SENSE; AND FIRST IN SINGLE WORDES. *These include—Metaphora*, or the Figure of Transport; *Catachresis*, or the Figure of Abuse; *Metonymia*, or the Misnamer; *Antonomasia*, or the Surnamer; *Onomatopeia*, or the Newnamer; *Epitheton*, or the Qualifier, otherwise called the Figure of Attribution; *Metalepsis*, or the Far-fet; *Emphasis*, or the Renforcer; *Liptote*, or the Moderatour; *Paradiastole*, or the Curry fauell, otherwise called the Soother; *Meiosis*, or the Disabler; *Tapinosis*, or the Abbaser; and *Synecdoche*, or the Figure of Quick Conceite.

In speaking of Epitheton, Puttenham says: 'Some of our vulgar writers take great pleasure in giuing Epithets, and do it almost to euery word which may receiue them, and should not be so, yea though they were neuer so propre and apt, for sometimes wordes suffered to go single do giue greater sence and grace than words quallified by attributions do.'

CHAP. XVIII. OF SENSABLE FIGURES ALTERING AND AFFECTING THE MYNDE BY ALTERATION OF SENCE OR INTENDEMENTS IN WHOLE CLAUSES OR SPEACHES. *These are—Allegoria*, or Figure of False Semblant; *Enigma*, or the Riddle; *Parimia*, or the Prouerb; *Ironia*, or the Drie Mock; *Sarcasmus*, or the Bitter Taunt; *Asteismus*, or the Merry Scoffe, otherwise the Ciuill Iest; *Micterismus*, or the Fleering Frumpe; *Antiphrasis*, or the Broad Floute; *Charientismus*, or the Priuie Nippe; *Hiperbole*, or the Ouerreacher, otherwise the Loud Lyer; *Periphrasis*, or the Figure of Ambage; and *Synecdoche*, or the Figure of Quick Conceit (see l. 11), *which* 'may be put vnder the speeches *allegoricall*, because of the darkenes and duplicitie of his sence.'

CHAP. XIX. OF FIGURES SENTENTIOUS, OTHERWISE CALLED RHETORICALL. *This long chapter deals with—Anaphora*, or the Figure of Report; *Antistrophe*, or the Counterturne; *Symploche*, or the Figure of Replie; *Anadiplosis*, or the Redouble; *Epanalepsis*, or the Eccho Sound, otherwise the Slow Returne; *Epizeuxis*, or the Vnderlay, or Cuckowspell; *Ploche*, or the Doubler, otherwise called the Swift Repeate; *Prosonomasia*, or the Nicknamer; *Traductio*, or the Tranlacer; *Antipophora*, or the Figure of Responce; *Syneciosis*,

or the Crosse-couple; *Antanaclasis*, or the Rebounde; *Clymax*, or the Marching Figure; *Antimetauole*, or the Counterchange; *Insultatio*, or the Disdainefull; *Antitheton*, or the Quarreller, otherwise called the Ouerthwart or Renconter; *Erotema*, or the Questioner; *Ecphonisis*, or the Outcrie; *Brachiologia*, or the Cutted Comma; *Parison*, or the Figure of Euen; *Sinonimia*, or the Figure of Store; *Metanoia*, or the Penitent; *Antenagoge*, or the Recompencer; *Epiphonema*, or the Surclose, or Consenting Close; *Auxesis*, or the Auancer; *Meiosis*, or the Disabler; *Epanodis*, or the Figure of Retire; *Dialisis*, or the Dismembrer; *Merismus*, or the Distributor; *Epimone*, or the Loueburden; *Paradoxon*, or the Wondrer; *Aporia*, or the Doubtfull; *Epitropis*, or the Figure of Reference; *Parisia*, or the Licentious; *Anachinosis*, or the Impartener; *Paramologia*, or the Figure of Admittance; *Etiologia*, or the Tell-cause, or the Reason Rend; *Dichologia*, or the Figure of Excuse; *Noema*, or the Figure of Close Conceit; *Orismus*, or the Definer by Difference; *Procatalepsis*, or the Presumptuous; *Paralepsis*, or the Passager; *Commoratio*, or the Figure of Abode; *Metastasis*, or the Flitting Figure, or the Remoue; *Parecnasis*, or the Stragler; *Expeditio*, or the Speedie Dispatcher; *Dialogismus*, or the Right Reasoner; *Gnome*, or the Director; *Sententia*, or the Sage Sayer; *Sinathrismus*, or the Heaping Figure; *Apostrophe*, or the Turne Tale; *Hypotiposis*, or the Counterfait Representation; *Prosopographia*, or Counterfait Countenance; *Prosopopeia*, or the Counterfait in Personation; *Cronographia*, or the Counterfait Time; *Topographia*, or the Counterfait Place; *Pragmatographia*, or the Counterfait Action; *Omoiosis*, or Resemblance; *Icon*, or Resemblance by Imagerie; *Parabola*, or Resemblance misticall; and *Paradigma*, or Resemblance by Example. (*For the cancelled passage on the Flemings, see Notes.*)

CHAP. XX. THE LAST AND PRINCIPALL FIGURE OF OUR POETICALL ORNAMENT, i.e. *Exargasia*, or The Glorious. 'In a worke of ours, intituled *Philocalia*, we have strained to shew the vse and application of this figure and al others mentioned in this booke, to which we referre you. I find none example in English meetre so well maintayning this figure as that ditty of her Maiesties owne making passing sweete

& harmonicall.' *Then follow the verses on the disloyalty of the supporters of the Scots Queen, beginning*

'The doubt of future foes exiles my present ioy.'

CHAP. XXI. OF THE VICES OR DEFORMITIES IN SPEACH AND WRITING PRINCIPALLY NOTED BY AUNCIENT POETS.

Puttenham promises to speak briefly of the 'viciosities' of language, 'leauing no little to the Grammarians for maintenaunce of the scholasticall warre and altercations.'

CHAP. XXII. SOME VICES IN SPEACHES AND WRITING ARE ALWAYES INTOLLERABLE, SOME OTHERS NOW AND THEN BORNE WITHALL BY LICENCE OF APPROUED AUTHORS AND CUSTOME. *The 'intollerable vices' are Barbarismus* or Forrein Speech, *Solecismus* or Incongruitie, *Cacozelia* or Fonde Affectation, *Soraismus* or the Mingle Mangle, and *Cacosintheton* or the Misplacer. *Less serious 'vices' are Cacemphaton* or the Figure of Foule Speech, *Tautologia* or the Figure of Selfe Saying, *Histeron Proteron* or the Preposterous, *Acyron* or the Vncouthe. *Then there are the 'Vices of Surplusage,'* viz. *Pleonasmus* or Too full Speech, *Macrologia* or Long Language, *Periergia* or Ouer labour, or The Curious; *after these, Tapinosis* or The Abbaser, *Bomphiologia* or Pompous Speech, and *Amphibologia* or the Ambiguous.

When speaking of the affectation of foreign terms, Puttenham says: 'Another [writer] of reasonable good facilitie in translation finding certaine of the hymnes of *Pyndarus* and of *Anacreons* odes and other *Lirickes* among the Greekes very well translated by *Rounsard* the French Poet, and applied to the honour of a great Prince in France, comes our minion and translates the same out of French into English, & applieth them to the honour of a great noble man in England (wherein I commend his reuerent minde and duetie), but doth so impudently robbe the French Poet both of his prayse and also of his French termes, that I cannot so much pitie him as be angry with him for his iniurious dealing, our sayd maker not being ashamed to vse these French wordes *freddon, egar, superbous, filanding, celest, calabrois, thebanois,* and a number of others, for English wordes, which haue no maner of conformitie with our language either by custome or deriuation which may make them tollerable: and in the end (which is worst of all)

makes his vaunt that neuer English finger but his hath toucht *Pindars* string, which was neuerthelesse word by word as *Rounsard* had said before by like braggery. . . . This man deserues to be endited of pety *larceny* for pilfering other mens deuises from them & conuerting them to his owne vse, for in deede as I would wish euery inuentour, which is the very Poet, to receaue the prayses of his inuention, so would I not haue a translatour to be ashamed to be acknowen of his translation.'

And speaking of Periergia, Puttenham alludes to 'one of our late makers, who in the most of his things wrote very well, in this (to mine opinion) more curiously than needed, the matter being ripely considered; yet is his verse very good, and his meetre cleanly. His intent was to declare how vpon the tenth day of March he crossed the riuer of Thames, to walke in Saint *Georges* field; the matter was not great, as ye may suppose.

The tenth of March when Aries receiued
Dan Phoebus raies into his horned head,
And I my selfe by learned lore perceiued
That Ver approcht and frosty winter fled,
I crost the Thames to take the cheerefull aire
In open fields—the weather was so faire.

First, the whole matter is not worth all this solemne circumstance to describe the tenth day of March; but if he had left at the two first verses, it had bene inough. But when he comes with two other verses to enlarge his description, it is not only more than needes, but also very ridiculous, for he makes wise as if he had not bene a man learned in some of the mathematickes (by learned lore) that he could not haue told that the x of March had fallen in the spring of the yeare; which euery carter and also euery child knoweth without any learning. Then also, when he saith *Ver approcht and frosty winter fled*, though it were a surplusage (because one season must needes geue place to the other), yet doeth it well inough passe without blame in the maker. These and a hundred more of such faultie and impertinent speeches may yee finde amongst vs vulgar Poets, when we be carelesse of our doings.'

CHAP. XXIII.

WHAT IT IS THAT GENERALLY MAKES OUR SPEACH WELL PLEASING & COMMENDABLE, AND OF THAT WHICH THE LATINES CALL DECORUM.

In all things to vse decencie, is it onely that giueth euery thing his good grace & without which nothing in mans speach could seeme good or gracious, in so much as many times it makes a bewtifull figure fall into a deformitie, and on th'other side a vicious speach seeme pleasaunt and bewtifull: this decencie is therfore the line & leuell for al good makers to do their busines by. But herein resteth the difficultie, to know what this good grace is, & wherein it consisteth, for peraduenture it be easier to conceaue then to expresse. We wil therfore examine it to the bottome, & say that euery thing which pleaseth the mind or sences, & the mind by the sences as by means instrumentall, doth it for some amiable point or qualitie that is in it, which draweth them to a good liking and contentment with their proper obiects. But that cannot be if they discouer any illfauorednesse or disproportion to the partes apprehensiue: as for example, when a sound is either too loude or too low or otherwise confuse, the eare is ill affected; so is th'eye if the coulour be sad or not luminous and recreatiue, or the shape of a membred body without his due measures and simmetry; and the like of euery other sence in his proper function. These excesses or defectes or confusions and disorders in the sensible obiectes are deformities and vnseemely to the sence. In like sort the mynde for the things that be his mentall obiectes hath his good graces and his bad, whereof th'one contents him wonderous well, th'other displeaseth him continually, no more nor no lesse then ye see the discordes of musicke do to a well tuned eare. The Greekes call this good grace of

euery thing in his kinde τὸ πρέπον, the Latines *decorum*; we in our vulgar call it by a scholasticall terme *decencie*; our owne Saxon English terme is *seemelynesse*, that is to say, for his good shape and vtter appearance well pleasing the eye; we call it also *comelynesse*, for the delight it bringeth comming towardes vs, and to that purpose may be called *pleasant approche*. So as euery way seeking to expresse this πρέπον of the Greekes and *decorum* of the Latines, we are faine in our vulgar toung to borrow the terme which our eye onely for his noble prerogatiue ouer all the rest of the sences doth vsurpe, and to apply the same to all good, comely, pleasant, and honest things, euen to the spirituall obiectes of the mynde, which stand no lesse in the due proportion of reason and discourse than any other materiall thing doth in his sensible bewtie, proportion, and comelynesse.

Now because his comelynesse resteth in the good conformitie of many things and their sundry circumstances, with respect one to another, so as there be found a iust correspondencie betweene them by this or that relation, the Greekes call it *Analogie* or a conuenient proportion. This louely conformitie, or proportion, or conueniencie, betweene the sence and the sensible hath nature her selfe first most carefully obserued in all her owne workes, then also by kinde graft it in the appetites of euery creature working by intelligence to couet and desire, and in their actions to imitate & performe; and of man chiefly before any other creature aswell in his speaches as in euery other part of his behauiour. And this in generalitie and by an vsuall terme is that which the Latines call *decorum*. So albeit we before alleaged that all our figures be but transgressions of our dayly speech, yet if they fall out decently to the good liking of the mynde or eare and to the bewtifying of the matter or language, all is well; if indecently, and to the eares and myndes misliking (be the figure of it

selfe neuer so commendable), all is amisse: the election is the writers, the iudgement is the worlds, as theirs to whom the reading apperteineth. But since the actions of man with their circumstances be infinite, and the world likewise replenished with many iudgements, it may be a question who shal haue the determination of such controuersie as may arise whether this or that action or speach be decent or indecent: and verely it seemes to go all by discretion, not perchaunce of euery one, but by a learned and experienced discretion, for otherwise seemes the *decorum* to a weake and ignorant iudgement then it doth to one of better knowledge and experience; which sheweth that it resteth in the discerning part of the minde; so as he who can make the best and most differences of things by reasonable and wittie distinction is to be the fittest iudge or sentencer of *decencie*. Such generally is the discreetest man, particularly in any art the most skilfull and discreetest, and in all other things for the more part those that be of much obseruation and greatest experience. The case then standing that discretion must chiefly guide all those businesse, since there be sundry sortes of discretion all vnlike, euen as there be men of action or art, I see no way so fit to enable a man truly to estimate of *decencie* as example, by whose veritie we may deeme the differences of things and their proportions, and by particular discussions come at length to sentence of it generally, and also in our behauiours the more easily to put it in execution. But by reason of the sundry circumstances that mans affaires are, as it were, wrapt in, this *decencie* comes to be very much alterable and subiect to varietie, in[so]much as our speach asketh one maner of *decencie* in respect of the person who speakes, another of his to whom it is spoken, another of whom we speake, another of what we speake, and in what place and time and to what purpose. And as it is of speach, so of al other our behauiours. We

wil therefore set you down some few examples of euery circumstance how it alters the decencie of speach or action. And by these few shal ye be able to gather a number more to confirme and establish your iudgement by a perfit discretion.

This decencie, so farfoorth as apperteineth to the consideration of our art, resteth in writing, speech, and behauiour. But because writing is no more then the image or character of speech, they shall goe together in these our obseruations. And first wee wil sort you out diuers points, in which the wise and learned men of times past haue noted much decency or vndecencie, euery man according to his discretion, as it hath bene said afore; but wherein for the most part all discreete men doe generally agree, and varie not in opinion, whereof the examples I will geue you be worthie of remembrance; & though they brought with them no doctrine or institution at all, yet for the solace they may geue the readers, after such a rable of scholastical precepts which be tedious, these reports being of the nature historicall, they are to be embraced; but olde memories are very profitable to the mind, and serue as a glasse to looke vpon and behold the euents of time, and more exactly to skan the trueth of euery case that shall happen in the affaires of man; and many there be that haply doe not obserue euery particularitie in matters of decencie or vndecencie, and yet when the case is tolde them by another man they commonly geue the same sentence vpon it. But yet whosoeuer obserueth much shalbe counted the wisest and discreetest man, and whosoeuer spends all his life in his owne vaine actions and conceits, and obserues no mans else, he shal in the end prooue but a simple man. In which respect it is alwaies said, one man of experience is wiser than tenne learned men, because of his long and studious obseruation and often triall.

And your decencies are of sundrie sorts, according to the many circumstances accompanying our writing, speech, or behauiour, so as in the very sound or voice of him that speaketh there is a decencie that becommeth, and an vndecencie that misbecommeth vs; which th'Emperor *Anthonine* marked well in the Orator *Philiseus*, who spake before him with so small and shrill a voice as the Emperor was greatly annoyed therewith, and, to make him shorten his tale, said, 'by thy beard thou shouldst be a man, but by thy voice a woman.'

[*Here Puttenham inserts a number of merry tales illustrative of his 'sundrie sorts of undecencies,' concluding with a story of a Herald of Charles V.*]

A Herald at armes sent by *Charles* the fifth Emperor to *Fraunces* the first French king, bringing him a message of defiance, and thinking to qualifie the bitternesse of his message with words pompous and magnificent for the kings honor, vsed much this terme *sacred Maiestie*, which was not vsually geuen to the French king, but to say for the most part *Sire*. The French king neither liking of his errant, nor yet of his pompous speech, said somewhat sharply, 'I pray thee, good fellow, clawe me not where I itch not with thy sacred maiestie, but goe to thy businesse, and tell thine errand in such termes as are decent betwixt enemies, for thy master is not my frend'; and turned him to a Prince of the bloud, who stoode by, saying, 'me thinks this fellow speakes like Bishop *Nicholas*,' for on Saint *Nicholas* night commonly the Scholars of the Countrey make them a Bishop, who, like a foolish boy, goeth about blèssing and preaching with so childish termes as maketh the people laugh at his foolish counterfaite speeches.

And yet in speaking or writing of a Princes affaires & fortunes there is a certaine *Decorum*, that we may not vse the same termes in their busines as we might very wel doe in a meaner persons, the case being all one, such

reuerence is due to their estates. As for example, if an Historiographer shal write of an Emperor or King, how such a day hee ioyned battel with his enemie, and being ouer-laide ranne out of the fielde, and tooke his heeles, or put spurre to his horse and fled as fast as hee could, the termes be not decent; but of a meane souldier or captaine it were not vndecently spoken. And as one who translating certaine bookes of *Virgils Æneidos* into English meetre said that *Æneas* was fayne to trudge out of Troy; which terme became better to be spoken of a beggar, or of a rogue, or a lackey, for so wee vse to say to such maner of people 'be trudging hence.'

Another Englishing this word of *Virgill, fato profugus*, called *Æneas by fate a fugitiue*, which was vndecently spoken, and not to the Authours intent in the same word: for whom he studied by all means to auaunce aboue all other men of the world for vertue and magnanimitie, he meant not to make him a fugitiue. But by occasion of his great distresses, and of the hardnesse of his destinies, he would haue it appeare that *Æneas* was enforced to flie out of Troy, and for many yeeres to be a romer and a wandrer about the world both by land and sea, *fato profugus*, and neuer to find any resting place till he came into *Italy*; so as ye may euidently perceiue in this terme *fugitiue* a notable indignity offred to that princely person, and by th'other word (a wanderer) none indignitie at all, but rather a terme of much loue and commiseration. The same translatour when he came to these words: *Insignem pietate virum, tot voluere casus tot adire labores compulit*, hee turned it thus, 'what moued *Iuno* to tugge so great a captaine as *Æneas*,' which word 'tugge' spoken in this case is so vndecent as none other coulde haue bene deuised, and tooke his first originall from the cart, because it signifieth the pull or draught of the oxen or horses, and therefore the leathers that beare the chiefe stresse of the

draught the cartars call them tugges, and so wee vse to say that shrewd boyes tugge each other by the eares, for pull.

Another of our vulgar makers spake as illfaringly in this verse written to the dispraise of a rich man and couetous, 'Thou hast a misers minde, thou hast a princes pelfe'—a lewde terme to be spoken of a princes treasure, which in no respect nor for any cause is to be called pelfe, though it were neuer so meane; for pelfe is properly the scrappes or shreds of taylors and skinners, which are accompted of so vile price as they be commonly cast out of dores or otherwise bestowed vpon base purposes, and carrieth not the like reason or decencie as when we say in reproch of a niggard, or vserer, or worldly couetous man that he setteth more by a little pelfe of the world than by his credit, or health, or conscience. For in comparison of these treasours, all the gold or siluer in the world may by a skornefull terme be called pelfe, & so ye see that the reason of the decencie holdeth not alike in both cases. Now let vs passe from these examples to treate of those that concerne the comelinesse and decencie of mans behauiour.

And some speech may be whan it is spoken very vndecent, and yet the same hauing afterward somewhat added to it may become prety and decent, as was the stowte worde vsed by a captaine in Fraunce, who sitting at the lower end of the Duke of *Guyses* table among many, the day after there had bene a great battaile foughten, the Duke finding that this captaine was not seene that day to do any thing in the field, taxed him priuily thus in al the hearings. 'Where were you, Sir, the day of the battaile, for I saw ye not?' The captaine answered promptly, 'where ye durst not haue bene': and the Duke began to kindle with the worde, which the Gentleman perceiuing, said spedily: 'I was that day among the carriages, where

your excellencie would not for a thousand crownes haue bene seene.' Thus from vndecent it came by a wittie reformation to be made decent againe.

The like hapned on a time at the Duke of Northumberlandes bourd, where merry *Iohn Heywood* was allowed to sit at the tables end. The Duke had a very noble and honorable mynde alwayes to pay his debts well, and when he lacked money would not stick to sell the greatest part of his plate: so had he done few dayes before. *Heywood*, being loth to call for his drinke so oft as he was dry, turned his eye toward the cupbord and sayd 'I finde great misse of your graces standing cups': the Duke, thinking he had spoken it of some knowledge that his plate was lately sold, said somewhat sharpely, 'why, Sir, will not those cuppes serue as good a man as your selfe.' *Heywood* readily replied: 'Yes if it please your grace, but I would haue one of them stand still at myne elbow full of drinke, that I might not be driuen to trouble your men so often to call for it.' This pleasant and speedy reuers of the former wordes holpe all the matter againe, whereupon the Duke became very pleasaunt and dranke a bolle of wine to *Heywood*, and bid a cup should alwayes be standing by him.

It were to busie a peece of worke for me to tell you of all the parts of decencie and indecency which haue bene obserued in the speaches of man & in his writings, and this that I tell you is rather to solace your eares with pretie conceits after a sort of long scholasticall preceptes which may happen haue doubled them, rather then for any other purpose of institution or doctrine, which to any Courtier of experience is not necessarie in this behalfe. And as they appeare by the former examples to rest in our speach and writing, so do the same by like proportion consist in the whole behauiour of man, and that which he doth well and commendably is euer decent, and the

contrary vndecent, not in euery mans iudgement alwayes one, but after their seuerall discretion and by circumstance diuersly, as by the next Chapter shalbe shewed.

CHAP. XXIV.

OF DECENCIE IN BEHAUIOUR, WHICH ALSO BELONGS TO THE CONSIDERATION OF THE POET OR MAKER.

And there is a decency to be obserued in euery mans action & behauiour aswell as in his speach & writing, which some peraduenture would thinke impertinent to be treated of in this booke, where we do but informe the commendable fashions of language and stile: but that is otherwise, for the good maker or poet, who is in decent speach & good termes to describe all things, and with prayse or dispraise to report euery mans behauiour, ought to know the comelinesse of an action aswell as of a word, & thereby to direct himselfe both in praise & perswasion or any other point that perteines to the Oratours arte. Wherefore some examples we will set downe of this maner of decency in behauiour, leauing you for the rest to our booke which we haue written *de Decoro*, where ye shall see both partes handled more exactly. And this decencie of mans behauiour aswell as of his speach must also be deemed by discretion, in which regard the thing that may well become one man to do may not become another, and that which is seemely to be done in this place is not so seemely in that, and at such a time decent, but at another time vndecent, and in such a case and for such a purpose, and to this and that end, and by this and that euent, perusing all the circumstances with like consideration.

[*This chapter is devoted to anecdotes illustrative of 'decencie' in giving and taking, in manner of life at different ages*

and in different classes, in choice of occasion, in apparel and fashion, in expressions of friendship, in sorrow and laughter, and in the bearing of the Prince and his Courtiers. Puttenham tells the story of the architect Dinocrates and Alexander the Great to illustrate the exception, when 'singularities' may have 'good liking and good successe.' The chapter concludes as follows.]

And with these examples I thinke sufficient to leaue, geuing you information of this one point, that all your figures Poeticall or Rhethoricall are but obseruations of strange speeches, and such as without any arte at al we should vse, & commonly do, euen by very nature without discipline; but more or lesse aptly and decently, or scarcely, or aboundantly, or of this or that kind of figure, & one of vs more then another, according to the disposition of our nature, constitution of the heart, & facilitie of each mans vtterance: so as we may conclude that nature her selfe suggesteth the figure in this or that forme, but arte aydeth the iudgement of his vse and application; which geues me occasion, finally and for a full conclusion to this whole treatise, to enforme you in the next chapter how art should be vsed in all respects, and specially in this behalfe of language, and when the naturall is more commendable then the artificiall, and contrariwise.

CHAP. XXV.

THAT THE GOOD POET OR MAKER OUGHT TO DISSEMBLE HIS ARTE, AND IN WHAT CASES THE ARTIFICIALL IS MORE COMMENDED THEN THE NATURALL, AND CONTRARIWISE.

And now (most excellent Queene) hauing largely said of Poets & Poesie, and about what matters they be employed; then of all the commended fourmes of Poemes;

thirdly of metricall proportions, such as do appertaine to our vulgar arte; and last of all set forth the poeticall ornament consisting chiefly in the beautie and gallantnesse of his language and stile, and so haue apparelled him to our seeming, in all his gorgious habilliments, and pulling him first from the carte to the schoole, and from thence to the Court, and preferred him to your Maiesties seruice, in that place of great honour and magnificence to geue enterteinment to Princes, Ladies of honour, Gentlewomen, and Gentlemen, and by his many moodes of skill to serue the many humors of men thither haunting and resorting, some by way of solace, some of serious aduise, and in matters aswell profitable as pleasant and honest: Wee haue in our humble conceit sufficiently perfourmed our promise or rather dutie to your Maiestie in the description of this arte, so alwaies as we leaue him not vnfurnisht of one peece that best beseemes that place of any other, and may serue as a principall good lesson for al good makers to beare continually in mind in the vsage of this science; which is, that being now lately become a Courtier he shew not himself a craftsman, & merit to be disgraded & with scorne sent back againe to the shop or other place of his first facultie and calling, but that so wisely & discreetly he behaue himselfe as he may worthily retaine the credit of his place and profession of a very Courtier, which is, in plaine termes, cunningly to be able to dissemble. But (if it please your Maiestie) may it not seeme inough for a Courtier to know how to weare a fether, and set his cappe a slaunt, his chaine *en écharpe*, a straight buskin *al inglese*, a loose *alo Turquesque*, the cape *alla Spaniola*, the breech *à la Françoise*, and by twentie maner of new fashioned garments to disguise his body, and his face with as many countenances, whereof it seemes there be many that make a very arte, and studie who can shew himselfe most fine, I will not say most foolish and

ridiculous? or perhaps rather that he could dissemble his conceits as well as his countenances, so as he neuer speake as he thinkes, or thinke as he speaks, and that in any matter of importance his words and his meaning very seldome meete: for so as I remember it was concluded by vs setting foorth the figure *Allegoria*, which therefore not impertinently we call the Courtier or figure of faire semblant? Or is it not perchance more requisite our courtly Poet do dissemble not onely his countenances & conceits, but also all his ordinary actions of behauiour, or the most part of them, whereby the better to winne his purposes & good aduantages, as now & then to haue a iourney or sicknesse in his sleeue, thereby to shake of other importunities of greater consequence, as they vse their pilgrimages in Fraunce, the Diet in Spaine, the baines in Italy? and when a man is whole to faine himselfe sicke to shunne the businesse in Court, to entertaine time and ease at home, to salue offences without discredite, to win purposes by mediation in absence, which their presence would eyther impeach or not greatly preferre, to harken after the popular opinions and speech, to entend to their more priuate solaces, to practize more deepely both at leasure & libertie, &, when any publique affaire or other attempt & counsaile of theirs hath not receaued good successe, to auoid therby the Princes present reproofe, to coole their chollers by absence, to winne remorse by lamentable reports, and reconciliation by friends intreatie? Finally, by sequestring themselues for a time fro the Court, to be able the freelier & cleerer to discerne the factions and state of the Court and of al the world besides, no lesse then doth the looker on or beholder of a game better see into all points of auauntage, then the player himselfe? and in dissembling of diseases, which I pray you? for I haue obserued it in the Court of Fraunce, not a burning feuer or a plurisie or a palsie, or the

hydropick and swelling gowte, or any other like disease, for if they be such as may be either easily discerned or quickly cured, they be ill to dissemble and doo halfe handsomly serue the turne.

But it must be either a dry dropsie, or a megrim, or letarge, or a fistule *in ano*, or some such other secret disease, as the common conuersant can hardly discouer, and the Phisition either not speedily heale, or not honestly bewray; of which infirmities the scoffing *Pasquil* wrote, *Vlcus vesicae, renum dolor, in pene scirrus.* Or, as I haue seene in diuers places, where many make themselues hart whole, when in deede they are full sicke, bearing it stoutly out to the hazard of their health, rather then they would be suspected of any lothsome infirmity, which might inhibit them from the Princes presence or enterteinment of the ladies. Or, as some other do, to beare a port of state & plentie when they haue neither penny nor possession, that they may not seeme to droope, and be reiected as vnworthy or insufficient for the greater seruices, or to be pitied for their pouertie, which they hold for a marueilous disgrace, as did the poore Squire of Castile, who had rather dine with a sheepes head at home & drinke a cruse of water to it then to haue a good dinner giuen him by his friend who was nothing ignorant of his pouertie. Or, as others do, to make wise they be poore when they be riche, to shunne thereby the publicke charges and vocations, for men are not now a dayes (specially in states of *Oligarchie* as the most in our age) called somuch for their wisedome as for their wealth; also to auoyde enuie of neighbours or bountie in conuersation, for whosoeuer is reputed rich cannot without reproch but be either a lender or a spender. Or, as others do, to seeme very busie when they haue nothing to doo, and yet will make themselues so occupied and ouerladen in the Princes affaires, as it is a great matter to haue a couple of wordes

with them, when notwithstanding they lye sleeping on their beds all an after noone, or sit solemnly at cardes in their chambers, or enterteyning of the Dames, or laughing and gibing with their familiars foure houres by the clock, whiles the poore suter desirous of his dispatch is aunswered by some Secretarie or page, '*Il fault attendre, Monsieur* is dispatching the kings businesse into Languedock, Prouence, Piemont,'—a common phrase with the Secretaries of France. Or, as I haue obserued in many of the Princes Courts of Italie, to seeme idle when they be earnestly occupied & entend to nothing but mischieuous practizes, and do busily negotiat by coulor of otiation. Or, as others of them that go ordinarily to Church and neuer pray to winne an opinion of holinesse, or pray still apace but neuer do good deede, and geue a begger a penny and spend a pound on a harlot, to speake faire to a mans face and foule behinde his backe, to set him at his trencher and yet sit on his skirts, for so we vse to say by a fayned friend, then also to be rough and churlish in speach and apparance but inwardly affectionate and fauouring, as I haue sene of the greatest podestates and grauest iudges and Presidentes of Parliament in Fraunce.

These & many such like disguisings do we find in mans behauiour, & specially in the Courtiers of forraine Countreyes, where in my youth I was brought vp, and very well obserued their maner of life and conuersation, for of mine owne Countrey I haue not made so great experience. Which parts, neuerthelesse, we allow not now in our English maker, because we haue geuen him the name of an honest man, and not of an hypocrite: and therefore leauing these manner of dissimulations to all base-minded men, & of vile nature or misterie, we doe allow our Courtly Poet to be a dissembler only in the subtilties of his arte, that is, when he is most artificiall,

so to disguise and cloake it as it may not appeare, nor seeme to proceede from him by any studie or trade of rules, but to be his naturall; nor so euidently to be descried, as euery ladde that reades him shall say he is a good scholler, but will rather haue him to know his arte well, and little to vse it.

And yet peraduenture in all points it may not be so taken, but in such onely as may discouer his grossenes or his ignorance by some schollerly affectation; which thing is very irkesome to all men of good trayning, and specially to Courtiers. And yet for all that our maker may not be in all cases restrayned, but that he may both vse and also manifest his arte to his great praise, and need no more be ashamed thereof than a shomaker to haue made a cleanly shoe, or a Carpenter to haue buylt a faire house. Therefore to discusse and make this point somewhat cleerer, to weete, where arte ought to appeare and where not, and when the naturall is more commendable than the artificiall in any humane action or workmanship, we wil examine it further by this distinction.

In some cases we say arte is an ayde and coadiutor to nature, and a furtherer of her actions to good effect, or peraduenture a meane to supply her wants, by renforcing the causes wherein shee is impotent and defectiue, as doth the arte of phisicke, by helping the naturall concoction, retention, distribution, expulsion, and other vertues, in a weake and vnhealthie bodie; or, as the good gardiner seasons his soyle by sundrie sorts of compost, as mucke or marle, clay or sande, and many times by bloud, or lees of oyle or wine, or stale, or perchaunce with more costly drugs, and waters his plants, and weedes his herbes or floures, and prunes his branches, and unleaues his boughes to let in the sunne, and twentie other waies cherisheth them and cureth their infirmities, and so makes that neuer or very seldome any of them

miscarry, but bring foorth their flours and fruites in season. And in both these cases it is no smal praise for the Phisition & Gardiner to be called good and cunning artificers.

In another respect arte is not only an aide and coadiutor to nature in all her actions but an alterer of them, and in some sort a surmounter of her skill, so as by meanes of it her owne effects shall appeare more beautifull or straunge and miraculous, as in both cases before remembred. The Phisition by the cordials hee will geue his patient shall be able not onely to restore the decayed spirites of man and render him health, but also to prolong the terme of his life many yeares ouer and aboue the stint of his first and naturall constitution. And the Gardiner by his arte will not onely make an herbe, or flowr, or fruite, come forth in his season without impediment, but also will embellish the same in vertue, shape, odour, and taste, that nature of her selfe woulde neuer haue done, as to make single gillifloure, or marigold, or daisie, double, and the white rose redde, yellow, or carnation, a bitter mellon sweete, a sweete apple soure, a plumme or cherrie without a stone, a peare without core or kernell, a goord or coucumber like to a horne or any other figure he will: any of which things nature could not doe without mans help and arte. These actions also are most singular when they be most artificiall.

In another respect we say arte is neither an aider nor a surmounter but onely a bare immitatour of natures works, following and counterfeyting her actions and effects, as the Marmesot doth many countenances and gestures of man; of which sorte are the artes of painting and keruing, whereof one represents the naturall by light colour and shadow in the superficiall or flat, the other in a body massife expressing the full and emptie, euen, extant, rabbated, hollow, or whatsoeuer other figure and passion

of quantitie. So also the Alchimist counterfeits gold, siluer, and all other mettals; the Lapidarie pearles and pretious stones by glasse and other substances falsified and sophisticate by arte. These men also be praised for their craft, and their credit is nothing empayred to say that their conclusions and effects are very artificiall.

Finally, in another respect arte is, as it were, an encountrer and contrary to nature, producing effects neither like to hers, nor by participation with her operations, nor by imitation of her paternes, but makes things and produceth effects altogether strange and diuerse, of such forme & qualitie (nature alwaies supplying stuffe) as she neuer would nor could haue done of her selfe, as the carpenter that builds a house, the ioyner that makes a table or a bedstead, the tailor a garment, the Smith a locke or a key, and a number of like, in which case the workman gaineth reputation by his arte, and praise when it is best expressed & most apparant, & most studiously. Man also in all his actions that be not altogether naturall, but are gotten by study, discipline, or exercise, as to daunce by measures, to sing by note, to play on the lute, and such like, it is a praise to be said an artificiall dauncer, singer, & player on instruments, because they be not exactly knowne or done, but by rules & precepts or teaching of schoolemasters. But in such actions as be so naturall & proper to man, as he may become excellent therein without any arte or imitation at all (custome and exercise excepted, which are requisite to euery action not numbred among the vitall or animal), and wherein nature should seeme to do amisse and man suffer reproch, to be found destitute of them: in those to shew himselfe rather artificiall then naturall were no lesse to be laughed at then for one that can see well inough to vse a paire of spectacles, or not to heare but by a trunke put to his eare, nor feele without a paire of ennealed glooues, which things

in deede helpe an infirme sence, but annoy the perfit, and therefore, shewing a disabilitie naturall, mooue rather to scorne then commendation, and to pitie sooner then to prayse. But what else is language, and vtterance, and discourse, & persuasion, and argument in man, then the vertues of a well constitute body and minde, little lesse naturall then his very sensuall actions, sauing that the one is perfited by nature at once, the other not without exercise & iteration? Peraduenture also it wilbe granted that a man sees better and discernes more brimly his colours and heares and feeles more exactly by vse and often hearing and feeling and seing, & though it be better to see with spectacles then not to see at all, yet is their praise not egall nor in any mans iudgement comparable: no more is that which a Poet makes by arte and precepts rather then by naturall instinct, and that which he doth by long meditation rather then by a suddaine inspiration, or with great pleasure and facillitie then hardly and (as they are woont to say) in spite of Nature or Minerua, then which nothing can be more irksome or ridiculous.

And yet I am not ignorant that there be artes and methodes both to speake and to perswade and also to dispute, and by which the naturall is in some sorte relieued, as th'eye by his spectacle. I say relieued in his imperfection, but not made more perfit then the naturall, in which respect I call those artes of *Grammer*, *Logicke*, and *Rhetorick*, not bare imitations, as the painter or keruers craft and worke in a forraine subiect, viz. a liuely purtraite in his table of wood, but by long and studious obseruation rather a repetition or reminiscens naturall, reduced into perfection, and made prompt by vse and exercise. And so whatsoeuer a man speakes or perswades he doth it not by imitation artificially, but by obseruation naturally (though one follow another), because it is both the same

and the like that nature doth suggest: but if a popingay speake, she doth it by imitation of mans voyce artificially and not naturally, being the like but not the same that nature doth suggest to man. But now because our maker or Poet is to play many parts and not one alone, as first to deuise his plat or subiect, then to fashion his poeme, thirdly to vse his metricall proportions, and last of all to vtter with pleasure and delight, which restes in his maner of language and stile as hath bene said, whereof the many moodes and straunge phrases are called figures, it is not altogether with him as with the crafts man, nor altogether otherwise then with the crafts man; for in that he vseth his metricall proportions by appointed and harmonicall measures and distaunces he is like the Carpenter or Ioyner, for, borrowing their tymber and stuffe of nature, they appoint and order it by art otherwise then nature would doe, and worke effects in apparance contrary to hers. Also in that which the Poet speakes or reports of another mans tale or doings, as *Homer* of *Priamus* or *Vlisses*, he is as the painter or keruer that worke by imitation and representation in a forrein subiect; in that he speakes figuratiuely, or argues subtillie, or perswades copiously and vehemently: he doth as the cunning gardiner that, vsing nature as a coadiutor, furders her conclusions, & many times makes her effectes more absolute and straunge. But for that in our maker or Poet which restes onely in deuise and issues from an excellent sharpe and quick inuention, holpen by a cleare and bright phantasie and imagination, he is not as the painter to counterfaite the naturall by the like effects and not the same, nor as the gardiner aiding nature to worke both the same and the like, nor as the Carpenter to worke effectes vtterly vnlike, but even as nature her selfe working by her owne peculiar vertue and proper instinct and not by example or meditation or exercise as all other artificers

do, is then most admired when he is most naturall and least artificiall: and in the feates of his language and vtterance, because they hold aswell of nature to be suggested and vttered as by arte to be polished and reformed. Therefore shall our Poet receaue prayse for both, but more by knowing of his arte then by vnseasonable vsing it, and be more commended for his naturall eloquence then for his artificiall, and more for his artificiall well disembled then for the same ouermuch affected and grossely or vndiscretly bewrayed, as many makers and Oratours do.

The Conclusion.

And with this (my most gratious soueraigne Lady) I make an end, humbly beseeching your pardon in that I haue presumed to hold your eares so long annoyed with a tedious trifle, so as, vnlesse it proceede more of your owne Princely and naturall mansuetude then of my merite, I feare greatly least you may thinck of me as the Philosopher Plato did of *Aniceris*, an inhabitant of the Citie *Cirene*, who, being in troth a very actiue and artificiall man in driuing of a Princes Charriot or Coche (as your Maiestie might be), and knowing it himselfe well enough, comming one day into Platos schoole, and hauing heard him largely dispute in matters Philosophicall, 'I pray you' (quoth he) 'geue me leaue also to say somewhat of myne arte,' and in deede shewed so many trickes of his cunning, how to lanche forth, and stay, and chaunge pace, and turne and winde his Coche, this way and that way, vphill, downe hill, and also in euen or rough ground, that he made the whole assemblie wonder at him. Quoth Plato, being a graue personage, 'verely in myne opinion this man should be vtterly vnfit for any seruice of greater importance then to driue a Coche. It is a great pitie that so prettie a fellow had not occupied his braynes in studies

of more consequence.' Now I pray God it be not thought so of me in describing the toyes of this our vulgar art. But when I consider how euery thing hath his estimation by oportunitie, and that it was but the studie of my yonger yeares, in which vanitie raigned; also that I write to the pleasure of a Lady and a most gratious Queene, and neither to Priestes nor to Prophetes or Philosophers; besides finding by experience that many times idlenesse is lesse harmefull then vnprofitable occupation, dayly seeing how these great aspiring mynds and ambitious heads of the world seriously searching to deale in matters of state be often times so busie and earnest that they were better be vnoccupied, and peraduenture altogether idle; I presume so much vpon your Maiesties most milde and gracious iudgement, howsoeuer you conceiue of myne abilitie to any better or greater seruice, that yet in this attempt ye wil allow of my loyall and good intent, alwayes endeuouring to do your Maiestie the best and greatest of those seruices I can.

SIR JOHN HARINGTON

(PREFACE TO THE TRANSLATION OF *ORLANDO FURIOSO*)

1591

[The following essay, entitled *A Preface, or rather a Briefe Apologie of Poetrie, and of the Author and Translator*, is prefixed to Harington's translation of *Orlando Furioso* 'in English Heroicall verse,' 1591. It is reprinted from the copy in the British Museum.]

THE learned *Plutarch* in his Laconicall Apothegmes tels of a Sophister that made a long and tedious Oration in praise of *Hercules*, and expecting at the end thereof for some great thanks and applause of the hearers, a certaine Lacedemonian demanded him who had dis- praised *Hercules*. Me thinkes the like may be now said to me, taking vpon me the defence of Poesie, for surely if learning in generall were of that account among vs, as it ought to be among all men, and is among wise men, then should this my Apologie of Poesie (the verie first nurse and ancient grandmother of all learning) be as vaine and superfluous as was that Sophisters, because it might then be aunswered, and truly answered, that no man disgraced it. But sith we liue in such a time, in which nothing can escape the enuious tooth and backbiting tongue of an impure mouth, and wherein euerie blind corner hath a squint eyed *Zoilus* that can looke a right vpon no mans doings, (yea sure there be some that will not sticke to call *Hercules* himselfe a dastard, because forsooth he fought with a club and not at the rapyer and dagger), therefore I thinke no man of iudgement will iudge this my labour

needlesse, in seeking to remoue away those slaunders that either the malice of those that loue it not, or the folly of those that vnderstand it not, hath deuised against it; for indeed as the old saying is, *Scientia non habet inimicum praeter ignorantem*, Knowledge hath no foe but the ignorant. But now because I make account I haue to deale with three sundrie kindes of reproouers, one of those that condemne all Poetrie, which (how strong head soeuer they haue) I count but a verie weake faction; another of those that allow Poetrie, but not this particular Poem, of which kind sure there cannot be manie; a third of those that can beare with the art, & like of the worke, but will finde fault with my not well handling of it, which they may not onely probably, but I doubt too truely do, being a thing as commonly done as said, that where the hedge is lowest, there doth euery man go ouer: therfore against these three I must arme me with the best defensiue weapons I can, and if I happen to giue a blow now and then in mine owne defence, and as good fensers vse to ward & strike at once, I must craue pardon of course, seing our law allowes that is done *se defendendo* and the law of nature teacheth *vim vi repellere.*

First therfore of Poetrie it selfe, for those few that generally disallow it might be sufficient to alledge those many that generally approue it, of which I could bring in such an army, not of souldiers, but of famous kings & captaines, as not only the sight, but the verie sound of them were able to vanquish and dismay the final forces of our aduersaries. For who would once dare to oppose himselfe against so many *Alexanders, Cæsars, Scipios* (to omit infinite other princes, both of former and later ages, and of forraine and nearer countries), that with fauour, with studie, with practise, with example, with honor, with giftes, with preferments, with great and magnificent cost, haue encoraged and aduanced Poets and Poetry? as witnes

the huge Theaters and Amphitheaters, monuments of stupendious charge, made onely for Tragedies and Comedies, the workes of Poets, to be represented on: but all these aids and defences I leaue as superfluous. My cause I count so good, and the euidence so open, that I neither neede to vse the countenance of any great state to boulster it, nor the cunning of anie little lawyer to enforce it: my meaning is plainly and *bona fide*, confessing all the abuses that can truely be objected against some kind of Poets, to shew you what good vse there is of Poetrie. Neither do I suppose it to be greatly behoofull for this purpose to trouble you with the curious definitions of a Poet and Poesie, & with the subtill distinctions of their sundrie kinds; nor to dispute how high and supernatural the name of a Maker is, so christned in English by that vnknowne God-father that this last yeare saue one, viz. 1589, set forth a booke called the Art of English Poetrie: and least of all do I purpose to bestow any long time to argue whether *Plato*, *Zenophon*, and *Erasmus* writing fictions and Dialogues in prose may iustly be called Poets, or whether *Lucan* writing a story in verse be an historiographer, or whether Master *Faire* translating *Virgil*, Master *Golding* translating *Ouids* Metamorphosis, and my selfe in this worke that you see, be any more then versifiers, as the same *Ignoto* termeth all translators: for as for all, or the most part of such questions, I will refer you to Sir *Philip Sidneys* Apologie, who doth handle them right learnedly, or to the forenamed treatise where they are discoursed more largely, and where, as it were, a whole receit of Poetrie is prescribed, with so manie new named figures as would put me in great hope in this age to come would breed manie excellent Poets—saue for one obseruation that I gather out of the verie same book. For though the poore gentleman laboreth greatly to proue, or rather to make Poetrie an art, and reciteth as you may see, in the

plurall number, some pluralities of patterns and parcels of his owne Poetrie, with diuerse pieces of Partheniads and hymnes in praise of the most praisworthy, yet whatsoeuer he would proue by all these, sure in my poore opinion he doth proue nothing more plainly then that which M. *Sidney* and all the learneder sort that haue written of it do pronounce, namely that it is a gift and not an art. I say he proueth it, because making himselfe and manie others so cunning in the art, yet he sheweth himselfe so slender a gift in it, deseruing to be commended as *Martiall* praiseth one that he compares to *Tully.*

Carmina quod scribis musis & Apolline nullo
Laudari debes: hoc Ciceronis habes.

But to come to the purpose, and to speake after the phrase of the common sort that terme all that is written in verse Poetrie, and, rather in scorne then in praise, bestow the name of a Poet on euerie base rymer and balladmaker, this I say of it, and I thinke I say truly, that there are many good lessons to be learned out of it, many good examples to be found in it, many good vses to be had of it, and that therfore it is not nor ought not to be despised by the wiser sort, but so to be studied and imployed as was intended by the first writers and deuisers thereof, which is to soften and polish the hard and rough dispositions of men, and make them capable of vertue and good discipline.

I cannot denie but to vs that are Christians, in respect of the high end of all, which is the health of our soules, not only Poetrie but al other studies of Philosophy are in a manner vaine and superfluous, yea (as the wise man saith) whatsoeuer is under the sunne is vanitie of vanities, and nothing but vanitie. But sith we liue with men & not with saints, and because few men can embrace this strict and stoicall diuinitie, or rather, indeed, for that the

holy scriptures, in which those high mysteries of our saluation are contained, are a deepe & profound studie and not subiect to euerie weake capacitie, no nor to the highest wits and iudgments, except they be first illuminat by Gods spirit or instructed by his teachers and preachers: therefore we do first read some other authors, making them as it were a looking glasse to the eyes of our minde, and then after we haue gathered more strength, we enter into profounder studies of higher mysteries, hauing first as it were enabled our eyes by long beholding the sunne in a bason of water at last to looke vpon the sunne it selfe. So we read how that great *Moses*, whose learning and sanctitie is so renowned ouer all nations, was first instructed in the learning of the Egyptians before he came to that high contemplation of God and familiaritie (as I may so terme it) with God. So the notable Prophet *Daniel* was brought vp in the learning of the Chaldeans, & made that the first step of his higher vocation to be a Prophet. If then we may by the example of two such special seruants of God spend some of our young yeares in studies of humanitie, what better and more meete studie is there for a young man then Poetrie? specially Heroicall Poesie, that with her sweet statelinesse doth erect the mind & lift it vp to the consideration of the highest matters, and allureth them that of themselues would otherwise loth them to take and swallow & digest the holsome precepts of Philosophie, and many times even of the true diuinitie. Wherefore *Plutarch*, hauing written a whole treatise of the praise of *Homers* workes, and another of reading Poets, doth begin this latter with this comparison, that as men that are sickly and haue weake stomakes or daintie tastes do many times thinke that flesh most delicate to eate that is not flesh, and those fishes that be not fish, so young men (saith he) do like best that Philosophy that is not Philosophie, or that is not

deliuered as Philosophie, and such are the pleasant writings of learned Poets, that are the popular Philosophers and the popular diuines. Likewise *Tasso* in his excellent worke of Jerusalem *Liberata* likeneth Poetrie to the Phisicke that men giue vnto little children when they are sick; his verse is this in Italian, speaking to God with a pretie Prosopopeia,

Sai, che là corre il mondo, oue più versi
Di sue dolcezze il lusinghier Parnaso,
E che 'l vero condito in molli versi
I più schiui allettando hà persuaso.
Così à l'egro fanciul porgiamo aspersi
Di soaue licor gli orli del vaso:
Succhi amari ingannato intanto ei beue,
E da l'inganno suo vita riceue.

Thou knowst, the wanton worldlings euer runne
To sweete *Parnassus* fruites, how otherwhile
The truth well saw'st with pleasant verse hath wonne
Most squeamish stomakes with the sugred stile:
So the sicke child that Pocions all doth shunne
With comfets and with sugar we begile,
And cause him take a holsome sowre receit:
He drinkes, and saues his life with such deceit.

This is then that honest fraud in which (as *Plutarch* saith) he that is deceiued is wiser than he that is not deceiued, & he that doth deceiue is honester than he that doth not deceiue.

But briefly to answere to the chiefe objections: *Cornelius Agrippa*, a man of learning & authoritie not to be despised, maketh a bitter inuectiue against Poets and Poesie, and the summe of his reproofe of it is this (which is al that can with any probability be said against it), that it is a nurse of lies, a pleaser of fooles, a breeder of dangerous errors, and an inticer to wantonnes. I might here warne those that wil vrge this mans authoritie to the

disgrace oi Poetrie, to take heed (of what calling so euer they be) least with the same weapon that they thinke to giue Poetrie a blow they giue themselues a maime. For *Agrippa* taketh his pleasure of greater matters then Poetrie; I maruel how he durst do it, saue that I see he hath done it; he hath spared neither myters nor scepters. The courts of Princes where vertue is rewarded, iustice maintained, oppressions relieued, he cals them a Colledge of Giants, of Tyrants, of oppressors, warriors: the most noble sort of noble men he termeth cursed, bloodie, wicked, and sacrilegious persons. Noble men (and vs poore Gentlemen) that thinke to borrow praise of our auncestors deserts and good fame, he affirmed to be a race of the sturdier sort of knaues and lycencious liuers. Treasurers & other great officers of the common welth, with graue counsellors whose wise heads are the pillers of the state, he affirmeth generally to be robbers and peelers of the realme, and priuie traitors that sell their princes fauours and rob weldeseruing seruitors of their reward. I omit, as his *peccadilia*, how he nicknameth priests, saying for the most part they are hypocrites, lawyers, saying they are all theeues, phisicians, saying they are manie of them murtherers: so as I thinke it were a good motion, and would easily passe by the consent of the three estates, that this mans authoritie should be vtterly adnihilated, that dealeth so hardly and vniustly with all sorts of professions. But for the reiecting of his writings, I refer it to others that haue powre to do it, and to condemne him for a generall libeller; but for that he writeth against Poetrie, I meane to speake a word or two in refuting thereof.

And first for lying, I might if I list excuse it by the rule of *Poetica licentia*, and claime a priuiledge giuen to Poet[s], whose art is but an imitation (as *Aristotle* calleth it), & therefore are allowed to faine what they list, according to that old verse,

Iuridicis, Erebo, fisco, fas viuere [r]apto;
Militibus, medicis, tortori, occidere ludo est;
Mentiri astronomis, pictoribus atque poetis,

which, because I count it without reason, I will English without rime.

Lawyers, Hell, and the Checquer are allowed to liue on spoile;
Souldiers, Phisicians, and Hangmen make a sport of murther;
Astronomers, Painters, and Poets may lye by authoritie.

Thus you see that Poets may lye if they list *Cum priuelegio*. But what if they lye least of all other men? what if they lye not at all? then I thinke that great slaunder is verie vniustly raised upon them. For in my opinion they are said properly to lye that affirme that to be true that is false: and how other arts can free themselues from this blame, let them look that professe them: but Poets neuer affirming any for true, but presenting them to vs as fables and imitations, cannot lye though they would: and because this obiection of lyes is the chief, and that vpon which the rest be grounded, I wil stand the longer vpon the clearing thereof.

The ancient Poets haue indeed wrapped as it were in their writings diuers and sundry meanings, which they call the senses or mysteries thereof. First of all for the litterall sence (as it were the vtmost barke or ryne) they set downe in manner of an historie the acts and notable exploits of some persons worthy memorie: then in the same fiction, as a second rine and somewhat more fine, as it were nearer to the pith and marrow, they place the Morall sence profitable for the actiue life of man, approuing vertuous actions and condemning the contrarie. Manie times also vnder the selfesame words they comprehend some true vnder-

standing of naturall Philosophie, or somtimes of politike gouernement, and now and then of diuinitie: and these same sences that comprehend so excellent knowledge we call the Allegorie, which *Plutarch* defineth to be when one thing is told, and by that another is vnderstood. Now let any man iudge if it be a matter of meane art or wit to containe in one historicall narration, either true or fained, so many, so diuerse, and so deepe conceits: but for making the matter more plaine I will alledge an example thereof.

Perseus sonne of Iupiter is fained by the Poets to haue slaine *Gorgon*, and, after that conquest atchieued, to haue flown vp to heauen. The Historicall sence is this, *Perseus* the sonne of *Iupiter*, by the participation of *Iupiters* vertues which were in him, or rather comming of the stock of one of the kings of Creet, or Athens so called, slew *Gorgon*, a tyrant in that countrey (*Gorgon* in Greeke signifieth earth), and was for his vertuous parts exalted by men vp vnto heauen. Morally it signifieth this much: *Perseus* a wise man, sonne of Iupiter, endewed with vertue from aboue, slayeth sinne and vice, a thing base & earthly signified by Gorgon, and so mounteth vp to the skie of vertue. It signifies in one kind of Allegorie thus much: the mind of man being gotten by God, and so the childe of God killing and vanquishing the earthlinesse of this Gorgonicall nature, ascendeth vp to the vnderstanding of heauenly things, of high things, of eternal things, in which contemplacion consisteth the perfection of man: this is the natural allegory, because man [is] one of the chiefe works of nature. It hath also a more high and heauenly Allegorie, that the heauenly nature, daughter of *Iupiter*, procuring with her continuall motion corruption and mortality in the inferiour bodies, seuered it selfe at last from these earthly bodies, and flew vp on high, and there remaineth for euer. It hath also another Theological Allegorie: that the angelicall nature, daughter of the most high God the creator of all

things, killing & ouercomming all bodily substance, signified by *Gorgon*, ascended into heauen. The like infinite Allegories I could pike out of other Poeticall fictions, saue that I would auoid tediousnes. It sufficeth me therefore to note this, that the men of greatest learning and highest wit in the auncient times did of purpose conceale these deepe mysteries of learning, and, as it were, couer them with the vaile of fables and verse for sundrie causes: one cause was that they might not be rashly abused by prophane wits, in whom science is corrupted, like good wine in a bad vessell; another cause why they wrote in verse was conseruation of the memorie of their precepts, as we see yet the generall rules almost of euerie art, not so much as husbandrie, but they are oftner recited and better remembred in verse then in prose; another, and a principall cause of all, is to be able with one kinde of meate and one dish (as I may so call it) to feed diuers tastes. For the weaker capacities will feede themselues with the pleasantnes of the historie and sweetnes of the verse, some that haue stronger stomackes will as it were take a further taste of the Morall sence, a third sort, more high conceited then they, will digest the Allegorie: so as indeed it hath bene thought by men of verie good iudgement, such manner of Poeticall writing was an excellent way to preserue all kinde of learning from that corruption which now it is come to since they left that mysticall writing of verse. Now though I know the example and authoritie of *Aristotle* and *Plato* be still vrged against this, who took to themselues another manner of writing, first I may say indeed that lawes were made for poore men and not for Princes, for these two great Princes of Philosophie brake that former allowed manner of writing, yet *Plato* still preserued the fable, but refuseth the verse. *Aristotle*, though reiecting both, yet retained still a kind of obscuritie, in so much he aunswered *Alexander*, who

reproued him in a sort for publishing the sacred secrets of Philosophie, that he had set forth his bookes in a sort, and yet not set them forth, meaning that they were so obscure that they would be vnderstood of few, except they came to him for instructions, or else without they were of verie good capacitie and studious of Philosophie. But (as I say) *Plato* howsoeuer men would make him an enimie of Poetrie (because he found indeed iust fault with the abuses of some comicall Poets of his time, or some that sought to set vp new and strange religions), yet you see he kept still that principall part of Poetrie, which is fiction and imitation; and as for the other part of Poetrie which is verse, though he vsed it not, yet his master *Socrates* euen in his old age wrote certaine verses, as *Plutarke* testifieth.

But because I haue named the two parts of Poetrie, namely inuention or fiction and verse, let vs see how well we can authorise the vse of both these. First for fiction, against which, as I told before, many inueigh, calling it by the foul name of lying, though notwithstanding, as I then said, it is farthest from it. *Demosthenes*, the famous and renowned Orator, when he would persuade the Athenians to warre against *Philip*, told them a solemne tale how the wolues on a time sent Ambassadors to the sheepe, offering them peace if they would deliuer vp the dogs that kept their folds, with al that long circumstance (needlesse to be repeated), by which he perswaded them far more strongly then if he should haue told them in plain termes that *Philip* sought to bereaue them of their chief bulwarks & defences, to haue the better abilitie to ouerthrow them. But what need we fetch an authority so far of from heathen authors, that haue many neerer hand both in time & in place? Bishop *Fisher*, a stout Prelate (though I do not praise his Religion), when he was assaied by king *Henrie* the eight for his good will and assent for the suppression of Abbeys, the king alledging that he would

but take away their superfluities and let the substance stand still, or at least see it be conuerted to better and more godly vses, the graue Bishop answered it in this kind of Poeticall parable. He said there was an axe that, wanting a helue, came to a thicke and huge ouergrowne wood, & besought some of the great okes in that wood to spare him so much timber as to make him a handle or helue, promising that if he might finde that fauour he would in recompence thereof haue great regard in preseruing that wood, in pruning the braunches, in cutting away the vnprofitable and superfluous boughes, in paring away the bryers and thornes that were combersome to the fayre trees, and make it in fine a groue of great delight and pleasure: but when this same axe had obtained his suit, he so laid about him, & so pared away both timber and top and lop, that in short space of a woodland he made it a champion, and made her liberalitie the instrument of her ouerthrow.

Now though this Bishop had no very good successe with his parable, yet it was so farre from being counted a lye, that it was plainly seen soone after that the same axe did both hew down those woods by the roots & pared off him by the head, and was a peece of Prophecie as well as a peece of Poetrie: and indeed Prophets and Poets haue been thought to haue a great affinitie, as the name *Vates* in Latin doth testifie. But to come again to this maner of fiction or parable, the Prophet *Nathan*, reprouing King *Dauid* for his great sinne of adulterie and murther, doth he not come to him with a pretie parable of a poore man and his lambe that lay in his bosome and eate of his bread, and the rich man, that had whole flocks of his own, would needs take it from him? in which, as it is euident, it was but a parable, so it were vnreuerent and almost blasphemous to say it was a lye. But to goe higher, did not our Sauiour himselfe speake in parables? as that diuine

parable of the sower, that comfortable parable of the Prodigall sonne, that dreadfull parable of *Diues* and *Lazarus*, though I know of this last many of the fathers hold that it is a storie indeed and no parable. But in the rest it is manifest that he was all holinesse, all wisedome, all truth, vsed parables, and euen such as discreet Poets vse, where a good and honest and wholesome Allegorie is hidden in a pleasaunt and pretie fiction; and therefore for that part of Poetry of Imitation, I thinke no body will make any question but it is not onely allowable, but godly and commendable, if the Poets ill handling of it doe not marre and peruert the good vse of it.

The other part of Poetrie, which is Verse, as it were the clothing or ornament of it, hath many good vses. Of the helpe of memorie I spake somewhat before; for the words being couched together in due order, measure, and number, one doth as it were bring on another, as my selfe haue often proued, & so I thinke do many beside (though for my own part I can rather bost of the marring a good memorie then of hauing one), yet I have euer found that Verse is easier to learne and farre better to preserue in memorie then is prose. An other speciall grace in Verse is the forcible manner of phrase, in which, if it be well made, it farre excelleth loose speech or prose. A third is the pleasure and sweetnesse to the eare which makes the discourse pleasaunt vnto vs often time when the matter it selfe is harsh and vnacceptable: for myne owne part I was neuer yet so good a husband to take any delight to heare one of my ploughmen tell how an acre of wheat must be fallowd and twyfallowed, and how cold land should be burned, and how fruitfull land must be well harrowed; but when I heare one read *Virgill*, where he saith,

Saepe etiam steriles incendere profuit agros,
Atque leuem stipulam crepitantibus vrere flammis.

Siue inde occultas vires & pabula terrae
Pinguia concipiunt: siue illis omne per ignem
Excoquitur vitium, atque exsudat inutilis humor, &c.,

and after,

Multum adeo, rastris glebas qui frangit inertes,
Vimineasque trahit crates iuuat arua;

with many other lessons of homly husbandrie, but deliuered in so good Verse that me thinkes all that while I could find in my hart to driue the plough. But now for the authoritie of Verse, if it be not sufficient to say for them that the greatest Philosophers and grauest Senatours that euer were haue vsed them both in their speeches and in their writings, that precepts of all Arts haue been deliuered in them, that verse is as auncient a writing as prose, and indeed more auncient in respect that the oldest workes extant be verse, as *Orpheus*, *Linus*, *Hesiodus*, & others beyond memory of man or mention almost of history; if none of these will serue for the credit of it, yet let this serue that some part of the Scripture was written in verse, as the Psalmes of *Dauid*, & certain other songs of *Deborah*, of *Salomon*, & others, which the learnedest diuines do affirme to be verse and find that they are in meeter, though the rule of the Hebrew verse they agree not on. Suffiseth it me only to proue that by the authoritie of sacred Scriptures both parts of Poesie, inuention or imitation and verse, are allowable, & consequently that great obiection of lying is quite taken away & refuted.

Now the second obiection is pleasing of fooles. I haue already showed how it displeaseth not wise men. Now if it haue this vertue to, to please the fooles and ignorant, I would thinke this an article of prayse not of rebuke: wherefore I confesse that it pleaseth fooles, and so pleaseth them that, if they marke it and obserue it well, it will in time make them wise, for in verse is both goodnesse and

sweetnesse, Rubarb and Sugercandie, the pleasaunt and the profitable. Wherefore, as *Horace* sayth, *Omne tulit punctum qui miscuit vtile dulci,* he that can mingle the sweete and the wholesome, the pleasaunt & the profitable, he is indeed an absolute good writer: and such be Poets, if any be such; they present vnto vs a pretie tale, able to keepe a childe from play, and an old man from the chimnie corner; Or, as the same *Horace* sayth to a couetous man,

> *Tantalus a labris sitiens fugientia captat*
> *Flumina. Quid rides? mutato nomine de te*
> *Fabula narratur.*

One tels a couetous man a tale of *Tantalus* that sits vp to the chinne in water, and yet is plagued with thirst. This signifies the selfe same man to whom the tale is told, that wallows in plentie, and yet his miserable minde barres him the vse of it: As my selfe knew, and I am sure many remember, Iustice *Randall* of London, a man passing impotent in body but much more in mind, that, leauing behind him a thousand pounds of gold in a chest ful of old boots & shoes, yet was so miserable that at my Lord Maiors dinner they say he would put vp a widgen for his supper, & many a good meale he did take of his franke neighbour the widdow *Penne.* But to come to the matter, this same great sinne that is layd to Poetrie of pleasing fooles is sufficiently answered if it be worth the answering.

Now for the breeding of errours which is the third Obiection, I see not why it should breed any when none is bound to beleeue that they write, nor they looke not to haue their fictions belieued in the litterall sence; and therefore he that well examines whence errours spring shall finde the writers of prose & not of verse the authors and maintainers of them; and this point I count so manifest as it needes no proofe.

The last reproofe is lightnes & wantonnes. This is indeed an Obiection of some importaunce, sith, as Sir *Philip Sidney* confesseth, *Cupido* is crept euen into the Heroicall Poemes, & consequently makes that also subiect to this reproofe. I promised in the beginning not partially to prayse Poesie, but plainly and honestly to confesse that that might truely be obiected against it, and, if any thing may be, sure it is this lasciuiousnesse: yet this I will say, that of all kinde of Poesie the Heroicall is least infected therewith. The other kindes I will rather excuse then defende, though of all the kindes of Poesie it may bee sayd where any scurrilitie and lewdnesse is founde, there Poetry doth not abuse vs, but writers haue abused Poetrie.

And brieflie to examine all the kindes. First, the Tragicall is meerly free from it, as representing onely the cruell & lawlesse proceedings of Princes, mouing nothing but pitie or detestation. The Comicall, whatsoeuer foolish playmakers make it offend in this kind, yet being rightly vsed, it represents them so as to make the vice scorned and not embraced. The Satyrike is meerly free from it, as being wholly occupied in mannerly & couertly reprouing of all vices. The Elegie is still mourning. As for the Pastorall with the Sonnet or Epigramme, though many times they sauour of wantonnes and loue and toying, and, now and then breaking the rules of Poetry, go into plaine scurrilitie, yet euen the worst of them may be not ill applied, and are, I must confesse, too delightfull, in so much as *Martiall* saith,

Laudant illa, sed ista legunt,

and in another place,

Erubuit posuitque meum Lucrecia librum,
Sed coram Bruto; Brute recede; leget.

Lucrecia (by which he signifies any chast matron) will blush and be ashamed to read a lasciuious booke. But

how? not except *Brutus* be by, that is if any graue man should see her read it. But if *Brutus* turne his backe, she will go to it agayne and read it all.

But to end this part of my Apologie, as I count and conclude Heroicall Poesie allowable and to be read and studied without all exception, so I may as boldly say that Tragedies well handled be a most worthy kinde of Poesie, that Comedies may make men see and shame at their owne faults, that the rest may be so written and so read as much pleasure and some profite may be gathered out of them. And for myne owne part, as *Scaliger* writeth of *Virgill*, so I beleeue that the reading of a good Heroicall Poeme may make a man both wiser and honester. And for Tragedies, to omit other famous Tragedies, that that was played at S. *Iohns* in Cambridge, of *Richard the* 3, would moue (I thinke) *Phalaris* the tyraunt, and terrifie all tyrannous minded men from following their foolish ambitious humors, seeing how his ambition made him kill his brother, his nephews, his wife, beside infinit others, and, last of all, after a short and troublesome raigne, to end his miserable life, and to haue his body harried after his death. Then, for Comedies, how full of harmeles myrth is our Cambridge *Pedantius*? and the Oxford *Bellum Grammaticale*? or, to speake of a London Comedie, how much good matter, yea and matter of state, is there in that Comedie cald the play of the Cards, in which it is showed how foure Parasiticall knaues robbe the foure principall vocations of the Realme, *videl.* the vocation of Souldiers, Schollers, Marchants, and Husbandmen? Of which Comedie I cannot forget the saying of a notable wise counseller that is now dead, who when some (to sing *Placebo*) aduised that it should be forbidden, because it was somewhat too plaine, and indeed as the old saying is, *sooth boord is no boord*, yet he would haue it allowed, adding it was fit that *They which doe that they should not should heare that they would not.* Finally, if

Comedies may be so made as the beholders may be bettered by them, without all doubt all other sortes of Poetrie may bring their profit as they do bring delight, and if all, then much more the chiefe of all, which by all mens consent is the Heroicall. And thus much be sayd for Poesie.

Now for this Poeme of *Orlando Furioso*, which, as I haue heard, hath been disliked by some (though by few of any wit or iudgement), it followes that I say somewhat in defence thereof, which I will do the more moderately and coldly; by how much the paynes I haue taken, it (rising as you may see to a good volume) may make me seeme a more partiall prayser. Wherefore I will make choise of some other Poeme that is allowed and approued by all men, and a litle compare them together. And what worke can serue this turne so fitly as *Virgils Æneados*, whom aboue all other it seemeth my authour doth follow, as appeares both by his beginning and ending? The tone begins,

Arma virumque cano.

The tother,

Le donne, i cauallier, l'arme, gli amori,
Le cortesie, l'audaci imprese io canto.

Virgill endes with the death of *Turnus*,

Vitaque cum gemitu fugit indignata sub vmbras.

Ariosto ends with the death of *Rodomont*,

Bestemmiando fuggì l'alma sdegnosa,
Che fu sì altera al mondo, e sì orgogliosa.

Virgill extolled *Æneas* to please *Augustus*, of whose race he was thought to come; *Ariosto* prayeth *Rogero* to the honour of the house of *Este*: *Æneas* hath his *Dido* that retaineth him; *Rogero* hath his Alcina: finally, least I should note euery part, there is nothing of any speciall obseruation in *Virgill* but my author hath with great

felicitie imitated it, so as whosoeuer wil allow *Virgil* must *ipso facto* (as they say) admit *Ariosto.* Now of what account *Virgil* is reckned, & worthily reckned, for auncient times witnesseth *August.* C. verse of him :

Ergone supremis potuit vox improba verbis
Tam dirum mandare nefas? &c.,

concluding thus,

Laudetur, placeat, vigeat, relegatur, ametur.

This is a great prayse comming from so great a Prince. For later times, to omit *Scaliger,* whom I recited before, that affirmeth the reading of *Virgill* may make a man honest and vertuous, that excellent Italian Poet *Dant* professeth plainly that when he wandred out of the right way, meaning thereby when he liued fondly and looslie, *Virgill* was the first that made him looke into himselfe and reclaime himselfe from that same daungerous and lewd course. But what need we further witnes, do we not make our children read it commonly before they can vnderstand it, as a testimonie that we do generally approue it ? And yet we see old men study it, as a proofe that they do specially admire it : so as one writes very pretily, that children do wade in *Virgill,* and yet strong men do swim in it.

Now to apply this to the prayse of myne author, as I sayd before so I say still, whatsoeuer is prayseworthy in *Virgill* is plentifully to be found in *Ariosto,* and some things that *Virgill* could not haue, for the ignoraunce of the age he liued in, you finde in my author, sprinckled ouer all his worke, as I will very briefly note and referre you for the rest to the booke it selfe. The deuout and Christen demeanor of Charlemayne in the 14 booke, with his prayer,

Non uoglia tua bontà per mio fallire,
Che 'l tuo popol fedele habbia à patire. &c.

And in the beginning of the xvii booke, that would beseeme any pulpit,

Il giusto Dio, quando i peccati nostri.

But, aboue all, that in the xli. booke of the conuersion of *Rogero* to the Christen Religion, where the Hermit speaketh to him, contayning in effect a full instruction against presumption and dispaire, which I haue set downe thus in English,

Now (as I sayd) this wise that Hermit spoke,
And part doth comfort him, and part doth checke;
He blameth him that in that pleasaunt yoke
He had so long defer'd to put his necke,
But did to wrath his maker still prouoke,
And did not come at his first call and becke,
But still did hide himselfe away from God
Vntill he saw him comming with his rod;
Then did he comfort him and make him know
That grace is near denyde to such as aske,
As do the workemen in the Gospell show
Receauing pay alike for diuers taske.

And so after, concluding,

How to Christ he must impute
The pardon of his sinnes, yet near the later
He told him he must be baptisde in water.

These and infinit places full of Christen exhortation, doctrine, & example I could quote out of the booke, saue that I hasten to an ende, and it would be needles to those that will not read them in the booke it selfe, and superfluous to those that will: but most manifest it is & not to be denyed, that in this point my author is to be preferred before all the auncient Poets, in which are mentioned so many false Gods, and of them so many fowle deeds, their contentions, their adulteries, their incest, as were both obscenous in recitall and hurtful in

example: though indeed those whom they termed Gods were certaine great Princes that committed such enormous faults, as great Princes in late ages (that loue still to be cald Gods of the earth) do often commit. But now it may be & is by some obiected that although he write Christianly in some places, yet in other some he is too lasciuious, as in that of the baudy Frier, in *Alcina* and *Rogeros* copulation, in *Anselmus* his *Giptian*, in *Richardetto* his metamorphosis, in mine hosts tale of Astolfo, & some few places beside. Alas, if this be a fault, pardon him this one fault, though I doubt too many of you (gentle readers) wil be to exorable in this point: yea, me thinks, I see some of you searching already for these places of the booke, and you are halfe offended that I haue not made some directions that you might finde out and read them immediatly. But I beseech you stay a while, and as the Italian sayth *Pian piano*, fayre and softly, & take this caueat with you, to read them as my author ment them, to breed detestation and not delectation. Remember, when you read of the old lecherous Frier, that a fornicator is one of the things that God hateth; when you read of *Alcina*, thinke how *Joseph* fled from his intising mistres; when you light on *Anselmus* tale, learne to loth bestly couetousnes; when on *Richardetto*, know that sweet meate wil haue sowre sawce; when on mine hostes tale, (if you will follow my counsell) turne ouer the leafe and let it alone, although euen that lewd tale may bring some men profit, and I haue heard that it is already (and perhaps not vnfitly) termed the comfort of cuckolds. But as I say, if this be a fault, then *Virgill* committed the same fault in *Dido* and *Æneas* intertainement, and if some will say he tels that mannerly and couertly, how will they excuse that where *Vulcan* was intreated by *Venus* to make an armour for *Æneas*?

Dixerat, & niueis hinc atque hinc diua lacertis
Cunctantem amplexu molli fouet: ille repente

Accepit solitam flammam, notusque per artus
Intrauit calor.

And a little after:

Ea verba locutus
Optatos dedit amplexus, placitumque petiuit
Coniugis infusus gremio per membra soporem.

I hope they that vnderstand Latin will confesse this is plaine enough, & yet with modest words & no obscenous phrase: and so I dare take vpon me that in all *Ariosto* (and yet I thinke is as much as three *Æneades*,) there is not a word of ribaldry or obscenousness; farther there is so meet a decorum in the persons of those that speake lasciuiously, as any of iudgement must needs allow. And therfore, though I rather craue pardon then prayse for him in this point, yet me thinkes I can smile at the finesse of some that will condemne him, and yet not onely allow but admire our *Chawcer*, who both in words & sence incurreth far more the reprehension of flat scurrilitie, as I could recite many places, not onely in his millers tale, but in the good wife of Bathes tale, & many more, in which onely the decorum he keepes is that that excuseth it and maketh it more tolerable.

But now whereas some will say *Ariosto* wanteth art, reducing all heroicall Poems vnto the methode of *Homer* and certain precepts of *Aristotle*, for Homer I say that that which was commendable in him to write in that age, the times being changed, would be thought otherwise now, as we see both in phrase & in fashions the world growes more curious each day then other. *Ouid* gaue precepts of making loue, and one was that one should spill wine on the boord & write his mistresse name therewith. This was a quaynt cast in that age; but he that should make loue so now, his loue would mocke him for his labour, and count him but a slouenly sutor. And if it be thus chaunged since *Ouids*

time, much more since *Homers* time. And yet for *Ariostos* tales that many thinke vnartificially brought in, *Homer* him selfe hath the like: as in the Iliads the conference of *Glaucus* with *Diomedes* vpon some acts of *Bellerophon*, & in his Odysse as the discourse of the hog with *Vlysses*.

Further, for the name of the booke, which some carpe at because he called it *Orlando Furioso* rather then *Rogero*, in that he may also be defended by example of *Homer*, who, professing to write of *Achilles*, calleth his book Iliade of Troy, and not *Achillide*.

As for Aristotles rules, I take it he hath followed them verie strictly.

Briefly, *Aristotle* and the best censurers of Poesie would haue the *Epopeia*, that is the heroicall Poem, should ground on some historie, and take some short time in the same to bewtifie with his Poetrie: so doth mine Author take the storie of k. *Charls* the great, and doth not exceed a yeare or therabout in his whole work. Secondly, they hold that nothing should be fayned vtterly incredible. And sure *Ariosto* neither in his inchantments exceedeth credit (for who knowes not how strong the illusions of the deuill are?) neither in the miracles that *Altolfo* by the power of S. Iohn is fayned to do, since the Church holdeth that Prophetes both aliue and dead haue done mightie great miracles. Thirdly, they would haue an heroicall Poem (aswell as a Tragedie) to be full of *Peripet*[*e*]*ia*, which I interpret an agnition of some vnlooked for fortune either good or bad, and a sudden change thereof: of this what store there be the reader shall quickly find. As for apt similitudes, for passions well expressed of loue, of pitie, of hate, of wrath, a blind man may see, if he can but heare, that this worke is full of them.

There follows only two reproofs, which I rather interpret two peculiar praises of this writer aboue all that wrate before him in this kind. One, that he breaks off narrations verie abruptly, so as indeed a loose vnattentiue reader will

hardly carrie away any part of the storie: but this doubtlesse is a point of great art, to draw a man with a continuall thirst to reade out the whole worke, and toward the end of the booke to close vp the diuerse matters briefly and clenly. If S. *Philip Sidney* had counted this a fault, he would not haue done so himselfe in his Arcadia. Another fault is, that he speaketh so much in his own person by digression, which they say also is against the rules of Poetrie, because neither *Homer* nor *Virgill* did it. Me thinks it is a sufficient defence to say, *Ariosto* doth it. Sure I am it is both delightfull and verie profitable, and an excellent breathing place for the reader, and euen as if a man walked in a faire long alley, to haue a seat or resting place here and there is easie and commodious: but if at the same seat were planted some excellent tree, that not onely with the shade shoulde keepe vs from the heat, but with some pleasant and right wholsom fruite should allay our thirst and comfort our stomacke, we would thinke it for the time a litle paradice. So are *Ariostos* morals and pretie digressions sprinkled through his long worke to the no lesse pleasure then profit of the reader. And thus much be spoken for defence of mine Author, which was the second part of my Apologie.

Now remaines the third part of it, in which I promised to speake somwhat for my selfe, which part, though it haue most need of an Apologie both large & substantiall, yet I will runne it ouer both shortly & slightly, because indeed the nature of the thing it self is such that the more one doth say, the lesse he shall seeme to say; and men are willinger to praise that in another man which himselfe shall debase then that which he shall seeme to maintaine. Certainly if I shold confesse or rather professe that my verse is vnartificiall, the stile rude, the phrase barbarous, the meeter vnpleasant, many more would beleeue it to be

so, then would imagine that I thought them so: for this same φιλαντία or self pleasing is so common a thing, as the more a man protests himself to be free from it, the more we wil charge him with it. Wherfore let me take thus much vpon me that admit it haue many of the for- named imperfections, & many not named, yet as writing goes now a dayes it may passe among the rest; and as I haue heard a friend of mine (one verie iudicious in the bewtie of a woman) say of a Ladie whom he meant to praise, that she had a low forhead, a great nose, a wide mouth, a long visage, and yet all these put together she seemed to him a verie well fauoured woman, so I hope and I find alreadie some of my partiall friends that what seuerall imperfections soeuer they find in this translation, yet taking all together they allow it, or at least wise they reade it, which is a great argument of their liking.

Sir Thomas Moore, a man of great wisdome & learning, but yet a litle enclined (as good wits are many times) to scoffing, when one had brought him a booke of some shallow discourse, and preassed him very hard to haue his opinion of it, aduised the partie to put it into verse. The plaine meaning man in the best maner he could did so, and a twelue-month after at the least came with it to *Sir Thomas*, who, slightly perusing it, gaue it this *encomium*, that now there was rime in it, but afore it had neither rime nor reason. If any man had ment to serue me so, yet I haue preuented him; for sure I am he shall find rime in mine, and, if he be not voyd of reason, he shall find reason to. Though for the matter I can challenge no praise, hauing but borowed it; & for the verse I do challenge none, being a thing that euery body that neuer scarce bayted their horse at the Vniuersitie take vpon them to make. It is possible that, if I would haue employed that time that I haue done vpon this vpon some inuention of mine owne, I could haue by this made it haue

risen to a iust volume, &, if I wold, haue done, as many spare not to do, flowne very high with stolen fethers. But I had rather men should see and know that I borrow all then that I steale any: and I would wish to be called rather one of the worst translators then one of the meaner makers, specially sith the Earle of Surrey and *Sir Thomas Wiat*, that are yet called the first refiners of the English tong, were both translators out of Italian. Now for those that count it such a contemptible and trifling matter to translate, I wil but say to them as *M. Bartholomew Clarke*, an excellent learned man, and a right good translator, saith in maner of a pretie challenge, in his Preface (as I remember) vpon the Courtier, which booke he translated out of Italian into Latin. 'You,' saith he, 'that thinke it such a toy, lay aside my booke, and take my author in your hand, and trie a leafe or such a matter, and compare it with mine.' If I should say so, there would be inow that would quickly put me down perhaps: but doubtlesse he might boldly say it, for I thinke none could haue mended him. But as our English prouerb saith, many talke of *Robin Hood* that neuer shot in his bow, and some correct *Magnificat* that know not *quid significat.*

For my part I will thanke them that will mend any thing that I haue done amisse, nor I haue no such great conceipt of that I haue done but that I thinke much in it is to be mended; & hauing dealt plainly with some of my plaine dealing frends, to tell me frankly what they heard spoken of it (for indeed I suffred some part of the printed copies to go among my frends, & some more perhaps went against my will), I was told these in effect were the faults were found with it. Some graue men misliked that I should spend so much good time on such a trifling worke as they deemed a Poeme to be. Some more nicely found fault with so many two sillabled and three sillabled rimes. Some (not vndeseruedly) reproued the fantasti-

calnes of my notes, in which they say I haue strained my selfe to make mention of some of my kindred and frends that might very well be left out. And one fault more there is which I will tell my selfe, though many would neuer find it, and that is, I haue cut short some of his Cantos, in leauing out many staues of them, and sometimes put the matter of two or three staues into one. To these reproofes I shall pray you gentle and noble Readers with patience heare my defence, and then I will end.

For the first reproofe, either it is alreadie excused or it will neuer be excused; for I haue I thinke sufficiently proued both the art to be allowable and this worke to be commendable. Yet I will tell you an accident that happened vnto my selfe. When I was entred a pretie way into the translation, about the seuenth booke, comming to write that where *Melissa*, in the person of *Rogeros* Tutor, comes and reproues *Rogero* in the 4 staffe,

> Was it for this that I in youth thee fed
> With marrow? *&c.*,

and againe,

> Is this a meanes or readie way you trow,
> That other worthie men haue trod before,
> A *Cæsar* or a *Scipio* to grow? *&c.*,

straight I began to thinke that my Tutor, a graue and learned man, and one of a verie austere life, might say to me in like sort, 'was it for this that I read *Aristotle* and *Plato* to you, and instructed you so carefully both in Greek & Latin, to haue you now become a translator of Italian toyes?' But while I thought thus, I was aware that it was no toy that could put such an honest and seriouse consideration into my mind.

Now for them that find fault with polysyllable meeter, me thinke they are like those that blame men for putting

suger in their wine, and chide to bad about it, and say they marre all, but yet end with Gods blessing on their hearts. For indeed if I had knowne their diets, I could haue saued some of my cost, at least some of my paine: for when a verse ended with *ciuillitie*, I could easier, after the auncient maner of rime, haue made *see*, or *flee*, or *decree* to aunswer it, leauing the accent vpon the last syllable, then hunt after three syllabled wordes to answere it with *facillitie*, *gentillitie*, *tranquillitie*, *hostillitie*, *scurillitie*, *debillitie*, *agillitie*, *fragillitie*, *nobillitie*, *mobillitie*, which who mislike may tast lamp oyle with their eares. And as for two syllabled meeters, they be so approued in other languages, that the French call them the feminine rime, as the sweeter, & the one syllable the masculin. But in a word to answer this, & to make them for euer hold their peaces of this point, Sir *Philip Sidney*, not only vseth them, but affecteth them—*signifie*, *dignifie*, *shamed is*, *named is*, *blamed is*, *hide away*, *bide away*. Thogh if my many blotted papers that I haue made in this kind might affoord me authoritie to giue a rule of it, I would say that to part them with a one syllable meeter between them wold giue it best grace. For as men vse to sow with the hand and not with the whole sacke, so I would haue the eare fed but not cloyed with these pleasing and sweet falling meeters.

For the third reproofe about the notes, sure they were a worke (as I may so call it) of supererogation, and I would wish sometimes they had bin left out, & the rather if I be in such faire possibilitie to be thought a foole or fantasticall for my labour. True it is I added some notes to the end of euery canto, euen as if some of my frends and my selfe reading it together (and so it fell out indeed many times) had after debated vpon them what had bene most worthie consideration in them, and so oftimes immediatly I set it downe. And wheras I make mention here & there of

some of mine owne frends & kin, I did it the rather because *Plutarke* in one place speaking of *Homer*, partly lamenteth, and partly blameth him, that writing so much as he did, yet in none of his works there was any mention made, or so much as inkling to be gathered, of what stocke he was, of what kindred, of what towne, nor, saue for his language, of what countrey. Excuse me then if I in a worke that may perhaps last longer then a better thing, and being not ashamed of my kindred, name them here and there to no mans offence, though I meant not to make euery body so far of my counsell why I did it, till I was told that some person of some reckening noted me of a litle vanitie for it: and thus much for that point.

For my omitting and abreuiating some things, either in matters impertinent to vs, or in some to tediouse flatteries of persons that we neuer heard of, if I haue done ill I craue pardon: for sure I did it for the best. But if anie being studious of the Italian would for his vnderstanding compare them, the first sixe bookes, saue a litle of the third, will stand him in steed. But yet I would not haue any man except that I should obserue his phrase so strictly as an interpreter, nor the matter so carefully as if it had bene a storie, in which to varie were as great a sinne as it were simplicitie in this to go word for word.

But now to conclude, I shall pray you all that haue troubled yourselues to read this my triple apologie to accept my labors and to excuse my errors, if with no other thing, at least with the name of youth (which commonly hath need of excuses); and so presuming this pardon to be graunted, we shall part good frends. Only let me intreate you in reading the booke ensuing not to do me that iniurie that a Potter did to Ariosto.

THOMAS NASH

(THE PREFACE TO SIDNEY'S *ASTROPHEL AND STELLA*)

1591

[This Preface appears in the first quarto edition of Sir Philip Sidney's *Astrophel and Stella*, printed at London by Thomas Newman in 1591. The text is taken from the copy in the British Museum.]

TEMPUS adest plausus; aurea pompa venit: so endes the Sceane of Idiots, and enter *Astrophel* in pompe. Gentlemen, that haue seene a thousand lines of folly, drawn forth *ex vno puncto impudentiae*, & two famous Mountains to goe to the conception of one Mouse, that haue had your eares defned with the eccho of Fames brasen towres when only they haue been toucht with a leaden pen, that haue seene *Pan* sitting in his bower of delights & a number of *Midasses* to admire his miserable hornepipes, let not your surfeted sight, new come from such puppet play, think scorne to turn aside into this Theater of pleasure, for here you shal find a paper stage streud with pearle, an artificial heau'n to ouershadow the fair frame, & christal wals to encounter your curious eyes, while the tragicomody of loue is performed by starlight. The chiefe Actor here is *Melpomene*, whose dusky robes, dipt in the ynke of teares, as yet seeme to drop when I view them neere. The argument cruell chastitie, the Prologue hope, the Epilogue dispaire; *videte, quaeso, et linguis animisque fauete.* And

here, peraduenture, my witles youth may be taxt with a margent note of presumption for offering to put vp any motion of applause in the behalfe of so excellent a Poet (the least sillable of whose name sounded in the eares of iudgment is able to giue the meanest line he writes a dowry of immortality); yet those that obserue how iewels oftentimes com to their hands that know not their value, & that the cockcombes of our days, like *Esop's* Cock, had rather haue a Barly kernell wrapt vp in a Ballet then they wil dig for the welth of wit in any ground that they know not, I hope wil also hold me excused though I open the gate to his glory & inuite idle eares to the admiration of his melancholy.

Quid petitur sacris nisi tantum fama poetis?

Which although it be oftentimes imprisoned in Ladyes casks & the president bookes of such as cannot see without another man's spectacles, yet at length it breakes foorth in spight of his keepers, and vseth some priuate penne (in steed of a picklock) to procure his violent enlargement. The Sunne for a time may maske his golden head in a cloud, yet in the end the thicke vaile doth vanish, and his embellished blandishment appeares. Long hath *Astrophel* (Englands Sunne) withheld the beames of his spirite from the common view of our darke sence, and night hath houered ouer the gardens of the nine Sisters, while *Ignis fatuus* and grosse fatty flames (such as commonly arise out of Dunghilles) haue tooke occasion, in the middest eclipse of his shining perfections, to wander a broade with a wispe of paper at their tailes like Hobgoblins, and leade men vp and downe in a circle of absurditie a whole weeke, and neuer know where they are. But now that cloude of sorrow is dissolued which fierie Loue exhaled from his dewie haire, and affection hath vnburthened the labouring streames of her wombe in

the lowe cesterne of his Graue; the night hath resigned her iettie throne vnto *Lucifer*, and cleere daylight possesseth the skie that was dimmed; wherfore breake off your daunce, you Fayries and Elues, and from the fieldes with the torne carcases of your Timbrils, for your kingdome is expired. Put out your rush candles, you Poets and Rimers, and bequeath your crazed quaterzayns to the Chaundlers; for loe, here he cometh that hath broke your legs. *Apollo* hath resigned his Iuory Harp vnto *Astrophel*, & he, like *Mercury*, must lull you a sleep with his musicke. Sleepe *Argus*, sleep Ignorance, sleep Impudence, for *Mercury* hath *Io*, & onely *Io Pœan* belongeth to *Astrophel*. Deare *Astrophel*, that in the ashes of thy Loue liuest againe like the *Phœnix*, O might thy bodie (as thy name) liue againe likewise here amongst vs! but the earth, the mother of mortalitie, hath snacht thee too soone into her chilled colde armes, and will not let thee by any meanes be drawne from her deadly imbrace; and thy diuine Soule, carried on an Angel's wings to heauen, is installed in *Hermes* place, sole *prolocutor* to the Gods. Therefore mayest thou neuer returne from the Elisian fieldes like *Orpheus*; therefore must we euer mourne for our *Orpheus*.

Fayne would a seconde spring of passion heere spend it selfe on his sweet remembrance; but Religion, that rebuketh prophane lamentation, drinkes in the riuers of those dispaireful teares which languorous ruth hath outwelled, & bids me looke back to the house of honor, where from one and the selfe same root of renowne I shal find many goodly branches deriued, & such as, with the spreading increase of their vertues, may somewhat ouershadow the Griefe of his los. Amongst the which, fayre sister of *Phœbus*, and eloquent secretary to the Muses, most rare Countesse of *Pembroke*, thou art not to be omitted, whom Artes doe adore as a second *Minerua*, and our Poets

extoll as the Patronesse of their inuention; for in thee the *Lesbian Sappho* with her lirick Harpe is disgraced, and the Laurel Garlande which thy Brother so brauely aduaunst on his Launce is still kept greene in the Temple of *Pallas*. Thou only sacrificest thy soule to contemplation, thou only entertainest emptie handed *Homer*, & keepest the springs of *Castalia* from being dryed vp. Learning, wisedom, beautie, and all other ornaments of Nobilitie whatsoeuer seeke to approue themselues in thy sight and get a further seale of felicity from the smiles of thy fauour:

O Joue digna viro ni Joue nata fores.

I feare I shall be counted a mercenary flatterer for mixing my thoughts with such figuratiue admiration, but generall report that surpasseth my praise condemneth my rhetoricke of dulnesse for so colde a commendation. Indeede, to say the truth, my stile is somewhat heauie gated, and cannot daunce, trip, and goe so liuely, with 'oh! my loue, ah! my loue, all my loues gone,' as other Sheepheards that haue beene fooles in the Morris time out of minde; nor hath my prose any skill to imitate the Almond leape verse, or sit tabring fiue yeres together nothing but 'to bee, to hee,' on a paper drum. Onely I can keepe pace with Grauesend barge, and care not if I haue water enough to lande my ship of fooles with the Tearme (the tyde I shoulde say). Now euery man is not of that minde; for some, to goe the lighter away, will take in their fraught of spangled feathers, golden Peebles, Straw, Reedes, Bulrushes, or anything, and then they beare out their sayles as proudly as if they were balisted with Bulbiefe. Others are so hardly bested for loading that they are faine to retaile the cinders of *Troy*, and the shiuers of broken trunchions, to fill vp their boate that else should goe empty; and if they haue but a pound

weight of good Merchandise, it shall be placed at the poope, or pluckt in a thousand peeces to credit their carriage. For my part, euery man as he likes, *mens cuiusque is est quisque.* 'Tis as good to goe in cut-fingerd Pumps as corke shooes, if one were Cornish diamonds on his toes. To explain it by a more familiar example, an Asse is no great statesman in the beastes common-wealth, though he weare his eares *vpseuant muffe,* after the Muscouy fashion, & hange the lip like a Capcase halfe open, or look as demurely as a sixpenny browne loafe, for he hath some imperfections that do keepe him from the common Councel; yet of many he is deemed a very vertuous member, and one of the honestest sort of men that are. So that our opinion (as *Sextus Empiricus* affirmeth) giues the name of good or ill to euery thing. Out of whose works (latelie translated into English for the benefit of vnlearned writers) a man might collect a whole booke of this argument, which no doubt woulde proue a worthy commonwealth matter, and far better than wits waxe karnell: much good worship haue the Author.

Such is this golden age wherein we liue, and so replenisht with golden asses of all sortes, that, if learning had lost it selfe in a groue of Genealogies, wee neede doe no more but sette an olde goose ouer halfe a dozen pottle pots (which are as it were the egges of inuention), and wee shall haue such a breede of bookes within a little while after, as will fill all the world with the wilde fowle of good wits. I can tell you this is a harder thing then making golde of quick siluer, and will trouble you more then the Morrall of *Æsop's* Glow-worme hath troubled our English Apes, who, striuing to warme themselues with the flame of the Philosopher's stone, haue spent all their wealth in buying bellowes to blowe this false fyre. Gentlemen, I feare I haue too much presumed on your idle leysure,

and beene too bold to stand talking all this while in an other mans doore; but now I will leaue you to suruey the pleasures of *Paphos*, and offer your smiles on the Aulters of *Venus*.

Yours in all desire to please,

THO: NASHE.

GABRIEL HARVEY

(FROM *FOURE LETTERS*)

1592

[The following extracts are taken from Gabriel Harvey's Third and Fourth Letters in *Fovre Letters | and certaine Sonnets: | Especially touching Robert Greene, and | other parties, by him abused: || But incidently of diuers excellent persons, | and some matters of note. || To all courteous mindes, that will voutch-safe the reading. || London | Imprinted by Iohn Wolfe,* | 1592. (British Museum, C. 40. d. 14.)

This long-drawn invective against Greene was caused by a slighting reference to Harvey's father in *A Quip for an Upstart Courtier: or A Quaint Dispute between Velvet-Breeches and Cloth-breeches.* Harvey deals with this 'Monarch of Crossbiters and very Emperor of Shifters' in the second, third, and fourth letters, which are chiefly remarkable for their virulent abuse. In the *Second Letter*, addressed to Christopher Bird of Walden, in which, among other vindictive statements, he mentions Greene's death-bed charge to Doll, he enters a plea for moderation. 'Oratours have challenged a speciall Liberty, and Poets claimed an absolute Licence; but no Liberty without boundes, nor any Licence without limitation. Inuectiues by fauour haue bene too bolde, and Satyres by vsurpation too presumptuous: I ouerpasse *Archilochus, Aristophanes, Lucian, Iulian, Aretine,* and that whole venemous and viperous brood of old & new Raylers; euen *Tully* and *Horace* otherwhiles ouer-reched; and I must needes say Mother Hubbard in heat of choller, forgetting the pure sanguine of her sweete Feary Queene, wilfully ouer-shott her malcontented selfe, as elsewhere I haue specified at larg, with the good leaue of vnspotted friendshipp. Examples in some ages doe exceeding much hurt. *Salust* and *Clodius* learned of *Tully*

to frame artificiall Declamations and patheticall Inuectiues against *Tully* himselfe, and other worthy members of that most florishing State: if mother Hubbard, in the vaine of *Chawcer*, happen to tel one Canicular tale, father *Elderton* and his sonne *Greene*, in the vaine of *Skelton*, or *Scoggin*, will counterfeit an hundred dogged Fables, Libles, Calumnies, Slaunders, Lies for the whetstone, what not, & most currishly snarle & bite where they should most kindly fawne and licke. Euery priuate excesse is daungerous; but such publike enormities incredibly pernitious and insuportable: and who can tell what huge outrages might amount of such quarrellous and tumultuous causes?']

FROM *THE THIRD LETTER.*

IT were pittie but wonderous wits (giue enemies their due) shoulde become more woonderous by comparison; conference maketh excellent things appeare more admirable: & I am so far from being a Saturnist by nature, or a Stoick by discipline, that I can easily frame a certaine pleasurable delight vnto my selfe, by ministring some matter vnto them that now are faine to make something of nothing, and wittily to plaie with their own shadowes. It goeth somewhat hard in my harsh Legend, when the father of Musicke must be mocked—not Tubulcain, as he mistearmeth him, but Tuball, whom Genesis voutsafeth honourable mention—and the Hexameter verse flouted: whereof neither Homer in Greeke, nor Virgill in Latine (how valorous Autors!), nor Alexander in conquest, nor Augustus in maiesty (how puissant Princes!) were ashamed, but accompted it the onely gallant trompet of braue and Heroicall Actes. And I wis the English is nothing too good to imitat the Greeke, or Latine, or other eloquent Languages that honour the Hexameter as the soueraigne of verses and the high Controwler of Rimes. If I neuer deserue anye better remembraunce, let mee rather be epitaphed, The Inuentour of the English Hexameter—

whome learned M. Stanihurst imitated in his Virgill, and excellent Sir Phillip Sidney disdained not to follow in his Arcadia & elsewhere—then be chronicled, The greene maister of the Blacke Arte, or the founder of vgly oathes, or the father of misbegotten *Infortunatus*, or the Scriuener of Crosbiters, or, as one of his owne sectaries termed him, the Patriarch of shifters. Happy man I, if these two be my hainousest crimes and deadliest sinnes: To bee the Inuentour of the English Hexameter, and to bee orderlie clapt in the Fleete for the foresaide Letters; where he that sawe me sawe me at Constantinople. . . .

I will not condemne or censure his [Greene's] works, which I neuer did so much as superficially ouer-runne, but as some fewe of them occursiuly presented themselues in Stationers shops and some other houses of my acquaintaunce. But I pray God they haue not done more harme by corruption of manners then good by quickening of witte: and I would some Buyers had either more Reason to discerne, or lesse Appetite to desire such Nouels. The world is full inough of fooleries, though the humor be not feasted with such luxurious and riotous Pamphlets. Howe vnlike *Tullies* sweete Offices; or *Isocrates* pithy instructions; or *Plutarches* holesome Morrals; or the delicate Dialogues of *Xenophon* and *Plato*; or the sage Tragedies of *Sophocles* and *Euripides*; or the fine Comedies of the dainetiest Atticke wittes; or other excellent monumentes of antiquity, neuer sufficientlie perused! Yet the one as stale as oldest fashions; and what more freshly current for awhile then the other? Euen *Guicciardines* siluer Historie and *Ariostos* golden Cantoes grow out of request, & the Countesse of Pembrookes Arcadia is not greene inough for queasie stomackes; but they must haue *Greenes* Arcadia, and, I beleeue, most eagerlie longed for *Greenes* Faerie Queene. . . .

Great and small things may in some proportion be compared together: and beholde as miserable a spectacle in their kinde. Flourishing Mr. *Greene* is most wofully faded: and whilest I am bemoaning his ouer-pittious decay, & discoursing the vsuall successe of such ranke wittes, Loe, all on the suddaine, his sworne brother, M. *Pierce Pennie-lesse* (still more paltery; but what remedy? we are already ouer shoes and must now goe through), Loe his inwardest companion, that tasted of the fatall herringe, cruelly pinched with want, vexed with discredite, tormented with other mens felicitie, and ouerwhelmed with his owne misery, in a raving and franticke moode most desperately exhibiteth his supplication to the Diuell. A strange title, an od wit, and a mad hooreson I warrant him: doubtles it wil proue some dainty deuise, queintly contriued by way of humble Supplication To the high and mighty Prince of Darkenesse; not Dunsically botched-vp, but right-formally conueied, according to the stile and tenour of Tarletons president, his famous play of the seauen Deadly sinnes. Which most dea[d]ly, but most liuely, playe I might haue seene in London, and was verie gently inuited thereunto at Oxford by *Tarleton* himselfe. Of whome I merrily demaunding which of the seauen was his owne deadlie sinne, he bluntly aunswered after this manner, 'By God, the sinne of other Gentlemen, Lechery.' 'Oh but that, M. Tarleton, is not your part vpon the stage; you are too blame that dissemble with the world & haue one part for your frends pleasure, an other for your owne.' 'I am somewhat of Doctor Pernes religion,' quoth he; and abruptlie tooke his leaue. Surely it must needes bee current in matter, and autentical in forme, that had first such a learned president, and is now pleasantlie interlaced with diuers new-founde phrases of the Tauerne, and patheticallie intermixt with sundry dolefull pageants of his own ruinous & beggerlie experience. For the poore

Tennement of his Purse (quoth himselfe, grammercy, good *Tarleton*) hath bene the Diuels Dauncing schoole, anie time this halfe yeare; and I pray God (quoth another) the poore Tennement of his Heart hath not also beene the Diuels Fencing Schoole twise as long. Particulars and Circumstances are tedious, especially in sorrowfull and forlorne causes. The summe of summes is, he tost his imagination a thousand waies, and, I beleeue, searched euery corner of his Grammer-schoole witte (for his margine is as deepelie learned as *Fauste precor gelida*) to see if he coulde finde anie meanes to relieue his estate; but all his thoughtes and marginal notes consorted to his conclusion that the worlde was vncharitable, and he ordained to be miserable. It were cruelty to ad affliction to affliction: what flinty Heart would not sigh, or rather melt, to heare the bewailefull moane of that sobbing and groning Muse, the daughter of most pregnant, but most wretched, *Niobe*?

> Why ist damnation to despaire, and die,
> When Life is my true happines disease?

And a little after:

> Diuines and dying men may talke of Hell:
> But in my Heart her seueral tormentes dwell.

And so foorth, most hideouslie, for the Text is much more dolefull then the Glosse. And who woulde not be moued with more pittifull compunction to heare the lamentable Farewell,

> England, adieu! the soile that brought me foorth:
> Adieu vnkinde! where Skill is nothing worth:

then to read that profound Quotation,

> *Hei mihi, quam paucos haec mea dicta mouent?*

Which was thought Patheticall out of crie.

> Forgiue him God, although he curse his Birth,
> Since Miserie hath dawnted all his Mirth.

. . . Good sweete Oratour, be a deuine Poet indeede; and vse heauenly Eloquence indeede; and employ thy golden talent with amounting vsance indeede; and with heroicall Cantoes honour right Vertue, & braue valour indeede; as noble Sir Philip Sidney and gentle Maister Spencer haue done, with immortall Fame; and I will bestow more complements of rare amplifications vpon thee then euer any bestowed vppon them, or this Tounge euer affoorded, or any Aretinish mountaine of huge exaggerations can bring foorth. Right artificiality (whereat I once aimed to the vttermost power of my slender capacity) is not mad-brained, or ridiculous, or absurd, or blasphemous, or monstrous, but deepe conceited, but pleasurable, but delicate, but exquisite, but gratious, but admirable; not according to the fantasticall mould of *Aretine* or *Rabelays*, but according to the fine modell of *Orpheus*, *Homer*, *Pindarus*, & the excellentest wittes of Greece, and of the Lande that floweth with milke and hony. For what Festiuall Hymnes so diuinely dainty as the sweete Psalmes of King Dauid, royally translated by *Buchanan*? or what sage Gnomes so profoundly pithy as the wise Prouerbes of King Salomon, notably also translated. But how few Buchanans? Such liuely springes of streaming Eloquence & such right-Olympicall hilles of amountinge witte I cordially recommend to the deere Louers of the Muses; and namely to the professed Sonnes of the same, *Edmond Spencer*, *Richard Stanihurst*, *Abraham France*, *Thomas Watson*, *Samuell Daniell*, *Thomas Nash*, and the rest; whome I affectionately thancke for their studious endeuours, commendably employed in enriching & polishing their natiue Tongue, neuer so furnished or embellished as of late. For I dare not name the Honorabler Sonnes & Nobler Daughters of the sweetest & diuinest Muses that euer sang in English or other language, for feare of suspition of that which I abhorre;

and their owne most delectable and delicious Exercises (the fine handy worke of excellent Nature and excellenter Arte combined) speake incomparably more then I am able briefly to insinuate. Gentle mindes and flourishing wittes were infinitely to blame, if they should not also for curious imitation propose vnto themselues such faire Types of refined and engraced Eloquence. The right Noouice of pregnante and aspiring conceit wil not ouerskippe any precious gemme of Inuention or any beautifull floure of Elocution that may richly adorne or gallantly bedecke the trimme garland of his budding stile. I speake generally to euery springing wit, but more specially to a few, and at this instante singularly to one, whom I salute with a hundred blessings, and entreate with as many prayers, to loue them that loue all good wittes, and hate none but the Diuell, and his incarnate Impes, notoriously professed. I protest it was not thy person that I any way disliked, but thy rash and desperate proceeding against thy well-willers; which in some had bene vnsufferable; in an youth was more excusable; in a reformed youth is pardonable, and rather matter of concordance then of aggrieuance.

FROM *THE FOURTH LETTER.*

Pregnant Rules auail much, but visible Examples amount incredibly: Experience, the onely life of perfection, & onely perfection of life. Whatsoeuer occasion causeth me to be mistaken, as ouer-much addicted to Theory, without respect of action (for that is one of the especiallest points, which I am importuned to resolue), I neuer made account of any study, meditation, conference, or Exercise that importeth not effectual vse, & that aymeth not altogether at action, as the singuler marke, whereat euery Arte & euery vertue is to leuell. I loue Method, but honour Practise: must I shew the difference? Either Arte is

obscure, or the quickest capacity dull and needeth Methode, as it were the bright Moone, to illuminate the darkesome night: but Practise is the bright Sun that shineth in the day, & the soueraigne Planet that gouerneth the world: as elsewhere I haue copiously declared. To excell, ther is no way but one: to marry studious Arte to diligent Exercise: but where they must be vnmarried, or diuorced, geue me rather Exercise without Arte then Arte without Exercise. Perfect vse worketh masteries, and disgraceth vnexperienced Arte. Examples are infinite, and dayly display themselues. A world without a Sunne; a Boddy without a Soule; Nature without Arte; Arte without Exercise—sory creatures. Singular practise the only singuler and admirable woorkeman of the world.

Must I dispatch the rest that is exacted? It is no fit place; and the least little wil seme too much. As in other thinges, so in Artes; formality doth well, but materiality worketh the feat. Were Artists as skillfull as Artes are powerfull, wonders might be atchieued by Arte emprooued; but they that vnderstand little write much; and they that know much write little. The vayne Peacocke with his gay coullours, and the prattling Parrat with his ignorant discourses (I am not to offend any but the Peacocke and the Parrat) haue garishly disguised the worthiest Artes, and deepely discredited the profoundest Artistes, to the pitifull defacement of the one and the shamefull preiudice of the other. *Rodolph Agricola, Philip Melancthon, Ludouike Viues, Peter Ramus,* and diuers excellent schollers haue earnestly complaned of Artes corrupted, and notably reformed many absurdities: but still corruption ingendreth one vermine or other, and still that pretious Trainement is miserably abused which should be the fountaine of skill, the roote of vertue, the seminary of gouernment, the foundation of all priuate and publike good.

The Methodist & Discourser might be more materiall;

the Theorist and Practitioner more formall: all fower more effectuall: or how cometh it to passe that much more is professed but much lesse perfourmed then in former ages? especially in the Mathematikes, and in naturall Magic, which being cunningly and extensiuely imployed (after the manner of *Archimedes, Archytas, Apollonius, Regiomontanus, Bacon, Cardan,* and such like industrious Philosophers, the Secretaries of Art and Nature) might wonderfully bestead the Commonwealth with many puissant engins and other commodious devises for warre and peace. In actuall Experimentes and Polymechany, nothing too profound: a superficiall slightnesse may seeme fine for sheetes, but proueth good for nothinge: as in other businesse, so in learninge, as good neuer a whit, according to the Prouerbe, as neuer the better: one perfect Mechanician worth ten vnperfect Philosophers: an ignorant man lesse shameth himselfe, lesse beguileth his frend, lesse disableth the Common-wealth, then a putatiue Artiste: a whole naturall wit more seruiceable, and more sufficient, then a Demi-scholler, who presuming on that which he hath not abateth the force of that which he hath. He must not dreame of perfection that emproueth not the perfectest Art with most perfect industrie. A snatch and away, with *Neoptolemus* and the common sort of studentes, may please a little, but profiteth nothing. It is the Body, not the shadow, that dispatcheth the businesse. The flower delighteth to-day, and fadeth to-morrow: the fruite edifieth and endureth: the visard, the painted sheath, and such terrible braueries, can best report their owne entertainment: the peacock and the parrat haue good leaue to prancke vppe themselues, and leysure inough to reuiue and repolish their expired workes. 'What can last allwayes?' quoth the neat Tayler, when his fine seames began to cracke their credite at the first drawing-on. I appeale to Poules Churchyard, whether lines be like vnto seames: and whether

the Deft writer be as sure a workman as the neat Tayler. There may be a fault in the Reader, aswell as in the weauer: but euery manne contente himselfe to beare the burthen of his owne faultes; and, good sweete Autors, infourme your selues before you vndertake to instruct other. . .

God helpe, when Ignorance and want of Experience, vsurping the chayre of scrupulous and rigorous Iudgement, will in a fantasticall Imagination, or percase in a melancholy moode, presume farther, by infinite degrees, then the learnedest men in a ciuill Common-wealth, or the sagest counsellours in a Princes Court. Our new-new writers, the Loadstones of the Presse, are wonderfully beholdinge to the Asse; in a manner the only Autor, which they alledge. The world was euer full inough of fools, but neuer so full of Asses in print; the very Elephant, a great Asse; the Camell, a huge Asse; the Beare, a monstrous Asse; the Horse, an absurd Asse; the Fox himselfe, a little Asse, or, for variety, an Ape: who not an Asse or an Ape in good plaine English, that chanceth to come in the wise Asse-makers & mighty Ape-dubbers way? They are fine men, & haue many sweete phrases: it is my simplicity that I am so slenderly acquainted with that dainty stile, the only new fashion of current Eloquence in Esse, far surpassing the stale vein of *Demosthenes* or *Tully*, *Iewel* or *Harding*, *Whitgift* or *Cartwright*, *Sidney* or *Spencer*. But I could wish Ignorance would fauour it selfe: & it were not amisse that want of Experience should be content to be a little modest or somewhat quiet: & both enforce les occasion to be termed, as they will needes notoriously proclaime themselues, as it were, with a publike 'Oh-is,' or a generall *Nouerint vniuersi per praesentes*. For if any thing indeede be a right Asse in print, it is the one; and if any thing indeede be a right Calfe in print, it is the other: Ignorance, the famousest Asse; and want of Experience, the notablest Calfe in the world.

THOMAS NASH

(FROM *STRANGE NEWES*, OR *FOURE LETTERS CONFUTED*)

1592

[These extracts are taken from *Strange Newes of the intercepting certaine Letters, and a Conuoy of Verses, as they were going* Priuilie *to victual the Low Countries*, London. ? 1592. The pamphlet is otherwise known, from the headline of each page, as *Foure Letters Confuted*. The text is that of the British Museum copy (96. b. 16).]

O HEATHENISTS and Pagan Hexamiters, come thy waies down from thy *Doctourship*, & learne thy Primer of Poetry ouer again; for certainly thy pen is in state of a Reprobate with all men of iudgement and reckoning. . . .

The tickling and stirring inuectiue vaine, the puffing and swelling Satiricall spirit came vpon him, as it came on *Coppinger* and *Arthington*, when they mounted into the pease-cart in Cheapeside and preacht. Needes hee must cast vp certayne crude humours of English Hexameter Verses that lay vppon his stomacke; a Noble-man stoode in his way as he was vomiting, and from top to toe he all to berayd him with *Tuscanisme*. . . .

Tubalcan, alias Tuball, first founder of Farriers Hall, heere is a great complaint made, that *Vtriusque Academiae Robertus Greene* hath mockt thee, because hee saide that as thou wert the first' inuenter of Musicke, so *Gabriell Howliglasse* was the first inuenter of English Hexameter

verses. *Quid respondes*? canst thou brooke it; yea or no? Is it any treason to thy well tuned hammers to say they begat so renowmed a childe as Musicke? Neither thy hammers nor thou I knowe, if they were put to their booke oaths, will euer say it.

The Hexamiter verse I graunt to be a Gentleman of an auncient house (so is many an english begger); yet this Clyme of ours hee cannot thriue in. Our speech is too craggy for him to set his plough in; hee goes twitching and hopping in our language like a man running vpon quagmiers, vp the hill in one Syllable, and downe the dale in another, retaining no part of that stately smooth gate which he vaunts himselfe with amongst the Greeks and Latins.

Homer and Virgil, two valorous Authors, yet were they neuer knighted, they wrote in Hexameter Verses: *Ergo, Chaucer* and *Spencer,* the *Homer* and *Virgil* of England, were farre ouerseene that they wrote not all their Poems in Hexamiter verses also. In many Countries veluet and Satten is a commoner weare than cloth amongst vs: *Ergo* wee must leaue wearing of cloth, and goe euerie one in veluet and satten, because other Countries vse so.

The Text will not beare it, good *Gilgilis Hobberdehoy. Our english tongue is nothing too good,* but too bad *to imitate the Greeke and Latine.*

Master *Stannyhurst* (though otherwise learned) trod a foule, lumbring, boystrous, wallowing, measure in his translation of *Virgil.* He had neuer been praisd by *Gabriel* for his labour, if therein hee had not bin so famously absurd. . . .

Let Maister *Butler* of Cambridge his testimoniall end this controuersie, who at that time that thy ioyes were in the Fleeting, and thou crying for the Lords sake out at an iron window, in a lane not farre from Ludgate hill, questiond some of his companions verie inquisitiuelie that were

newlie come from London, what nouelties they brought home with them. Amongst the rest he broke into this Hexamiter interrogatory very abruptlie.

But ah! what newes do you heare of that good Gabriel huffe snuffe,
Knowne to the world for a foole, and clapt in the Fleete for a Rimer?

. . . Thy Hexameter Verses, or thy hue and cry after *a person as cleare as Christall*, I do not so deeply commend, for al *Maister* Spencer *long* since imbrast it with an ouerlouing sonnet.

Why should friends dissemble one with another: they are very vgly and artlesse. You will neuer leaue your olde trickes of drawing M. *Spencer* into euerie pybald thing you do. If euer he praisd thee, it was because he had pickt a fine vaine foole out of thee, and he would keepe thee still by flattring thee, til such time as he had brought thee into that extreame loue with thy selfe, that thou shouldst run mad with the conceit, and so be scorned of all men. . . .

As for *Flores Poetarum*, they are flowers that yet I neuer smelt too. Ile pawne my hand to a halfepenny, I haue readd more good Poets thorough than thou euer hardst off.

The floures of your *Foure Letters* it may be I haue ouerlookt more narrowlie, and done my best deuoire to assemble them together into patheticall posie, which I will here present to Maister Orator Edge for a Newyeares gift, leauing them to his *wordie* discretion to be censured whether they be currant in inkehornisme or no: *Conscious mind; canicular tales; egregious an argument*—when as egregious is neuer vsed in English but in the extreame ill part; *Ingenuitie; Iouiall mind; valorous Authors; inckehorne aduentures; inckehorne pads; putatiue opinions;*

putatiue artists; energeticall persuasions; Rascallitie; materiallitie; artificiallitie; Fantasticallitie; diuine Entelechy; loud mentery; deceitfull perfidy; addicted to Theory; the worlds great Incendiarie; sirenized furies; soueraigntie immense; abundant Cauteles; cautelous and aduentrous; cordiall liquor; Catilinaries and Phillipicks; perfunctorie discourses; Dauids sweetnes olimpique; The Idee; high and deepe Abisse of excellence; the only Vnicorne of the Muses; the Aretinish mountaine of huge exaggerations; the gratious law of Amnesty; amicable termes; amicable end; effectuate; addoulce his melodie; Mag[ic]polimechany; extensiuely emploid; precious Traynment; Nouellets; Notorietie; negotiation; mechanician.

Nor are these all, for euerie third line hath some of this ouer-rackt absonisme. Nor do I altogether scum off all these as the new ingendred fome of the English, but allowe some of them for a neede to fill vp a verse; as *Traynment*, and one or two wordes more, which the libertie of prose might well haue spar'd. In a verse, when a worde of three sillables cannot thrust in but sidelings, to ioynt him euen, we are oftentimes faine to borrowe some lesser quarry of elocution from the Latine, alwaies retaining this for a principle, that a leake of indesinence, as a leake in a shippe, must needly bee stopt with what matter soeuer.

Chaucers authoritie I am certaine shal be alleadgd for a many of these balductums. Had *Chaucer* liu'd to this age, I am verily perswaded hee would haue discarded the tone halfe of the harsher sort of them.

They were the Oouse which ouerflowing barbarisme, withdrawne to her Scottish Northren chanell, had left behind her. Art, like yong grasse in the spring of *Chaucers* florishing, was glad to peepe vp through any slime of corruption, to be beholding to she car'd not whome for apparaile, trauailing in those colde countries. There is no reason that shee, a banisht Queene into this barraine

soile, hauing monarchizd it so long amongst the Greeks and Romanes, should (although warres furie had humbled her to some extremitie) still be constrained, when she had recouerd her state, to weare the robes of aduersitie [&] iet it in her old rags, when she is wedded to new prosperitie. *Vtere moribus praeteritis*, saith *Caius Caesar* in *Aulus Gellius*, *loquere verbis praesentibus*. . . .

Wherein I haue borrowed from *Greene* or *Tarlton*, *that I should thanke them for all I haue?* Is my stile like *Greenes*, or my ieasts like *Tarltons*? Do I talke of any counterfeit birds, or hearbs, or stones, or rake vp any new-found poetry from vnder the wals of *Troy*? If I do, trip mee with it; but I doe not, therefore Ile be so saucy as trip you with the grand lie. Ware stumbling of whet-stones in the darke there, my maisters.

This I will proudly boast (yet am I nothing a kindred to the three brothers) that the vaine which I haue (be it a *median* vaine, or a madde vaine) is of my owne begetting, and cals no man father in England but my selfe, neyther *Euphues*, nor *Tarlton*, nor *Greene*. Not *Tarlton* nor *Greene* but haue beene contented to let my simple iudgement ouerrule them in some matters of wit. *Euphues* I readd when I was a little ape in Cambridge, and then I thought it was *Ipse ille*; it may be excellent good still for ought I know, for I lookt not on it this ten yeare: but to imitate it I abhorre, otherwise than it imitates *Plutarch*, *Ouid*, and the choisest Latine Authors.

If you be auisde I tooke *shortest vowels and longest mutes* in the beginning of my booke as suspitious of being accessarie to the making of a Sonnet wherto Maister *Christopher Birds* name is set, there I saide that you mute forth many such phrases in the course of your booke which I would point at as I past by. Heere I am as good as my word, for I note that thou, beeing afraide of beraying thy selfe with writing, *wouldest faine bee a mute*, when it is too late

to repent. Againe, thou reuiest on vs, and saist *that mutes are coursed and vowels haunted.* Thou art no mute, yet shalt thou be haunted and coursed to the full. I will neuer leaue thee as long as I am able to lift a pen.

Whether I seeke to bee counted a terrible bulbegger or no, Ile baite thee worse than a bull, so that the[n] thou shalt desire some body on thy knees to helpe thee with letters of commendation to *Bull* the hangman, that he may dispatch thee out of the way before more affliction come vpon thee.

GABRIEL HARVEY

(FROM *PIERCES SUPEREROGATION* AND *A NEW LETTER OF NOTABLE CONTENTS*)

1593

[The text of I, including the 'Aduertisement for Pap-hatchet,' is taken from *Pierce's Supererogation | or | A New Prayse of the | Old Asse.* || *A Preparatiue to certaine Discourses, intituled | Nashes S. Fame*, printed at London by John Wolfe in 1593 (British Museum C. 40. d. 9). Gabriel Harvey's preface to the book is dated July 16, 1593. The text of II will be found in Harvey's *New Letter of | notable contents | with a straunge Sonet, intituled | Gorgon, | Or the wonderfull years*, also printed by Wolfe in 1593. The passage is part of the Letter 'To my loving friend, John Wolfe, Printer to the Cittie' (British Museum C. 40. d. 10).]

I.

THERE was a time when I floted in a sea of encountring waues, and deuoured many famous confutations with an eager and insatiable appetite; especially Aristotle against Plato and the old Philosophers, diuers excellent Platonistes, indued with rare & diuine wittes (of whome elsewhere at large); Iustinus Martyr, Philoponus, Valla, Viues, Ramus, against Aristotle; oh, but the great maister of the schooles and high Chauncellour of Vniuersities could not want pregnant defence, Perionius, Gallandius, Carpentarius, Sceggius, Lieblerus, against Ramus; what? hath the royall Professour of Eloquence and Philosophy no fauourites? Talaeus, Ossatus, Freigius, Minos, Rodingus,

Scribonius, for Ramus against them; and so foorth, in that hott contradictory course of Logique and Philosophy. But alas, silly men, simple Aristotle, more simple Ramus, most simple the rest, either ye neuer knew what a sharpe-edged & cutting Confutation meant, or the date of your stale oppositions is expired, and a new-found land of confuting commodities discouered by this braue Columbus of tearmes and this onely marchant venturer of quarrels, that detecteth new Indies of Inuention & hath the winds of Æolus at commaundement. Happy you flourishinge youthes that follow his incomparable learned steps, and vnhappy we old Dunses that wanted such a worthy President of all nimble and liuely dexterities! What should I appeale infinite other to their perpetuall shame, or summon such and such to their foule disgrace? Erasmus in Latine and Sir Thomas More in English were supposed fine and pleasant Confuters in their time, and were accordingly embraced of the forwardest and trimmest wittes; but alacke how vnlike this dainty minion! Agrippa was reputed a gyant in confutation, a demi-god in omnisufficiency of knowledge, a diuell in the practise of horrible Artes: oh, but Agrippa was an vrcheon, Copernicus a shrimpe, Cardan a puppy, Scaliger a baby, Paracelsus a scab, Erastus a patch, Sigonius a toy, Cuiacius a bable to this Termagant, that fighteth not with simple wordes, but with dubble swordes; not with the trickling water of Helicon, but with piercing Aqua fortis; not with the sorry powder of Experience, but with terrible gunpowder; not with the small shott of contention, but with the maine ordinaunce of fury.

For breuity I ouerskip many notable men and valorous Confuters in their seuerall vaines, had not affection otherwhiles swinged their reason, where reason should haue swayed their affection. But Partiality was euer the busiest Actour, and Passion the whottest Confuter, whatsoeuer

plausible cause otherwise pretended: and hee is rather to bee esteemed an Angell then a man, or a man of Heauen, not of Earth, that tendereth integrity in his hart, equity in his tongue, and reason in his penne. Flesh and bloud are fraile Creatures, and partiall discoursers; but he approacheth neerest vnto God, & yeeldeth sweetest fruite of a diuine disposition, that is not transported with wrath or any blinde passion, but guided with cleere and pure Reason, the soueraigne principle of sound proceeding. It is not the Affirmatiue or Negatiue of the writer, but the trueth of the matter written, that carryeth meat in the mouth and victory in the hande. There is nothing so exceeding foolish but hath beene defended by some wise man; nor any thinge so passinge wise but hath bene confuted by some foole. Mans will no safe rule, as Aristotle sayth; good Homer sometime sleepeth; S. Augustine was not ashamed of his retractations; S. Barnard saw not all thinges; and the best chart may eftsoones ouerthrow. He that taketh a Confutation in hand must bringe the standard of Iudgement with him, & make Wisedome the moderatour of Wit.

But I might aswell haue ouerpassed the censure as the persons: & I haue to do with a party that valueth both alike, and can phansy no Autor but his owne phansy. It is neyther reason, nor rime, nor witt, nor arte, nor any imitation, that hee regardeth; hee hath builded towers of Supererrogation in his owne head; and they must stand, whosoeuer fall. Howbeit, I cannot ouerslipp some without manifest iniury, that deserue to haue their names enrolled in the first rancke of valiant Confuters; worthy men, but subiect to imperfections, to errour, to mutuall reproofe, some more, some lesse, as the manner is. Harding and Iewell were our Eschines and Demosthenes; and scarsely any language in the Christian world hath affoorded a payre of aduersaries equiualent to Harding and Iewell, two

thundring and lightning Oratours in diuinity; but now at last infinitely ouermatched by this hideous thunderbolt in humanity, that hath the onely right tearmes inuectiue, and triumpheth ouer all the spirites of Contradiction. You that haue read Luther against the Pope; Sadolet, Longolius, Omphalius, Osorius against Luther; Caluin against Sadolet; Melanchthon against Longolius; Sturmius against Omphalius; Haddon against Osorius; Baldwin againste Caluin; Beza againste Baldwin; Erastus against Beza; Trauers against Erastus; Sutcliff against Trauers; and so foorth (for there is no ende of endlesse controuersies: nor Bellarmine shall euer satisfye the Protestantes; nor Whittaker contente the Papistes; nor Bancroft appease the Precisians; nor any reason pacify affection; nor any authority resolue obstinacy); you that haue most diligently read these, and these, and sundry other reputed excellente in their kindes, cast them all away, and read him alone that can schoole them all in their tearmes inuectiue, and teacheth a new-found Arte of confuting, his all-onely Arte. Martin himselfe but a meacocke, and Papp-hatchet himselfe but a milkesop to him, that initeth with a penne of fury and the incke of vengeance, and hath cartloades of papershot and chainshot at commaundement. Tush, no man can blason his Armes but himselfe. Behold the mighty Champion, the dubble swordbearer, the redowtable fighter with both handes, that hath robbed William Conquerour of his surname, and in the very first page of his Straunge Newes choppeth off the head of foure Letters at a blow. Hee it is that hath it rightly in him indeede, and can roundly doe the feate with a witnesse. Why, man, he is worth a thousand of these pidlinge and driblinge Confuters that sitt all day buzzing vpon a blunt point or two, and with much adoe drisle out as many sentences in a weeke as he will powre downe in an howre. It is not long since the goodlyest graces of the most noble Common-

wealthes vpon Earth, Eloquence in speech and Ciuility in manners, arriued in these remote parts of the world: it was a happy resolution of the heauens, and worthy to be chronicled in an English Liuy, when Tiberis flowed into the Thames, Athens remoued to London, pure Italy and fine Greece planted themselues in rich England, Apollo with his delicate troupe of Muses forsooke his old mountaines and riuers and frequented a new Parnassus and an other Helicon nothinge inferiour to the olde, when they were most solemnely haunted of diuine wittes that taught Rhetorique to speake with applause, and Poetry to sing with admiration. But euen since that flourishing transplantation of the daintiest and sweetest lerning that humanitie euer tasted, Arte did but springe in such as Sir Iohn Checke and M. Ascham, & witt budd in such as Sir Phillip Sidney & M. Spencer, which were but the violetes of March or the Primeroses of May, till the one began to sprowte in M. Robart Greene, as in a sweating Impe of the euer-greene Laurell, the other to blossome in M. Pierce Pennilesse, as in the riche garden of pore Adonis, both to growe to perfection in M. Thomas Nashe, whose prime is a haruest, whose Arte a misterie, whose witt a miracle, whose stile the onely life of the presse and the very hart-blood of the Grape. There was a kind of smooth, and clenly, and neate, and fine elegancy before (proper men, handsome giftes), but alacke nothing liuelie and mightie like the braue *vino de monte*, till his frisking penne began to playe the Sprite of the buttry, and to teache his mother tongue such lusty gambolds as may make the gallantest French, Italian, or Spanish gagliards to blushe for extreame shame of their ideot simplicitie.

The difference of wittes is exceeding straung and almost incredible. Good lord, how may one man passe a thousand, and a thousande not compare with one? Arte may giue out precepts and directoryes *in communi forma*; but it is

superexcellent witt that is the mother pearle of precious Inuention, and the goulden mine of gorgeous Elocution. Na, it is a certaine pregnant and liuely thing without name, but a queint mistery of mounting conceit, as it were a knacke of dexterity, or the nippitaty of the nappiest grape, that infinitly surpasseth all the Inuention and Elocution in the world, and will bunge Demosthenes owne mouth with new-fangled figures of the right stampe, maugre all the thundering and lightninge Periodes of his eloquentest orations, forlorne creatures. I haue had some prettie triall of the finest Tuscanisme in graine, and haue curiously obserued the cunningest experiments and brauest complements of aspiring emulation, but must geeue the bell of singularity to the humorous witt, and the garland of victory to the *dominiering Eloquence.* I come not yet to the Praise of the olde Asse: it is young Apuleius that feedeth vpon this glory: and hauing enclosed these rancke commons to the proper vse of himselfe & the capricious flocke, adopteth whom he listeth without exception; as Alexander the great had a huge intention to haue all men his subiectes, and all his subiectes called Alexanders. It was strange newes for some to be so assefied; and a worke of Supererogation for him so bountifully to vouchsafe his golden name the appropriate cognisance of his noble stile. God-night, poore Rhetorique of sorry bookes! adieu, good old Humanity! gentle Artes and Liberall Sciences, content your selues! Farewell my deere moothers, sometime floorishing Vniuersities! Some that haue long continued your sonnes in Nature, your apprentises in Arte, your seruauntes in Exercise, your louers in affection, and your vassalles in duety, must either take their leaues of their sweetest freendes, or become the slaues of that dominiering eloquence that knoweth no Art but the cutting Arte, nor acknowledgeth any schoole but the Curtisan schoole. The rest is pure naturall, or wondrous

supernaturall. Would it were not an infectious bane or an incroching pocke! Let me not bee mistaken by sinister construction, that wreasteth and wrigleth euery sillable to the worst. I haue no reference to my selfe, but to my superiours by incomparable degrees. To be a Ciceronian is a flowting stocke: poore Homer, a wofull wight, may put his finger in a hole, or in his blind eye: the excellentest histories and woorthiest Chronicles (inestimable monumentes of wisdome and valour) what but stale Antickes? the flowers and fruites of delicate humanity, that were wont to be dainetily and tenderly conserued, now preserued with dust, as it were with sugar, and with hoare, as it were with hoony! That frisking wine, & that liuely knacke in the right capricious veine, the onely booke that holdeth out with a countenance, and will be heard, when woorme-toungued Oratours, dust-footed Poets, and weather-wise historians shall not bee allowed a woord to cast at a dogg! There is a fatall Period of whatsoeuer wee terme flourishinge: the worlde runneth on wheeles, and there must be a vent for all thinges. The Ciceronian may sleepe til the Scogginist hath plaid his part; one sure Conny-catcher woorth twenty Philosophers; a phantasticall rimester more vendible then the notablest Mathematician; no profession to the faculty of rayling; all harsh or obscure that tickleth not idle phantasies with wanton dalliance or ruffianly iestes. Robin Good-fellow the meetest Autor for Robin Hoodes Library; the lesse of Cambridge or Oxforde the fitter to compile woorkes of Supererogation; and wee that were simply trayned after the Athenian and Romane guise must bee contente to make roome for roisters that know their place and will take it. Titles and tearmes are but woordes of course; the right fellow that beareth a braine can knocke twenty titles on the head at a stroke, and with a iugling shift of that same inuincible knacke defende himselfe manfully at the Paper-barre.

Though I be not greatly employed, yet my leisure will scarsely serue to moralize Fables of Beares, Apes, and Foxes (some men can giue a shrewd gesse at a courtly allegory), but where Lordes in expresse tearmes are magnifically contemned, Doctours in the same stile may be courageously confuted. Liberty of Tongue and Pen is no Bondman; nippitaty will not be tied to a post; there is a cap of maintenaunce called Impudency; and what say to him that in a superabundaunce of that same odd capricious humour findeth 'no such want in England as of an Aretine, that might stripp these golden Asses out of their gay trappinges, and, after he had ridden them to death with rayling, leaue them on the dunghill for carrion'? A frolicke mind and a braue spirit to be employed with his stripping instrument, in supply of that onely want of a diuine Aretine, the great rider of golden Asses! Were his penne as supererogatory a woorkeman as his harte, or his liues such transcendentes as his thoughtes, Lord, what an egregious Aretine should we shortly haue, how excessiuely exceeding Aretine himselfe, that bestowed the surmountingest amplifications at his pleasure, and was a meere Hyperbole incarnate! Time may worke an accomplishment of woonders, and his graund intentions seeme to prognosticate no lesse then the vttermost possibilities of capacity or fury extended. Would God, or could the Diuell, giue him that vnmeasurable allowance of witt and Arte that he extreamely affecteth, and infinitely wanteth, there were no encounter but of admiration and honour. . . .

But when againe I lift vp mine eyes, and behold the glorious picture of that most-threatning Slassher, is it possible so couragious a Confuter should bee less terrible then the Basiliske of Orus Apollo, that with his onely hissing killed the poore snakes, his neighbours? Can any

Letters liue, that hee will slay? Were not Patience, or Submission, or any course better then farther discourse? What fonder businesse then to troble the Printe with Pamphlets, that cannot possibly liue whiles the Basiliske hisseth death? Was I woont to iest at Eldertons ballatinge, Gascoignes sonnettinge, Greenes pamphletting, Martins libelling, Holinsheads engrosing, some-bodies abridging, and whatchicaltes translating, & shall I now become a scribling Creature with fragmentes of shame, that might long sethence haue beene a fresh writer with discourses of applause? The very whole matter, what but a thinge of nothinge? the Methode, what but a hotch-pott for a gallymafry? by the one or other, what hope of publike vse or priuate credite? Socrates minde could as lightly digest poison as Mithridates boddy; and how easely haue the greatest stomackes of all ages, or rather the valiantest courages of the worlde, concocted the harshest and rankest iniuries? Politique Philip, victorious Alexander, inuincible Scipio, triumphant Cæsar, happy Augustus, magnificent Titus, and the flower of the noblest mindes that Immortality honoureth, with a sweete facility gaue many bitter reprehensions the slip, and finely ridd their handes of roughest obloquies. Philosophy professeth more, and the Philosopher of Emperours, or rather the Emperour of Philosophers, Marcus Antoninus, when he deserued best could with felicity heare the woorst. . . .

But without more circumlocution, pryde hath a fall: and as of a Catt, so of Pierce himselfe, howsoeuer inspired or enraged, you can haue but his skinne, puffed vp with winde and bumbasted with vanitye. Euen when he stryueth for life to shewe himselfe brauest in the flaunt-aflaunt of his courage, and when a man would verily beleeue he should nowe behold the stately personage of heroicall Eloquence face to face, or see such an vnseene Frame of

the miracles of Arte as might amaze the heauenly eye of Astronomy: holla sir, the sweete Spheres are not too-prodigall of their soueraine influences. Pardon mee, S. Fame. What the first pang of his diuine Furie but notable Vanitie? what the seconde fitte but woorthy vanitye? what the thirde career but egregious vanity? what the glory of his ruffian Rhetorique and curtisan Philosophy but excellent villany? That, that is Pierces Supererogation: and were Penniles a person of any reckoning, as he is a man of notorious fame, that, that perhaps, in regarde of the outragious singularity, might be supposed a Tragicall or Heroicall villany, if euer any villany were so intituled. The present consideration of which singularity occasioneth me to bethinke me of One that this other day very soberlie commended some extra-ordinary giftes in Nashe; and when he had grauelie maintayned that in the resolution of his conscience he was such a fellowe as some wayes had few fellowes, at last concluded somewhat more roundly:

'Well, my maisters, you may talke your pleasures of Tom Nash, who yet sleepeth secure, not without preiudice to some that might be more ielous of their name; but assure your selues if M. Penniles had not bene deepely plunged in a profound extasie of knauery, M. Pierce had neuer written that famous worke of Supererogation, that now stayneth all the bookes in Paules churchyard and setteth both the vniuersites to schoole. Till I see your finest humanitie bestow such a liberall exhibition of conceit and courage vpon your neatest wittes, pardon me though I prefer one smart Pamflet of knauery before ten blundring volumes of the nine Muses. Dreaming and smoke amount alike: Life is a gaming, a iugling, a scoulding, a lawing, a skirmishing, a warre, a Comedie, a Tragedy; the sturring witt, a quintessence of quick-siluer; and there is noe deade fleshe in affection or

courage. You may discourse of Hermes ascending spirit, of Orpheus enchanting harpe, of Homers diuine furie, of Tyrtæus enraging trumpet, of Pericles bounsinge thunderclaps, of Platos enthusiasticall rauishment, and I wott not what maruelous egges in mooneshine, but a flye for all your flying speculations when one good fellow with his odd iestes, or one madd knaue with his awke hibbergibber, is able to putt downe twentye of your smuggest artificiall men that simper it so nicely and coylie in their curious pointes. Try, when you meane to be disgraced; & neuer giue me credit if Sanguine witt putt not Melancholy Arte to bedd. I had almost said all the figures of Rhetorique must abate me an ace of Pierces Supererogation; and Penniles hath a certayne nimble and climbinge reach of Inuention, as good as a long pole and a hooke that neuer fayleth at a pinch. It were vnnaturall, as the sweete Emperour Marcus Antoninus said, that the fig-tree should euer want iuice. You that purpose with great summes of studdy & candles to purchase the worshipfull names of Dunses & Dodipoles may closely sitt or sokingly ly at your bookes; but you that intende to be fine companionable gentlemen, smirking wittes, and whipsters in the world, betake yee timely to the liuely practis of the minion profession, and enure your Mercuriall fingers to frame semblable workes of Supererogation. Certes, other rules are fopperies; and they that will seeke out the Archmistery of the busiest Modernistes shall find it nether more nor lesse then a certayne pragmaticall secret, called Villany, the verie science of sciences, and the Familiar Spirit of Pierces Supererogation. Coosen not yourselues with the gay nothings of children & schollers: no priuitie of learning, or inspiration of witt, or reuelation of misteryes, or Arte Notory, counteruayleable with Pierces Supererogation; which, hauing none of them, hath them all, and can make them all Asses at his

pleasure. The Book-worme was neuer but a pickgoose: it is the Multiplying spirit, not of the Alchimist but of the villanist, that knocketh the naile one the head, and spurreth outt farther in a day then the quickest Artist in a weeke. Whiles other are reading, wryting, conferring, arguing, discoursing, experimenting, platforminge, musing, buzzing, or I know not what, that is the spirrit that with a woondrous dexterity shapeth exquisite workes, and atchieueth puissant exploites of Supererogation. O my good frends, as ye loue the sweete world, or tender your deare selues, be not vnmindfull what is good for the aduauncement of your commendable partes. All is nothing without aduancement. Though my experience be a Cipher in these causes, yet hauing studiously perused the newe Arte-notory, that is, the foresaid Supererogation, and hauing shaken so manie learned asses by the eares, as it were by the hands, I could say no lesse, and might think more.'

Something else was vttered the same time by the same Gentleman, aswell concerning the present state of France, which he termed the most vnchristian kingdome of the most christian kinge, as touching certaine other newes of I wott not what dependence; but my minde was running on my halfpeny, and my head so full of the foresaid round discourse, that my hand was neuer quyet vntill I had altered the tytle of this Pamphlet, and newlie christened it *Pierces Supererogation*: aswell in remembrance of the saide discourse as in honour of the appropriate vertues of *Pierce* himselfe; who aboue all the writers that euer I knew shall go for my money where the currantest forgery, impudency, arrogancy, phantasticalitie, vanity, and great store of little discretion may go for payment, and the filthiest corruption of abhominable villany passe vnlaunced. His other miraculous perfections are still in abeyance; and his monstrous excellencyes in the predica-

ment of Chimera. The birde of Arabia is longe in hatchinge; and mightye workes of Supererogation are not plotted & accomplished att once. It is pittie so hyperbolicall a conceite, ouerhawty for the surmounting rage of Tasso in his furious agony, should be humbled with so diminitiue a witt, base enough for Elderton and the riffe-raffe of the scribling rascality. I haue heard of many disparagementes in felowship, but neuer saw so great Impudency married to so little witt, or so huge presumption allyed to so petty performance. I must not paint, though hee dawbe. Pontan, decipher thy vauntinge Alopantius Ausimarchides a new; and Terence, display thy boastinge Thraso a new; and Plautus, addresse thy vain-glorious Pyrgopolinices anew: heere is a bratt of Arrogancy, a gosling of the Printing-house that can teach your braggardes to play their partes in the Printe of woonder, & to exploit redowtable workes of Supererogation, such as neuer were atchieued in Latin or Greeke. Which deserue to bee looked for with such a longing expectation as the Iewes looke for their kingly Messias, or as I looke for Agrippas dreadfull Pyromachy; for Cardans multiplied matter that shall delude the force of the Canon; for Ancontius perfect Arte of fortifieng little townes against the greatest Battery; for the Iliades of all Courtly Stratagems that Antony Riccobonus magnifically promiseth; for his vniuersall Repertory of all Histories, contayning the memorable actes of all ages, all places, and all persons; for the new Calepine of all learned and vulgar languages, written or spoken, whereof a loud rumour was lately published at Basill; for a generall Pandectes of the Lawes and statutes of all nations and commonwealthes in the worlde, largely promised by Doctor Peter Gregorius, but compendiously perfourmed in his *Syntagma Iuris vniuersi*; for sundry such famous volumes of hugy miracles in the cloudes. Do not such Arch-woondermentes of

supernaturall furniture deserue arch-expectation? What should the Sonnes of Arte dreame of the Philosophers Stone, that, like Midas, turneth into golde whatsoeuer it toucheth: or of the soueraine and diuine Quintessence, that, like Esculapius, restoreth health to sicknesse; like Medea, youth to Olde-age; like Apollonius, life to Death? No Philosophers Stone or soueraine Quintessence, howsoeuer preciously precious, equiualent to such diuine woorkes of supererogation! O high-minded Pierce, hadd the traine of your woordes and sentences bene aunswearable to the retinue of your bragges and threates, or the robes of your apparaunce in person suteable to the weedes of your ostentation in tearmes, I would surely haue beene the first that should haue proclaimed you the most singuler Secretary of this language, & the heauenliest creature vnder the Spheres. Sweete M. Ascham, that was a flowing spring of humanity, and worthy Sir Phillip Sidney, that was a florishing spring of nobility, must haue pardoned me: I would directly haue charged my conscience. But you must giue plaine men leaue to vtter their opinion without courtinge: I honor high heads that stand vpon low feet; & haue no great affection to the gay fellows that build vp with their clambring hartes, and pull downe with their vntoward hands. Giue me the man that is meeke in spirit, lofty in zeale, simple in presumption, gallant in endeuor, poore in profession, riche in performance. Some such I knowe; and all such I value highly. They glory not of the golden stone, or the youthfull Quintessence: but Industrie is their goulden Stone; Action their youthfull Quintessence; and Valour their diuine worke of Supererogation. . . .

I will not heere decipher thy vnprinted packet of bawdye and filthy Rymes in the nastiest kind: there is a fitter place for that discouery of thy foulest shame, & the whole

ruffianisme of thy brothell Muse, if she still prostitute her obscene ballatts, and will needes be a younge Curtisan of ould knauery. Yet better a Confuter of Letters then a confounder of manners; and better the dogges-meate of Agrippa or Cattes-meate of Poggius then the swines-meate of Martial or goates-meate of Arretine. Cannot an Italian ribald vomit out the infectious poyson of the world but an Inglishe horrel-lorrel must lick it vp for a restoratiue, and attempt to putrify gentle mindes with the vilest impostumes of lewde corruption? . . .

Euen amorous Sonnets, in the gallantest and sweetest ciuil veine, are but daintyes of a pleasurable witt, or iunkets of a wanton liuer, or buddes of an idle head; whatsoeuer sprowteth farther would be lopped. Petrarckes Inuention is pure Loue it selfe, and Petrarckes Elocution pure Bewty it selfe: his *Laura* was the Daphne of Apollo, not the Thisbe of Pyramus; a delitious Sappho, not a lasciuious Lais; a sauing Hester, not a destroying Helena; a nimph of Diana, not a Curtisan of Venus. Aretines muse was an egregious bawd, & a haggishe witch of Thessalia; but Petrarcks verse, a fine loouer, that learneth of Mercury to exercise his fayrest giftes in a faire subiect, & teacheth Wit to be inamored vpon Beautye, as Quicksiluer embraseth gold, or as vertue affecteth honour, or as Astronomy gazeth vpon heauen, to make Arte more excellent by contemplation of excellentest Nature. Petrarck was a delicate man, and with an elegant iudgement gratiously confined Loue within the limits of Honour, Witt within the boundes of Discretion, Eloquence within the termes of Ciuility; as not many yeares sithence an Inglishe Petrarck did, a singular Gentleman, and a sweete Poet, whose verse singeth as valour might speake, and whose ditty is an Image of the Sun voutsafing to represent his glorious face in a clowde. All posterity honour Petrarck,

that was the harmony of heauen, the lyfe of Poetry, the grace of Arte, a precious tablet of rare conceits, & a curious frame of exquisite workemanship; nothing but neate Witt, and refined Eloquence. Were the amorous muse of my enemy such a liuely Spring of sweetest flowres & such a liuing Haruest of ripest fruits, I would abandon other loues, to dote vpon that most louely muse, and would debase the Dyamant in comparison of that most Dyamant muse. But out vpon ranke & lothsome ribaldry that putrifieth where it should purify, and presumeth to deflowre the most florishinge wittes with whom it consorteth, eyther in familiarity or by fauour! One Ouid was too much for Roome, and one Greene too much for London, but one Nashe more intollerable then both, not bicause his witt is anye thinge comparable, but bicause his will is more outragious. Ferraria could scarcely brooke Manardus, a poysonous Phisitian; Mantua hardly beare Pomponatius, a poysonous Philosopher; Florence more hardly tollerate Macchiauel, a poysonous politician; Venice most hardly endure Arretine, a poysonous ribald: had they liued in absolute Monarchies, they would haue seemed vtterly insupportable. Germany, Denmarke, Sweden, Polony, Boemia, Hungary, Moscouy, are noe soiles of any such wittes; but neither Fraunce, nor Spaine, nor Turky, nor any puissant kingdom in one or other Monarchy of the old or new world could euer abide any such pernicious writers, deprauers of common discipline.

Ingland, since it was Ingland, neuer bred more honorable mindes, more aduenturous hartes, more valorous handes, or more excellent wittes then of late: it is enough for Filly-folly to intoxicate it selfe, though it be not suffered to defyle the lande, which the water enuironeth, the Earth enritcheth, the aier ensweeteneth, and the Heauen blesseth. The bounteous graces of God are sowen thicke, but come vp thin; corruption hath little need to be fostred; wanton-

nesse wilbe a nurse, a bawde, a Poet, a Legend to itselfe; vertue hath much-a-doe to hold out inuiolably her purposed course; Resolution is a forward fellow, and Valour a braue man; but affections are infectious, and appetite must sometime haue his swinge. Were Appetite a loyall subiect to Reason, and Will an affectionate seruant to Wisdom, as Labour is a dutifull vassal to Commodity, and Trauail a flying post to Honour, O heauens, what exploites of worth, or rather what miracles of excellency might be atcheeued in an age of Pollicy & a world of Industry! The date of idle vanityes is expired: awaye with these scribling paltryes. There is an other Sparta in hande that indeede requireth Spartan Temperance, Spartan Frugality, Spartan exercise, Spartan valiancye, Spartan perseuerance, Spartan inuincibility, and hath no wanton leasure for the Comedyes of Athens, nor anye bawdy howers for the songes of Priapus or the rymes of Nashe. Had he begun to Aretinize when Elderton began to ballat, Gascoine to sonnet, Turberuile to madrigal, Drant to versify, or Tarleton to extemporise, some parte of his phantasticall bibble-bables and capricious panges might haue bene tollerated in a greene and wild youth; but the winde is chaunged, & there is a busier pageant vpon the stage. M. Aschams Toxophilus long sithence shot at a fairer marke; and M. Gascoigne himselfe, after some riper experience, was glad to trye other conclusions in the Lowe Countryes, and bestowed an honorable commendation vpon Sir Humfrye Gilbertes gallant discourse of a discouery for a newe passage to the East Indyes. But read the report of the worthy Westerne discoueries, by the said Sir Humfry Gilbert; the report of the braue West-Indian voyage by the conduction of Sir Frauncis Drake; the report of the horrible Septentrionall discoueryes by the trauail of Sir Martin Forbisher; the report of the politique discouery of Virginia by the Colony of Sir Walter

Raleigh; the report of sundry other famous discoueryes & aduentures, published by M. Rychard Hackluit in one volume, a worke of importance; the report of the hoatt wellcom of the terrible Spanishe Armada to the coast of Inglande, that came in glory and went in dishonour; the report of the redoubted voyage into Spaine and Portugall, whence the braue Earle of Essex and the twoo valorous Generals, Sir Iohn Norris and Sir Frauncis Drake, returned with honour; the report of the resolute encounter about the Iles Azores, betwixt the Reuenge of Ingland and an Armada of Spaine, in which encounter braue Sir Richard Grinuile most vigorously & impetuously attempted the extreamest possibilities of valour and fury. For breuity I ouerskipp many excellent Traicts of the same or the like nature: but reade these, and M. William Borrowghes notable discourse of the variation of the compas or magneticall needle, annexed to the new Attractiue of Robert Norman, Hydrographer; vnto which two Ingland in some respectes is as much beholding as Spayne vnto Martin Cortes & Peter de Medina for the Arte of Nauigation: and when you haue obserued the course of Industry, examined the antecedents and consequents of Trauail, compared Inglish and Spanish valour, measured the Forces of both parties, weighed euery circumstance of Aduantage, considered the Meanes of our assurance, and finally found proffit to be our pleasure, prouision our security, labour our honour, warfare our welfare—who of reckoning can spare anye lewde or vaine tyme for corrupt pamphlets, or who of iudgment will not cry away with these paultringe fidle-faddles? . . .

Were some demaunded whether Greenes or Nashes Pamflets were better penned, I beleeue they would aunsweare: Sir Roger Williams 'Discourse of War for Militare Doctrine in Esse, and M. Thomas Digges Stra-

tioticos for Militare Discipline in Esse. And whiles I remember the Princely care of Gelo, a famous Tyrant of Sicill (many tyrants of Sicill were very politique) that commaunded his great horse to be brought into the banquetting house, where other Lordes called for the Harpe, other Knightes for the Waites, I cannot forget the gallant discourse of Horsemanship penned by a rare gentleman, M. Iohn Asteley of the Court, whome I dare intitle our Inglish Xenophon, and maruell not that Pietro Bizzaro, a learned Italian, proposeth him for a perfect Patterne of Castilios Courtier. And, thinking vpon worthy M. Asteley, I cannot ouerpasse the like labour of good M. Thomas Blundeuil without due commendation, whose painefull and skillfull bookes of Horsemanship deserue also to be registred in the Catalogue of Xenophontian woorkes. What should I speake of the two braue Knightes, Musidorus and Pyrocles, combined in one excellent knight, Sir Philip Sidney, at the remembrance of whose woorthy and sweete Vertues my hart melteth? Will you needes haue a written Pallace of Pleasure, or rather a printed Court of Honour? Read the Countesse of Pembrookes Arcadia, a gallant Legendary, full of pleasurable accidents and proffitable discourses; for three thinges especially very notable—for amorous Courting (he was young in yeeres), for sage counselling (he was ripe in iudgement), and for valorous fighting (his soueraine profession was Armes); and delightfull pastime by way of Pastorall exercises may passe for the fourth. He that will Looue, let him learne to looue of him that will teach him to Liue, & furnish him with many pithy and effectuall instructions, delectably interlaced by way of proper descriptions of excellent Personages and common narrations of other notable occurrences, in the veine of Salust, Liuy, Cornelius Tacitus, Iustine, Eutropius, Philip de Comines, Guicciardine, and the most sententious Historians that haue

powdred their stile with the salt of discretion, and seasoned their iudgement with the leauen of experience. There want not some suttle Stratagems of importance, and some politique Secretes of pruitie; and he that would skilfully and brauely manage his weapon with a cunning Fury may finde liuely Precepts in the gallant Examples of his valiantest Duellists; especially of Palladius and Daiphantus, Zelmane and Amphialus, Phalantus and Amphialus, but chiefly of Argalus and Amphialus, Pyrocles and Anaxius, Musidorus and Amphialus, whose lusty combats may seeme Heroicall Monomachies. And that the valor of such redoubted men may appeere the more conspicuous and admirable by comparison and interview of their contraries, smile at the ridiculous encounters of Dametas & Dorus, of Dametas and Clinias; and euer when you thinke vpon Dametas remember the Confuting Champion, more surquidrous then Anaxius, and more absurd then Dametas; and if I should alwayes hereafter call him Dametas, I should fitt him with a name as naturally proper vnto him as his owne. Gallant Gentlemen, you that honor Vertue and would enkindle a noble courage in your mindes to euery excellent purpose, if Homer be not at hand (whome I haue often tearmed the Prince of Poets and the Poet of Princes), you may read his furious Iliads & cunning Odysses in the braue aduentures of Pyrocles and Musidorus; where Pyrocles playeth the dowty fighter, like Hector or Achilles, Musidorus the valiant Captaine, like Pandarus or Diomedes, both the famous errant Knightes, like Æneas or Vlysses. Lord, what would him selfe haue prooued in fine, that was the gentleman of Curtesy, the Esquier of Industry, and the Knight of Valour at those yeeres? Liue euer sweete Booke, the siluer Image of his gentle witt, and the golden Pillar of his noble courage, and euer notify vnto the worlde, that thy Writer was the Secretary of Eloquence, the breath of the Muses, the

hoony-bee of the dayntiest flowers of Witt and Arte, the Pith of morall & intellectuall Vertues, the arme of Bellona in the field, the toung of Suada in the chamber, the spirite of Practise in esse, and the Paragon of Excellency in Print.

And now whiles I consider what a Trompet of Honour Homer hath bene to sturre vp many woorthy Princes, I cannot forget the woorthy Prince that is a Homer to himselfe, a Golden spurre to Nobility, a Scepter to Vertue, a Verdure to the Spring, a Sunne to the day, and hath not onely translated the two diuine Poems of Salustius du Bartas, his heauenly Vrany, and his hellish Furies, but hath readd a most valorous Martial Lecture vnto himselfe in his owne victorious Lepanto, a short, but heroicall, worke, in meeter, but royal meeter, fitt for a Dauids harpe —Lepanto, first the glory of Christendome against the Turke, and now the garland of a soueraine crowne. When young Kings haue such a care of their flourishing Prime, and, like Cato, are ready to render an accompt of their vacant howers, as if Aprill were their Iuly, and May their August, how should gentlemen of yeeres employ the golden talent of their Industry and trauaile? with what feruency, with what vigour, with what zeale, with what incessant and indefatigable endeuour? Phy vpon fooleries: there be honourable woorkes to doe, and notable workes to read. The afore-named Bartas (whome elsewhere I haue stiled the Treasurer of Humanity and the Ieweller of Diuinity), for the highnesse of his subiect and the maiesty of his verse nothing inferiour vnto Dante (whome some Italians preferre before Virgil or Homer), a right inspired and enrauished Poet, full of chosen, graue, profound, venerable, and stately matter, euen in the next Degree to the sacred and reuerend stile of heauenly Diuinity it selfe; in a manner the onely Poet whome Vrany hath voutsafed to Laureate with her owne heauenly hand, and worthy to bee alleadged of Diuines and Counsellours, as Homer is

quoted of Philosophers & Oratours. Many of his solemne verses are oracles; & one Bartas, that is, one French Salomon, more weighty in stern and mighty counsell then the Seauen Sages of Greece. Neuer more beauty in vulgar Languages; but his stile addeth fauour and grace to beauty, and in a goodly Boddy representeth a puissant Soule. How few verses carry such a personage of state? or how few argumentes such a spirite of maiesty? Or where is the diuine instincte that can sufficiently commend such a volume of celestiall inspiration? What a iudgement hath the noble youth, the haruest of the Spring, the sapp of Apollos tree, the diademe of the Muses, that leaueth the enticingest flowers of delite, to reape the fruites of wisdome? . . .

He can raile (what mad Bedlam cannot rail?), but the sauour of his railing is grosely fell, and smelleth noysomly of the pumpe, or a nastier thing. His gayest floorishes are but Gascoignes weedes, or Tarletons trickes, or Greenes crankes, or Marlowes brauados; his iestes but the dregges of common scurrilitie, or the shreds of the theater, or the of-scouring of new Pamflets; his freshest nippitatie but the froth of stale inuentions, long since lothsome to quick tastes; his shrouing ware but lenten stuff, like the old pickle herring; his lustiest verdure but ranke ordure, not to be named in Ciuilitie or Rhetorique; his only Art, & the vengeable drift of his whole cunning, to mangle my sentences, hack my arguments, chopp and change my phrases, wrinch my wordes, and hale euery sillable most extremely, euen to the disioynting and maiming of my whole meaning. O times, O pastimes, O monstrous knauerie! The residue whatsoeuer hath nothing more in it then is vsuallie in euery ruffianly Copesmate that hath bene a Grammar schollar, readeth riotous bookes, hanteth roisterly companie, delighteth in rude scoffing,

& karrieth a desperate minde. Let him be thorowly perused by any indifferent reader whomsoeuer that can iudiciously discerne what is what, and will vprightly censure him according to his skill, without partialitie *pro* or *contra*, and I dare vndertake he will affirme no lesse, vpon the credit of his iudgement, but will definitiuely pronounce him the very Baggage of new writers. I could nominate the person that vnder his hand-writing hath stiled him the cockish challenger, the lewd scribler, the offal of corruptest mouthes, the draff of filthiest pennes, the bag-pudding of fooles, & the very pudding-pittes of the wise or honest. He might haue read of foure notable thinges which many a iollie man weeneth he hath at will, when he hath nothing lesse—much knowledge, sound wisedome, great power, & many frends. . . .

You haue heard some worthie Premisses: behold a braue conclusion.

'Awaite the world, the Tragedy of Wrath:
What next I paint shall tread no common Path':

with an other doubble *Aut*, for a gallant Embleme or a glorious Farewell, *Aut nunquam tentes aut perfice*: Subscribed with his owne hand, *Thomas Nash*. Not expect or attend, but *a wait*: not some few, or the Citty, or the Vniuersity, or this Land, or Europe, but *the World*: not a Comedy, or a Declamation, or an Inuectiue, or a Satire, or any like Elencticall discourse, but a *Tragedy*, and the very *Tragedy of Wrath*, that shall dash the direfullest Tragedies of Seneca, Euripides, or Sophocles out of Conceit. *The next peece*, not of his Rhetorique, or Poetry, but of his *Painture* shall *not treade* the way to Poules, or Westminster, or the Royall Exchange, but at least shall perfect the Venus face of Apelles, or sett the world an euerlasting Sample of inimitable artificiality. Other mens

writing in prose or verse may plodd on as before, but *his Painting* will now *tread a rare Path*, and, by the way, bestow a new Lesson vppon Rhetorique, how to continue a metaphor or vphold an Allegory with aduauntage. *The treading of that rare Path* by that exquisite *Painting* (his woorkes are miracles, and his *Painting* can *treade*, like his dauncing, or frisking, *no common, but a proper Path*), who expecteth not with an attentiue, a seruiceable, a coouetous, a longing expectation? *Await world*, and Apelles tender thy most affectionate deuotion, to learne a wonderfull peece of curious workemanship, when it shall please his next *Painting to tread the path* of his most singular singularity.

AN ADUERTISEMENT FOR PAP-HATCHET, AND MARTIN MAR-PRELATE

Pap-hatchet (for the name of thy good nature is pittyfully growen out of request) thy olde acquaintance in the Sauoy, when young Euphues hatched the egges that his elder freendes laide (surely Euphues was someway a pretty fellow: would God, Lilly had alwaies bene Euphues, and neuer Pap-hatchet), that old acquaintance, now somewhat straungely saluted with a new remembrance, is neither lullabied with thy sweete Papp nor scarre-crowed with thy sower hatchet. And although in selfe-conceit thou knowest not thy selfe, yet in experience thou mightest haue knowen him that can vnbutton thy vanity and vnlase thy folly, but in pitty spareth thy childish simplicity, that in iudgement scorneth thy roisterly brauery, and neuer thought so basely of thee, as since thou began'st to dis-

guise thy witt and disgrace thy arte with ruffianly foolery. He winneth not most abroad that weeneth most at home: and, in my poore fancy, it were not greatly amisse euen for the pertest and gayest companions (notwithstanding whatsoeuer courtly holly-water, or plausible hopes of preferment) to deigne their olde familiars the continuance of their former courtesies, without contempt of the barrainest giftes or empeachment of the meanest persons. The simplest man in a parish is a shrewd foole, and Humanity an Image of Diuinity, that pulleth downe the hawty and setteth vp the meeke. Euphues, it is good to bee merry: and, Lilly, it is good to bee wise: and, Papp-hatchet, it is better to loose a new iest then an olde frend that can cramme the capon with his owne Papp, and hewe downe the woodcocke with his owne hatchet. Bolde men and marchant Venturers haue sometime good lucke; but happhazard hath oftentimes good leaue to beshrow his owne pate, and to imbarke the hardy foole in the famous Shipp of wisemen. I cannot stand nosing of Candlesticks, or euphuing of Similes, *alla Sauoica*: it might happly be done with a trice; but euery man hath not the guift of *Albertus Magnus*; rare birdes are dainty; and they are queint creatures that are priuiledged to create new creatures. When I haue a mint of precious stones, & straunge Foules, beastes, and fishes of mine owne coyning (I could name the party, that in comparison of his owne naturall Inuentions tearmed Pliny a barraine woombe), I may peraduenture blesse you with your owne crosses, & pay you with the vsury of your owne coyne. In the meane while beare with a plaine man, as plaine as olde Accursius, or Barthol. de Saxoferrato, that wil make his Censure good vpon the carrion of thy vnsauory and stincking Pamflett, a fitt booke to be ioyned with Scoggins woorkes, or the French Mirrour of Madnesse. The very Title discouereth the wisedome of the young man; as an olde Fox not long

since bewrayed himselfe by a flap of his taile; and a Lion, they say, is soon descried by his pawe, a Cocke by his combe, a Goat by his bearde, an Asse by his eare, a wiseman by his tale, an artist by his tearmes.

Papp with an hatchet.
Alias,
A Figg for my God-ſonne.
Or
Cracke me this nutt.
Or
A Country Cuffe, that is, a ſound boxe of the eare, & *cetera.*

VVritten by one that dares call a dog a dog.

Imprinted by *Iohn Anoke*, and *Iohn Aſtile*, for the Bayly of Withernam *Cum priuilegio perennitatis*, and are to be ſold at the ſigne of the Crabb-tree Cudgell in Thwackcoate Lane.

What deuise of Martin, or what inuention of any other, could haue sett a fairer Orientall Starre vpon the forhead of that foule libell? Now you see the brande and know the Blackamore by his face, turne ouer the leafe, and, by the wittinesse of his first sentence, aime at the rest. Milke is like milke, hoony is like hoony, Papp like Papp, and hee like himselfe; in the whole a notable ruffler, and in euery part a dowty braggard. 'Roome for a roister: so that's well said: itch a little further for a good fellow:

now haue at you all, my gaffers of the rayling religion: tis I that must take you a pegg lower: Ile make such a splinter runne into your wittes,'—and so foorth in the same lusty tenour. A very artificiall beginning to mooue attention or to procure good liking in the reader, vnlesse he wrote onely to roister-doisters & hacksters, or at-least to iesters and vices. Oh, but in his Preamble to the indifferent reader he approueth himselfe a maruellous, discreet, and modest man of the soberest sort, were he not prouoked in conscience to aunsweare contrary to his nature and manner. You may see how graue men may be made light to defend the Church. I perceiue they were wise that at riotous times, when youth was wantonnest and knauery lustiest, as in Christmas, at Shrofetide, in May, at the ende of Haruest, and by such wilde fittes, created a certaine extraordinary Officer, called a Lord of Misrule, as a needefull gouernour or Dictatour, to set thinges in order and to rule vnruly people; with whome otherwise there were no 'Ho So,' when Reuell-rout beginneth to be a current Autour or Hurly-burly a busy Promotour. *Roome for a roister*, that will bore them thorough the noses with a cushion, that will bung vp their mouthes with a Collyrium of all the stale iestes in a country, that will suffer none to play the Rex but himselfe! For that is the very depth of his plot; and who euer began with more roisterly tearmes, or proceeded with more ruffianly scoffes, or concluded with more haire-brain'd trickes, or wearied his reader with more thread-bare iestes, or tired himselfe with more weather-beaten cranckes? What scholler or gentleman can reade such alehouse and tinkerly stuffe without blushing? They were much deceiued in him at Oxford, and in the Sauoy, when Master Absolon liued, that tooke him onely for a dapper & deft companion, or a pert conceited youth that had gathered together a fewe prettie sentences and could

handsomly helpe young Euphues to an old *Simile*, & neuer thought him any such mighty doer at the sharpe. . . .

When I first tooke a glancing vewe of *Ile, Ile, Ile*, & durst scarsely be so hardy to looke the hatchet in the face, methought his Imagination was hedded like a Saracen, his stomack bellyed like the great Globe of Orontius, & his breath like the blast of Boreas in the great Mapp of Mercator. But when we began to renue our old acquaintance, and to shake the handes of discontinued familiaritie, alas, good Gentleman, his mandillion was ouercropped, his witt paunched like his wiues spindle, his art shanked like a lath, his conceit as lank as a shotten herring, and that same blustering eloquence as bleake and wan as the Picture of a forlorne Loouer. Nothing but pure Mammaday and a fewe morsels of fly-blowne Euphuisme, somewhat nicely minced for puling stomackes! But there be Painters enough, though I goe roundly to worke; and it is my onely purpose to speake to the purpose. I long sithence founde by experience how Dranting of Verses, and Euphuing of sentences, did edifie. But had I consulted with the Prognostication of Iohn Securis, I might peraduenture haue saued some loose endes for afterclapps. Now his nephew Hatchet must be content to accept of such spare intertainment as he findeth. . . .

So he may soone make vp the autenticall Legendary of his *Hundred merrie Tales*, as true, peraduenture, as Lucians true narrations, or the heroicall historyes of Rabelais, or the braue Legendes of Errant Knights, or the egregious prankes of Howleglasse, Frier Rush, Frier Tuck, and such like, or the renowned *Bugiale* of Poggius, Racellus, Luscus, Cincius, and that whole Italian crew of merry Secretaryes in the time of Pope Martin the fift, of whom our worshipfull Clarkes of the whetstone, Doctour

Clare, Doctour Bourne, M. Scoggin, M. Skelton, M. Wakefield, diuers late Historiologers, and haply this new Talefounder himselfe, learned their most wonderfull facultie. *Committing of matrimonie, carousing the sapp of the Church, cutting at the bumme Carde of conscience, besmearing of conscience, spelling of Our Father in a horne booke, the railing Religion,* and a whole sinke of such arrant phrases, sauour whotly of the same Lucianicall breath, & discoouer the minion Secretarie aloofe. 'Faith,' quoth himselfe, 'thou wilt be caught by thy stile.' Indeede, what more easie then to finde the man by his humour, the Midas by his eares, the Calfe by his tongue, the goose by his quill, the Play-maker by his stile, the hatchet by the Pap? Albertus Secrets, Poggius Fables, Bebelius iestes, Scoggins tales, Wakefield's lyes, Parson Darcyes knaueries, Tarletons trickes, Eldertons Ballats, Greenes Pamflets, Euphues Similes, double V^s^ phrases, are too well knowen to go vnknowen. Where the veine of Braggadocio is famous, the arterie of Pappadocio cannot be obscure. Gentlemen, I haue giuen you a tast of his Sugerloafe, that weeneth Sidneyes daintyes, Aschams comfites, Cheekes succats, Smithes conserues, and Mores iunkets, nothing comparable to his pap. Some of you dreamed of Electuaryes of Gemmes, and other precious restoratiues, of the quintessence of Amber and Pearle dissolued, of I wott not what incredible delicacies, but his Gemmemint is not alwayes current, and, as busie men, so painted boxes and gallipots must haue a Vacation. . . .

Would fayre Names were spelles and charmes against fowle Affections! and in some respectes I could wish that Diuinitie would giue Humanitie leaue to conclude otherwise then I must. I could in curtesie be content, and in hope of Reconciliation desirous, to mitigate the harshest sentences and mollifie the hardest termes. But can Truth

lye, or Discretion approoue follie, or Iudgement allowe Vanitie, or Modestie abide Impudencie, or good manners sooth bad speaches? He that penned the abooue-mentioned *Cock-alilly* saw reason to display the Black Artist in his collier coolours, and thought it most vnreasonable to suffer such light and emptie vessels to make such a lowde and prowde rumbling in the ayre. Other had rather heare the learned Nightingale then the Vnlearned Parrat, or tast the wing of a Larke then the legge of a Rauen. The finest wittes preferre the loosest period in M. Ascham or Sir Philip Sidney before the tricksiest page in Euphues or Pap-hatchet. The Muses shame to remember some fresh quaffers of Helicon: and which of the Graces or Vertues blusheth not to name some lustie tospots of Rhetorique? The stately Tragedie scorneth the trifling Comedie; and the trifling Comedie flowteth the new Ruffianisme. Wantonnesse was neuer such a swill-bowle of ribaldry, nor Idlenesse euer such a carowser of knauerie. What honest mynde or Ciuill disposition is not accloied with these noisome & nasty gargarismes? Where is the polished & refined Eloquence that was wont to bedeck and embellish Humanity? Why should learning be a niggard of his excellent gifts, when Impudencie is so prodigall of his rascall trish-trash? What daintie or neat Iudgement beginneth not to hate his old looue, and loath his auncient delight, the Presse, the most honorable Presse, the most villanous Presse? Who smileth not at those, and those trim-trammes of gawdie wittes, how floorishing Wittes, how fading witts? Who laugheth not at *Ile, Ile, Ile,* or gibeth not at some hundred Pibalde fooleryes in that harebrained Declamation? They whom it neerelyest pincheth cannot silence their iust disdaine: and I am forcibly vrged to intimate my whole Censure, though without hatred to the person, or derogation from any his commendable gift, yet not without speciall dislike of the bad matter, and generall

condemnation of the vile forme: the whole Worke, a bald Toy, full of stale and wooden Iestes, and one of the most paltry thinges that euer was published by graduate of either Vniuersitie; good for nothing but to stop mustard pottes, or rub gridirons, or feather rattes neastes, or such like homely vse. For Stationers are already too full of such Realmes and Commonwealthes of Wast-paper, and finde more gaine in the lillypot blanke then in the lillypot Euphued—a day or two fine for sheetes, and afterward good for grosers. . . .

He is of no reading in comparison, that doth not acknowledge euery terme in those Letters to be autenticall English, and allow a thousand other ordinary Pragmaticall termes, more straunge then the straungest in those Letters, yet current at occasion. The ignorant Idiot (for so I will prooue him in very truth) confuteth the artificiall wordes which he neuer read; but the vayne fellow (for so he prooueth himselfe in word and deede) in a phantasticall emulation presumeth to forge a mishapen rablement of absurde and ridiculous wordes, the proper bodges of his new fangled figure, called Foolerisme: such as *Inkhornisme, Absonisme, the most copious Carminist, thy Carminicall art, a Prouiditore of young Schollars, a Corrigidore of incongruitie, a quest of Caualieros, Inamoratos on their workes, a Theologicall Gimpanado, a Dromidote Ergonist, sacrilegiously contaminated, decrepite capacitie, fictionate person, humour vnconuersable, merriments vnexilable, the horrisonant pipe of inueterate antiquitie,* and a number of such Inkhornish phrases, as it were a pan of outlandish collops, the very bowels of his profoundest Schollerisme. For his Eloquence passeth my intelligence, that cleapeth himselfe a *Calimunco*, for pleading his Companions cause in his owne Apology, and me a Pistlepragmos, for defending my frendes in my Letters; and very artificially *interfuseth*

Finicallitie, sillogistrie, disputatiue right, hermaphrodite phrases, declamatorie stiles, censoriall moralizers, vnlineall vsurpers of iudgement, infamizers of vice, new infringement to destitute the inditement, deriding dunstically, banging abominationly, vnhandsoming of diuinityship, absurdifying of phrases, ratifying of truthable and eligible English, a calme dilatement of forward harmefulnesse and backward irefulnesse, and how many sundry dishes of such dainty fritters? rare iunkets and a delicate seruice for him that compiled the most delitious Commentaries *De optimitate triparum.* And what say you Boyes, the flatteringest hope of your moothers, to *a Porch of Panim Pilfryes, Pestred with Prayses.* Dare the pertest or deftest of you hunt the letter, or hauke a metaphor, with such a *Tite-tute-tate*? He weeneth himselfe a speciall penman, as he were the headman of the Pamfletting crew, next, and immediately after Greene: and although he be a harsh Oratour with his toungue (euen the filed Suada of Isocrates wanted the voyce of a Siren or the sound of an Eccho), yet would he seeme as fine a Secretary with his penne as euer was Bembus in Latin, or Macchiauell in Italian, or Gueuara in Spanish, or Amiot in French; and with a confidence preasseth into the rowte of that humorous ranke that affected the reputation of supreme Singularity. But he must craue a little more acquaintance at the hand of Arte, and serue an apprentishood of some nine or ten yeares in the shop of curious Imitation (for his wild Phantasie will not be allowed to maintaine comparison with curious Imitation) before he will be hable to performe the twentith or fortith part of that sufficiency, whereunto the cranknesse of his Imagination already aspireth, as more exquisite then the Atticisme of Isocrates, or more puissant then the fury of Tasso.

But how insolently soeuer grose Ignorance presumeth of itselfe (none so hawty as the basest Bussard), or how desperatly soeuer foole-hardy Ambition aduaunceth his

owne colours (none so foole-hardy as the blindest Hobb), I haue seldome read a more garish and pibald stile in any scribling Inkhornist, or tasted a more vnsauory slaum-paump of wordes and sentences in any sluttish Pamfletter that denounceth not defiance against the rules of Oratory and the directions of the English Secretary: which may here and there stumble vpon some tolerable sentence, neighbourly borrowed, or featly picked out of some fresh Pamflet, but shall neuer finde three sentences togither worth any allowance; and as for a fine or neat period, in the dainty and pithy Veyne of Isocrates or Xenophon, marry, that were a periwig of a Siren, or a wing of the very bird of Arabia, an inestimable relique. Tush, a point: neither curious Hermogenes, nor trim Isocrates, nor stately Demosthenes, are for his tooth, nor painting Tully, nor caruing Cæsar, nor purple-dying Liuy for his humour. It is for Cheeke or Ascham to stand leuelling of Colons, or squaring of Periods, by measure and number: his penne is like a spigot, and the Wine presse a dullard to his Ink-presse. There is a certaine liuely and frisking thing of a queint and capricious nature, as peerlesse as namelesse, and as admirable as singular, that scorneth to be a booke-woorme, or to imitate the excellentest artificiality of the most renowned worke-masters that antiquity affourdeth. The witt of this & that odd Modernist is their owne; & no such minerall of richest Art as prægnant Nature, the plentifullest woombe of rare Inuention, and exquisite Elocution. Whuist Art! and Nature aduaunce thy precious Selfe in thy most gorgeous and magnificent robes! and if thy new descant be so many notes aboue old Æla, Good-now be no niggard of thy sweet accents & heauenly harmony, but teach the antike muses their right Leripup! Desolate Eloquence and forlorne Poetry, thy most humble Suppliants *in forma pauperum*, cladd in mournefull and dreery weedes, as becommeth their lament-

able case, lye prostrate at thy dainty foote, and adore the Idoll-excellency of thy monstrous Singularity! O stately Homer, and lofty Pindarus, whose witt mounteth like Pegasus, whose verse streameth like Nilus, whose Inuention flameth like Ætna, whose Elocution rageth like Sirius, whose passion blustereth like Boreas, whose reason breatheth like Zephirus, whose nature sauoreth like Tempe, and whose Art perfumeth like Paradise: O the mightiest Spirites of couragious Vigour, of whom the delicate Grecian, worthy Roman, and gallant Vulgar Muses learned their shrillest tunes and hyperbolicall notes: O the fiercest Trompets of heroicall Valour, that with the straunge Sympathy of your diuine Fury, and with thossame piercing motions of heauenly inspiration were woont to rauish the affections, and euen to mealt the bowels of brauest mindes; see, see what a woondrous quaime!

But peace, milkemaide, you will still be shaming yourselfe and your bringing-vpp! Hadst thou learned to discerne the fairest face of Eloquence from the fowlest visage of Barbarisme, or the goodlyest frame of Method from the ill-fauoredest shape of Confusion, as thou canst descry the finest flower from the coursest branne, or the sweetest creame from the sowrest whey, peraduenture thou wouldest dote vpon the bewtifull and dainty feature of that naturall stile, that appropriate stile, vpon which himselfe is so deepely inamored. I would it were out of peraduenture: no man more greedy to behold that miraculous Art of emproued Nature. He may malapertly bragge in the vaine ostentation of his owne naturall conceit, and, if it please him, make a Golden Calfe of his woodden stuffe, but shewe me any halfe page without piperly phrases and tinkerly composition, and say I am the simplest Artist that euer looked fayre Rhetorique or sweet Poetry in the face. It is the destiny of our language to be pestred with a rablement of botchers in Print; but what a shamefull

shame is it for him that maketh an Idoll of his owne penne, and raiseth vpp an huge expectation of paper-miracles (as if Hermes Trismegist were newly risen from the dead, and personally mounted vpon Danters Presse), to emprooue himselfe as ranke a bungler in his mightiest worke of Supererogation as the starkest Patch-pannell of them all, or the grosest hammer-drudge in a country. He disdaineth Thomas Delone, Philip Stubs, Robert Armin, and the common Pamfletters of London, euen the painfullest Chroniclers tooe, bicause they stand in his way, hinder his scribling traffique, obscure his resplendishing Fame, or haue not Chronicled him in their Catalogues of the renowned moderne Autors, as he meritoriously meriteth, and may peraduenture be remembred hereafter. But may not Thomas Delone, Philip Stubs, Robert Armin, and the rest of those misused persons more disdainfully disdaine him, bicause he is so much vayner, so little learneder, so nothing eleganter then they; and they so much honester, so little obscurer, so nothing contemptibler then he? Surely, Thomas, it were pollicy to boast lesse with Thomas Delone, or to atchieue more with Thomas More . . .

He that remembreth Humfrey Cole, a Mathematicall Mechanician, Matthew Baker, a ship wright, Iohn Shute, an Architect, Robert Norman, a Nauigatour, William Bourne, a Gunner, Iohn Hester, a Chimist, or any like cunning and subtile Empirique (Cole, Baker, Shute, Norman, Bourne, Hester will be remembred when greater Clarkes shalbe forgotten) is a prowd man if he contemne expert artisans or any sensible industrious Practitioner, howsoeuer Vnlectured in Schooles or Vnlettered in bookes. Euen the Lord Vulcan himselfe, the supposed God of the forge and thunder-smith of the great king Iupiter, tooke the repulse at the handes of the Lady Minerua, whom he would in ardent looue haue taken to wife. Yet what witt

or Pollicy honoreth not Vulcan? and what profounde Mathematician, like Digges, Hariot, or Dee, esteemeth not the pregnant Mechanician? Let euery man in his degree enioy his due; and let the braue enginer, fine Dædalist, skilfull Neptunist, maruelous Vulcanist, and euery Mercuriall occupationer, that is, euery Master of his craft and euery Doctour of his mystery, be respected according to the vttermost extent of his publique seruice or priuate industry. I cannot stand to specific particularities. Our late writers are as they are; and albeit they will not suffer me to ballance them with the honorable Autors of the Romanes, Grecians, and Hebrues, yet I will craue no pardon of the highest to do the simplest no wrong. In Grafton, Holinshed, and Stowe; in Heywood, Tusser, and Gowge; in Gascoigne, Churchyarde, and Floide; in Ritch, Whetstone, and Munday; in Stanyhurst, Fraunce, and Watson; in Kiffin, Warner, and Daniell; in an hundred such vulgar writers many things are commendable, diuers things notable, somethings excellent. Fraunce, Kiffin, Warner, and Daniell, of whom I haue elsewhere more especiall occasion to entreate, may haply finde a thankefull remembraunce of their laudable trauailes. For a polished and garnished stile, fewe go beyonde Cartwright, and the chiefest of his Confuters, furnished writers: and how few may wage comparison with Reinolds, Stubbes, Mulcaster, Norton, Lambert, and the Lord Henry Howarde, whose seuerall writings the siluer file of the workeman recommendeth to the plausible interteinement of the daintiest Censure? Who can deny but the Resolution and Mary Magdalens funerall teares are penned elegantly and pathetically? Scottes discouery of Witchcraft dismasketh sundry egregious impostures, and in certaine principall Chapters & speciall passages hitteth the nayle on the head with a witnesse: howsoeuer I could haue wished he had either dealt somewhat more curteously with Monsieur

Bodine, or confuted him somwhat more effectually. Let me not forget the Apology of sundry proceedings by Iurisdiction Ecclesiasticall, or the Aunswere to an Abstract of certaine Actes of Parliament, Iniunctions, Canons, constitutions, and Synodals Prouinciall: vnlesse I will skip two of the most materiall and most formall Treatises that any English Print hath lately yeelded. Might I respectiuely presume to intimate my slender opinion without flattery or other vndecency, methought euer Doctour Whitgift (whom I name with honour) in his Sermons was pithy, Doctour Hutton profound, Doctour Young piercing to the quick, Doctour Chaderton copious, M. Curtes elegant, M. Wickam sententious, M. Drant curious, M. Deering sweet, Doctor Still sound, Doctor Vnderhill sharpe, Doctor Matthew fine, M. Lawherne gallant, M. Dooue eloquent, M. Andrewes learned, M. Chaderton methodicall, M. Smith patheticall, sundry other in their proper veyne notable, some exquisite, a few singular. Yet which of the best hath all perfections (*nihil omni ex parte beatum*), or which of the meanest hath not some excellency? I cannot read ouer all: I haue seldome heard some (it was neuer my happ to heare Doctour Cooper, Doctour Humfry, or Doctor Fletcher, but in Latin): and I would be loth to iniury or preiudice any that deserueth well, *viua voce*, or by pen. I deeme him wise that maketh choice of the best, auoideth the worst, reapeth fruite by both, despiseth nothing that is not to be abhorred, accepteth of any thing that may be tollerated, interteineth euery thing with commendation, fauour, contentment, or amendment. Lucians asse, Apuleius asse, Agrippas asse, Macchiauels asse, miself since I was dubbed an asse by the only Monarch of asses, haue found sauory herbes amongst nettles, roses amongst prickles, berryes amongst bushes, marrow amongst bones, graine amongst stubble, a little corne amongst a great deal of chaff. The *abiectest naturalls* haue their

specificall properties and some wondrous vertues; and Philosophy will not flatter the *noblest or worthiest naturals* in their venoms or impurities. True Alchimy can alledge much for her Extractions and quintessences; & true Phisique more for her corrections and purgations. In the best I cannot commende the badd, and in the baddest I reiect not the good, but precisely play the Alchimist in seeking pure and sweet balmes in the rankest poisons. A pithy or filed sentence is to be embraced, whosoeuer is the Autor; and for the lest benefit receiued, a good minde will render dutifull thankes, euen to his greatest enemy. . . .

II.

Some I know in *Cambridge*, some in *Oxford*, some in *London*, some *elsewhere*, died in the purest graine of *Art* & *Exercise*; but a few in either, and not many in all, that vndoubtedly can do excellently well, exceedingly well. And were they thoroughly employed according to the possibility of their *Learning* & *Industry*, who can tell what comparison this tongue might wage with the most-floorishing Languages of Europe, or what an inestimable crop of most noble and soueraine fruite the hand of *Art* and the spirite of *Emulation* might reape in a rich and honorable field? Is not the Prose of *Sir Philip Sidney* in his sweet Arcadia the embrodery of finest *Art* and daintiest *Witt*? Or is not the Verse of M. *Spencer* in his braue Faery Queene the Virginall of the diuinest Muses and gentlest Graces? Both delicate Writers, alwayes gallant, often braue, continually delectable, sometimes admirable. What sweeter tast of Suada then the Prose of the One; or what pleasanter relish of the Muses then the Verse of the Other? *Sir Iohn Cheekes* stile wâs the hony-bee of Plato, and M. *Aschams* Period the Syren of Isocrates. His, and

his breath, the balme and spicknard of the delightfullest *Tempe.* You may gesse whose meter I would intitle the harpe of Orpheus, or the dulcimers of Sappho. And which of the Golden Riuers floweth more currently then the siluer streame of the *English Ariosto*? Oh that we had such an *English Tasso*: and oh that the worthy *du Bartas* were so endenisoned! The *sky-coloured Muse* best commendeth her owne heauenly harmony; and who hath sufficiently praysed the hyacinthine & *azure die* but itselfe? What colours of astonishing *Rhetorique* or rauishing *Poetry* more deeply engrained then some of his amazing deuises, the fine dittyes of another *Petrarch*, or the sweet charmes of pure enchantment? What *Dia-margariton* or *Dia-ambre* so comfortatiue or cordiall as *Her Electuary of Gemmes* (for though the furious Tragedy *Antonius* be a bloudy chaire of estate, yet the diuine *Discourse of life and Death* is a restoratiue Electuary of Gemmes), whom I do not expresly name, not because I do not honour *Her* with my hart, but because I would not dishonour *Her* with my pen, whom I admire and cannot blason enough. Some other *Paragons* of bewtifullest Eloquence, and Mirrours of brightest witt, not so much for breuities sake as for like Honours sake, I ouerskip: whose onely imperfection is that they are touched with no imperfection. Yet *Hope* is a *Transcendent* & will not easely be imprisoned or impounded in any Predicament of auncient or moderne *Perfection*: which it may honour with due reuerence, but will not serue with base homage. *Excellency* hath in all ages affected singularity: & *Ambition* how impetuously buckled for the mastery! And albeit *witt* haue a quicke sent that wil not be coosened, and *Iudgement* a sharpe eye that cannot be bleared (the Morning Starre of *Discretion* and the Euening Starre of *Experience* haue a deepe insight in the merites of euery cause), yet still *Hope* hath reason to continue *Hope*, and is a white Angell sent from heauen,

aswell to enkindle Vigorous Zeale as to awaken lasie *Slougth.* A wan or windy Hope is a notable breake-necke vnto itselfe; but the grounded and winged Hope, which I someway perceiue in a few other, no way conceiue in miselfe, is the ascending scale and *Milk-way* to heauenly excellency.

RICHARD CAREW

(*The Excellency of the English Tongue*)

? 1595-6

[The following text is taken from the MS. of Carew's *Epistle on the Excellency of the English Tongue*, preserved in the British Museum (Cott. F. xi, f. 265). It was printed by Camden in the 1614 edition of his *Remains*, with the heading, 'The Excellencie of the English tongue, by R. C. of Anthony Esquire to W. C.']

THE EXCELLENCY OF THE ENGLISH TONGUE. By R. C., Esq.

IT were most fittinge (in respect of discretion) that men should first waye matters with Iudgement, and then encline their affection where the greatest reason swayeth, but ordinarilye it falleth out to the conntrarie; for either by nature or by Custome wee first settle our affection, and then afterwards drawe in those arguments to approue it, which should haue foregone to perswade ourselfes. This preposterous course, seing antiquitye from our Elders and vniuersalitye of our neighbours doe entitle with a right, I hould my selfe the more freely warranted *delirare*, not only *cum Vulgo* but also *cum Sapientibus*, in seekinge out with what Commendacions I may attire our English Languadge, as *Stephanus* hath done for the French and diuers others for theirs.

our
ointes
equisite
a Lan-
uadge.

Locutio is defined *Animi sensus per vocem expressio.* On which grounde I builde these Consequences, that the first and principall point sought in euery Languadge is that wee maye expresse the meaning of our mindes aptlye ech to other; next, that we may doe it readilye without great adoo; then fullye, so as others maye thoroughlie conceiue us; and, last of all, handsomely, that those to whome we speake maye take pleasure in hearing vs: soe as what soeuer tongue will gaine the race of perfection must runn on those fower wheeles, *Significancye, Easynes, Copiousnes,* & *Sweetnes,* of which the two foremost importe a necessitye, the two latter a delight. Nowe if I can proue that our English Langwadge for all or the most is macheable, if not preferable, before any other in vogue at this daye, I hope the assent of any impartiall reeder will passe on my side. And howe I endeuoure to performe the same this short laboure shall manyfest.

ignifi-
ncye.

To beginn then with the significancye, it consisteth in the lettres, wordes, and phrases; and because the Greeke and Latyne haue euer borne awaye the prerogatiue from all other tongues, they shall serue as touchstones to make our tryall by.

etters.

For letters, wee haue Q. more then the Greekes; K. and Y. more then the Latynes; and W. more then them both, or the French and Italians; for those Commone to them and vs, wee haue the vse of the Greek B. in our V: of our B. they haue none; soe haue wee of their Δ. and Θ. in our Th. which in *That* and *Things* expresseth both, but of our D. they haue none. Likewise there Y. wee turne to another vse in yeeld then they cann, and as for C. G. and I. neither Greekes nor Latynes cann make perfitt of them as wee doe in these wordes *ech, edge, ioye.* Trew it is that wee in pronouncing the Latyne vse them alsoe after this manner; but the same in regard of the auncient and right Romayne deliuerye altogether abusiuely, as

maye appeare by Scaliger, Sir Tho. Smith, Lipsius, and others.

Now for significancye of wordes, as euery *indiuiduum* is but one, soe in our natiue Saxon language wee finde many of them suitablye expressed by woordes of one syllable; those consisting of more are borrowed from other nations; the examples are infinite, and therefore I will omitt them, as sufficiently notorious. Woords.

Againe, for expressing our passions, our interiections are very apt and forcible: as findeinge ourselues somewhat agreeued, wee cry *Ah*; yf more deeply, *Oh*; when we pittie, *Alas*; when wee bemone, *Alacke*; neither of them soe effeminate as the Italyane *Deh* or the French *hélas*. In detestation wee saye *Phy*, as if there withall wee should spitt; in attention, *Haa*; i[n] calling, *whowp*; in hallowinge, *wahahowe*: all which (in my eare) seeme to be deriued from the very natures of those seuerall affections. Interiections.

Growe from hence to the Compositione of wordes, and therein our Languadge hath a peculier grace, a like significancy, and more shorte then the Greekes; for example in *Moldwarp* wee expresse the nature of that beast; in *handkercher* the thing and his vse; in *vpright*, that vertue by a *Metaphore*; in *Wisedome* and *Domsdaye*, soe many sentences as wordes; and soe of the rest, for I geeue only a tast that may direct others to a fuller obseruation of what my soddaine memorye cannott represent vnto mee. It may passe allsoe the musters of this significancy that in a manner all the proper names of our people doe importe somewhat which, from a peculier note at first of some one of the Progenitors, in proces of tyme inuested it selfe [in] a possession of the posteritye, euen as wee see the like often befall to those whose fathers bare some vncouth Christian names. Yeat for the most parte wee avoyed the blemishe geuen by the Romanes in like cases, who distinguished the persones by the imperfections Compositione of Wordes.

of their bodyes, from whence grew their *Nasones, Labeones, Frontones, Dentones,* and such like, how euer *Macrobius* coloreth the same. Yea, soe significant are our wordes, that amongst them sundry single ones serue to expresse diuers thinges; as by *Bill* are ment a weapon, a scroll, and a birdes beake; by *Graue,* sober, a tombe, and to carue; and by *light, marcke, match, file, sore,* & *praye,* the semblable.

Equiuoca.

Againe, some sentences in the same wordes carrye a diuers sence, as *till, desert, grounde*; some signifie one thing forward, and another backward, as *Feeler I was no fo: of on saw I releef.* Some signifie one self thinge forward and backward, as *Ded deemed, I ioi, reuiuer,* & this, *eye did Madam erre.* Some carry a conntrarye sence backwarde to that they did foreward, as *I did leuell ere veu; veu ere leuell did I.*

Some deliuer a conntrarye sence by the diuers pointing, as the Epistle in Doctor Wilsons Rethorick, and many such like, which a curious head, leasure, & tyme might picke out.

Prouerbs.

Neither maye I omitt the significancy of our prouerbes, concise in wordes but plentifull in number, breiffly pointing at many great matters, and vnder the circuite of a few syllables prescribing soundry auayleable caueats.

Metaphors.

Lastly our speech doth not consist only of wordes, but in a sorte euen of deedes, as when wee expresse a matter by Metaphors, wherin the English is very frutefull and forcible.

Easynes to be learned.

And soe much for the significancye of our Language in meaning; nowe for his easynes in learning. The same shooteth oute into towe braunches: the one of others learning our languadge, the second of our learning that of others. For the first the most parte of our wordes (as I haue touched) are Monasillables, and soe the fewer in tale, and the sooner reduced to memorye; neither are we loden

with those declensions, flexions, and variations, which are incydent to many other tongues, but a few articles gouerne all our verbes and Nownes, and so wee neede a very shorte grammar.

To learne others.

For easye learning of other Languages by ours, lett these serue as prooffes; there are many Italyan wordes which the Frenchmen cannot pronounce, as *accio*, for which hee sayes *ashio*; many of the French which the Italian cann hardly come awaye withall, as *bayller*, *chagrin*, *postillon*; many in ours which neither of them cann vtter, as *Hedge*, *Water*. Soe that a straunger though neuer soe long conuersant amongest vs carryeth euermore a watch woorde vppon his tongue to descrye him by, but turne ann Inglishmann at any time of his age into what countrey soeuer, alloweing him dew respite, and you shall see him perfitt soe well that the Imitation of his vtteraunce will in nothing differ from the patterne of that natiue Languadge: the wante of which towardnes cost the Ephramites their skynnes. Neither doth this crosse my former assertione of others easye learninge our Language, for I meane of the sence & wordes & not touching the pronounciation.

Copiousnes.

But I must nowe enter into the lardge feild of our tongues copiousnes, and perhapps longe wander vp and downe without finding easye way off issew, and yeat leaue many partes thereof vnsuruayed.

Borrowing of others.

My first prooff of our plentye I borowe from the choice which is geuen vs by the vse of diuers languages. The grounde of our owne apperteyneth to the old Saxon, little differing from the present low Dutch, because they more then any of their neighbours haue hitherto preserued that speach from any greate forrayne mixture. Heer amongst, the Brittons haue left diuers of their wordes entersowed, as it weere therby making a continuall clayme to their Auncient possession. Wee maye also trace the footestepps of the Danish bytter (though not longe duringe) soueraignty

in these partes: and the Romaine also imparted vnto vs of his Latyne riches with noe sparing hand. Our neighbours the French haue been likewise contented wee should take vp by retayle aswell their tearmes and their fashions, or rather wee retaine yeat but some remnant of that which once heere bare all the swaye, and daylye renewe the store. Soe haue our Italyan trauilers brought vs acquainted with their sweet relished phrases which (soe their condicions crept not in withall) weere the better tollerable. Yea euen wee seeke to make our good of our late Spanish enymye, and feare as little the hurt of his tongue as the dinte of his sworde. Seeing then wee borowe (and that not shamfully) from the Dutch, the Breton, the Romaine, the Dane, the French, Italyan, & Spanyard, how cann our stocke bee other then exceeding plentifull? It may be obiected that such patching maketh Littletons hotchpot of our tongue, and in effect bringes the same rather to a Babellish confusione then any one entyre Language.

Answere. It may againe be aunswered that this thefte of woordes is not lesse warranted by the priuilidge of a prescription, auncient and Vniuersall, then was that of goodes amongst the *Lacedemonians* by an enacted lawe, for soe the Greekes robbed the Hebrues, the Latynes the Greekes (which filching *Cicero* with a large discourse in his booke *de Oratore* defendeth), and (in a manner) all other Christiane Nations the Latyne. For Euidence hereof, many sentences may be produced consistinge of wordes that in their oryginall are Latyne, and yeat (saue some smale varyaunce in their termynacions) fall out all one with the French, Dutch, and English, as *Ley Ceremonious persons, offer prelate preest, cleere Candels flame, in Temples Cloistre, in Cholerick Temperature, clisters purgation is pestilent, pulers preseruatiue, subtill factors, aduocates, Notaries, practize, Papers, libells, Registers, Regents, Maiesty in pallace hath triumphant Throne, Regiments, Scepter, Vassalls supplica-*

Words one in diuers Languages.

tion, and such like. Then euen as the Italyane Potentates of those dayes make noe difference in their pedigrees and successions betwne the bed lawfull or vnlawfull, where either an vtter wante or a better deserte doth force or entice them thervnto, so maye the consenting practise of these nations passe for a Iust Legitimation of those bastard wordes which either necessitye or conueniencye hath induced them to adopt.

Encrease in borrowinge.

For our owne partes, we imploye the borrowed ware soe far to our aduantag that we raise a profitt of new woordes from the same stock, which yeat in their owne countrey are not merchantable; for example, wee deduce diuers wordes from the Latine which in the Latyne self cannot be yealded, as the verbes To *Aire*, *beard*, *cross*, *flame*, and their deriuations *ayring*, *ayred*, *bearder*, *bearding*, *bearded*, &c., as alsoe *closer*, *closely*, *closnes*, *glosingely*, *hourely*, *maiesticall*, *maiestically*. In like sort wee graffe vppon Frentch wordes those buddes to which that soyle affordeth noe growth, as *cheiffly*, *faulty*, *slauish*, *precisenes*.

Of Latyne in the French.

Diuers wordes alsoe wee deriue out of the Latyne at second hand by the French and make good English, though both Latyne and French haue their handes closed in that behalfe, as verbes *Praye*, *Pointe*, *Paze*, *Prest*, *Rent*, &c., and alsoe in the aduerbs *carpingly*, *currantly*, *actiuely*, *colourably*, &c.

Defects of other tongues.

Againe, in other languages there fall out defectes while they want meanes to deliuer that which another tongue expresseth, as (by *Ciceroes* obseruation) you cannot interpret *ineptus* (vnapt, vnfitt, vntoward) in Greek, neither *Porcus*, *Capo*, *Vervex*, a barrow hogg, a Capon, a wether, as Cuiacius noteth *ad Tit. de verb. signif.*; noe more cann you *to stand* in *French*, *to Tye* in *Cornish*, nor *Knaue* in *Latyne*, for *Nebulo* is a cloudye fellow, or in *Irishe*; whereas you see our abillitye extendeth hereunto. Moreouer, the Copiousnes of our Languadge appeareth in the diuersitye

of our dialectes, for wee haue court, and wee haue countrye Englishe, wee haue Northern and Southerne, grosse and ordinary, which differ ech from other, not only in the terminacions, but alsoe in many wordes, termes, and phrases, and expresse the same thinges in diuers sortes, yeat all right Englishe alike; neither cann any tongue (as I am perswaded) deliuer a matter with more varietye then ours, both plainely and by prouerbes and Metaphors; for example, when wee would be rid of one, wee vse to saye *Bee going, trudge, pack, be faring, hence, awaye, shifte,* and, by circumlocution, *rather your roome then your companye, Letts see your backe, com againe when I bid you, when you are called, sent for, intreated, willed, desiered, inuited, spare vs your place, another in your steede, a shipp of salte for you, saue your credite, you are next the doore, the doore is open for you, theres noe bodye holdes you, no bodie teares your sleeue,* &c. Likewise this worde *fortis* wee maye *synnonomize* after all these fashions, stoute, hardye, valiaunt, doughtye, Couragious, aduenturous, &c.

All sortes of Verses.

And in a worde, to close vp these prooffes of our copiousnes, looke into our Imitacione of all sortes of verses affoorded by any other Language, and you shall finde that *S^r. Phillip Sidney, M^r. Stanihurst,* and diuers moe, haue made vse how farre wee are within compasse of a fore imagined impossibility in that behalff.

Sweetnes.

I com nowe to the last and sweetest point of the sweetnes of our tongue, which shall appeare the more plainelye yf, like towe Turkeyes, or the *London Drapers,* wee match it with our neighboures. The Italyan is pleasante but without synewes, as to stillye fleeting water; the French delicate but ouer nice, as a woman scarce daring to open her lipps for feare of marring her countenaunce; the Spanishe maiesticall, but fullsome, running to much on the O, and terrible like the deuill in a playe; the Dutch manlike, but withall very harshe, as one ready at euery

Compared with others.

worde to picke a quarrell. Now wee in borrowing from them geue the strength of Consonantes to the Italyan, the full sounde of wordes to the French, the varietye of termi[na]cions to the Spanish, and the mollifieinge of more vowells to the Dutch; and soe (like bees) gather the honye of their good properties and leaue the dreggs to themselfes. And thus, when substantiallnes combyneth with delightfullnes, fullnes with fynes, seemelynes with portlynes, and courrantnes with staydnes, howe canne the languadge which consisteth of all these sounde other then most full of sweetnes? Againe, the longe wordes that wee borrowe, being intermingled with the shorte of our owne store, make vp a perfitt harmonye, by culling from out which mixture (with Iudgment) yow maye frame your speech according to the matter you must worke on, maiesticall, pleasaunte, delicate, or manly, more or lesse, in what sorte you please. Adde hereunto, that what soeuer grace any other Languadge carryeth, in Verse or Prose, in Tropes or Metaphors, in Ecchoes or Agnominations, they maye all be liuely and exactly represented in ours. Will you haue *Platos* vayne? reede Sir *Thomas Smith*: *The Ionick?* Sir *Tho. Moor*: *Ciceros? Aschame*: *Varro? Chaucer*: *Demosthenes?* Sir *Iohn Cheeke* (who in his treatise to the Rebells hath comprised all the figures of Rhetorick). Will yow reade Virgill? take the *Earll of Surrey*: *Catullus? Shakespheare,* and *Marlowes* fragment: *Ouid? Daniell*: *Lucane? Spencer*: *Martiall?* Sir *Iohn Dauis* and others. Will yow haue all in all for prose and verse? take the miracle of our age Sir *Philip Sydney.*

Mixture.

Verse and Prose.

And thus, if myne owne Eyes be not blinded by affection, I haue made yours to see that the most renowned of other nations haue laied vp, as in Treasure, and entrusted the *Diuisos orbe Britannos* with the rarest Iewelles of their lipps perfections, whether yow respect the vnderstanding for significancye, or the memorye for Easynes, or the

conceipt for plentifullnes, or the Eare for pleasauntnes: wherin if inough be diliuered, to add more then Inough weare superfluous; if to little, I leaue it to bee supplied by better stored capacityes; if ought amisse, I submitte the same to the disciplyne of euery able and Impartiall censurer.

GEORGE CHAPMAN

(I. PREFACE TO *SEAVEN BOOKES OF THE ILIADES*
II. DEDICATION, ETC. OF *ACHILLES SHIELD*)

1598

I.

[This Preface 'To the Reader' appeared in the first draft of Chapman's translation of Homer, entitled *Seauen Bookes of the Iliades of Homere* (i. e. Bks. i, ii, vii–xi), which was printed by John Windet in 1598. The text is that of the copy in the Bodleian Library (Mason, H. 70).]

TO THE READER

I SUPPOSE you to be no meare reader, since you intend to reade Homer; and therefore wish I may walke free from their common obiections that can onelie reade. When my disorder is seene, that fower bookes are skipped (as a man would say) and yet the Poem continued according to the Greeke alphabet, viz. that for *Gamma* which is *Eta*, and that for *Delta* which is *Theta*, &c., then comes my knowne condemnation more greeuously then charitie would wish; especially with those that, hauing no eyes to peruse and iudge of the translation and whatsoeuer the maine matter deserues, will be glad to shew they see something, in finding fault with that forme; and peraduenture finde their queasie stomackes turnde at whatsoeuer is merited in the much laborde worke.

But to him that is mȯre then a reader I write; and so consequentlie to him that will disdaine those easie ob-

iections which euery speller may put together. The worth of a skilfull and worthy translator is to obserue the sentences, figures, and formes of speech proposed in his author, his true sence and height, and to adorne them with figures and formes of oration fitted to the originall in the same tongue to which they are translated: and these things I would gladlie haue made the questions of whatsoeuer my labors haue deserued; not slighted with the slight disorder of some bookes, which if I can put in as fit place hereafter without checke to your due vnderstanding and course of the Poet, then is their easie obiection answerde, that, I expect, wilbe drounde in the fome of their eager and emptie spleanes. For likelyhood of which habilitie I haue good authoritie that the bookes were not set together by Homer himselfe: Licurgus first bringing them out of Ionia in Greece as an entire Poeme, before whose time his verses were sung disseuered into many workes, one calde the battaile fought at the fleete, another Doloniades, another Agamemnon's fortitude, another the Catalogue of ships, another Patroclus death, another Hectors redemption, an other the funerall games, &c. All which are the titles of seuerall Iliades: and, if those were ordred by others, why may not I chalenge as much authority, reseruing the right of my president? But to omit what I can say further for reason to my present alteration, in the next edition, when they come out by the dosen, I will reserue the ancient and common receiued forme: in the meane time do me the encouragement to confer that which I haue translated with the same in Homer, and, according to the worth of that, let this first edition passe: so shall you do me but lawfull fauor, and make me take paines to giue you this Emperor of all wisedome (for so Plato will allow him) in your owne language, which will more honor it (if my part bee worthily discharged) then anything else can be translated. In the meane time peruse the pamphlet

of errors in the impression, and helpe to point the rest with your iudgement; wherein, and in purchase of the whole seauen, if you be quicke and acceptiue, you shall in the next edition haue the life of Homer, a table, a prettie comment, true printing, the due praise of your mother tongue aboue all others for Poesie: and such demonstratiue proofe of our english wits aboue beyond sea-muses (if we would vse them), that a proficient wit should be the better to heare it.

II.

[Later in 1598 Chapman published a further instalment of his translation of Homer, entitled *Achilles Shield, Translated as the other seuen Bookes of Homer out of his eighteenth booke of Iliades* (also printed by John Windet). The following passages constitute the prefatory matter, which, like the Note 'To the Reader' given above, were not reprinted in the later and more complete issues of 1609 and 1611. The text is that of the British Museum copy (C. 39, d. 54), which is bound up with a copy of the *Seaven Bookes* and was once in the possession of Ben Jonson.]

TO THE MOST HONORED EARLE, *EARLE MARSHALL.*

Spondanus, one of the most desertfull Commentars of Homer, cals all sorts of all men learned to be iudicial beholders of this more then Artificiall and no lesse then *Diuine Rapture*, then which nothing can be imagined more full of soule and humaine extraction: for what is here prefigurde by our miraculous Artist but the vniuersall world, which, being so spatious and almost vnmeasurable, one circlet of a Shield representes and imbraceth? In it heauen turnes, the starres shine, the earth is enflowered, the sea swelles and rageth, Citties are built, one in the happinesse and sweetnesse of peace, the other in open

warre & the terrors of ambush, &c.: and all these so liuely proposde, as not without reason many in times past haue belieued that all these thinges haue in them a kind of voluntarie motion, euen as those Tripods of *Vulcan* and that *Dedalian Venus* αὐτοκίνητος. Nor can I be resolu'd that their opinions be sufficiently refuted by *Aristonicus*, for so are all things here described by our diuinest Poet as if they consisted not of hard and solid mettals, but of a truely liuing and mouing soule. The ground of his inuention he shews out of *Eustathius*, intending by the Orbiguitie of the Shield the roundnesse of the world, by the foure mettalles the foure elementes, viz. by gold fire, by brasse earth, for the hardnes, by Tinne water, for the softnes and inclination to fluxure, by siluer Aire, for the grosnes & obscuritie of the mettal before it be refind. That which he calls ἄντυγα τρίπλακα μαρμαρέην he vnderstands the Zodiack, which is said to be triple for the latitude it contains, & shining by reason of the perpetual course of the Sun made in that circle, by ἀργύρεον τελαμῶνα the Axletree, about which heauen hath his motion, &c. Nor do I deny (saith *Spondanus*) *Eneas* arms to be forged with an exceeding height of wit by *Virgil*, but comparde with these of *Homer* they are nothing. And this is it (most honorde) that maketh me thus sodainely translate this Shield of *Achilles*, for since my publication of the other seuen bookes comparison hath beene made betweene *Virgill* and *Homer*; who can be comparde in nothing with more decysall & cutting of all argument then in these two Shieldes. And whosoeuer shall reade *Homer* throughly and worthily will know the question comes from a superficiall and too vnripe a reader; for *Homers* Poems were writ from a free furie, an absolute & full soule, *Virgils* out of a courtly, laborious, and altogether imitatorie spirit: not a *Simile* hee hath but is *Homers*: not an inuention, person, or disposition, but is wholly or originally built

vpon *Homericall* foundations, and in many places hath the verie wordes *Homer* vseth: besides, where *Virgill* hath had no more plentifull and liberall a wit then to frame twelue imperfect bookes of the troubles and trauailes of *Æneas, Homer* hath of as little subiect finisht eight & fortie perfect. And that the triuiall obiection may be answerd, that not the number of bookes but the nature and excellence of the worke commends it—all *Homers* bookes are such as haue beene presidents euer since of all sortes of Poems; imitating none, nor euer worthily imitated of any. Yet would I not be thought so ill created as to bee a malicious detracter of so admired a Poet as *Virgill*, but a true iustifier of *Homer*, who must not bee read for a few lynes with leaues turned ouer *caprichiously* in dismembred fractions, but throughout, the whole drift, weight, & height of his workes set before the apprensiue eyes of his iudge: the maiestie he enthrones and the spirit he infuseth into the scope of his worke so farre outshining *Virgill*, that his skirmishes are but meere scramblings of boyes to *Homers*; the silken body of *Virgils* muse curiously drest in guilt and embrodered siluer, but *Homers* in plaine massie and vnualued gold; not onely all learning, gouernment, and wisedome being deduc't as from a bottomlesse fountaine from him, but all wit, elegancie, disposition, and iudgement. Ὅμηρος πρῶτος διδάσκαλος καὶ ἡγεμών, &c.; *Homer* (saith *Plato*) was the Prince and maister of all prayses and vertues, the Emperour of wise men, an host of men against any deprauer in any principle he held. All the ancient and lately learned haue had him in equall estimation. And for anie to be now contrarilie affected, it must needes proceed from a meere wantonnesse of witte, an Idle vnthriftie spirit, wilfull because they may choose whether they will think otherwise or not, & haue power and fortune enough to liue like true men without truth; or els they must presume of puritanicall inspiration, to haue

that with delicacie & squemishnes, which others with as good means, ten times more time, and ten thousand times more labour could neuer conceiue. But some will conuey their imperfections vnder his Greeke Shield, and from thence bestowe bitter arrowes against the traduction, affirming their want of admiration grows from defect of our language, not able to expresse the coppie and elegancie of the originall. But this easie and traditionall pretext hides them not enough: for how full of height and roundnesse soeuer Greeke be aboue English, yet is there no depth of conceipt triumphing in it, but, as in a meere admirer it may bee imagined, so in a sufficient translator it may be exprest. And *Homer* that hath his chiefe holinesse of estimation for matter and instruction would scorne to haue his supreame worthinesse glosing in his courtshippe and priuiledge of tongue. And if Italian, French, & Spanish haue not made it daintie, nor thought it any presumption to turne him into their languages, but a fit and honorable labour and (in respect of their countries profit and their poesies credit) almost necessarie, what curious, proud, and poore shamefastnesse should let an English muse to traduce him, when the language she workes withall is more conformable, fluent, and expressiue; which I would your Lordship would commaunde mee to proue against all our whippers of their owne complement in their countries dialect.

O what peeuish ingratitude and most vnreasonable scorne of our selues we commit to bee so extrauagant and forreignely witted to honour and imitate that in a strange tongue which wee condemne and contemne in our natiue! For if the substance of the Poets will be exprest, and his sentence and sence rendred with truth and elocution, hee that takes iudiciall pleasure in him in Greeke cannot beare so rough a browe to him in English, to entombe his acceptance in austeritie.

But thou soule-blind Scalliger, that neuer hadst anything but place, time, and termes to paint thy proficiencie in learning, nor euer writest any thing of thine owne impotent braine but thy onely impalsied diminuation of *Homer* (which I may sweare was the absolute inspiration of thine owne ridiculous Genius), neuer didst thou more palpably damn thy drossy spirit in al thy all-countries-exploded filcheries, which are so grossely illiterate that no man will vouchsafe their refutation, then in thy sencelesse reprehensions of *Homer*, whose spirit flew asmuch aboue thy groueling capacitie as heauen moues aboue *Barathrum*. But as none will vouchsafe repetition nor answere of thy other vnmanly fooleries, no more will I of these, my Epistle being too tedious to your Lo. besides, and no mans iudgement seruing better (if your high affaires could admit their deligent perusall) then your Lo. to refute and reiect him. But alas *Homer* is not now to bee lift vp by my weake arme, more then he is now deprest by more feeble oppositions. If any feele not their conceiptes so rauisht with the eminent beauties of his ascentiall muse, as the greatest men of all sorts and of all ages haue beene. Their most modest course is (vnlesse they will be powerfully insolent) to ascribe the defect to their apprehension, because they read him but sleightly, not in his surmised frugalitie of obiect, that really and most feastfully powres out himselfe in right diuine occasion. But the chiefe and vnanswerable meane to his generall and iust acceptance must be your Lo. high and of all men expected president, without which hee must, like a poore snayle, pull in his English hornes, that out of all other languages (in regard of the countries affection, and royaltie of his Patrones) hath appeared like an Angell from a clowde, or the world out of Chaos, when no language can make comparison of him with ours if he be worthily conuerted; wherein before he should haue beene borne so lame and defectiue, as the

French midwife hath brought him forth, he had neuer made question how your Lo. would accept him: and yet haue two of their Kings embraced him as a wealthy ornament to their studies, and the main battayle of their armies.

If then your bountie would do me but the grace to conferre my vnhappie labours with theirs so successfull & commended (your iudgement seruing you much better then your leysure, & yet your leisure in thinges honourable being to bee inforced by your iudgement), no malitious & dishonorable whisperer that comes armed with an army of authority and state against harmeles & armeles vertue could wrest your wonted impression so much from it self to reiect (with imitation of tiranous contempt) any affection so zealous & able in this kind to honor your estate as mine. Onely kings & princes haue been *Homers* Patrones, amongst whom *Ptolomie* wold say, he that had sleight handes to entertayne *Homer* had as sleight braines to rule his common wealth. And an vsuall seueritie he vsed, but a most rationall (how precise and ridiculous soeuer it may seeme to men made of ridiculous matter), that, in reuerence of the pietie and perfect humanitie he taught, whosoeuer writ or committed any proud detraction against *Homer* (as euen so much a man wanted not his malitious deprauers), hee put him with torments to extreamest death. O high and magically raysed prospect, from whence a true eye may see meanes to the absolute redresse, or much to be wished extenuation, of all the vnmanly degeneracies now tyranysing amongst vs! For if that which teacheth happinesse and hath vnpainefull corosiues in it (being entertayned and obserued) to eate out the hart of that raging vlcer, which like a *Lernean Fen* of corruption furnaceth the vniuersall sighes and complaintes of this transposed world, were seriously and as with armed garrisons defended and hartned, that which engenders & disperseth

that wilfull pestilence would bee purged and extirpate; but that which teacheth being ouerturned, that which is taught is consequently subiect to euersion; and if the honour, happinesse, and preseruation of true humanitie consist in obseruing the lawes fit for mans dignitie, and that the elaborate prescription of those lawes must of necessitie be authorised, fauoured, and defended before any obseruations can succeed, is it vnreasonable to punish the contempt of that mouing prescription with one mans death, when at the heeles of it followes common neglect of obseruation, and in the necke of it an vniuersall ruine? This my Lord I enforce only to interrupt in others that may reade this vnsauorie stuffe, the too open mouthed damnation of royall & vertuous *Ptolomies* seueritie. For to digest, transforme, and sweat a mans soule into rules and attractions to societie, such as are fashioned and tempered with her exact and long laborde contention of studie, in which she tosseth with her impertiall discourse before her all cause of fantasticall obiections and reproofes, and without which she were as wise as the greatest number of detractors that shall presume to censure her, and yet by their flash and insolent castigations to bee sleighted and turnde ouer their miserably vaine tongues in an instant, is an iniurie worthy no lesse penaltie then *Ptolomie* inflicted. To take away the heeles of which running prophanation, I hope your Lo. honourable countenance will be as the Vnicorns horne, to leade the way to English *Homers* yet poysoned fountaine: for till that fauour be vouchsafed, the herde will neuer drinke, since the venemous galles of their fellowes haue infected it, whom alas I pittie. Thus confidently affirming your name and dignities shall neuer bee more honored in a poore booke then in English *Homer*, I cease to afflict your Lordshippe with my tedious dedicatories, and to still sacred *Homers* spirit through a language so fitte and so fauourles;

humbly presenting your Achilleian vertues with *Achilles* Shield; wishing as it is much more admirable and diuine, so it were as many times more rich then the Shield the Cardinall pawned at Anwerp.

By him that wisheth all the degrees of iudgement, and honour, to attend your deserts to the highest.

GEORGE CHAPMAN.

TO THE VNDERSTANDER

You are not euery bodie; to you (as to one of my very few friends) I may be bold to vtter my minde; nor is it more empaire to an honest and absolute mans sufficiencie to haue few friendes then to an Homericall Poeme to haue few commenders, for neyther doe common dispositions keepe fitte or plausible consort with iudiciall and simple honestie, nor are idle capacities comprehensible of an elaborate Poeme. My Epistle dedicatorie before my seuen bookes is accounted darke and too much laboured: for the darkenes there is nothing good or bad, hard or softe, darke or perspicuous but in respect, & in respect of mens light, sleight, or enuious perusalles (to whose loose capacities any worke worthily composde is knit with a riddle); & that the stile is materiall, flowing & not ranke, it may perhaps seeme darke to ranke riders or readers that haue no more soules then burbolts: but to your comprehension, & in it selfe, I know it is not. For the affected labour bestowed in it, I protest two morninges both ended it and the Readers Epistle: but the truth is, my desire & strange disposition in all thinges I write is to set downe vncommon and most profitable coherents for the time, yet further remoued from abhorde affectation then from the most popular and cold disgestion. And I euer imagine that as

Italian & French Poems to our studious linguistes win much of their discountryed affection, as well because the vnderstanding of forreigne tongues is sweete to their apprehension as that the matter & inuention is pleasing, so my farre fetcht and, as it were, beyond sea manner of writing, if they would take as much paines for their poore countrimen as for a proud stranger when they once vnderstand it, should be much more gracious to their choice conceiptes then a discourse that fals naked before them, and hath nothing but what mixeth it selfe with ordinarie table talke. For my varietie of new wordes, I haue none Inckepot I am sure you know, but such as I giue pasport with such authoritie, so significant and not ill sounding, that if my countrey language were an usurer, or a man of this age speaking it, hee would thanke mee for enriching him. Why, alas, will my young mayster the reader affect nothing common, and yet like nothing extraordinarie? Swaggering is a new worde amongst them, and rounde headed custome giues it priuiledge with much imitation, being created as it were by a naturall *Prosopopeia* without etimologie or deriuation; and why may not an elegancie authentically deriued, & as I may say of the vpper house, bee entertayned as well in their lower consultation with authoritie of Arte as their owne forgeries lickt up by nature? All tongues haue inricht themselues from their originall (onely the Hebrew & Greeke which are not spoken amongst vs) with good neighbourly borrowing, and as with infusion of fresh ayre and nourishment of newe blood in their still growing bodies, & why may not ours? *Chaucer* (by whom we will needes authorise our true english) had more newe wordes for his time then any man needes to deuise now. And therefore for currant wits to crie from standing braines, like a broode of Frogs from a ditch, to haue the ceaselesse flowing riuer of our tongue turnde into their Frogpoole, is a song farre from

their arrogation of sweetnes, & a sin wold soone bring the plague of barbarisme amongst vs; which in faith needes not bee hastned with defences of his ignorant furtherers, since it comes with mealemouth'd toleration too sauagely vpon vs. To be short, since I had the reward of my labours in their consummation, and the chiefe pleasure of them in mine owne profit, no young preiudicate or castigatorie braine hath reason to thinke I stande trembling vnder the ayry stroke of his feuerie censure, or that I did euer expect any flowing applause from his drie fingers; but the satisfaction and delight that might probably redound to euerie true louer of vertue I set in the seat of mine owne profit and contentment; and if there be any one in whome this successe is enflowred, a few sprigges of it shall bee my garland. Since then this neuer equald Poet is to bee vnderstood, and so full of gouernment and direction to all estates, sterne anger and the affrights of warre bearing the mayne face of his subiect, soldiers shall neuer spende their idle howres more profitablie then with his studious and industrious perusall; in whose honors his deserts are infinite. Counsellors haue neuer better oracles then his lines: fathers haue no morales so profitable for their children as his counsailes; nor shal they euer giue them more honord iniunctions then to learne *Homer* without book, that, being continually conuersant in him, his height may descend to their capacities, and his substance proue their worthiest riches. Husbands, wiues, louers, friends, and allies hauing in him mirrors for all their duties; all sortes of which concourse and societie in other more happy ages haue in steed of sonnets & lasciuious ballades sung his Iliades. Let the length of the verse neuer discourage your endeuours; for talke our quidditicall Italianistes of what proportion soeuer their strooting lips affect, vnlesse it be in these coopplets into which I haue hastely translated this Shield, they shall neuer doe *Homer*

so much right, in any octaues, canzons, canzonets, or with whatsoeuer fustian Epigraphes they shall entitle their measures. Onely the extreame false printing troubles my conscience, for feare of your deserued discouragement in the empaire of our Poets sweetnes; whose generall diuinitie of spirit, clad in my willing labours (enuious of none nor detracting any), I commit to your good nature and solid capacitie.

FRANCIS MERES

(*PALLADIS TAMIA*)

1598

[Meres's *Palladis Tamia, Wits Treasury* was printed in 1598 as the second instalment of the series of literary commonplace-books beginning with Bodenham's *Politeuphuia, Wits Commonwealth* (See Notes).

The earlier sections of Meres's work are concerned with topics of religion, morality, conduct, and the like; and the later with music, painting, and other subjects. The sections immediately preceding the passages here printed deal with *Bookes* (ff. 265-6), *Reading of bookes* (ff. 266-7), *A choice is to be had in Reading of Bookes* (ff. 267-8), *The vse of reading many bookes* (f. 268), and *Philosophie and Philosophers* (ff. 268-75). Of Books he says, 'As cherries be fulsome when they bee through ripe, because they be plenty: so bookes be stale when they be printed, in that they be common.' In the chapter on the choice of Books he draws up a list of books 'to be censured of.' 'As the Lord de la Noue in the sixt Discourse of his *Politike and Military Discourses* censureth of the bookes of *Amadis de Gaul*, which, he saith, are no lesse hurtfull to youth than the workes of Machiavell to age: so these bookes are accordingly to be censured of whose names follow—*Beuis of Hampton, Guy of Warwicke, Arthur of the Round Table, Huon of Burdeaux, Oliver of the Castle, The Foure Sonnes of Aymon, Gargantua, Gireleon, The Honour of Chiualrie, Primaleon of Greece, Palermin de Oliua, The 7 Champions, The Myrror of Knighthood, Blancherdine, Meruin, Howleglasse*, The Stories of *Palladyne and Palmendos, The Blacke Knight, The Maiden Knight*, The History of

Cœlestina, The Castle of Fame, Gallian of France, Ornatus and Artesia, &c.'

The text of the following pages is that of the copy in the Bodleian Library.]

POETRIE.

AS in a Vine clusters of grapes are often hidde vnder the broade and spacious leaues: so in deepe conceited and well couched poems, figures and fables, many things verie profitable to be knowne, do passe by a yong scholler. *Plut.*

As, according to Philoxenus, that flesh is most sweete which is no flesh, and those the delectablest fishes which are no fishes: so that Poetrie dooth most delight which is mixt with Philosophie, and that Philosophie which is mixt with Poetrie. *Plutarchus in Commentario, quomodo adolescens Poetas audire debet.*

As a Bee gathereth the sweetest and mildest honie from the bitterest flowers and sharpest thornes: so some profite may bee extracted out of obscene and wanton Poems and fables. *idem.*

Albeit many be drunke with wine, yet the Vines are not to bee cut downe, as *Lycurgus* did, but Welles and Fountaines are to be digged neare vnto them: so although many abuse poetrie, yet it is not to bee banished, but discretion is to be vsed, that it may bee made holesome. *idem.*

As Mandrake growing neare Vines doth make the wine more mild: so philosophie bordering vppon poetrie dooth make the knowledge of it more moderate. *idem.*

As poyson mixt with meate is verie deadlie: so lasciuiousnesse and petulancie in poetrie mixt with profitable and pleasing matters is very pestilent. *idem.*

As we are delighted in deformed creatures artificiallye painted: so in poetrie, which is a liuely adumbration of things, euil matters ingeniously contriued do delight.

As Phisitians vse for medicine the feete and wings of the flies *Cantharides*, which flies are deadly poyson: so we may gather out of the same poem that may quell the hurtfull venome of it; for poets do alwaies mingle somewhat in their Poems, wherby they intimate that they condemne what they declare. *idem.*

As our breath doth make a shiller sound being sent through the narrow channell of a Trumpet then if it be diffused abroad into the open aire: so the well knitte and succinct combination of a Poem dooth make our meaning better knowen and discerned then if it were deliuered at random in prose. *Seneca.*

As he that drinkes of the Well *Clitorius* doth abhorre wine: so they that haue once tasted of poetry cannot away with the study of philosophie. After the same maner holdes the contrarie.

As the Anabaptists abhorre the liberall artes and humane sciences: so puritanes and precisians detest poetrie and poems.

As eloquence hath found many preachers & oratours worthy fauourers of her in the English tongue: so her sister poetry hath found the like welcome and entertainment giuen her by our English poets, which makes our language so gorgeous & delectable among vs.

As Rubarbe and sugarcandie are pleasant & profitable: so in poetry ther is sweetnes and goodness. *M. John Haring.*, in his *Apologie for Poetry* before his translated *Ariosto.*

Many cockney and wanton women ar often sicke, but in faith they cannot tell where: so the name of poetrie is odious to some, but neither his cause nor effects, neither the summe that contains him nor the particularities descending from him, giue any fast handle to their carping dispraise. *Sir Philip Sidney*, in his *Apologie for Poetry.*

POETS.

As some do vse an Amethist in compotation agaynst drunkennes: so certain precepts are to be vsed in hearing and reading of poets, least they infect the mind. *Plut. & Plin.* lib. 37. cap. 9.

As in those places where many holsome hearbes doe growe there also growes many poysonfull weedes: so in Poets there are many excellent things and many pestilent matters. *Plut.*

As *Simonides* sayde that the *Thessalians* were more blockish then that they could be deceiued of him: so the riper and pregnanter the wit is the sooner it is corrupted of Poets. *idem.*

As *Cato* when he was a scholler woulde not beleeue his maister, except hee rendered a reason of what he taught him: so wee are not to beleeue Poets in all that they write or say, except they yeelde a reason. *idem.*

As in the same pasture the Bee seaseth on the flower, the Goate grazeth on the shrub, the swine on the root, & Oxen, Kine, & Horses on the grasse: so in Poets one seeketh for historie, an other for ornament of speech, another for proofe, & an other for precepts of good life. *idem.*

As they that come verie suddainlie out of a very darke place are greatly troubled, except by little & little they be accustomed to the light: so, in reading of Poets, the opinions of Phylosophers are to bee sowne in the mindes of young schollers, least many diuersities of doctrines doe afterwardes distract their mindes. *idem.*

As in the portraiture of murder or incest we praise the Art of him that drewe it, but we detest the thing it selfe: so in lasciuious Poets let vs imitate their elocution but execrate their wantonnes. *idem.*

Some thinges that are not excellent of themselues are

good for some, bicause they are meet for them: so some things are commended in Poets which are fit and correspondent for the persons they speak of, although in themselues they bee filthy and not to be spoken; As lame *Demonides* wished that the shoes that were stolne from him might fit his feet that had stoln them. *idem.*

As that ship is endaungered where all leane to one side, but is in safetie one leaning one way and another another way: so the dissensions of Poets among themselues doth make them that they lesse infect their readers. And for this purpose our Satyrists Hall, the Author of *Pigmalion's Image* and *Certaine Satyres*, Rankins, and such others are very profitable.

As a Bee doth gather the iuice of honie from flowres, whereas others are onely delighted with the colour and smel: so a Philosopher findeth that among Poets which is profitable for good life, when as others are tickled only with pleasure. *Plut.*

As wee are delighted in the picture of a viper or a spider artificially enclosed within a precious iewell: so Poets do delight vs in the learned & cunning depainting of vices.

As some are delighted in counterfet wines confected of fruites, not that they refresh the hart but that they make drunke; so some are delighted in Poets only for their obscenity, neuer respecting their eloquence, good grace, or learning.

As Emperors, Kings, & princes haue in their handes authority to dignifie or disgrace their nobles, attendants, subiects, & vassals: so Poets haue the whole power in their handes to make men either immortally famous for their valiant exploites and vertuous exercises, or perpetually infamous for their vicious liues.

As *God giueth* life vnto man: so a Poet giueth ornament vnto it.

As the Greeke and Latine Poets haue wonne immortall

credit to their natiue speech, beeing encouraged and graced by liberall patrones and bountifull Benefactors: so our famous and learned Lawreat masters of England would entitle our English to far greater admired excellency if either the Emperor Augustus, or Octauia his sister, or noble Mecænas were aliue to rewarde and countenaunce them; or if our witty Comedians and stately Tragedians (the glorious and goodlie representers of all fine witte, glorified phrase, and queint action) bee still supported and vphelde, by which meanes for lacke of Patrones (O ingratefull and damned age) our Poets are soly or chiefly maintained, countenaunced, and patronized.

In the infancy of Greece they that handled in the audience of the people graue and necessary matters were called wise men or eloquent men, which they ment by Vates: so the rest, which sang of loue matters, or other lighter deuises alluring vnto pleasure and delight, were called Poets or makers.

As the holy Prophets and sanctified apostles could neuer haue foretold nor spoken of such supernaturall matters vnlesse they had bin inspired of God: so *Cicero* in his Tusculane questions is of that minde, that a Poet cannot expresse verses aboundantly, sufficiently, and fully, neither his eloquence can flow pleasantly, or his wordes sound well and plenteously, without celestiall instruction; which Poets themselues do very often and gladly witnes of themselues, as namely *Ouid in* 6 *Fast.*

Est Deus in nobis; agitante calescimus illo. &c.

And our famous English Poet Spenser, who in his Sheepeheards Calender, lamenting the decay of Poetry at these dayes, saith most sweetly to the same,

'Then make the wings of thine aspiring wit,
And whence thou camest fly backe to heauen apace.' &c.

As a long gowne maketh not an Aduocate, although a gowne be a fit ornament for him: so riming nor versing maketh a Poet, albeit the Senate of Poets hath chosen verse as their fittest rayment; but it is the faining notable images of vertues, vices, or what else, with that delightfull teaching, which must bee the right describing note to knowe a Poet by. *Sir Philip Sidney* in his *Apology for Poetry.*

A COMPARATIUE DISCOURSE OF OUR ENGLISH POETS WITH THE GREEKE, LATINE, AND ITALIAN POETS.

As Greece had three poets of great antiquity, Orpheus, Linus, and Musæus, and Italy other three auncient poets, Liuius Andronicus, Ennius, and Plautus: so hath England three auncient poets, Chaucer, Gower, and Lydgate.

As Homer is reputed the Prince of Greek poets, and Petrarch of Italian poets: so Chaucer is accounted the God of English poets.

As Homer was the first that adorned the Greek tongue with true quantity: so *Piers Plowman* was the first that obserued the true quantitie of our verse without the curiositie of rime.

Ouid writ a Chronicle from the beginning of the world to his own time, that is, to the raign of Augustus the Emperor: so hath Harding the Chronicler (after his maner of old harsh riming) from Adam to his time, that is, to the raigne of King Edward the fourth.

As Sotades Maronites, the Iambicke Poet, gaue himself wholy to write impure and lasciuious things: so Skelton (I know not for what great worthines surnamed the Poet Laureat) applied his wit to scurrilities and ridiculous matters; such among the Greeks were called *Pantomimi*, with vs, buffons.

As Consaluo Periz, that excellent learned man, and

Secretary to King Philip of Spayne, in translating the 'Ulysses' of Homer out of Greeke into Spanish, hath by good iudgement auoided the faulte of ryming, although not fully hit perfect and true versifying: so hath Henrie Howarde, that true and noble Earle of Surrey, in translating the fourth book of Virgil's *Æneas*; whom Michael Drayton in his *England's heroycall Epistles* hath eternized for an *Epistle to his fair Geraldine.*

As these Neoterickes, Iouianus Pontanus, Politianus, Marullus Tarchaniota, the two Strozæ, the father and the son, Palingenius, Mantuanus, Philelphus, Quintianus Stoa, and Germanus Brixius have obtained renown and good place among the ancient Latine poets: so also these Englishmen, being Latine poets, Gualter Haddon, Nicholas Car, Gabriel Haruey, Christopher Ocland, Thomas Newton with his *Leyland*, Thomas Watson, Thomas Campion, Brunswerd, and Willey haue attained good report and honourable aduancement in the Latin empyre.

As the Greeke tongue is made famous and eloquent by Homer, Hesiod, Euripedes, Æschylus, Sophocles, Pindarus, Phocylides, and Aristophanes; and the Latine tongue by Virgill, Ouid, Horace, Silius Italicus, Lucanus, Lucretius, Ausonius, and Claudianus: so the English tongue is mightily enriched and gorgeously inuested in rare ornaments and resplendent abiliments by Sir Philip Sydney, Spencer, Daniel, Drayton, Warner, Shakespeare, Marlow, and Chapman.

As Xenophon, who did imitate so excellently as to giue vs *effigiem iusti imperii*, 'the portraiture of a iust empyre,' vnder the name of *Cyrus* (as Cicero saieth of him), made therein an absolute heroicall poem; and as Heliodorus writ in prose his sugred inuention of that picture of Loue in *Theagines and Cariclea*; and yet both excellent admired poets: so Sir Philip Sidney writ his immortal poem, *The*

Countess of Pembrooke's Arcadia in Prose; and yet our rarest Poet.

As Sextus Propertius said, *Nescio quid magis nascitur Iliade*: so I say of Spencer's *Fairy Queene*, I knowe not what more excellent or exquisite Poem may be written.

As Achilles had the aduantage of Hector, because it was his fortune to bee extolled and renowned by the heauenly verse of Homer: so Spenser's *Eliza, the Fairy Queen*, hath the aduantage of all the Queenes in the worlde, to be eternized by so diuine a Poet.

As Theocritus is famoused for his *Idyllia* in Greeke, and Virgill for his *Eclogs* in Latine: so Spencer their imitator in his *Shepheardes Calender* is renowned for the like argument, and honoured for fine Poeticall inuention and most exquisit wit.

As Parthenius Nicæus excellently sung the praises of his *Arete*: so Daniel hath diuinely sonetted the matchlesse beauty of his *Delia*.

As euery one mourneth when hee heareth of the lamentable plangors of Thracian Orpheus for his dearest *Euridice*: so euery one passionateth when he readeth the afflicted death of Daniel's distressed *Rosamond*.

As Lucan hath mournefully depainted the ciuil wars of Pompey and Cæsar: so hath Daniel the civill wars of Yorke and Lancaster, and Drayton the civill wars of Edward the second and the Barons.

As Virgil doth imitate Catullus in the like matter of *Ariadne* for his story of Queene *Dido*: so Michael Drayton doth imitate Ouid in his *England's Heroical Epistles*.

As Sophocles was called a Bee for the sweetnes of his tongue: so in Charles Fitz-Iefferies *Drake* Drayton is termed 'golden-mouth'd' for the purity and pretiousnesse of his stile and phrase.

As Accius, M. Atilius, and Militius were called *Tragaediographi*, because they writ tragedies: so may wee truly

terme Michael Drayton *Tragaediographus* for his passionate penning the downfals of valiant Robert of Normandy, chast Matilda, and great Gaueston.

As Joan. Honterus, in Latine verse, writ three bookes of Cosmography, with geographicall tables: so Michael Drayton is now in penning, in English verse, a Poem called *Poly-olbion*, Geographicall and Hydrographicall of all the forests, woods, mountaines, fountaines, riuers, lakes, flouds, bathes, and springs that be in England.

As Aulus Persius Flaccus is reported among al writers to be of an honest life and vpright conuersation: so Michael Drayton, *quem toties honoris et amoris causa nomino*, among schollers, souldiours, Poets, and all sorts of people is helde for a man of vertuous disposition, honest conuersation, and well gouerned cariage; which is almost miraculous among good wits in these declining and corrupt times, when there is nothing but rogery in villanous man, and when cheating and craftines is counted the cleanest wit, and soundest wisedome.

As Decius Ausonius Gallus, *in libris Fastorum*, penned the occurrences of the world from the first creation of it to his time, that is, to the raigne of the Emperor Gratian: so Warner, in his absolute *Albion's Englande*, hath most admirably penned the historie of his own country from Noah to his time, that is to the raigne of Queen Elizabeth. I haue heard him termd of the best wits of both our Vniversities our English Homer.

As Euripedes is the most sententious among the Greek Poets: so is Warner among our English Poets.

As the soule of Euphorbus was thought to liue in Pythagoras: so the sweete wittie soule of Ouid liues in mellifluous and hony-tongued Shakespeare, witnes his *Venus and Adonis*, his *Lucrece*, his sugred *Sonnets* among his priuate friends, &c.

As Plautus and Seneca are accounted the best for

Comedy and Tragedy among the Latines: so Shakespeare among the English is the most excellent in both kinds for the stage. For Comedy, witnes his *Gentlemen of Verona*, his *Errors*, his *Loue Labors Lost*, his *Loue Labours Wonne*, his *Midsummers Night Dreame*, and his *Merchant of Venice*; For Tragedy, his *Richard the* 2, *Richard the* 3, *Henry the* 4, *King Iohn*, *Titus Andronicus*, and his *Romeo and Iuliet*.

As Epius Stolo said that the Muses would speake with Plautus tongue if they would speak Latin: so I say that the Muses would speak with Shakespeares fine filed phrase if they would speak English.

As Musæus, who wrote the loue of Hero and Leander, had two excellent schollers, Thamaras and Hercules: so hath he in England two excellent poets, imitators of him in the same argument and subiect, Christopher Marlow and George Chapman.

As Ouid saith of his work,

Iamque opus exegi, quod nec Iouis ira, nec ignis,
Nec poterit ferrum, nec edax abolere vetustas;

and as Horace saith of his,

Exegi monumentum aere perennius
Regalique situ pyramidum altius,
Quod non imber edax, non Aquilo impotens
Possit diruere, aut innumerabilis
Annorum series, et fuga temporum:

so I say seuerally of Sir Philip Sidney's, Spenser's, Daniel's, Drayton's, Shakespeare's, and Warner's workes,

Non Iovis ira, imbres, Mars, ferrum, flamma, senectus,
Hoc opus vnda, lues, turbo, venena ruent.
Et quanquam ad pulcherrimum hoc opus euertendum, tres illi Dii conspirabunt, Chrônus, Vulcanus, et Pater ipse gentis.

Non tamen annorum series, non flamma, nec ensis;
Aeternum potuit hoc abolere Decus.

As Italy had Dante, Boccace, Petrarch, Tasso, Celiano, and Ariosto: so England had Matthew Roydon, Thomas Atchelow, Thomas Watson, Thomas Kid, Robert Greene, and George Peele.

As there are eight famous and chiefe languages, Hebrew, Greek, Latine, Syriack, Arabicke, Italian, Spanish, and French: so there are eight notable seuerall kindes of Poets, Heroicke, Lyricke, Tragicke, Comicke, Satiricke, Iambicke, Elegiacke, and Pastoral.

As Homer and Virgil among the Greeks and Latines are the chiefe Heroick Poets: so Spencer and Warner be our chiefe heroicall Makers.

As Pindarus, Anacreon, and Callimachus among the Greekes, and Horace and Catullus among the Latines are the best Lyrick poets: so in this faculty the best among our poets are Spencer (who excelleth in all kinds), Daniel, Drayton, Shakespeare, Bretton.

As these Tragicke Poets flourished in Greece, Æschylus, Euripedes, Sophocles, Alexander Ætolus, Achæus Erithriœus, Astydamas Atheniensis, Apollodorus Tarsensis, Nicomachus Phrygius, Thespis Atticus, and Timon Apolloniates; and these among the Latines, Accius, M. Atilius, Pompon[i]us Secundus, and Seneca: so these are our best for Tragedie, The Lorde Buckhurst, Doctor Leg of Cambridge, Doctor Edes of Oxford, Master Edward Ferris, the author of the *Mirror for Magistrates*, Marlow, Peele, Watson, Kid, Shakespeare, Drayton, Chapman, Decker, and Beniamin Iohnson.

As M. Anneus Lucanus writ two excellent tragedies, one called *Medea*, the other *De incendio Troiae cum Priami calamitate*: so Doctor Leg hath penned two famous

tragedies, the one of *Richard the* 3, the other of *The Destruction of Ierusalem.*

The best Poets for Comedy among the Greeks are these, Menander, Aristophanes, Eupolis Atheniensis, Alexis Terius, Nicostratus, Amipsias Atheniensis, Anaxandrides Rhodius, Aristonymus, Archippus Atheniensis, and Callias Atheniensis; and among the Latines, Plautus, Terence, Næuius, Sextus Turpilius, Licinius Imbrex, and Virgilius Romanus: so the best for Comedy amongst vs bee Edward, Earle of Oxforde, Doctor Gager of Oxforde, Master Rowley, once a rare scholler of learned Pembrooke Hall in Cambridge, Maister Edwardes, one of Her Maiesties Chappell, eloquent and wittie Iohn Lilly, Lodge, Gascoyne, Greene, Shakespeare, Thomas Nash, Thomas Heywood, Anthony Mundye, our best plotter, Chapman, Porter, Wilson, Hathway, and Henry Chettle.

As Horace, Lucilius, Iuuenall, Persius, and Lucullus are the best for Satyre among the Latines: so with vs, in the same faculty, these are chiefe, *Piers Plowman*, Lodge, Hall of Imanuel Colledge in Cambridge, the Author of *Pigmalion's Image* and *certain Satyrs*, the Author of *Skialetheia.*

Among the Greekes I will name but two for Iambicks, Archilochus Parius and Hipponax Ephesius: so amongst vs I name but two Iambical Poets, Gabriel Haruey and Richard Stanyhurst, bicause I haue seene no mo in this kind.

As these are famous among the Greeks for Elegie, Melanthus, Mymnerus Colophonius, Olympius Mysius, Parthenius Nicæus, Philetas Cous, Theogenes Megarensis, and Pigres Halicarnassæus; and these among the Latines, Mæcenas, Ouid, Tibullus, Propertius, C. Valgius, Cassius Seuerus, and Clodius Sabinus: so these are the most passionate among vs to bewaile and bemoane the perplexities of loue, Henrie Howard, Earle of Surrey, Sir

Thomas Wyat the elder, Sir Francis Brian, Sir Philip Sidney, Sir Walter Rawley, Sir Edward Dyer, Spencer, Daniel, Drayton, Shakespeare, Whetstone, Gascoyne, Samuell Page, sometimes Fellowe of Corpus Christi Colledge in Oxford, Churchyard, Bretton.

As Theocritus in Greek, Virgil and Mantuan in Latine, Sanazar in Italian, and the Authour of *Amintæ Gaudia* and *Walsingham's Melibœus* are the best for Pastorall: so amongst vs the best in this kind are Sir Philip Sidney, Master Challener, Spencer, Stephen Gosson, Abraham Fraunce, and Barnefield.

These and many other Epigrammatists the Latin tongue hath, Q. Catulus, Porcius Licinius, Quintus Cornificius, Martial, Cnœus Getulicus, and wittie Sir Thomas Moore: so in English we have these, Heywood, Drante, Kendal, Bastard, Dauies.

As noble Mæcenas, that sprang from the Hetruscan Kinges, not onely graced Poets by his bounty but also by beeing a Poet himself; and as Iames the 6, nowe King of Scotland, is not only a fauorer of Poets but a Poet, as my friend Master Richard Barnefielde hath in this disticke passing well recorded,

> The King of Scots now liuing is a Poet,
> As his *Lepanto* and his *Furies* show it:

so Elizabeth, our dread Souereign and gracious Queene, is not only a liberal Patrone vnto Poets, but an excellent Poet herselfe, whose learned, delicate, and noble Muse surmounteth, be it in Ode, Elegy, Epigram, or in any other kind of poem, Heroicke or Lyricke.

Octauia, sister unto Augustus the Emperour, was exceeding bountifull vnto Virgil, who gaue him for making 26 verses, 1,137 pounds, to wit, tenne *sestertiæ* for euerie verse (which amounted to aboue 43 pounds for euery verse): so learned Mary, the honourable Countesse of

Pembrook, the noble sister of immortall Sir Philip Sidney, is very liberall vnto Poets; besides, shee is a most delicate Poet, of whome I may say, as Antipater Sidonius writeth of Sappho,

> *Dulcia Mnemosyne demirans carmina Sapphus,*
> *Quaesiuit decima Pieris vnde foret.*

Among others, in times past, Poets had these fauourers, Augustus, Mæcenas, Sophocles, Germanicus, an Emperor, a Nobleman, a Senatour, and a Captaine: so of later times Poets haue these patrones, Robert, King of Sicil, the great King Francis of France, King Iames of Scotland, and Queene Elizabeth of England.

As in former times two great Cardinals, Bembus and [Bib]biena, did countenance Poets: so of late yeares two great preachers haue giuen them their right hands in fellowship, Beza and Melancthon.

As the learned philosophers Fracastorius and Scaliger haue highly prized them: so haue the eloquent Orators Pontanus and Muretus very gloriously estimated them.

As Georgius Buchananus' *Iepthæ* amongst all moderne Tragedies is able to abide the touch of Aristotle's precepts and Euripedes's examples: so is Bishop Watson's *Absalon.*

As Terence for his translations out of Apollodorus and Menander, and Aquilius for his translation out of Menander, and C. Germanicus Augustus for his out of Aratus, and Ausonius for his translated *Epigrams* out of Greeke, and Doctor Iohnson for his *Frogge-fight* out of Homer, and Watson for his *Antigone* out of Sophocles, have got good commendations: so these versifiers for their learned translations are of good note among vs, Phaer for Virgil's *Æneads*, Golding for Ouid's *Metamorphosis*, Harington for his *Orlando Furioso*, the Translators of Seneca's *Tragedies*, Barnabe Googe for Palingenius, Turberuile for Ouid's

Epistles and Mantuan, and Chapman for his inchoate Homer.

As the Latines haue these Emblematists, Andreas Alciatus, Reusnerus, and Sambucus: so we haue these, Geffrey Whitney, Andrew Willet, and Thomas Combe.

As Nonnus Panapolyta writ the *Gospell* of Saint Iohn in Greeke hexameters: so Iervis Markham hath written Salomon's *Canticles* in English verse.

As C. Plinius writ the life of Pompon[i]us Secundus: so young Charles Fitz-Ieffrey, that high touring Falcon, hath most gloriously penned *The honourable Life and Death of worthy Sir Francis Drake.*

As Hesiod writ learnedly of husbandry in Greeke: so hath Tusser very wittily and experimentally written of it in English.

As Antipater Sidonius was famous for extemporall verse in Greeke, and Ouid for his *Quicquid conabar dicere versus erat*: so was our Tarleton, of whome Doctor Case, that learned physitian, thus speaketh in the Seuenth Booke and seuenteenth chapter of his *Politikes: Aristoteles suum Theodoretum laudauit quendam peritum Tragaediarum actorem, Cicero suum Roscium: nos Angli Tarletonum, in cuius voce et vultu omnes iocosi affectus, in cuius cerebroso capite lepidae facetiae habitant.* And so is now our wittie Wilson, who for learning and extemporall witte in this facultie is without compare or compeere, as, to his great and eternall commendations, he manifested in his challenge at the *Swanne* on the Banke Side.

As Achilles tortured the deade bodie of Hector, and as Antonius and his wife Fuluia tormented the liuelesse corps of Cicero: so Gabriell Haruey hath shewed the same inhumanitie to Greene, that lies full low in his graue.

As Eupolis of Athens vsed great libertie in taxing the vices of men: so doth Thomas Nash, witnesse the broode of the Harueys!

As Actæon was wooried of his owne hounds: so is Tom Nash of his *Isle of Dogs.* Dogges were the death of Euripedes; but bee not disconsolate, gallant young Iuuenall, Linus, the sonne of Apollo, died the same death. Yet God forbid that so braue a witte should so basely perish! Thine are but paper dogges, neither is thy banishment like Ouid's, eternally to conuerse with the barbarous *Getæ.* Therefore comfort thyselfe, sweete Tom, with Cicero's glorious return to Rome, and with the counsel Æneas giues to his seabeaten soldiors, *Lib.* 1, *Æneid.*

Pluck vp thine heart, and driue from thence both
feare and care away!
To thinke on this may pleasure be perhaps another
day.
Durate et temet rebus seruate secundis.

As Anacreon died by the pot: so George Peele by the pox.

As Archesilaus Prytanœus perished by wine at a drunken feast, as Hermippus testifieth in *Diogenes*: so Robert Greene died of a surfet taken at pickeld herrings and Rhenish wine, as witnesseth Thomas Nash, who was at the fatall banquet.

As Iodelle, a French tragical poet, beeing an epicure and an atheist, made a pitifull end: so our tragicall poet Marlow for his Epicurisme and Atheisme had a tragical death. You may read of this Marlow more at large in the *Theatre of God's judgments,* in the 25th chapter entreating of *Epicures and Atheists.*

As the poet Lycophron was shot to death by a certain riual of his: so Christopher Marlow was stabd to death by a bawdy Servingman, a riual of his in his lewde loue.

WILLIAM VAUGHAN

(*The Golden Grove*)

1600

[William Vaughan's book, entitled *The Golden-groue, moralized in three books: a work very necessary for all such as would know how to gouerne themselues, their houses, or their country*, appeared in 1600 (12mo, unpaged). The extracts have been taken from the copy preserved in the Bodleian Library (Wood, 743). In the note 'To the Reader,' Vaughan says:—'If any man delight to haue himselfe shine with a glorious shewe of virtue, I haue giuen him the toppes of moral behauior; if to haue his house and family wel beautified, I haue yeelded him diuers braunches for that purpose; if to haue his countrey flourish, I haue sent him the deep-grounded stemme of policy.' There are three books, containing respectively sixty-nine, thirty, and seventy chapters. The following notes include all the more important references to literary matters.

Book i, chap. 51, entitled 'Whether Stage Playes ought to be suffred in a Commonwealth?' is a diatribe against plays as mere folly and wickedness: the literary problem is not discussed.

In Bk. iii, chap. 39, 'Of Grammar,' chap. 40, 'Of Logick,' and chap. 41, 'Of Rhetoricke and the abuse thereof,' Vaughan follows the traditional line of description and commendation of these studies. Chap. 42 is headed 'Of Poetry, and of the excellency thereof.' This shows that Moses and Deborah were the most ancient poets, that poetry was the chief cause of the heathen's 'ciuility,' and that poets were the first to 'obserue the secrete operations of nature,' and to offer oblations, sacrifices, and prayers. Vaughan mentions the characteristics of poetry, opposes those who say that the Gentiles first

founded poetry, and that therefore it ought to be rejected, and stands forth in its defence, drawing on classic names and examples, and referring especially to Homer. 'Sundry times haue I beene conuersant with such as blasphemed Poetry, by calling it mincing and lying Poetry. But it is no maruel that they thus deride Poetry, sith they sticke not in this out-worne age to abuse the ministers of God by terming them bookish fellowes and Puritanes, they themselues not knowing what they meane.' After the classics he names modern poets. 'Ieffery Chaucer, the English Poet, was in great account with King Richard the second, who gaue him, in reward of his poems, the manour of Newelme in Oxfordshire.' He refers to the story of Alain Chartier's being kissed by the French Queen, and tells that Francis I made 'those famous poets Dampetrus and Macrinus' of the Privy Council. 'King Henrie the eight, for a few Psalmes of Dauid turned into English meeter by Sternhold, made him Groome of his priuie chamber and rewarded him with many great gifts besides. Moreouer, hee made Sir Thomas Moore Lord Chauncelour of this Realme, whose poeticall works are as yet in great regard.' Queen Mary gave a pension to Vergoza the Spaniard for a poem on her marriage with Philip, Queen Elizabeth made Dr. Haddon Master of Requests. Princely poets of former times were Julius Caesar, 'a very good poet,' Augustus, Euax, King of Arabia, and Cornelius Gallus, treasurer of Egypt. He then adds: 'Neither is our owne age altogether to bee dispraysed. For the old Earle of Surrey composed bookes in verse. Sir Philip Sidney excelled all our English Poets in rarenesse of stile and matter. King James the sixt of Scotland, that now raigneth, is a notable Poet, and daily setteth out most learned poems, to the admiration of all his subiects.' Vaughan refers to Sidney's defence of Poetry in the *Apology*, and sums up 'Take away the abuse, which is meerely accidental, and let the substance of Poetrie stand still. . . I conclude that many of our English rimers and ballet-makers deserue for their baudy sonnets and amorous allurements to bee banished, or seuerely punished: and that Poetrie it selfe ought to bee honoured and made much of, as a precious Iewell and a diuine gift.']

THOMAS CAMPION

(*Observations in the Art of English Poesie*)

1602

[Campion's tract, in 12mo, bears the title-page *Obseruations in the Art of English Poesie. By Thomas Campion. Wherein it is demonstratiuely prooued, and by example confirmed, that the English toong will receiue eight seuerall kinds of numbers, proper to it selfe, which are all in this booke set forth, and were neuer before this time by any man attempted. Printed at London by Richard Field for Andrew Wise.* 1602. It is dedicated by Campion to Lord Buckhurst, in these words:

'In two things (right honorable) it is generally agreed that man excels all other creatures, in reason and speech: and in them by how much one man surpasseth an other, by so much the neerer he aspires to a celestiall essence.

'Poesy in all kind of speaking is the chiefe beginner and maintayner of eloquence, not only helping the eare with the acquaintance of sweet numbers, but also raysing the mind to a more high and lofty conceite. For this end haue I studyed to induce a true forme of versefying into our language: for the vulgar and vnarteficiall custome of riming hath, I know, deter'd many excellent wits from the exercise of English poesy. The obseruations which I haue gathered for this purpose I humbly present to your Lordship, as to the noblest iudge of Poesy, and the most honorable protector of all industrious learning; which if your Honour shall vouchsafe to receiue, who both in your publick and priuate Poemes haue so deuinely crowned your fame, what man will dare to repine? or not striue to imitate them? Wherefore with all humility I subiect my selfe and them to your gratious fauour, beseeching you in the noblenes of your mind to take in worth so simple a present, which by some worke drawne from my more

serious studies I will hereafter endeuour to excuse.' Then follow these lines, entitled 'The Writer to his Booke':

Whether thus hasts my little booke so fast?
To Paules Churchyard. What? in those cels to stand,
With one leafe like a rider's cloke put vp
To catch a termer? or lie mustie there
With rimes a terme set out, or two, before?
Some will redeeme me. Fewe. Yes, reade me too.
Fewer. Nay loue me. Now thou dot'st, I see.
Will not our English *Athens* arte defend?
Perhaps. Will lofty courtly wits not ayme
Still at perfection? If I graunt? I flye.
Whether? To Pawles. Alas, poore booke, I rue
Thy rash selfe-loue. Goe, spread thy pap'ry wings:
Thy lightnes cannot helpe or hurt my fame.

The text is that of the copy in the Bodleian Library (Douce, C. 359). Two leaves which are missing (see footnotes, pp. 332, 341) are supplied from the quarto.]

OBSERVATIONS IN THE ART OF ENGLISH POESY.

The first Chapter, intreating of numbers in generall.

THERE is no writing too breefe that, without obscuritie, comprehends the intent of the writer. These my late obseruations in English Poesy I haue thus briefely gathered, that they might proue the lesse troublesome in perusing, and the more apt to be retayn'd in memorie. And I will first generally handle the nature of Numbers. Number is *discreta quantitas*: so that when we speake simply of number, we intend only the disseruer'd quantity; but when we speake of a Poeme written in number, we consider not only the distinct number of the sillables, but also their value, which is contained in the length or shortnes of their sound. As in Musick we 'do not say a straine of so many notes, but so many sem'briefes (though some-

times there are no more notes then sem'briefes), so in a verse the numeration of the sillables is not so much to be obserued as their waite and due proportion. In ioyning of words to harmony there is nothing more offensiue to the eare then to place a long sillable with a short note, or a short sillable with a long note, though in the last the vowell often beares it out. The world is made by Simmetry and proportion, and is in that respect compared to Musick, and Musick to Poetry: for *Terence* saith, speaking of Poets, *artem qui tractant musicam*, confounding Musick and Poesy together. What musick can there be where there is no proportion obserued? Learning first flourished in *Greece*; from thence it was deriued vnto the *Romaines*, both diligent obseruers of the number and quantity of sillables, not in their verses only but likewise in their prose. Learning, after the declining of the *Romaine* Empire and the pollution of their language through the conquest of the *Barbarians*, lay most pitifully deformed till the time of *Erasmus*, *Rewcline*, Sir *Thomas More*, and other learned men of that age, who brought the Latine toong again to light, redeeming it with much labour out of the hands of the illiterate Monks and Friers: as a scoffing booke, entituled *Epistolae obscurorum virorum*, may sufficiently testifie. In those lack-learning times, and in barbarized Italy, began that vulgar and easie kind of Poesie which is now in vse throughout most parts of Christendome, which we abusively call Rime and Meeter, of *Rithmus* and *Metrum*, of which I will now discourse.

The second Chapter, declaring the vnaptnesse of Rime in Poesie.

I am not ignorant that whosoeuer shall by way of reprehension examine the imperfections of Rime must encounter with many glorious enemies, and those very expert and

ready at their weapon, that can if neede be extempore (as they say) rime a man to death. Besides there is growne a kind of prescription in the vse of Rime, to forestall the right of true numbers, as also the consent of many nations, against all which it may seeme a thing almost impossible and vaine to contend. All this and more can not yet deterre me from a lawful defence of perfection, or make me any whit the sooner adheare to that which is lame and vnbeseeming. For custome I alleage that ill vses are to be abolisht, and that things naturally imperfect can not be perfected by vse. Old customes, if they be better, why should they not be recald, as the yet florishing custome of numerous poesy vsed among the *Romanes* and *Grecians*? But the vnaptnes of our toongs and the difficultie of imitation dishartens vs: againe, the facilitie and popularitie of Rime creates as many Poets as a hot sommer flies.

But let me now examine the nature of that which we call Rime. By Rime is vnderstoode that which ends in the like sound, so that verses in such maner composed yeeld but a continual repetition of that Rhetoricall figure which we tearme *simuliter desinentia*, and that, being but *figura verbi*, ought (as *Tully* and all other Rhetoritians have iudicially obseru'd) sparingly to be vs'd, least it should offend the eare with tedious affectation. Such was that absurd following of the letter amongst our English so much of late affected, but now hist out of Paules Churchyard: which foolish figuratiue repetition crept also into the Latine toong, as it is manifest in the booke of P^s^ called *praelia porcorum*, and another pamphlet all of F^s^ which I haue seene imprinted; but I will leaue these follies to their owne ruine, and returne to the matter intended. The eare is a rationall sence and a chiefe iudge of proportion; but in our kind of riming what proportion is there kept where there remaines such a^c^ confused inequalitie of sillables? *Iambick* and *Trochaick* feete, which are opposed

by nature, are by all Rimers confounded; nay, oftentimes they place instead of an *Iambick* the foot *Pyrrychius*, consisting of two short sillables, curtalling their verse, which they supply in reading with a ridiculous and vnapt drawing of their speech. As for example:

Was it my desteny, or dismall chaunce?

In this verse the two last sillables of the word *Desteny*, being both short, and standing for a whole foote in the verse, cause the line to fall out shorter then it ought by nature. The like impure errors haue in time of rudenesse bene vsed in the Latine toong, as the *Carmina prouerbialia* can witnesse, and many other such reuerend bables. But the noble *Grecians* and *Romaines*, whose skilfull monuments outliue barbarisme, tyed themselues to the strict obseruation of poeticall numbers, so abandoning the childish titillation of riming that it was imputed a great error to *Ouid* for setting forth this one riming verse,

Quot caelum stellas tot habet tua Roma puellas.

For the establishing of this argument, what better confirmation can be had then that of Sir *Thomas Moore* in his booke of Epigrams, where he makes two sundry Epitaphs vpon the death of a singing-man at *Westminster*, the one in learned numbers and dislik't, the other in rude rime and highly extold: so that he concludes, *tales lactucas talia labra petunt*, like lips like lettuce.

But there is yet another fault in Rime altogether intollerable, which is, that it inforceth a man oftentimes to abiure his matter and extend a short conceit beyond all bounds of arte; for in Quatorzens, methinks, the poet handles his subiect as tyrannically as *Procrustes* the thiefe his prisoners, whom, when he had taken, he vsed to cast vpon a bed, which if they were too short to fill, he would stretch them longer, if too long, he would cut them shorter. Bring before me now any the most self-lou'd Rimer, and

let me see if without blushing he be able to reade his lame halting rimes. Is there not a curse of Nature laid vpon such rude Poesie, when the Writer is himself asham'd of it, and the hearers in contempt call it Riming and Ballating? What Deuine in his Sermon, or graue Counsellor in his Oration, will alleage the testimonie of a rime? But the deuinity[1] of the *Romaines* and *Gretians* was all written in verse; and *Aristotle, Galene,* and the bookes of all the excellent Philosophers are full of the testimonies of the old Poets. By them was laid the foundation of all humane wisdome, and from them the knowledge of all antiquitie is deriued. I will propound but one question, and so conclude this point. If the *Italians, Frenchmen,* and *Spanyards,* that with commendation haue written in Rime, were demaunded whether they had rather the bookes they haue publisht (if their toong would beare it) should remaine as they are in Rime or be translated into the auncient numbers of the Greekes and Romaines, would they not answere into numbers? What honour were it then for our English language to be the first that after so many yeares of barbarisme could second the perfection of the industrious *Greekes* and *Romaines*? which how it may be effected I will now proceede to demonstrate.

The third Chapter: of our Englisii numbers in generall.

There are but three feete which generally distinguish the Greeke and Latine verses, the *Dactil,* consisting of one long sillable and two short, as *vĭuĕrĕ*; the *Trochy,* of one long and one short, as *vītă*; and the *Iambick* of one short and one long, as *ămōr.* The *Spondee* of two long, the *Tribrach* of three short, the *Anapæstick* of two short and a long, are but as seruants to the first. Diuers other

[1] From this point to l. 17 (to the word 'remayne') on p. 333 the text is supplied from a later edition (see head-note).

feete I know are by the Grammarians cited, but to little purpose. The *Heroicall* verse that is distinguisht by the *Dactile* hath bene oftentimes attempted in our English toong, but with passing pitifull successe; and no wonder, seeing it is an attempt altogether against the nature of our language. For both the concurse of our monasillables make our verses vnapt to slide, and also, if we examine our polysillables, we shall finde few of them, by reason of their heauinesse, willing to serue in place of a *Dactile*. Thence it is that the writers of Englisli heroicks do so often repeate *Amyntas*, *Olympus*, *Auernus*, *Erinnis*, and suchlike borrowed words, to supply the defect of our hardly intreated *Dactile*. I could in this place set downe many ridiculous kinds of *Dactils* which they vse, but that it is not my purpose here to incite men to laughter. If we therefore reiect the *Dactil* as vnfit for our vse (which of necessity we are enforst to do), there remayne only the *Iambick* foote, of which the *Iambick* verse is fram'd, and the *Trochee*, from which the *Trochaick* numbers haue their originall. Let vs now then examine the property of these two feete, and try if they consent with the nature of our English sillables. And first for the *Iambicks*, they fall out so naturally in our toong, that, if we examine our owne writers, we shall find they vnawares hit oftentimes vpon the true *Iambick* numbers, but alwayes ayme at them as far as their eare without the guidance of arte can attain vnto, as it shall hereafter more euidently appeare. The *Trochaick* foote, which is but an *Iambick* turn'd ouer and ouer, must of force in like manner accord in proportion with our Brittish sillables, and so produce an English *Trochaicall* verse. Then hauing these two principall kinds of verses, we may easily out of them deriue other formes, as the Latines and Greekes before vs haue done: whereof I will make plaine demonstration, beginning at the *Iambick* verse.

THE FOURTH CHAPTER: OF THE IAMBICK VERSE.

I haue obserued, and so may any one that is either practis'd in singing, or hath a naturall eare able to time a song, that the Latine verses of sixe feete, as the *Heroick* and *Iambick*, or of fiue feete, as the *Trochaick*, are in nature all of the same length of sound with our English verses of fiue feet; for either of them being tim'd with the hand, *quinque perficiunt tempora*, they fill vp the quantity (as it were) of fiue sem'briefs; as for example, if any man will proue to time these verses with his hand.

A pure *Iambick.*

Suis et ipsa Roma viribus ruit.

A licentiate *Iambick.*

Ducunt volentes fata, nolentes trahunt.

An *Heroick* verse.

Tityre, tu patulae recubans sub tegmine fagi.

A *Trochaick* verse.

Nox est perpetua vna dormienda.

English *Iambicks* pure.

The more secure, the more the stroke we feele
Of vnpreuented harms; so gloomy stormes
Appeare the sterner, if the day be cleere.

Th' English *Iambick* licentiate.

Harke how these winds do murmur at thy flight.

The English *Trochee.*

Still where Enuy leaues, remorse doth enter.

The cause why these verses differing in feete yeeld the same length of sound, is by reason of some rests which either the necessity of the numbers or the heauiness of the sillables do beget. For we find in musick that oftentimes the straines of a song cannot be reduct to true

number without some rests prefixt in the beginning and middle, as also at the close if need requires. Besides, our English monasillables enforce many breathings which no doubt greatly lengthen a verse, so that it is no wonder if for these reasons our English verses of fiue feete hold pace with the *Latines* of sixe. The pure *Iambick* in English needes small demonstration, because it consists simply of *Iambick* feete; but our *Iambick* licentiate offers itselfe to a farther consideration, for in the third and fift place we must of force hold the *Iambick* foote, in the first, second, and fourth place we may vse a *Spondee* or *Iambick* and sometime a *Tribrack* or *Dactile*, but rarely an *Anapestick* foote, and that in the second or fourth place. But why an *Iambick* in the third place? I answere, that the forepart of the verse may the gentlier slide into his *Dimeter*, as, for example sake, deuide this verse:

Harke how these winds do murmure at thy flight.

Harke how these winds, there the voice naturally affects a rest; then *murmur at thy flight*, that is of itselfe a perfect number, as I will declare in the next Chapter; and therefore the other odde sillable betweene them ought to be short, least the verse should hang too much betweene the naturall pause of the verse and the *Dimeter* following; the which *Dimeter* though it be naturally *Trochaical*, yet it seemes to haue his originall out of the *Iambick* verse. But the better to confirme and expresse these rules, I will set downe a short Poeme in *Licentiate Iambicks*, which may giue more light to them that shall hereafter imitate these numbers.

Goe, numbers, boldly passe, stay not for ayde
Of shifting rime, that easie flatterer,
Whose witchcraft can the ruder eares beguile.
Let your smooth feete, enur'd to purer arte,

True measures tread. What if your pace be slow,
And hops not like the Grecian elegies?
It is yet gracefull, and well fits the state
Of words ill-breathed and not shap't to runne.
Goe then, but slowly, till your steps be firme;
Tell them that pitty or peruersely skorne
Poore English poesie as the slaue to rime,
You are those loftie numbers that reuiue
Triumphs of Princes and sterne tragedies:
And learne henceforth t'attend those happy sprights
Whose bounding fury height and waight affects.
Assist their labour, and sit close to them,
Neuer to part away till for desert
Their browes with great *Apollos* bayes are hid.
He first taught number and true harmonye;
Nor is the lawrell his for rime bequeath'd.
Call him with numerous accents paisd by arte,
He'le turne his glory from the sunny clymes
The North-bred wits alone to patronise.
Let France their *Bartas*, Italy *Tasso* prayse;
Phœbus shuns none but in their flight from him.

Though, as I said before, the naturall breathing-place of our English *Iambick* verse is in the last sillable of the second foote, as our *Trochy* after the manner of the Latine *Heroick* and *Iambick* rests naturally in the first of the third foote, yet no man is tyed altogether to obserue this rule, but he may alter it, after the iudgment of his eare, which Poets, Orators, and Musitions of all men ought to haue most excellent. Againe, though I said peremtorily before that the third and fift place of our licentiate *Iambick* must alwayes hold an *Iambick* foote, yet I will shew you example in both places where a *Tribrack* may be very formally taken, and first in the third place:

Some trade in *Barbary*, some in *Turky* trade.

An other example:

Men that do fall to misery, quickly fall.

If you doubt whether the first of *misery* be naturally short or no, you may iudge it by the easy sliding of these two verses following:

The first:

Whome misery cannot alter, time deuours.

The second:

What more vnhappy life, what misery more?

Example of the *Tribrack* in the fift place, as you may perceiue in the last foote of the fourth verse:

Some from the starry throne his fame deriues,
Some from the mynes beneath, from trees or herbs:
Each hath his glory, each his sundry gift,
Renown'd in eu'ry art there liues not any.

To proceede farther, I see no reason why the English *Iambick* in his first place may not as well borrow a foote of the *Trochy* as our *Trochy*, or the Latine *Hendicasillable*, may in the like case make bold with the *Iambick*: but it must be done euer with this caueat, which is, that a *Sponde*, *Dactile*, or *Tribrack* do supply the next place; for an *Iambick* beginning with a single short sillable, and the other ending before with the like, would too much drinke vp the verse if they came immediatly together.

The example of the *Sponde* after the *Trochy*:

As the faire sonne the lightsome heau'n adorns.

The example of the *Dactil*:

Noble, ingenious, and discreetly wise.

The example of the *Tribrack*:

Beauty to ielousie brings ioy, sorrow, feare.

Though I haue set downe these second licenses as good and ayreable enough, yet for the most part my first rules are generall.

These are those numbers which Nature in our English destinates to the Tragick and Heroik Poeme: for the subiect of them both being all one, I see no impediment why one verse may not serue for them both, as it appeares more plainly in the old comparison of the two Greeke writers, when they say, *Homerus est Sophocles heroicus*, and againe *Sophocles est Homerus tragicus*, intimating that both Sophocles and Homer are the same in height and subiect, and differ onely in the kinde of their numbers.

The Iambick verse in like manner being yet made a little more licentiate, that it may thereby the neerer imitate our common talke, will excellently serue for Comedies; and then may we vse a *Sponde* in the fift place, and in the third place any foote except a *Trochy*, which neuer enters into our Iambick verse but in the first place, and then with his caueat of the other feete which must of necessitie follow.

The Fift Chapter: of the Iambick Dimeter, or English march.

The *Dimeter* (so called in the former Chapter) I intend next of all to handle, because it seems to be a part of the *Iambick*, which is our most naturall and auncient English verse. We may terme this our English march, because the verse answers our warlick forme of march in similitude of number. But call it what you please, for I will not wrangle about names, only intending to set down the nature of it and true structure. It consists of two feete and one odde sillable. The first foote may be made either a *Trochy*, or a *Spondee*, or an *Iambick*, at the pleasure of the composer, though most naturally that place affects a *Trochy* or *Spondee*; yet, by the example of *Catullus* in his *Hendicasillables*, I adde in the first place sometimes an *Iambick* foote. In the second place we must euer insert

a *Trochy* or *Tribrack*, and so leaue the last sillable (as in the end of a verse it is alwaies held) common. Of this kinde I will subscribe three examples, the first being a peece of *Chorus* in a Tragedy.

Rauing warre, begot
In the thirstye sands
Of the *Lybian* Iles,
Wasts our emptye fields;
What the greedye rage
Of fell wintrye stormes
Could not turne to spoile,
Fierce *Bellona* now
Hath laid desolate,
Voyd of fruit, or hope.
Th' eger thriftye hinde,
Whose rude toyle reuiu'd
Our skie-blasted earth,
Himselfe is but earth,
Left a skorne to fate
Through seditious armes:
And that soile, alive
Which he duly nurst,
Which him duly fed,
Dead his body feeds:
Yet not all the glebe
His tuffe hands manur'd
Now one turfe affords
His poore funerall.
Thus still needy liues,
Thus still needy dyes
Th' vnknowne multitude.

An example *Lyrical.*

Greatest in thy wars,
Greater in thy peace,

Dread *Elizabeth*;
Our muse only Truth,
Figments cannot vse,
Thy ritch name to deck
That itselfe adorns:
But should now this age
Let all poesye fayne,
Fayning poesy could
Nothing faine at all
Worthy halfe thy fame.

An example *Epigrammaticall.*

Kind in euery kinde
This, deare Ned, resolue.
Neuer of thy prayse
Be too prodigall;
He that prayseth all
Can praise truly none.

THE SIXT CHAPTER: OF THE ENGLISH TROCHAICK VERSE.

Next in course to be intreated of is the English *Trochaick*, being a verse simple, and of itselfe depending. It consists, as the Latine *Trochaick*, of fiue feete, the first whereof may be a *Trochy*, a *Spondee*, or an *Iambick*, the other foure of necessity all *Trochyes*; still holding this rule authenticall, that the last sillable of a verse is alwayes common. The spirit of this verse most of all delights in Epigrams, but it may be diuersely vsed, as shall hereafter be declared. I haue written diuers light Poems in this kinde, which for the better satisfaction of the reader I thought conuenient here in way of example to publish. In which though sometimes vnder a knowne name I haue shadowed a fain'd conceit, yet it is done without reference or offence to any person, and only to make the stile appeare the more English.

The first *Epigramme.*

Lockly spits apace, the rhewme he cals it,
But no drop (though often urgd) he straineth
From his thirstie iawes, yet all the morning
And all day he spits, in eu'ry corner;
At his meales he spits, at eu'ry meeting;
At the barre he spits before the Fathers;
In the Court he spits before the Graces;
In the Church he spits, thus all prophaning
With that rude disease, that empty spitting:
Yet no cost he spares, he sees the Doctors,
Keeps a strickt diet, precisely vseth
Drinks and bathes drying, yet all preuailes not.
'Tis not *China* (*Lockly*), *Salsa Guacum*,
Nor dry *Sassafras* can help, or ease thee;
'Tis no humor hurts, it is thy humor.

The second *Epigramme.*

Cease, fond wretch, to loue, so oft deluded,
[1] Still made ritch with hopes, still vnrelieued.
Now fly her delaies; she that debateth
Feeles not true desire; he that, deferred,
Others times attends, his owne betrayeth:
Learne t'affect thy selfe; thy cheekes deformed
With pale care reuiue by timely pleasure,
Or with skarlet heate them, or by paintings
Make thee louely; for such arte she vseth
Whome in vayne so long thy folly loued.

The third *Epigramme.*

Kate can fancy only berdles husbands,
Thats the cause she shakes off eu'ry suter,
Thats the cause she liues so stale a virgin,

[1] From this point to the end of l. 27 on p. 342 the text is supplied from a later edition, *u. s.*

For, before her heart can heate her answer,
Her smooth youths she finds all hugely berded.

The fourth *Epigramme.*

All in sattin Oteny will be suted,
Beaten sattin (as by chaunce he cals it);
Oteny sure will haue the bastinado.

The fift *Epigramme.*

Tosts as snakes or as the mortall *Henbane*
Hunks detests when huffcap ale he tipples,
Yet the bread he graunts the fumes abateth;
Therefore apt in ale, true, and he graunts it;
But it drinks vp ale, that *Hunks* detesteth.

The sixt *Epigramme.*

What though *Harry* braggs, let him be noble;
Noble *Harry* hath not half a noble.

The seauenth *Epigramme.*

Phœbe all the rights *Elisa* claymeth,
Mighty riuall, in this only diff'ring
That shees only true, thou only fayned.

The eight *Epigramme.*

Barnzy stiffly vows that hees no Cuckold,
Yet the vulgar eu'rywhere salutes him,
With strange signes of hornes, from eu'ry corner;
Wheresoere he commes, a sundry Cucco
Still frequents his eares; yet he's no Cuccold.
But this *Barnzy* knowes that his *Matilda,*
Skorning him, with *Haruy* playes the wanton.
Knowes it? nay desires it, and by prayers
Dayly begs of heau'n, that it for euer
May stand firme for him; yet hees no Cuccold.
And 'tis true, for *Haruy* keeps *Matilda,*

Fosters *Barnzy*, and relieues his houshold,
Buyes the Cradle, and begets the children,
Payes the Nurces, eu'ry charge defraying,
And thus truly playes *Matilda's* husband:
So that *Barnzy* now becomes a cypher,
And himselfe th' adultrer of *Matilda*.
Mock not him with hornes, the case is alterd;
Harny beares the wrong, *he* proues the Cuccold.

The ninth *Epigramme*.

Buffe loues fat vians, fat ale, fat all things.
Keepes fat whores, fat offices, yet all men
Him fat only wish to feast the gallous.

The tenth *Epigramme*.

Smith, by sute diuorst, the knowne adultres
Freshly weds againe; what ayles the mad-cap
By this fury? euen so theeues by frailty
Of their hemp reseru'd, againe the dismal
Tree embrace, againe the fatall halter.

The eleuenth *Epigramme*.

His late losse the Wiueless *Higs* in order
Eu'rywhere bewailes to friends, to strangers;
Tels them how by night a yongster armed
Saught his Wife (as hand in hand he held her)
With drawne sword to force; she cryed; he mainely
Roring ran for ayde, but (ah) returning
Fled was with the prize the beawty-forcer,
Whome in vain he seeks, he threats, he followes.
Chang'd is *Hellen*, *Hellen* hugs the stranger,
Safe as *Paris* in the Greeke triumphing.
Therewith his reports to teares he turneth,
Peirst through with the louely Dames remembrance;
Straight he sighes, he raues, his haire he teareth,
Forcing pitty still by fresh lamenting.

Cease vnworthy, worthy of thy fortunes,
Thou that couldst so faire a prize deliuer,
For feare vnregarded, vndefended,
Hadst no heart I thinke, I know no liuer.

The twelfth *Epigramme.*

Why droopst thou, *Trefeild?* Will *Hurst* the Banker
Make dice of thy bones? By heau'n he cannot.
Cannot? What's the reason? Ile declare it:
Th'ar all growne so pockie and so rotten.

The Seauenth Chapter: of the English Elegeick verse.

The *Elegeick* verses challenge the next place, as being of all compound verses the simplest. They are deriu'd out of our own naturall numbers as neere the imitation of the *Greekes* and *Latines* as our heauy sillables will permit. The first verse is a meere licentiate *Iambick*; the second is fram'd of two vnited *Dimeters*. In the first *Dimeter* we are tyed to make the first foote either a *Trochy* or a *Spondee*, the second a *Trochy*, and the odde sillable of it alwaies long. The second *Dimeter* consists of two Trochyes (because it requires more swiftnes than the first) and an odde sillable, which, being last, is euer common. I will giue you example both of *Elegye* and *Epigramme*, in this kinde.

An *Elegy.*

Constant to none, but euer false to me,
Traiter still to loue through thy faint desires,
Not hope of pittie now nor vaine redresse
Turns my griefs to teares and renu'd laments.
Too well thy empty vowes and hollow thoughts
Witnes both thy wrongs and remorseles hart.
Rue not my sorrow, but blush 'at my name;
Let thy bloudy cheeks guilty thoughts betray.

My flames did truly burne, thine made a shew,
As fires painted are which no heate retayne,
Or as the glossy *Pirop* faines to blaze,
But toucht cold appeares, and an earthy stone.
True cullours deck thy cheeks, false foiles thy brest,
Frailer then thy light beawty is thy minde.
None canst thou long refuse, nor long affect,
But turn'st feare with hopes, sorrow with delight,
Delaying, and deluding eu'ry way
Those whose eyes are once with thy beawty chain'd.
Thrice happy man that entring first thy loue
Can so guide the straight raynes of his desires,
That both he can regard thee and refraine:
If grac't, firme he stands, if not, easely falls.

Example of *Epigrams*, in Elegeick verse.

The first *Epigramme.*

Arthure brooks only those that brooke not him,
Those he most regards, and deuoutly serues:
But them that grace him his great brau'ry skornes,
Counting kindnesse all duty, not desert:
Arthure wants forty pounds, tyres eu'ry friend,
But finds none that holds twenty due for him.

The second *Epigramme.*

If fancy can not erre which vertue guides,
In thee, *Laura*, then fancy can not erre.

The third *Epigramme.*

Drue feasts no Puritans; the churles, he saith,
Thanke no men, but eate, praise God, and depart.

The fourth *Epigramme.*

A wiseman wary liues, yet most secure,
Sorrowes moue not him greatly, nor delights:

Fortune and death he skorning, only makes
Th' earth his sober Inne, but still heau'n his home.

The fifth *Epigramme.*

Thou tel'st me, *Barnzy, Dawson* hath a wife:
Thine he hath, I graunt; *Dawson* hath a wife.

The sixt *Epigramme.*

Drue giues thee money, yet thou thank'st not him,
But thankst God for him, like a godly man.
Suppose, rude Puritan, thou begst of him,
And he saith God help, who's the godly man?

The seauenth *Epigramme.*

All wonders *Barnzy* speakes, all grosely faind:
Speake some wonder once, *Barnzy,* speake the truth.

The eight *Epigramme.*

None then should through thy beawty, *Lawra,* pine,
Might sweet words alone ease a loue-sick heart:
But your sweet words alone, that quit so well
Hope of friendly deeds, kill the loue-sick heart.

The ninth *Epigramme.*

At all thou frankly throwst, while, *Frank,* thy wife,
Bars not *Luke* the mayn; *Oteny* barre the bye.

The eight Chapter: of Ditties and Odes.

To descend orderly from the more simple numbers to them that are more compounded, it is now time to handle such verses as are fit for *Ditties* or *Odes*; which we may call *Lyricall,* because they are apt to be soong to an instrument, if they were adorn'd with conuenient notes. Of that kind I will demonstrate three in this Chapter, and in the first we will proceede after the manner of the

Saphick, which is a *Trochaicall* verse as well as the *Hendicasillable* in Latine. The first three verses therefore in our English *Saphick* are meerely those *Trochaicks* which I handled in the sixt Chapter, excepting only that the first foote of either of them must euer of necessity be a *Spondee*, to make the number more graue. The fourth and last closing verse is compounded of three *Trochyes* together, to giue a more smooth farewell, as you may easily obserue in this Poeme made vpon a Triumph at Whitehall, whose glory was dasht with an vnwelcome showre, hindring the people from the desired sight of her Majestie.

The English *Sapphick*.

Faiths pure shield, the Christian *Diana*,
Englands glory crownd with all deuinenesse,
Liue long with triumphs to blesse thy people
At thy sight triumphing.

Loe, they sound; the Knights in order armed
Entring threat the list, adrest to combat
For their courtly loues; he, hees the wonder
Whome *Eliza* graceth.

Their plum'd pomp the vulgar heaps d .taineth,
And rough steeds; let vs the still deuices
Close obserue, the speeches and the musicks
Peacefull arms adorning.

But whence showres so fast this angry tempest,
Clowding dimme the place? Behold, *Eliza*
This day shines not here; this heard, the launces
And thick heads do vanish.

The second kinde consists of *Dimeter*, whose first foote may either be a *Spoude* or a *Trochy*. The two verses following are both of them *Trochaical*, and consist of foure feete, the first of either of them being a *Spondee* or *Trochy*,

the other three only Trochyes. The fourth and last verse is made of two *Trochyes.* The number is voluble, and fit to expresse any amorous conceit.

The Example.

Rose-cheekt *Lawra,* come
Sing thou smoothly with thy beawtie's
Silent musick, either other
Sweetely gracing.

Louely formes do flowe
From concent deuinely framed;
Heau'n is musick, and thy beawtie's
Birth is heauenly.

These dull notes we sing
Discords neede for helps to grace them;
Only beawty purely louing
Knowes no discord,

But still moues delight,
Like cleare springs renu'd by flowing,
Euer perfet, euer in them-
selues eternall.

The third kind begins as the second kind ended, with a verse consisting of two *Trochy* feete, and then as the second kind had in the middle two *Trochaick* verses of foure feete, so this hath three of the same nature, and ends in a *Dimeter* as the second began. The *Dimeter* may allow in the first place a *Trochy* or a *Spondee,* but no *Iambick.*

The Example.

Iust beguiler,
Kindest loue, yet only chastest,
Royall in thy smooth denyals,
Frowning or demurely smiling,
Still my pure delight.

Let me view thee
With thoughts and with eyes affected,
And if then the flames do murmur,
Quench them with thy vertue, charme them
With thy stormy browes.

Heau'n so cheerefull
Laughs not euer, hory winter
Knowes his season, euen the freshest
Sommer mornes from angry thunder
Iet not still secure.

THE NINTH CHAPTER: OF THE *ANACREONTICK* VERSE.

If any shall demaund the reason why this number, being in itselfe simple, is plac't after so many compounded numbers, I answere, because I hold it a number to licentiate for a higher place, and in respect of the rest imperfect; yet is it passing gracefull in our English toong, and will excellently fit the subiect of a *Madrigall*, or any other lofty or tragicall matter. It consists of two feete: the first may be either a *Sponde* or *Trochy*, the other must euer represent the nature of a *Trochy*, as for example:

Follow, followe,
Though with mischiefe
Arm'd, like whirlewind
Now she flyes thee;
Time can conquer
Loues vnkindnes;
Loue can alter
Times disgraces;
Till death faint not
Then but followe.
Could I catch that
Nimble trayter,

Skornefull *Lawra,*
Swift foote *Lawra,*
Soone then would I
Seeke auengement.
Whats th' auengement?
Euen submissely
Prostrate then to
Beg for mercye.

Thus haue I briefely described eight seueral kinds of English numbers simple or compound. The first was our *Iambick* pure and licentiate. The second, that which I call our *Dimeter,* being deriued either from the end of our *Iambick* or from the beginning of our *Trochaick.* The third which I deliuered was our English *Trochaick* verse. The fourth our English *Elegeick.* The fift, sixt, and seauenth were our English *Sapphick,* and two other *Lyricall* numbers, the one beginning with that verse which I call our *Dimeter,* the other ending with the same. The eight and last was a kind of *Anacreontick* verse, handled in this Chapter. These numbers which by my long obseruation I have found agreeable with the nature of our sillables, I haue set forth for the benefit of our language, which I presume the learned will not only imitate but also polish and amplifie with their owne inuentions. Some eares accustomed altogether to the fatnes of rime may perhaps except against the cadences of these numbers; but let any man iudicially examine them, and he shall finde they close of themselues so perfectly that the help of rime were not only in them superfluous but also absurd. Moreouer, that they agree with the nature of our English it is manifest, because they entertaine so willingly our owne British names, which the writers in English Heroicks could neuer aspire vnto, and euen our Rimers themselues haue rather delighted in

borrowed names than in their owne, though much more apt and necessary. But it is now time that I proceede to the censure of our sillables, and that I set such lawes vpon them as by imitation, reason, or experience I can confirme. Yet before I enter into that discourse, I will briefely recite and dispose in order all such feete as are necessary for composition of the verses before described. They are sixe in number, three whereof consist of two sillables, and as many of three.

Feete of two sillables.

Iambick:	} as	{	rĕuēnge
Trochaick:			bēawtie
Sponde:			cōnstānt

Feete of three sillables.

Tribrack:	} as	{	mĭsĕrie
Anapestick:			mĭsĕrĭes
Dactile:			dēstenie

The tenth Chapter: of the quantity of English sillables.

The *Greekes* in the quantity of their sillables were farre more licentious than the *Latines*, as *Martiall* in his Epigramme of *Earinon* witnesseth, saying, *qui Musas colimus seueriores*. But the English may very well challenge much more licence than either of them, by reason it stands chiefely vpon monasillables, which, in expressing with the voyce, are of a heauy cariage, and for that cause the *Dactil*, *Trybrack*, and *Anapestick* are not greatly mist in our verses. But aboue all the accent of our words is diligently to be obseru'd, for chiefely by the accent in any language the true value of the sillables is to be measured. Neither can I remember any impediment except position that can alter the accent of any sillable in our English verse. For though we accent the second of *Trumpington*

short, yet is it naturally long, and so of necessity must be held of euery composer. Wherefore the first rule that is to be obserued is the nature of the accent, which we must euer follow.

The next rule is position, which makes euery sillable long, whether the position happens in one or in two words, according to the manner of the *Latines*, wherein is to be noted that *h* is no letter.

Position is when a vowell comes before two consonants, either in one or two words. In one, as in *best*, *e* before *st* makes the word *best* long by position. In two words, as in *setled loue*, *e* before *d* in the last sillable of the first word and *l* in the beginning of the second makes *led* in *setlēd* long by position.

A vowell before a vowell is alwaies short, as *flīīng*, *dīīng*, *gōīng*, vnlesse the accent alter it, in *dēnīing*.

The diphthong in the midst of a word is alwaies long, as *plaīing*, *deceīving*.

The *Synalœphas* or *Elisions* in our toong are either necessary to auoid the hollowness and gaping in our verse, as *to* and *the*, *t'inchaunt*, *th' inchaunter*, or may be vsd at pleasure, as for *let vs* to say *let's*; for *we will*, *wee'l*; for *euery*, *eu'ry*; for *they are*, *th'ar*; for *he is*, *hee's*; for *admired*, *admir'd*; and such like.

Also, because our English Orthography (as the French) differs from our common pronunciation, we must esteeme our sillables as we speake, not as we write; for the sound of them in a verse is to be valued, and not their letters, as for *follow* we pronounce *follo*; for *perfect*, *perfet*; for *little*, *littel*; for *loue-sick*, *loue-sik*; for *honour*, *honor*; for *money*, *mony*; for *dangerous*, *dangerus*; for *raunsome*, *raunsum*; for *though*, *tho*; and their like.

Deriuatiues hold the quantities of their primitiues, as *dĕvōut*, *dĕvōutelie*; *prŏphāne*, *prŏphānelie*; and so do the compositiues, as *dĕsēru'd*, *ūndĕsēru'd*.

In words of two sillables, if the last haue a full and rising accent that sticks long vpon the voyce, the first sillable is alwayes short, vnlesse position, or the diphthong, doth make it long, as *dĕsīre, prĕsērue, dĕfīne, prŏphāne, rĕgārd, mănūre,* and such like.

If the like dissillables at the beginning haue double consonants of the same kind, we may vse the first sillable as common, but more naturally short, because in their pronunciation we touch but one of those double letters, as *ăttēnd, ăppēare, ŏppōse.* The like we may say when silent and melting consonants meete together, as *ădrēst, rĕdrēst, ŏprēst, rĕprēst, rĕtrīu'd,* and such like.

Words of two sillables that in their last sillable mayntayne a flat or falling accent, ought to hold their first sillable long, as *rīgŏr, glōrie, spīrĭt, fūrie, lāboŭr,* and the like: *ănу, mănу, prĕty, hŏly,* and their like are excepted.

One obseruation which leades me to iudge of the difference of these dissillables whereof I last spake, I take from the originall monasillable; which if it be graue, as *shāde,* I hold that the first of *shādie* must be long; so *trūe, trūlie; hāue, hāuĭng; tīre, tīrĭng.*

Words of three sillables for the most part are deriued from words of two sillables, and from them take the quantity of their first sillable, as *flōrĭsh, flōrĭshīng* long; *hŏlie, hŏlĭnes* short; but *mi* in *mīser* being long hinders not the first of *mĭsery* to be short, because the sound of the *i* is a little altred.

De, di, and *pro* in trisillables (the second being short) are long, as *dēsŏlāte, dīlĭgēnt, prōdĭgāll.*

Re is euer short, as *rĕmĕdie, rĕfĕrēnce, rĕdŏlēnt, rĕuĕrēnd.* Likewise the first of these trisillables is short, as the first of *bĕnĕfit, gĕnĕrall, hĭdĕous, mĕmŏrie, nŭmĕrous, pĕnĕtrāte, sĕpărat, tĭmĕrous, vărĭant, vărĭous;* and so may we esteeme of all that yeeld the like quicknes of sound.

In words of three sillables the quantity of the middle

sillable is lightly taken from the last sillable of the originall dissillable, as the last of *dĕuīne*, ending in a graue or long accent, makes the second of *dĕuīnĭng* also long, and so *ēspīe, ēspīĭng, dĕnīe, dĕnīĭng*: contrarywise it falles out if the last of the dissillable beares a flat or falling accent, as *glōrĭe, glŏrĭĭng, ēnvĭĭng*, and so forth.

Words of more sillables are eyther borrowed and hold their owne nature, or are likewise deriu'd and so follow the quantity of their primatiues, or are knowne by their proper accents, or may be easily censured by a iudiciall eare.

All words of two or more sillables ending with a falling accent in *y* or *ye*, as *faīrelĭe, dĕmurelĭe, beawtĭe, pītlĭe*, or in *ue*, as *vertuĕ, rēscuĕ*, or in *ow*, as *fōllŏw, hōllŏw*, or in *e*, as *parlĕ, Daphnĕ*, or in *a*, as *Mannă*, are naturally short in their last sillables: neither let any man cauill at this licentiate abbreuiating of sillables, contrary to the custome of the Latines, which made all their last sillables that ended in *u* long, but let him consider that our verse of fiue feete, and for the most part but of ten sillables, must equall theirs of sixe feete and of many sillables, and therefore may with sufficient reason aduenture vpon this allowance. Besides, euery man may obserue what an infinite number of sillables both among the *Greekes* and *Romaines* are held as common. But words of two sillables ending with a rising accent in *y* or *ye*, as *denye, descrye*, or in *ue*, as *ensue*, or in *ee*, as *foresee*, or in *oe*, as *forgoe*, are long in their last sillables, vnlesse a vowell begins the next word.

All monasillables that end in a graue accent are euer long, as *wrāth, hāth, thēse, thōse, tōoth, sōoth, thrōugh, dāy, plāy, feāte, speēde, strīfe, flōw, grōw, shēw.*

The like rule is to be obserued in the last of dissillables bearing a graue rising sound, as *deuine, delaie, retire, refuse, manure*, or a graue falling sound, as *fortune, pleasure, vampire.*

All such as haue a double consonant lengthning them, as *wārre, bārre, stārre, fūrre, mūrre,* appear to me rather long then any way short.

There are of these kinds other, but of a lighter sound, that, if the word following do begin with a vowell, are short, as *doth, though, thou, now, they, too, flye, dye, true, due, see, are, far, you, thee,* and the like.

These monasillables are alwayes short, as *ă, thĕ, thĭ, shĕ, wĕ, bĕ, hĕ, nŏ, tŏ, gŏ, sŏ, dŏ,* and the like.

But if *i* or *y* are ioyn'd at the beginning of a word with any vowell, it is not then held as a vowell, but as a consonant, as *ielosy, iewce, iade, ioy, Iudas, ye, yet, yel, youth, yoke.* The like is to be obseru'd in *w,* as *winde, wide, wood*: and in all words that begin with *va, ve, vi, vo,* or *vu,* as *vacant, vew, vine, voide,* and *vulture.*

All Monasillables or Polysillables that end in single consonants, either written or sounded with single consonants, hauing a sharp liuely accent and standing without position of the word following, are short in their last sillable, as *scăb, flĕd, pārtĕd, Gŏd, ŏf, ĭf, bāndŏg, ānguĭsh, sĭck, quĭck, rĭuăl, wĭll, pēoplĕ, sĭmplĕ, comĕ, somĕ, hĭm, thĕm, frŏm, sŭmmŏn, thĕn, prŏp, prōspĕr, hōnoŭr, lāboŭr, thĭs, hĭs, spēchĕs, gōddĕsse, pērfĕct, bŭt, whăt, thăt,* and their like.

The last sillable of all words in the plurall number that haue two or more vowels before *s* are long, as *vertūes, dutīes, miserīes, fellowēs.*

These rules concerning the quantity of our English sillables I haue disposed as they came next into my memory; others more methodicall, time and practise may produce. In the meane season, as the Grammarians leaue many sillables to the authority of the Poets, so do I likewise leaue many to their iudgments; and withall thus conclude, that there is no Art begun and perfected at one enterprise.

SAMUEL DANIEL

(*A Defence of Ryme*)

? 1603

[Daniel's reply to Campion is entitled *A Defence of Ryme, Against a Pamphlet entituled: 'Obseruations in the Art of English Poesie.' Wherein is demonstratiuely proued, that Ryme is the fittest harmonie of words that comportes with our Language. By Sa. D. At London: Printed by V. S. for Edward Blount.*

The text is printed from the copy (undated) in the Bodleian Library (CC. 23 art.) which is bound in at the end of *The Works of Samuel Daniel*, fol. 1601. The running head-line throughout is 'An apologie for Ryme' (*cf.* note, vol. i, pp. 148-9).]

To all the worthie Louers and learned Professors of Ryme within His Maiesties Dominions.

S. D.

WORTHIE Gentlemen, about a yeare since, vpon the great reproach giuen to the Professors of Rime and the vse thereof, I wrote a priuate letter, as a defence of mine owne vndertakings in that kinde, to a learned Gentleman, a great friend of mine, then in Court. Which I did rather to confirm my selfe in mine owne courses, and to hold him from being wonne from vs, then with any desire to publish the same to the world.

But now, seeing the times to promise a more regarde to the present condition of our writings, in respect of our Soueraignes happy inclination this way, whereby wee are rather to expect an incoragement to go on with what we do then that any innouation should checke vs with a shew of what it would do in an other kinde, and yet doe nothing but depraue, I haue now giuen a greater body to the same Argument, and here present it to your view, vnder the patronage of a noble Earle, who in bloud and nature is interessed to take our parte in this cause with others, who cannot, I know, but holde deare the monuments that haue beene left vnto the world in this manner of composition, and who I trust will take in good parte this my Defence, if not as it is my particular, yet in respect of the cause I vndertake, which I heere inuoke you all to protect.

SA. D.

To WILLIAM HERBERT, ERLE OF PEMBROOKE.

THE Generall Custome and vse of Ryme in this kingdome, Noble Lord, hauing beene so long (as if from a Graunt of Nature) held vnquestionable, made me to imagine that it lay altogither out of the way of contradiction, and was become so natural, as we should neuer haue had a thought to cast it off into reproch, or be made to thinke that it ill-became our language. But now I see, when there is opposition made to all things in the world by wordes, wee must nowe at length likewise fall to contend for words themselues, and make a question whether they be right or not. For we are tolde how that our measures goe wrong, all Ryming is grosse, vulgare, barbarous; which if it be so, we haue lost much labour to no purpose; and, for mine owne particular, I cannot but blame the fortune of the times and mine

owne Genius, that cast me vppon so wrong a course, drawne with the current of custome and an vnexamined example. Hauing beene first incourag'd or fram'd thereunto by your most Worthy and Honorable Mother, and receiuing the first notion for the formall ordering of those compositions at *Wilton*, which I must euer acknowledge to haue beene my best Schoole, and thereof alwayes am to hold a feeling and gratefull Memory; afterward drawne farther on by the well liking and approbation of my worthy Lord, the fosterer of mee and my *Muse*; I aduentured to bestow all my whole powers therein, perceiuing it agreed so well, both with the complexion of the times and mine owne constitution, as I found not wherein I might better imploy me. But yet now, vpon the great discouery of these new measures, threatning to ouerthrow the whole state of Ryme in this kingdom, I must either stand out to defend, or els be forced to forsake my selfe and giue ouer all. And though irresolution and a selfe distrust be the most apparent faults of my nature, and that the least checke of reprehension, if it sauour of reason, will as easily shake my resolution as any man's liuing, yet in this case I know not how I am growne more resolued, and, before I sinke, willing to examine what those powers of iudgement are that must beare me downe and beat me off from the station of my profession, which by the law of Nature I am set to defend: and the rather for that this detractor (whose commendable Rymes, albeit now himselfe an enemy to ryme, haue giuen heretofore to the world the best notice of his worth) is a man of faire parts and good reputation; and therefore the reproach forcibly cast from such a hand may throw downe more at once then the labors of many shall in long time build vp againe, specially vpon the slippery foundation of opinion, and the world's inconstancy, which knowes not well what it would haue, and

Discit enim citius meminitque libentius illud
Quod quis deridet, quam quod probat et veneratur.

And he who is thus become our vnkinde aduersarie must pardon vs if we be as iealous of our fame and reputation as hee is desirous of credite by his new-old arte, and must consider that we cannot, in a thing that concernes vs so neere, but haue a feeling of the wrong done, wherein euery Rymer in this vniuersall Iland, as well as myselfe, stands interressed. So that if his charitie had equally drawne with his learning, hee would haue forborne to procure the enuie of so powerfull a number vpon him, from whom he can not but expect the returne of a like measure of blame, and onely haue made way to his owne grace by the proofe of his abilitie, without the disparaging of vs, who would haue bin glad to haue stood quietly by him, and perhaps commended his aduenture, seeing that euermore of one science an other may be borne, and that these Salies made out of the quarter of our set knowledges are the gallant proffers onely of attemptiue spirits, and commendable, though they worke no other effect than make a Brauado: and I know it were *Indecens et morosum nimis alienae industriae modum ponere.*

We could well haue allowed of his numbers, had he not disgraced our Ryme, which both Custome and Nature doth most powerfully defend: Custome that is before all Law, Nature that is aboue all Arte. Euery language hath her proper number or measure fitted to vse and delight, which Custome, intertaininge by the allowance of the Eare, doth indenize and make naturall. All verse is but a frame of wordes confined within certaine measure, differing from the ordinarie speach, and introduced, the better to expresse mens conceipts, both for delight and memorie. Which frame of words consisting of *Rithmus* or *Metrum*, Number or measure, are disposed into diuers fashions, according to the humour of the Composer and the set of the time.

And these *Rhythmi*, as *Aristotle* saith, are familiar amongst all Nations, and *e naturali et sponte fusa compositione*: and they fall as naturally already in our language as euer Art can make them, being such as the Eare of it selfe doth marshall in their proper roomes; and they of themselues will not willingly be put out of their ranke, and that in such a verse as best comports with the nature of our language. And for our Ryme (which is an excellencie added to this worke of measure, and a Harmonie farre happier than any proportion Antiquitie could euer shew vs) dooth adde more grace, and hath more of delight then euer bare numbers, howsoeuer they can be forced to runne in our slow language, can possibly yeeld. Which, whether it be deriu'd of *Rhythmus* or of *Romance*, which were songs the *Bards* and *Druydes* about Rymes vsed, and therof were called *Remensi*, as some Italians holde, or howsoeuer, it is likewise number and harmonie of words, consisting of an agreeing sound in the last sillables of seuerall verses, giuing both to the Eare an Echo of a delightful report, and to the Memorie a deeper impression of what is deliuered therein. For as Greeke and Latine verse consists of the number and quantitie of sillables, so doth the English verse of measure and accent. And though it doth not strictly obserue long and short sillables, yet it most religiously respects the accent; and as the short and the long make number, so the acute and graue accent yeelde harmonie. And harmonie is likewise number; so that the English verse then hath number, measure, and harmonie in the best proportion of Musicke. Which, being more certain and more resounding, works that effect of motion with as happy successe as either the Greek or Latin. And so naturall a melody is it, and so vniuersall, as it seems to be generally borne with al the Nations of the world as an hereditary eloquence proper to all mankind. The vniuersalitie argues the generall power of it:

for if the Barbarian vse it, then it shewes that it swais th' affection of the Barbarian: if ciuil nations practise it, it proues that it works vpon the harts of ciuil nations: if all, then that it hath a power in nature on all. *Georgieuez de Turcarum moribus* hath an example of the Turkish Rymes iust of the measure of our verse of eleuen sillables, in feminine Ryme; neuer begotten I am perswaded by any example in *Europe*, but borne no doubt in *Scythia*, and brought over *Caucasus* and *Mount Taurus*. The Sclauonian and Arabian tongs acquaint a great part of *Asia* and *Affrique* with it; the Moscouite, Polacke, Hungarian, German, Italian, French, and Spaniard vse no other harmonie of words. The Irish, Briton, Scot, Dane, Saxon, English, and all the Inhabiters of this Iland either haue hither brought or here found the same in vse. And such a force hath it in nature, or so made by nature, as the Latine numbers, notwithstanding their excellencie, seemed not sufficient to satisfie the eare of the world thereunto accustomed, without this Harmonicall cadence: which made the most learned of all nations labour with exceeding trauaile to bring those numbers likewise vnto it: which many did with that happinesse as neither their puritie of tongue nor their materiall contemplations are thereby any way disgraced, but rather deserue to be reuerenced of all grateful posteritie, with the due regard of their worth. And for *Schola Salerna*, and those *Carmina Prouerbialia*, who finds not therein more precepts for vse, concerning diet, health, and conuersation, then *Cato*, *Theognis*, or all the Greekes and Latines can shew vs in that kinde of teaching? and that in so few words, both for delight to the eare and the hold of memorie, as they are to be imbraced of all modest readers that studie to know and not to depraue.

Me thinkes it is a strange imperfection that men should thus ouer-runne the estimation of good things with so

violent a censure, as though it must please none else because it likes not them: whereas *Oportet arbitratores esse non contradictores eos qui verum indicaturi sunt*, saith Arist., though he could not obserue it himselfe. And milde charitie tells vs:

——— *Non ego paucis*
Offendar maculis quas aut incuria fudit
Aut humana parum cauit natura.

For all men haue their errours, and we must take the best of their powers, and leaue the rest as not apperteining vnto vs.

'Ill customes are to be left.' I graunt it; but I see not howe that can be taken for an ill custome which nature hath thus ratified, all nations receiued, time so long confirmed, the effects such as it performes those offices of motion for which it is imployed; delighting the eare, stirring the heart, and satisfying the iudgement in such sort as I doubt whether euer single numbers will doe in our Climate, if they shew no more worke of wonder than yet we see. And if euer they prooue to become anything, it must be by the approbation of many ages that must giue them their strength for any operation, as before the world will feele where the pulse, life, and enargie lies; which now we are sure where to haue in our Rymes, whose knowne frame hath those due staies for the minde, those incounters of touch, as makes the motion certaine, though the varietie be infinite.

Nor will the Generall sorte for whom we write (the wise being aboue books) taste these laboured measures but as an orderly prose when wee haue all done. For this kinde acquaintance and continuall familiaritie euer had betwixt our eare and this cadence is growne to so intimate a friendship, as it will nowe hardly euer be brought to misse it. For be the verse neuer so good, neuer so full, it seemes not to satisfie nor breede that delight, as when it is met

and combined with a like sounding accent: which seemes as the iointure without which it hangs loose, and cannot subsist, but runnes wildely on, like a tedious fancie without a close. Suffer then the world to inioy that which it knowes, and what it likes: Seeing that whatsoeuer force of words doth mooue, delight, and sway the affections of men, in what Scythian sorte soeuer it be disposed or vttered, that is true number, measure, eloquence, and the perfection of speach: which I said hath as many shapes as there be tongues or nations in the world, nor can with all the tyrannicall Rules of idle Rhetorique be gouerned otherwise then custome and present obseruation will allow. And being now the trym and fashion of the times, to sute a man otherwise cannot but giue a touch of singularity; for when hee hath all done, hee hath but found other clothes to the same body, and peraduenture not so fitting as the former. But could our Aduersary hereby set vp the musicke of our times to a higher note of iudgement and discretion, or could these new lawes of words better our imperfections, it were a happy attempt; but when hereby we shall but as it were change prison, and put off these fetters to receiue others, what haue we gained? As good still to vse ryme and a little reason as neither ryme nor reason, for no doubt, as idle wits will write in that kinde, as do now in this, imitation wil after, though it breake her necke. *Scribimus indocti doctique poemata passim.* And this multitude of idle Writers can be no disgrace to the good; for the same fortune in one proportion or other is proper in a like season to all States in their turne; and the same vnmeasurable confluence of Scriblers hapned when measures were most in vse among the Romanes, as we finde by this reprehension,

Mutauit mentem populus leuis, et calet vno
Scribendi studio; pueri[que] patresque seueri
Fronde comas vincti cenant et carmina dictant.

So that their plentie seemes to haue bred the same waste and contempt as ours doth now, though it had not power to disualew what was worthy of posteritie, nor keep backe the reputation of excellencies destined to continue for many ages. For seeing it is matter that satisfies the iudiciall, appeare it in what habite it will, all these pretended proportions of words, howsoeuer placed, can be but words, and peraduenture serue but to embroyle our vnderstanding; whilst seeking to please our eare, we enthrall our iudgement; to delight an exterior sense, wee smoothe vp a weake confused sense, affecting sound to be vnsound, and all to seeme *Servum pecus*, onely to imitate Greekes and Latines, whose felicitie in this kinde might be something to themselues, to whome their owne *idioma* was naturall; but to vs it can yeeld no other commoditie then a sound. We admire them not for their smooth-gliding words, nor their measures, but for their inuentions; which treasure if it were to be found in Welch and Irish, we should hold those languages in the same estimation; and they may thanke their sword that made their tongues so famous and vniuersall as they are. For to say truth, their Verse is many times but a confused deliuerer of their excellent conceits, whose scattered limbs we are faine to looke out and ioyne together, to discerne the image of what they represent vnto vs. And euen the Latines, who professe not to be so licentious as the Greekes, shew vs many times examples, but of strange crueltie in torturing and dismembering of words in the middest, or disioyning such as naturally should be married and march together, by setting them as farre asunder as they can possibly stand: that sometimes, vnlesse the kind reader out of his owne good nature wil stay them vp by their measure, they will fall downe into flatte prose, and sometimes are no other indeede in their naturall sound: and then againe, when you finde them disobedient to their owne Lawes, you must hold it to be *licentia poetica*, and

so dispensable. The striuing to shew their changable measures in the varietie of their Odes haue been verie painefull no doubt vnto them, and forced them thus to disturbe the quiet streame of their words, which by a naturall succession otherwise desire to follow in their due course.

But such affliction doth laboursome curiositie still lay vpon our best delights (which euer must be made strange and variable), as if Art were ordained to afflict Nature, and that we could not goe but in fetters. Euery science, euery profession, must be so wrapt vp in vnnecessary intrications, as if it were not to fashion but to confound the vnderstanding: which makes me much to distrust man, and feare that our presumption goes beyond our abilitie, and our Curiositie is more then our Iudgement; laboring euer to seeme to be more then we are, or laying greater burthens vpon our mindes then they are well able to beare, because we would not appeare like other men.

And indeed I haue wished that there were not that multiplicitie of Rymes as is vsed by many in Sonets, which yet we see in some so happily to succeed, and hath beene so farre from hindering their inuentions, as it hath begot conceit beyond expectation, and comparable to the best inuentions of the world: for sure in an eminent spirit, whome Nature hath fitted for that mysterie, Ryme is no impediment to his conceit, but rather giues him wings to mount, and carries him, not out of his course, but as it were beyond his power to a farre happier flight. Al excellencies being sold vs at the hard price of labour, it followes, where we bestow most thereof we buy the best successe: and Ryme, being farre more laborious than loose measures (whatsoeuer is obiected), must needs, meeting with wit and industry, breed greater and worthier effects in our language. So that if our labours haue wrought out a manumission from bondage, and that wee goe at libertie, notwithstanding these ties, wee are no longer the slaues of

Ryme, but we make it a most excellent instrument to serue vs. Nor is this certaine limit obserued in Sonnets, any tyrannicall bounding of the conceit, but rather reducing it in *girum* and a iust forme, neither too long for the shortest proiect, nor too short for the longest, being but onely imployed for a present passion. For the body of our imagination being as an vnformed *Chaos* without fashion, without day, if by the diuine power of the spirit it be wrought into an Orbe of order and forme, is it not more pleasing to Nature, that desires a certaintie and comports not with that which is infinite, to haue these clozes, rather than not to know where to end, or how farre to goe, especially seeing our passions are often without measure? and wee finde the best of the Latines many times either not concluding or els otherwise in the end then they began. Besides, is it not most delightfull to see much excellentlie ordred in a small roome, or little gallantly disposed and made to fill vp a space of like capacitie, in such sort that the one would not appeare so beautifull in a larger circuite, nor the other do well in a lesse? which often we find to be so, according to the powers of nature in the workman. And these limited proportions and rests of stanzes, consisting of six, seuen, or eight lines, are of that happines both for the disposition of the matter, the apt planting the sentence where it may best stand to hit, the certaine close of delight with the full bodie of a iust period well carried, is such as neither the Greekes or Latines euer attained vnto. For their boundlesse running on often so confounds the Reader, that, hauing once lost himselfe, must either giue off vnsatisfied, or vncertainely cast backe to retriue the escaped sence, and to find way againe into this matter.

Me thinkes we should not so soone yeeld our consents captiue to the authoritie of Antiquitie, vnlesse we saw more reason; all our vnderstandings are not to be built by the square of *Greece* and *Italie*. We are the children of nature

as well as they; we are not so placed out of the way of iudgement but that the same Sunne of Discretion shineth vppon vs; we haue our portion of the same virtues as well as of the same vices: *Et Catilinam quocunque in populo videas, quocunque sub axe.* Time and the turne of things bring about these faculties according to the present estimation: and *Res temporibus non tempora rebus seruire oportet.* So that we must neuer rebell against vse: *Quem penes arbitrium est et vis et norma loquendi.* It is not the obseruing of *Trochaicques* nor their *Iambicques* that wil make our writings ought the wiser. All their Poesie, all their Philosophie is nothing, vnlesse we bring the discerning light of conceipt with vs to apply it to vse. It is not bookes, but onely that great booke of the world and the all-ouerspreading grace of heauen that makes men truly iudiciall. Nor can it be but a touch of arrogant ignorance to hold this or that nation Barbarous, these or those times grosse, considering how this manifold creature man, wheresoeuer hee stand in the world, hath alwayes some disposition of worth, intertaines the order of societie, affects that which is most in vse, and is eminent in some one thing or other that fits his humour and the times. The Grecians held all other nations barbarous but themselues; yet *Pirrhus* when he saw the well ordered marching of the Romanes, which made them see their presumptuous errour, could say it was no barbarous manner of proceeding. The *Gothes*, *Vandales*, and *Longobards*, whose comming downe like an inundation ouerwhelmed, as they say, al the glory of learning in *Europe*, haue yet left vs stil their lawes and customes as the originalls of most of the prouinciall constitutions of Christendome, which well considered with their other courses of gouernement may serue to cleare them from this imputation of ignorance. And though the vanquished neuer yet spake well of the Conquerour, yet even thorow the vnsound couerings of malidiction appeare

those monuments of trueth as argue wel their worth and proues them not without iudgement, though without Greeke and Latine.

Will not experience confute vs, if wee shoulde say the state of *China*, which neuer heard of Anapestiques, Trochies, and Tribracques, were grosse, barbarous, and vnciuille? And is it not a most apparant ignorance, both of the succession of learning in *Europe* and the generall course of things, to say 'that all lay pittifully deformed in those lacke-learning times from the declining of the Romane Empire till the light of the Latine tongue was reuiued by Rewcline, Erasmus, and Moore'? when for three hundred yeeres before them, about the comming downe of *Tamburlaine* into *Europe*, *Franciscus Petrarcha* (who then no doubt likewise found whom to imitate) shewed all the best notions of learning, in that degree of excellencie both in Latine, Prose and Verse, and in the vulgare Italian, as all the wittes of posteritie haue not yet much ouer-matched him in all kindes to this day: his great Volumes in Moral Philosophie shew his infinite reading and most happy power of disposition: his twelue Æglogues, his *Affrica*, containing nine Bookes of the last Punicke warre, with his three bookes of Epistles in Latine verse shew all the transformations of wit and inuention that a Spirite naturally borne to the inheritance of Poetrie and iudiciall knowledge could expresse: all which notwithstanding wrought him not that glory and fame with his owne Nation as did his Poems in Italian, which they esteeme aboue al whatsoeuer wit could haue inuented in any other forme then wherein it is: which questionles they wil not change with the best measures Greeks or Latins can shew them, howsoeuer our Aduersary imagines. Nor could this very same innouation in Verse, begun amongst them by C. Tolomœi, but die in the attempt, and was buried as soone as it came borne, neglected as a prodigious and

vnnaturall issue amongst them: nor could it neuer induce Tasso, the wonder of Italy, to write that admirable Poem of *Ierusalem*, comparable to the best of the ancients, in any other forme than the accustomed verse. And with *Petrarch* liued his scholar *Boccacius*, and neere about the same time *Iohannis Rauenensis*, and from these, *tanquam ex equo Troiano*, seemes to haue issued all those famous Italian Writers, *Leonardus Aretinus*, *Laurentius Valla*, *Poggius*, *Biondus*, and many others. Then *Emanuel Chrysolaras*, a Constantinopolitan gentleman, renowmed for his learning and vertue, being imployed by *Iohn Paleologus*, Emperour of the East, to implore the ayde of Christian Princes for the succouring of perishing *Greece*, and vnderstanding in the meane time how *Baiazeth* was taken prisoner by *Tamburlan*, and his country freed from danger, stayed still at *Venice*, and there taught the Greeke tongue, discontinued before in these parts the space of seauen hundred yeeres. Him followed *Bessarion*, *George Trapezuntius*, *Theodorus Gaza*, and others, transporting Philosophie, beaten by the Turke out of *Greece*, into christendome. Hereupon came that mightie confluence of Learning in these parts, which, returning as it were *per postliminium*, and heere meeting then with the new inuented stampe of Printing, spread it selfe indeed in a more vniuersall sorte then the world euer heeretofore had it; when *Pomponius Laetus*, *Aeneas Syluius*, *Angelus Politianus*, *Hermolaus Barbarus*, *Iohannes Picus de Mirandula*, the miracle and Phœnix of the world, adorned *Italie*, and wakened other Nations likewise with this desire of glory, long before it brought foorth *Rewclen*, *Erasmus*, and *Moore*, worthy men, I confesse, and the last a great ornament to this land, and a Rymer.

And yet long before all these, and likewise with these, was not our Nation behinde in her portion of spirite and worthinesse, but concurrent with the best of all this lettered world; witnesse venerable *Bede*, that flourished

aboue a thousand yeeres since; *Aldelmus Durotelmus*, that liued in the yeere 739, of whom we finde this commendation registred: *Omnium Poetarum sui temporis facile primus, tantae eloquentiae, maiestatis, et eruditionis homo fuit, vt nunquam satis admirari possim vnde illi in tam barbara ac rudi aetate facundia accreuerit, vsque adeo omnibus numeris tersa, elegans, et rotunda, versus edidit cum antiquitate de palma contendentes.* Witnesse *Iosephus Deuonius*, who wrote *de bello Troiano* in so excellent a manner, and so neere resembling Antiquitie, as Printing his Worke beyond the seas they haue ascribed it to *Cornelius Nepos*, one of the Ancients. What should I name *Walterus Mape, Gulielmus Nigellus, Geruasius Tilburiensis, Bracton, Bacon, Ockam*, and an infinite Catalogue of excellent men, most of them liuing about foure hundred yeeres since, and haue left behinde them monuments of most profound iudgement and learning in all sciences! So that it is but the clowds gathered about our owne iudgement that makes vs thinke all other ages wrapt vp in mists, and the great distance betwixt vs that causes vs to imagine men so farre off to be so little in respect of our selues.

We must not looke vpon the immense course of times past as men ouer-looke spacious and wide countries from off high Mountaines, and are neuer the neere to iudge of the true Nature of the soyle or the particular syte and face of those territories they see. Nor must we thinke, viewing the superficiall figure of a region in a Mappe, that wee know strait the fashion and place as it is. Or reading an Historie (which is but a Mappe of Men, and dooth no otherwise acquaint vs with the true Substance of Circumstances then a superficiall Card dooth the Seaman with a Coast neuer seene, which alwayes prooues other to the eye than the imagination forecast it), that presently wee know all the world, and can distinctly iudge of times, men, and maners, iust as they were: When the

best measure of man is to be taken by his owne foote bearing euer the neerest proportion to himselfe, and is neuer so farre different and vnequall in his powers, that he hath all in perfection at one time, and nothing at another. The distribution of giftes are vniuersall, and all seasons haue them in some sort. We must not thinke but that there were *Scipioes*, *Cæsars*, *Catoes*, and *Pompeies* borne elsewhere then at *Rome*; the rest of the world hath euer had them in the same degree of nature, though not of state. And it is our weaknesse that makes vs mistake or misconcieue in these deliniations of men the true figure of their worth. And our passion and beliefe is so apt to leade vs beyond truth, that vnlesse we try them by the iust compasse of humanitie, and as they were men, we shall cast their figures in the ayre, when we should make their models vpon Earth. It is not the contexture of words, but the effects of Action, that giues glory to the times: we find they had *mercurium in pectore*, though not in *lingua*; and in all ages, though they were not Ciceronians, they knew the Art of men, which onely is *Ars Artium*, the great gift of heauen, and the chiefe grace and glory on earth; they had the learning of Gouernement, and ordring their State; Eloquence inough to shew their iudgements. And it seemes the best times followed *Lycurgus* councell; *Litcras ad vsum saltem discebant, reliqua omnis disciplina erat vt pulchre pararent vt labores preferrent, &c.* Had not vnlearned *Rome* laide the better foundation, and built the stronger frame of an admirable state, eloquent *Rome* had confounded it vtterly, which we saw ranne the way of all confusion, the plaine course of dissolution, in her greatest skill: and though she had not power to vndoe herselfe, yet wrought she so that she cast herselfe quite away from the glory of a commonwealth, and fell vpon the forme of state she euer most feared and abhorred of all other: and then scarse was

there seene any shadowe of pollicie vnder her first Emperours, but the most horrible and grosse confusion that could be conceued; notwithstanding it still indured, preseruing not onely a Monarchie, locked vp in her own limits, but therewithall held vnder her obedience so many Nations so farre distant, so ill affected, so disorderly commanded and vniustly conquered, as it is not to be attributed to any other fate but to the first frame of that commonwealth; which was so strongly ioynted, and with such infinite combinations interlinckt as one naile or other euer held vp the Maiestie thereof. There is but one learning, which *omnes gentes habent scriptum in cordibus suis*, one and the selfe-same spirit that worketh in all. We haue but one bodie of Iustice, one bodie of Wisdome thorowout the whole world; which is but apparelled according to the fashion of euery nation.

Eloquence and gay wordes are not of the substance of wit; it is but the garnish of a nice time, the Ornaments that doe but decke the house of a State, and *imitatur publicos mores*: Hunger is as well satisfied with meat serued in pewter as siluer. Discretion is the best measure, the rightest foote in what habit soeuer it runne. *Erasmus*, *Rewcline*, and *More* brought no more wisdome into the world with all their new reuiued wordes then we finde was before; it bred not a profounder Diuine then *S. Thomas*, a greater Lawyer then *Bartolus*, a more acute Logician then *Scotus*; nor are the effects of all this great amasse of eloquence so admirable or of that consequence, but that *impexa illa antiquitas* can yet compare with them.

Let vs go no further but looke vpon the wonderfull Architecture of this state of *England*, and see whether they were deformed times that could giue it such a forme: Where there is no one the least piller of Maiestie but was set with most profound iudgement, and borne vp with the iust conueniencie of Prince and people: no Court of

iustice but laide by the Rule and Square of Nature, and the best of the best commonwealths that euer were in the world: so strong and substantial as it hath stood against al the storms of factions, both of beliefe and ambition, which so powerfully beat vpon it, and all the tempestuous alterations of humorous times whatsoeuer: being continually in all ages furnisht with spirites fitte to maintaine the maiestie of her owne greatnes, and to match in an equall concurrencie all other kingdomes round about her with whome it had to incounter.

But this innouation, like a Viper, must euer make way into the world's opinion, thorow the bowelles of her owne breeding, and is alwayes borne with reproch in her mouth; the disgracing others is the best grace it can put on, to winne reputation of wit; and yet it is neuer so wise as it would seeme, nor doth the world euer get so much by it as it imagineth; which being so often deceiued, and seeing it neuer performes so much as it promises, me thinkes men should neuer giue more credite vnto it. For, let vs change neuer so often, wee can not change man; our imperfections must still runne on with vs. And therefore the wiser Nations haue taught menne alwayes to vse, *Moribus legibusque praesentibus etiamsi deteriores sint.* The Lacedæmonians, when a Musitian, thincking to winne himselfe credite by his new inuention and be before his fellowes, had added one string more to his Crowde, brake his fiddle and banished him the Citie, holding the Innouator, though in the least things, dangerous to a publike societie. It is but a fantastike giddinesse to forsake the way of other men, especially where it lies tolerable: *Vbi nunc est respublica, ibi simus potius quam dum illam veterem sequimur simus in nulla.*

But shal we not tend to perfection? Yes: and that euer best by going on in the course we are in, where we haue aduantage, being so farre onward, of him that is but

now setting forth. For we shall neuer proceede, if wee be euer beginning, nor arriue at any certayne Porte, sayling with all windes that blowe—*non conualescit planta quae saepius transfertur*—and therefore let vs hold on in the course wee haue vndertaken, and not still be wandring. Perfection is not the portion of man; and if it were, why may wee not as well get to it this way as another, and suspect those great vndertakers, lest they have conspired with enuy to betray our proceedings, and put vs by the honour of our attempts, with casting vs backe vpon another course, of purpose to ouerthrow the whole action of glory when we lay the fairest for it, and were so neere our hopes? I thanke God that I am none of these great Schollers, if thus their hie knowledges doe but giue them more eyes to looke out into vncertaintie and confusion, accounting my selfe rather beholding to my ignorance that hath set me in so lowe an vnder-roome of conceipt with other men, and hath giuen me as much distrust, as it hath done hope, daring not aduenture to goe alone, but plodding on the plaine tract I finde beaten by Custome and the Time, contenting me with what I see in vse.

And surely mee thinkes these great wittes should rather seeke to adorne than to disgrace the present; bring something to it, without taking from it what it hath. But it is euer the misfortune of Learning to be wounded by her owne hand. *Stimulos dat emula virtus,* and where there is not abilitie to match what is, malice will finde out ingines, either to disgrace or ruine it, with a peruerse incounter of some new impression; and, which is the greatest misery, it must euer proceed from the powers of the best reputation, as if the greatest spirites were ordained to indanger the worlde, as the grosse are to dishonour it, and that we were to expect *ab optimis periculum, a pessimis dedecus publicum.* Emulation, the strongest pulse that beats in high mindes, is oftentimes a winde, but of the worst effect;

for whilst the soule comes disappoynted of the obiect it wrought on, it presently forges another, and euen cozins it selfe, and crosses all the world, rather than it will stay to be vnder her desires, falling out with all it hath, to flatter and make faire that which it would haue.

So that it is the ill successe of our longings that with *Xerxes* makes vs to whippe the sea, and send a cartel of defiance to Mount *Athos*: and the fault laide vpon others weakenesse is but a presumptuous opinion of our owne strength, who must not seeme to be maistered. But had our Aduersary taught vs by his owne proceedings this way of perfection, and therein fram'd vs a Poeme of that excellencie as should haue put downe all, and beene the maisterpeece of these times, we should all haue admired him. But to depraue the present forme of writing, and to bring vs nothing but a few loose and vncharitable Epigrammes, and yet would make vs belieue those numbers were come to raise the glory of our language, giueth vs cause to suspect the performance, and to examine whether this new Arte *constat sibi*, or *aliquid sit dictum quod non sit dictum prius.*

First, we must heere imitate the Greekes and Latines, and yet we are heere shewed to disobey them, euen in theire owne numbers and quantities; taught to produce what they make short, and make short what they produce; made beleeue to be shewd measures in that forme we haue not seene, and no such matter; tolde that heere is the perfect Art of versifying, which in conclusion is yet confessed to be vnperfect, as if our Aduersary, to be opposite to vs, were become vnfaithfull to himselfe, and, seeking to leade vs out of the way of reputation, hath aduentured to intricate and confound him in his owne courses, running vpon most vneuen groundes, with imperfect rules, weake proofs, and vnlawful lawes. Whereunto the world, I am perswaded, is not so vnreasonable as to

subscribe, considering the vniust authoritie of the Lawgiuer: for who hath constituted him to be the *Radamanthus*, thus to torture sillables and adiudge them their perpetuall doome, setting his *Theta* or marke of condemnation vppon them, to indure the appoynted sentence of his crueltie, as hee shall dispose? As though there were that disobedience in our wordes, as they would not be ruled or stand in order without so many intricate Lawes; which would argue a great peruersenesse amongst them, according to that *in pessima republica plurimae leges*, or that they were so farre gone from the quiet freedome of nature that they must thus be brought backe againe by force. And now in what case were this poore state of words, if in like sorte another tyrant the next yeere should arise and abrogate these lawes and ordaine others cleane contrary according to his humor, and say that they were onely right, the others vniust? what disturbance were there here, to whome should we obey? Were it not farre better to holde vs fast to our olde custome than to stand thus distracted with vncertaine Lawes, wherein Right shall haue as many faces as it pleases Passion to make it, that wheresoeuer mens affections stand, it shall still looke that way? What trifles doth our vnconstant curiositie cal vp to contend for? what colours are there laid vpon indifferent things to make them seeme other then they are, as if it were but only to intertaine contestation amongst men, who, standing according to the prospectiue of their owne humour, seeme to see the selfe same things to appeare otherwise to them than either they doe to other, or are indeede in them selues, being but all one in nature? For what adoe haue we heere? what strange precepts of Arte about the framing of an Iambique verse in our language? which, when all is done, reaches not by a foote, but falleth out to be the plaine ancient verse, consisting of ten sillables or fiue feete, which hath euer beene vsed

amongest vs time out of minde, and, for all this cunning and counterfeit name, can or will [not] be any other in nature then it hath beene euer heretofore: and this new *Dimeter* is but the halfe of this verse diuided in two, and no other then the *Caesura* or breathing place in the middest thereof, and therefore it had bene as good to haue put two lines in one, but only to make them seeme diuerse. Nay, it had beene much better for the true English reading and pronouncing thereof, without violating the accent, which now our Aduersarie hath heerein most vnkindely doone: for, being as wee are to sound it, according to our English March, we must make a rest, and raise the last sillable, which falles out very vnnaturall in *Desolate*, *Funerall*, *Elizabeth*, *Prodigall*, and in all the rest, sauing the Monosillables. Then followes the English *Trochaicke*, which is saide to bee a simple verse, and so indeede it is, being without Ryme: hauing here no other grace then that in sound it runnes like the knowne measure of our former ancient Verse, ending (as we terme it according to the French) in a feminine foote, sauing that it is shorter by one sillable at the beginning, which is not much missed, by reason it falles full at the last. Next comes the *Elegiacke*, being the fourth kinde, and that likewise is no other then our old accustomed measure of fiue feet: if there be any difference, it must be made in the reading, and therein wee must stand bound to stay where often we would not, and sometimes either breake the accent or the due course of the word. And now for the other foure kinds of numbers, which are to be employed for *Odes*, they are either of the same measure, or such as haue euer beene familiarly vsed amongst vs.

So that of all these eight seuerall kindes of new promised numbers, you see what we haue: Onely what was our owne before, and the same but apparelled in forraine Titles; which had they come in their kinde and naturall

attire of Ryme, wee should neuer haue suspected that they had affected to be other, or sought to degenerate into strange manners, which now we see was the cause why they were turnd out of their proper habite, and brought in as Aliens, onely to induce men to admire them as farre-commers. But see the power of Nature; it is not all the artificiall couerings of wit that can hide their natiue and originall condition, which breakes out thorow the strongest bandes of affectation, and will be it selfe, doe Singularitie what it can. And as for those imagined quantities of sillables, which haue bin euer held free and indifferent in our language, who can inforce vs to take knowledge of them, being *in nullius verba iurati*, and owing fealty to no forraine inuention? especially in such a case where there is no necessitie in Nature, or that it imports either the matter or forme, whether it be so or otherwise. But euery Versifier that wel obserues his worke findes in our language, without all these vnnecessary precepts, what numbers best fitte the Nature of her Idiome, and the proper places destined to such accents as she will not let in to any other roomes then in those for which they were borne. As for example, you cannot make this fall into the right sound of a verse—

None thinkes reward rendred worthy his worth,

vnlesse you thus misplace the accent vpon *Rendrèd* and *Worthie*, contrary to the nature of these wordes: which sheweth that two feminine numbers (or Trochies, if so you wil call them) will not succeede in the third and fourth place of the Verse. And so likewise in this case,

Though Death doth consume, yet Vertue preserues,

it wil not be a Verse, though it hath the iust sillables, without the same number in the second, and the altering of the fourth place in this sorte,

Though Death doth ruine, Virtue yet preserues.

Againe, who knowes not that we can not kindely answere a feminine number with a masculine Ryme, or (if you will so terme it) a *Trochei* with a *Sponde*, as *Weaknes* with *Confesse*, *Nature* and *Indure*, onely for that thereby wee shall wrong the accent, the chiefe Lord and graue Gouernour of Numbers? Also you cannot in a verse of foure feet place a *Trochei* in the first, without the like offence, as, *Yearely out of his watry Cell*; for so you shall sound it Yeareliè, which is vnnaturall. And other such like obseruations vsually occurre, which Nature and a iudiciall eare of themselues teach vs readily to auoyde.

But now for whom hath our Aduersary taken all this paines? For the Learned, or for the Ignorant, or for himselfe, to shew his owne skill? If for the Learned, it was to no purpose, for euerie Grammarian in this land hath learned his *Prosodia*, and alreadie knowes all this Arte of numbers: if for the Ignorant, it was vaine, for if they become Versifiers, wee are like to haue leane Numbers instead of fat Ryme; and if Tully would haue his Orator skilld in all the knowledges appertaining to God and man, what should they haue who would be a degree aboue Orators? Why then it was to shew his owne skill, and what himselfe had obserued; so he might well haue done without doing wrong to the fame of the liuing, and wrong to *England*, in seeking to lay reproach vpon her natiue ornaments, and to turne the faire streame and full course of her accents into the shallow current of a lesse vncertaintie, cleane out of the way of her knowne delight. And I had thought it could neuer haue proceeded from the pen of a Scholler (who sees no profession free from the impure mouth of the scorner) to say the reproach of others idle tongues is the curse of Nature vpon vs, when it is rather her curse vpon him, that knowes not how to vse his tongue. What, doth he think himselfe is now gotten so farre out of the way of contempt, that his

numbers are gone beyond the reach of obloquie, and that, how friuolous or idle soeuer they shall runne, they shall be protected from disgrace? as though that light rymes and light numbers did not weigh all alike in the graue opinion of the wise. And that is not Ryme but our ydle Arguments that hath brought downe to so base a reckning the price and estimation of writing in this kinde; when the few good things of this age, by comming together in one throng and presse with the many bad, are not discerned from them, but ouerlooked with them, and all taken to be alike. But when after-times shall make a quest of inquirie, to examine the best of this Age, peraduenture there will be found in the now contemned recordes of Ryme matter not vnfitting the grauest Diuine and seuerest Lawyer in this kingdome. But these things must haue the date of Antiquitie to make them reuerend and authentical. For euer in the collation of Writers men rather weigh their age then their merite, and *legunt priscos cum reuerentia, quando coaetaneos non possunt sine inuidia*[1]. And let no writer in Ryme be any way discouraged in his endeuour by this braue allarum, but rather animated to bring vp all the best of their powers, and charge with all the strength of nature and industrie vpon contempt, that the shew of their reall forces may turne backe insolencie into her owne holde. For be sure that innouation neuer works any ouerthrow, but vpon the aduantage of a carelesse idlenesse. And let this make vs looke the better to our feete, the better to our matter, better to our maners. Let the Aduersary that thought to hurt vs bring more profit and honor by being against vs then if he had stoode still on our side. For that (next to the awe of heauen) the best reine, the strongest hand to make men keepe their way, is that which their enemy beares vpon them: and let this be the benefite wee make by being oppugned, and the

[1] In the margin: *Simplicius longe posita miramur.*

meanes to redeeme backe the good opinion vanitie and idlenesse haue suffered to be wonne from vs; which nothing but substance and matter can effect. For *Scribendi recte sapere est et principium et fons.*

When we heare Musicke, we must be in our eare in the vtter-roome of sense, but when we intertaine iudgement, we retire into the cabinet and innermost withdrawing chamber of the soule: And it is but as Musicke for the eare *Verba sequi fidibus modulanda Latinis*; but it is a worke of power for the soule *Numerosque modosque ediscere vitae.* The most iudiciall and worthy spirites of this Land are not so delicate, or will owe so much to their eare, as to rest vppon the outside of wordes, and be intertained with sound; seeing that both Number, Measure, and Ryme is but as the ground or seate, whereupon is raised the work that commends it, and which may be easilie at the first found out by any shallow conceipt: as wee see some fantasticke to beginne a fashion, which afterward grauity itselfe is faine to put on, because it will not be out of the weare of other men, and *Recti apud nos locum tenet error vbi publicus factus est.* And power and strength that can plant it selfe any where hauing built within this compasse, and reard it of so high a respect, wee now imbrace it as the fittest dwelling for our inuention, and haue thereon bestowed all the substance of our vnderstanding to furnish it as it is. And therefore heere I stand foorth, onelie to make good the place we haue thus taken vp, and to defend the sacred monuments erected therein, which containe the honour of the dead, the fame of the liuing, the glory of peace, and the best power of our speach, and wherin so many honourable spirits haue sacrificed to Memorie their dearest passions, shewing by what diuine influence they haue beene moued, and vnder what starres they liued.

But yet notwithstanding all this which I haue heare

deliuered in the defence of Ryme, I am not so farre in loue with mine owne mysterie, or will seeme so froward, as to bee against the reformation and the better setling these measures of ours. Wherein there be many things I could wish were more certaine and better ordered, though my selfe dare not take vpon me to be a teacher therein, hauing so much neede to learne of others. And I must confesse that to mine owne eare those continuall cadences of couplets vsed in long and continued Poemes are verie tyresome and vnpleasing, by reason that still, me thinks, they run on with a sound of one nature, and a kinde of certaintie which stuffs the delight rather then intertaines it. But yet, notwithstanding, I must not out of mine owne daintinesse condemne this kinde of writing, which peraduenture to another may seeme most delightfull; and many worthy compositions we see to haue passed with commendation in that kinde. Besides, me thinkes, sometimes to beguile the eare with a running out, and passing ouer the Ryme, as no bound to stay vs in the line where the violence of the matter will breake thorow, is rather gracefull then otherwise. Wherein I finde my Homer-Lucan, as if he gloried to seeme to haue no bounds, albeit hee were confined within his measures, to be in my conceipt most happy. For so thereby they who care not for Verse or Ryme may passe it ouer with taking notice thereof, and please themselues with a well measured Prose. And I must confesse my Aduersary hath wrought this much vpon me, that I thinke a Tragedie would indeede best comporte with a blank Verse and dispence with Ryme, sauing in the *Chorus*, or where a sentence shall require a couplet. And to auoyde this ouer-glutting the eare with that alwayes certaine and full incounter of Ryme, I haue assaid in some of my Epistles to alter the vsuall place of meeting, and to sette it further off by one Verse, to trie how I could disuse mine owne eare and to ease it of

this continuall burthen which indeede seemes to surcharge it a little too much: but as yet I cannot come to please my selfe therein, this alternate or crosse Ryme holding still the best place in my affection.

Besides, to me this change of number in a Poem of one nature fits not so wel as to mixe vncertainly feminine Rymes with masculine, which euer since I was warned of that deformitie by my kinde friend and countri-man Maister Hugh Samford, I haue alwayes so auoyded it, as there are not aboue two couplettes in that kinde in all my Poem of the Ciuill warres: and I would willingly if I coulde haue altered it in all the rest, holding feminine Rymes to be fittest for Ditties, and either to be set for certaine, or els by themselues. But in these things, I say, I dare not take vpon mee to teach that they ought to be so, in respect my selfe holds them to be so, or that I thinke it right: for indeed there is no right in these things that are continually in a wandring motion, carried with the violence of vncertaine likings, being but onely the time that giues them their power. For if this right or truth should be no other thing then that wee make it, we shall shape it into a thousand figures, seeing this excellent painter, Man, can so well lay the colours which himselfe grindes in his owne affections, as that hee will make them serue for any shadow and any counterfeit. But the greatest hinderer to our proceedings and the reformation of our errours is this Selfeloue, whereunto we Versifiers are euer noted to bee specially subiect; a disease of all other the most dangerous and incurable, being once seated in the spirits, for which there is no cure but onely by a spirituall remedie. *Multos puto ad sapientiam potuisse peruenire, nisi putassent se peruenisse*: and this opinion of our sufficiencie makes so great a cracke in our iudgement, as it wil hardly euer holde any thing of worth. *Caecus amor sui*; and though it would seeme to see all without it, yet certainely it discernes but little

within. For there is not the simplest writer that will euer tell himselfe he doth ill, but, as if he were the parasite onely to sooth his owne doings, perswades him that his lines can not but please others which so much delight himselfe: *Suffenus est quisque sibi*

—neque idem vnquam
Aeque est beatus, ac poema cum scribit.
Tam gaudet in se tamque se ipse miratur.

And the more to shew that he is so, we shall see him euermore in all places, and to all persons repeating his owne compositions; and

Quem vero arripuit, tenet, occiditque legendo.

Next to this deformitie stands our affectation, wherein we alwayes bewray our selues to be both vnkinde and vnnaturall to our owne natiue language, in disguising or forging strange or vnusuall wordes, as if it were to make our verse seeme another kind of speach out of the course of our vsuall practise, displacing our wordes, or inuenting new, onely vpon a singularitie, when our owne accustomed phrase, set in the due place, would expresse vs more familiarly and to better delight than all this idle affectation of antiquitie or noueltie can euer doe. And I cannot but wonder at the strange presumption of some men, that dare so audaciously aduenture to introduce any whatsoeuer forraine wordes, be they neuer so strange, and of themselues, as it were, without a Parliament, without any consent or allowance, establish them as Free-denizens in our language. But this is but a Character of that perpetuall reuolution which wee see to be in all things that neuer remaine the same: and we must heerein be content to submit our selues to the law of time, which in few yeeres wil make al that for which we now contend *Nothing*.

APPENDIX

I

BEN JONSON

1598–1601

[The following passages from Ben Jonson's *Every Man in his Humour, Every Man out of his Humour*, and the *Poetaster* contain his earlier critical dicta and more important references to contemporary literature.]

I.

From *Every Man in his Humor*, Quarto 1601, Act v, Scene 1. (Bodleian Library. Malone, 229.) Omitted from the Folio 1616. The play was first acted in 1598 (or 1597).

Mat[*heo*]. Sir, heres the beginning of a sonnet I made to my mistresse.

Cle[*ment*]. That, that: who? To *Maddona Hesperida?* Is she your mistresse?

Pros[*pero*]. It pleaseth him to call her so, sir.

Clem. 'In Sommer time when Phœbus golden rayes.' You translated this too, did you not?

Pros. No, this is inuention; he found it in a ballad.

Mat. Fayth, sir, I had most of the conceite of it out of a ballad indeede.

Clem. Conceite: fetch me a couple of torches, sirha. I may see the conceite: quickly! its very darke!

Gui[*lliano*]. Call you this poetry?

Lo[*renzo*] *iu*[*nior*]. Poetry? nay, then call blasphemie religion;
Call Diuels Angels; and Sinne pietie:
Let all things be preposterously transchangd.

Lo[*renzo*] *se*[*nior*]. Why, how now, sonne? what! are you startled now?
Hath the brize prickt you, ha? go to; you see
How abiectly your Poetry is ranckt,
In generall opinion.
Lo. iu. Opinion! O God, let grosse opinion
Sinck & be damnd as deepe as *Barathrum.*
If it may stand with your most wisht content,
I can refell opinion and approue
The state of poesie, such as it is,
Blessed, æternall, and most true deuine:
Indeede, if you will looke on Poesie,
As she appeares in many, poore and lame,
Patcht vp in remnants and old worne ragges,
Halfe starud for want of her peculiar foode,
Sacred inuention, then I must conferme
Both your conceite and censure of her merrite;
But view her in her glorious ornaments,
Attired in the maiestie of arte,
Set high in spirite with the precious taste
Of sweete philosophie, and, which is most,
Crownd with the rich traditions of a soule
That hates to haue her dignitie prophand
With any relish of an earthly thought—
Oh then how proud a presence doth she beare!
Then is she like her selfe, fit to be seene
Of none but graue and consecrated eyes.
Nor is it any blemish to her fame
That such leane, ignorant, and blasted wits,
Such brainlesse guls, should vtter their stolne wares
With such aplauses in our vulgar eares;
Or that their slubberd lines haue currant passe,
From the fat iudgements of the multitude;
But that this barren and infected age
Should set no difference twixt these empty spirits
And a true Poet; then which reuerend name
None can more adorne humanitie. *Enter with torches.*
Clem. I, Lorenzo, but election is now gouernd altogether by the influence of humor, which, insteed of those holy flames that should direct and light the soule to eternitie, hurles foorth nothing but smooke and congested vapours, that stifle her vp, and bereaue her of al sight & motion. But she must

haue store of *Ellebore* giuen her to purge these grosse obstructions. Oh, thats well sayd. Giue me thy torch; come lay this stuffe together. So, giue fire! there, see, see, how our Poets glory shines brighter, and brighter! still, still it increaseth! Oh, now its at the highest! and now it declines as fast! You may see, gallants, *Sic transit gloria mundi* . . .

II.

From *The Workes of Beniamin Ionson.* Folio 1616. (Bodleian Library. Douce, I. 302.)

This Prologue appears first in the Folio, but may be dated 1598. Gifford's evidence for 1596 is inconclusive.

PROLOGVE.

Though neede make many *Poets*, and some such
As art and nature haue not betterd much,
Yet ours, for want, hath not so lou'd the stage,
As he dare serue th'ill customes of the age,
Or purchase your delight at such a rate,
As, for it, he himselfe must iustly hate:
To make a child, now swadled, to proceede
Man, and then shoote vp, in one beard and weede,
Past threescore yeeres; or, with three rustie swords,
And helpe of some few foot-and-halfe-foote words,
Fight ouer *Yorke* and *Lancasters* long iarres,
And in the tyring-house bring wounds to scarres.
He rather prayes you will be pleas'd to see
One such to day, as other playes should be;
Where neither *Chorus* wafts you ore the seas;
Nor creaking throne comes downe, the boyes to please;
Nor nimble squibbe is seene, to make afear'd
The gentlewomen; nor roul'd bullet heard,
To say it thunders; nor tempestuous drumme
Rumbles, to tell you when the storme doth come;
But deedes, and language, such as men doe vse,
And persons, such as *Comœdie* would chuse,
When she would shew an Image of the times,
And sport with humane follies, not with crimes,
Except we make 'hem such, by louing still
Our popular errors, when we know th'are ill.

I meane such errors as you 'll all confesse,
By laughing at them, they deserue no lesse:
Which when you heartily doe, there 's hope left then,
You, that haue so grac'd monsters, may like men.

III.

From *Every Man out of his Humor.* Quarto, 1600. (Bodleian Library. Malone, 229.) The play was produced in 1599.

INDVCTIO, SONO SECVNDO.

GREX.

ASPER, CORDATVS, MITIS.

. . . . . .

Mit[*is*]. In faith this Humor will come ill to some.
You will be thought to be too peremptorie.
Asp[*er*]. This Humor? good; and why this Humor, *Mitis*?
Nay, doe not turne, but answere.
Mit. Answere? what?
Asp. I will not stirre your patience: pardon me,
I vrg'd it for some reasons, and the rather
To giue these ignorant wel-spoken daies
Some tast of their abuse of this word *Humor.*
Cor[*datus*]. O, doe not let your purpose fall, good *Asper*;
It cannot but arriue most acceptable,
Chiefely to such as haue the happinesse
Daily to see how the poore innocent word
Is rackt and tortur'd.
Mit. I; I pray you proceed.
Asp. Ha, what? what is 't?
Cord. For the abuse of *Humor.*
Asp. O, I craue pardon, I had lost my thoughts.
Why *Humor*, as 'tis *ens*, we thus define it
To be a quality of aire or water,
And in it selfe holds these two properties,
Moisture and Fluxure: As, for demonstration,
Poure water on this floore, 'twill wet and runne;
Likewise the aire, forc't through a horne or trumpet,
Flowes instantly away, and leaues behind
A kinde of due; and hence we doe conclude,
That what soe're hath fluxure and humiditie,

As wanting power to containe it selfe,
Is *Humor*: so in euery humane bodie
The choller, melancholy, flegme, and bloud,
By reason that they flow continually
In some one part, and are not continent,
Receiue the name of Humors. Now thus farre
It may, by Metaphore, apply it selfe
Vnto the generall disposition,
As when some one peculiar quality
Doth so possesse a man, that it doth draw
All his affects, his spirits, and his powers,
In their confluctions all to runne one way,
This may be truly said to be a Humor.
But that a Rooke in wearing a pide feather,
The cable hatband, or the three-pild ruffe,
A yard of shoe-tie, or the Switzers knot
On his French garters, should affect a Humor,
O, tis more than most ridiculous.

Cord. He speakes pure truth: Now if an Ideot
Haue but an Apish or Phantasticke straine,
It is his Humor.

Asp. Well, I will scourge those apes,
And to these courteous eies oppose a mirror,
As large as is the Stage whereon we act,
Where they shall see the times deformity
Anatomiz'd in euery Nerue and sinew,
With constant courage and contempt of feare.

Mit. Asp. (I vrge it as your friend) take heed;
The daies are dangerous, full of exception,
And men are growne impatient of reproofe.

Asp. Ha, ha!
You might as well haue told me, yond' is heauen,
This earth, these men, and all had mou'd alike.
Doe not I know the times condition?
Yes, *Mitis*; and their soules, and who they be
That either will or can except against me:
None but a sort of fooles, so sicke in tast,
That they contemne all Physicke of the mind,
And, like gald Camels, kicke at euery touch.
Good men, and vertuous spirits, that loath their vices,
Will cherish my free labours, loue my lines,
And with the feruor of their shining grace

Make my braine fruitfull to bring forth more obiects
Worthy their serious and intentiue eies.
But why enforce I this? as fainting? no.
If any here chance to behold himselfe,
Let him not dare to challenge me of wrong;
For, if he shame to haue his follies knowne,
First he should shame to act 'hem: my strict hand
Was made to ceaze on vice, and with a gripe
Crush out the Humor of such spongie soules,
As licke vp euery idle vanity.

Cord. Why, this is right *Furor Poeticus.*
Kind gentlemen, we hope your patience
Will yet conceiue the best, or entertaine
This supposition, That a madman speakes.
. . . . . .

Mit. You haue seene his play, *Cordatus*? pray you, how is't?

Cord. Faith sir, I must refraine to iudge, onely this I can say of it, 'tis strange, and of a perticular kind by it selfe, somewhat like *Vetus Comœdia*: a worke that hath bounteously pleased me: how it will answere the generall expectation, I know not.

Mit. Does he obserue all the lawes of Comedie in it?

Cord. What lawes meane you?

Mit. Why, the equall diuision of it into Acts and Scenes, according to the Terentian manner; his true number of Actors; the furnishing of the Scene with *Grex* or *Chorus*; and that the whole Argument fall within compasse of a daies efficiencie.

Cord. O no, these are too nice obseruations.

Mit. They are such as must be receiued by your fauour, or it cannot be Authentique.

Cord. Troth, I can discerne no such necessitie.

Mit. No?

Cord. No, I assure you, signior: if those lawes you speake of had beene deliuered vs *ab Initio*, and in their present vertue and perfection, there had beene some reason of obeying their powers; but 'tis extant that that which we call *Comœdia* was at first nothing but a simple and continued Satyre, sung by one only person, till *Susario* inuented a second; after him, *Epicharmus* a third; *Phormus* and *Chionides* deuised to haue foure Actors, with a *Prologue* and *Chorus*; to which *Cratinus* (long after) added fift and

sixt; *Eupolis* more; *Aristophanes* more than they: euery man in the dignity of his spirit and iudgement supplied something: and, though that in him this kind of Poeme appeared absolute, and fully perfected, yet how is the face of it chang'd since, in *Menander, Philemon, Cecilius, Plautus,* and the rest; who haue vtterly excluded the *Chorus,* altered the property of the persons, their names, and natures, and augmented it with all libertie, according to the elegancie and disposition of those times wherein they wrote. I see not then but wee should enioy the same *Licentia* or free power to illustrate and heighten our inuention as they did; and not bee tied to those strict and regular formes which the nicenesse of a fewe (who are nothing but Forme) would thrust vpon vs.

Mit. Well, we will not dispute of this nowe: but what's his Scene?

Cor. Mary, *Insula fortunata,* Sir.

Mit. O, the fortunate Iland? masse, he [h]as bound himselfe to a strict law there.

Cor. Why so?

Mit. Hee cannot lightly a[l]ter the Scene, without crossing the seas.

Cor. He needes not, hauing a whole Ilande to runne through, I thinke.

Mit. No! howe comes it then, that in some one play wee see so manye Seas, Countries, and Kingdomes past ouer with such admirable dexteritie?

Cor. O, that but shewes how wel the Authors can trauaile in their vocation, and out run the apprehension of their Auditory. But leauing this, I would they would begin once: this protraction is able to sower the best-settled patience in the Theatre.

IV.

From the *Poetaster or The Arraignment,* Quarto 1620. (Bodleian Library. Malone, 213.) The play was produced in 1601.

ACTVS PRIMVS. SCENA SECVNDA.

. . . . . .

Ouid. O sacred Poësy, thou spirit of *Arts,*
The soule of *Science,* and the Queene of Soules,

What prophane violence, almost sacriledge,
Hath here beene offered thy Diuinities!
Hmh! that thine owne guiltlesse Pouerty should arme
Prodigious Ignorance to wound thee thus!
For thence is all their force of Argument
Drawne foorth against thee; or from the abuse
Of thy great powers in Adultrate braines;
When, would men learne but to distinguish spirits,
And set true difference twixt those iaded wits
That runne a broken pase for common hire,
And the high Raptures of a happy soule,
Borne on the winges of her immortall thought,
That kickes at earth with a disdainefull heele,
And beates at Heauen gates with her bright hooues;
They would not then with such distorted faces,
And dudgeon Censures, stab at *Poesy*:
They would admire bright knowledge, and their minds
Should nere descend on so vnworthy obiects
As Gould or Titles; they would dread farre more
To be thought ignorant then be knowne poore.
The time was once, when wit drownd wealth: but now,
Your onely Barbarism 's to haue wit, and want.
No matter now in vertue who excells,
He that hath coyne hath all perfection else . . .

ACTVS QVINTVS. SCENA PRIMA.

. . . . . .

[*Caesar.*] Say then, lou'd *Horace*, thy true thought of *Virgill.*
Hor[*ace*]. I iudge him of a rectified spirit,
By many reuolutions of discourse
(In his bright reasons influence) refin'd
From all the tartarous Moodes of common Men;
Bearing the Nature and similitude
Of a right heauenly Bodie; most seuere
In fashion and collection of himselfe;
And, then, as cleare and confident as *Ioue.*
Gal[*lus*]. And yet so chast and tender is his Eare
In suffering in any Syllable to passe,
That he thinkes may become the honour'd name
Of Issue to his so examin'd selfe,
That all the lasting fruites of his full merit

In his owne *Poemes* he doth still distaste;
As if his mindes Peece, which he stroue to paint,
Could not with fleshly Pensils haue her right.
Tibul[*lus*]. But, to approue his workes of Soueraigne worth,
This Obseruation (me thinkes) more then serues,
And is not vulgar. That which he hath writ
Is with such iudgement labour'd, and distill'd
Through all the needefull vses of our liues,
That could a man remember but his Lines,
He should not touch at any serious point,
But he might breath his spirit out of him.
Cæsar. You meane, he might repeat part of his workes,
As fit for any conference he can vse?
Tib. Trew, Royall *Cæsar*.
Cæsar. 'Tis worthily obseru'd:
And a most worthie vertue in his workes.
What thinks Materiall *Horace* of his learning?
Hor. His Learning labours not the Schoole-like *Glosse*,
That most consists in *Ecchoing* Wordes and *Termes*,
And soonest wins a man an Empty name;
Nor any long or far-fetcht Circumstance,
Wrapt in the curious General'ties of *Artes*;
But a direct and *Analyticke* Summe
Of all the worth and first effectes of *Artes*.
And for his *Poësie*, 'tis so ramm'd with Life,
That it shall gather strength of Life with being,
And liue hereafter, more admir'd then now.
Cæsar. This one consent in all your doomes of him,
And mutuall Loues of all your seuerall merits,
Argues a truth of merit in you all. . . .

Actvs Qvintvs. Scena Tertia.

. . . . . .

Virgill. Before you goe together, worthy *Romanes*,
We are to tender our Opinion,
And giue you those Instructions that may adde
Vnto your euen Iudgement in the Cause;
Which thus we doe Commence. First, you must know
That where there is a true and perfect Merit,
There can be no Deiection; and the Scorne
Of humble Basenesse oftentimes so workes

In a high Soule vpon the grosser Spirit,
That to his bleared and offended Sense
There seemes a hideous Fault blaz'd in the Obiect,
When only the Disease is in his Eyes.
Here-hence it comes our *Horace* now stands taxt
Of *Impudence*, *Selfe-loue*, and *Arrogance*,
By these who share no merit in themselues,
And therefore thinke his Portion is as small.
For they, from their owne guilt, assure their Soules,
If they should confidently praise their workes,
In them it would appeare *Inflation*;
Which, in a full and well-digested man,
Cannot receiue that foule abusiue name,
But the faire Title of *Erection*.
And, for his trewe vse of *translating* Men,
It still hath beene a worke of as much Palme
In clearest Iudgements as t'*inuent* or *make*.
His *sharpnesse*—that is most excusable;
As being forc't out of a suffering Vertue,
Oppressed with the Licence of the Time;
And howsoeuer Fooles, or Ierking *Pedants*,
Players, or such like *Buffonary* wits,
May with their beggerly and barren trash
Tickle base vulgar eares, in their despight.
This, like *Ioues* Thunder, shall their pride controule.
'*The honest* Satyre *hath the happiest Soule*.'
Now, *Romanes*, you haue heard our thoughts. Withdrawe, when you please.

[*Demetrius and Crispinus having been placed on trial, the former confesses that mere envy had been his motive, and is forgiven by Horace. To the latter Horace's pills* 'mixt with the whitest kind of hellebore' *are given to*

'purge
His braine and stomach of those tumorous heats.'

The victim, like Lucian's Lexiphanes, rids himself painfully of his rhetorical jargon ('terrible windy words'), *and the scene proceeds*—]

Virgill. These Pilles can but restore him for a Time;
Not cure him quite of such a Malady,
Caught by so many surfets, which haue fild
His Blood and Braine thus full of *Crudities*:

'Tis necessary, therefore, he obserue
A strict and holsome Diet. Looke you take
Each morning of old *Catoes* Principles
A good draught next your heart; that walke vpon,
Till it be well digested: Then come home
And taste a piece of *Terence*; sucke his *Phrase*
In steede of Licorice; and, at any hand,
Shun *Plautus* and old *Ennius*; they are meates
Too harsh for a weake Stomacke. Vse to read
(But not without a *Tutor*) the best *Greekes*,
As *Orpheus*, *Musæus*, *Pindarus*,
Hesiod, *Callimachus*, and *Theocrite*,
High *Homer*; but beware of *Lycophron*;
He is too darke and dangerous a Dish.
You must not hunt for wild out-landish Termes,
To stuffe out a peculiar *Dialect*;
But let your *Matter* runne before your *Words*.
And if, at any time, you chaunce to meete
Some *Gallo-Belgick* Phrase, you shall not straight
Racke your poor Verse to giue it entertainement,
But let it passe: and doe not thinke your selfe
Much damnified, if you doe leaue it out,
When nor your *Vnderstanding* nor the *Sense*
Could well receiue it. This faire Abstinence,
In time, will render you more sound and Cleare.
And thus haue I prescrib'd to you, in place
Of a strict Sentence: which till he performe,
Attire him in that Robe. And hence-forth learne
To beare your selfe more humbly; not to swell,
Or breath your insolent and idle Spight
On him whose Laughter can your worst affright.

II

THE RETURNE FROM PARNASSUS

1601

[The following extract is taken from the Second Part of the *Returne from Parnassus*, performed in St. John's College, Cambridge, in 1601. Two editions appeared in 1606 (London: G. Eld for John Wright). Copies of these are preserved in the Malone Collection in the Bodleian Library. The three 'Parnassus' comedies have been edited by the Rev. W. D. Macray (*The Pilgrimage to Parnassus with the Two Parts of the Return from Parnassus.* Oxford. At the Clarendon Press. 1886). The passage is the second scene of the first Act.]

Enter INGENIOSO, IUDICIO.

Iud[*icio*]. What, *Ingenioso*, carrying a Vinegar bottle about thee, like a great schole-boy giuing the world a bloudy nose?

Ing[*enioso*]. Faith, *Iudicio*, if I carry the vineger bottle, it's great reason I should confer it vpon the bald pated world: and againe, if my kitchen want the vtensilies of viands, it's great reason other men should haue the sauce of vineger; and for the bloudy nose, *Iudicio*, I may chance indeed giue the world a bloudy nose, but it shall hardly giue me a crakt crowne, though it giues other Poets French crownes.

Iud. I would wish thee, *Ingenioso*, to sheath thy pen, for thou canst not be successefull in the fray, considering thy enemies haue the aduantage of the ground.

Ing. Or rather, *Iudicio*, they haue the grounds with aduantage, and the French crownes with a pox; and I would they had them with a plague too: but hang them, swadds, the basest corner in my thoughts is too gallant a roome to lodge

them in. But say, *Iudicio*, what newes in your presse? did you keepe any late corrections vpon any tardy pamphlets?

Iud. Veterem iubes renouare dolorem. Ingenioso, what ere befalls thee, keepe thee from the trade of the corrector of the presse.

Ing. Mary, so I will, I warrant thee; if pouerty presse not too much, Ile correct no presse but the presse of the people.

Iud. Would it not grieue any good spirits to sit a whole moneth nitting out a lousie beggarly Pamphlet, and like a needy Phisitian to stand whole yeares, tossing and tumbling the filth that falleth from so many draughty inuentions as daily swarme in our printing house?

Ing. Come, I thinke, we shall haue you put finger in the eye, and cry, *O friends, no friends.* Say man, what new paper hobby horses, what rattle bables are come out in your late May morrice daunce?

Iud. Slymy rimes as thick as flies in the sunne: I thinke there be neuer an ale-house in England, not any so base a maypole on a country greene, but sets forth some poets petternels or demilances to the paper warres in Paules Church-yard.

Ing. And well too may the issue of a strong hop learne to hop all ouer England, when as better wittes sit like lame coblers in their studies. Such barmy heads wil alwaies be working, when as sad vineger wittes sit souring at the bottome of a barrell: plaine Meteors, bred of the exhalation of Tobacco and the vapors of a moyst pot, that soure vp into the open ayre, when as sounder wit keepes belowe.

Iud. Considering the furies of the times, I could better endure to see those young Can quaffing hucksters shoot of their pellets so they would keepe them from these English *flores-poetarum*; but now the world is come to that passe, that there starts vp euery day an old goose that sits hatching vp those eggs which haue ben filcht from the nest[s] of Crowes and Kestrells. Here is a booke, *Ing*: why, to condemne it to cl[o]a[ca], the vsuall Tiburne of all misliuing papers, were too faire a death for so foule an offender.

Ing. What's the name of it, I pray thee, *Iud.*?

Iud. Looke, its here—*Beluedere.*

Ing. What! a bel-wether in Paules Church-yeard, so cald because it keeps a bleating, or because it hath the tinckling

bel of so many Poets about the neck of it? What is the rest of the title?

Iud. The garden of the Muses.

Ing. 'What have we here? The Poett garish
Gayly bedeckt like forehorse of the Parish.'
What followes?

Iud. Quem referent musae, viuet dum robora tellus,
Dum caelum stellas, dum vehit · mnis aquas.

[*Ing.*] Who blurres fayer paper with foule bastard rimes
Shall liue full many an age in latter times;
Who makes a ballet for an ale-house doore
Shall liue in future times for euer more.
Then Antony, thy muse shall live so long
As drafty ballats to [the paile] are song.
But what's his deuise? Parnassus with the sunne and the lawrel. I wonder this owle dares looke on the sunne, and I maruaile this gose flies not: the laurell? his deuise might haue bene better a foole going into the market place to be seene, with this motto, *scribimus indocti*, or a poore beggar gleaning of eares in the end of haruest, with this word, *sua cuique gloria.*

Iud. Turne ouer the leafe, *Ing:*, and thou shalt see the paynes of this worthy gentleman: Sentences gathered out of all kind of Poetts, referred to certaine methodicall heads, profitable for the vse of these times. to rime vpon any occasion at a little warning. Read the names.

Ing. So I will, if thou wilt helpe me to censure them.

Edmund Spencer.	*Michaell Drayton.*
Henry Constable.	*Iohn Dauis.*
Thomas Lodge.	*Iohn Marston.*
Samuel Daniell.	*Kit: Marlowe.*
Thomas Watson.	

Good men and true, stand togither: heare your censure.
What's thy iudgement of *Spencer*?

Iud. A sweeter Swan then euer song in Poe,
A shriller Nightingale then euer blest
The prouder groues of selfe admiring Rome!
Blith was each vally, and each sheapeard proud,
While he did chaunt his rurall minstralsie;
Attentiue was full many a dainty eare;
Nay, hearers hong vpon his melting tong,
While sweetly of his Faiery Queene he song,

While to the waters fall he tun'd [he]r fame,
And in each barke engrau'd Elizaes name.
And yet, for all this, vnregarding soile
Vnlac't the line of his desired life,
Denying mayntenance for his deare releife;
Carelesse [e]re to preuent his exequy,
Scarce deigning to shut vp his dying eye.
Ing. Pity it is that gentler witts should breed,
Where thick skin chuffes laugh at a schollers need.
But softly may our honours ashes rest,
That lie by mery *Chaucers* noble chest.
But I pray thee proceed breefly in thy censure, that I may be proud of my selfe; as in the first, so in the last, my censure may iumpe with thine. *Henry Constable, Samuel Daniell, Thomas Lodg, Thomas Watson.*
Iud. Sweete *Constable* doth take the wondring eare,
And layes it vp in willing prisonment:
Sweete hony dropping *Daniell* doth wage
Warre with the proudest big Italian,
That melts his heart in sugred sonneting;
Onely let him more sparingly make vse
Of others wit, and vse his owne the more,
That well may scorne base imitation.
For *Lodge* and *Watson*, men of some desert,
Yet subiect to a Critticks marginall;
Lodge for his oare in euery paper boate,
He that turnes ouer *Galen* euery day,
To sit and simper *Euphues* legacy.
Ing. Michael Drayton.
[*Iud.*] *Draytons* sweete muse is like a sanguine dy,
Able to rauish the rash gazers eye.
How euer, he wants one true note of a Poet of our times, and that is this, hee cannot swagger it well in a Tauerne nor dominere in a hot house.
[*Ing.*] *Iohn Dauis.*
[*Iud.*] Acute *Iohn Dauis*, I affect thy rymes,
That ierck in hidden charmes these looser times;
Thy plainer verse, thy vnaffected vaine,
Is grac't with a faire and sooping trayne.
Ing. Locke and *Hudson.*
Iud. Locke and *Hudson*, sleepe, you quiet shauers, among the shauings of the presse, and let your bookes lye in some

old nookes amongst old bootes and shooes, so you may auoide my censure.

Ing. Why then clap a lock on their feete, and turne them to commons.

Iohn Marston.

Iud. What, *Monsier Kynsader*, lifting vp your legge and pissing against the world! put vp man, put vp for shame!

Me thinks he is a Ruffian in his stile,
Withouten bands or garters ornament;
He quaffes a cup of Frenchmans Helicon,
Then royster doyster in his oylie tearmes,
Cutts, thrusts, and foines at whomesoeuer he meets,
And strewes about Ram-ally meditations.
Tut, what cares he for modest close coucht termes,
Cleanly to gird our looser libertines.
Giue him plaine naked words stript from their shirts,
That might beseeme plaine dealing *Aretine.*
I, there is one that backes a paper steed
And manageth a pen-knife gallantly,
Strikes his poinado at a buttons breadth,
Brings the great battering ram of tearmes to towns,
And, at first volly of his Cannon shot,
Batters the walles of the old fustie world.

Ing. Christopher Marlowe.

Iud. Marlowe was happy in his buskind muse,
Alas! vnhappy in his life and end.
Pitty it is that wit so ill should dwell,
Wit lent from heauen, but vices sent from hell,

Ing. Our *Theater* hath lost, *Pluto* hath got,
A Tragick penman for a driery plot.

Beniamin Iohnson.

Iud. The wittiest fellow of a Bricklayer in England.

Ing. A meere Empyrick, one that getts what he hath by obseruation, and makes onely nature priuy to what he indites; so slow an Inuentor that he were better betake himselfe to his old trade of Bricklaying; a bould whorson, as confident now in making a booke as he was in times past in laying of a brick.

William Shakespeare.

Iud. Who loues [not] *Adons* loue or *Lucre*[*ce*] rape?
His sweeter verse contaynes hart [th]robbing li[n]e,

Could but a grauer subiect him content,
Without loues foolish lazy languishment.
Ing. Churchyard.
Hath not *Shor's* wife, although a light skirts she,
Giuen him a chast long lasting memory?
Iud. No, all light pamphlets once, I, finden shall
A Churchyard and a graue to bury all.
Inge. Thomas Nash.
I, heare is a fellow, *Iudicio*, that carryed the deadly stock-ado in his pen, whose muse was armed with a gagtooth and his pen possest with *Hercules* furies.
Iud. Let all his faultes sleepe with his mournfull chest,
And then for euer with his ashes rest!
His style was wittie, though he had some gal;
Something he might haue mended, so may all.
Yet this I say, that for a mother witt,
Few men haue euer seene the like of it.
Ing. Reades the rest.
Iud. As for these, they haue some of them beene the old hedgstakes of the presse, and some of them are at this instant the botts and glanders of the printing house. Fellowes that stande only vpon tearmes to serue the tearme with their blotted papers, write as men go to stoole, for needes; and, when they write, they write as a b[o]are pisses—now and then drop a pamphlet.
Ing. Durum telum necessitas. Good fayth they do as I do—exchange words for mony. I haue some traffique this day with *Danter*, about a little booke which I haue made; the name of it is a Catalogue of *Cambrige* Cuckolds: but this Beluedere, this methodicall asse, hath made me almost forget my time. Ile now to Paules Churchyard; meete me an houre hence, at the signe of the Pegasus in Cheapside, and Ile moyst thy temples with a cuppe of Claret, as hard as the world goes. *Ex.* IUDICIO.

NOTES

NOTES

PUTTENHAM (pp. 1–193).

1. The heading '*George* Puttenham' may reasonably be objected to, in the light of the evidence which Mr. Henry Crofts has brought forward in favour of an elder brother *Richard* (*?* 1520–*?* 1601), though that evidence is not conclusive. See *The Governour*, by Sir Thomas Elyot, ed. 1880, i. 182–9; Mr. Lee's article in *D. N. B.* (based on the preceding); and the Introduction to Mr. Arber's edition. The sheets were printed off before I had convinced myself that the traditional ascription to 'George' must be abandoned, and that a better heading would have been 'Richard Puttenham,' or simply 'Puttenham.' Mr. Croft would explain the anonymity by the fact that Richard Puttenham was a prisoner in very distressed circumstances, and 'had parted with the MS. of his work' in such a way that the printer did not know his name. The *Stationers' Registers* show that the book had already been licensed to Thomas Orwin on November 9, 1588.

There are several contemporary references to the book, e. g. by Harington, supra, p. 196, and by Meres, supra, pp. 314, 321; but the ascription to *a* Puttenham is not known to have been made before 1614, when Camden inserted the name in the text of Carew (see note to p. 292, l. 23). Edmund Bolton in his *Hypercritica* (first published by Dr. Anthony Hall in 1722) speaks of the 'witty and artificial book of the Art of English Poetry (the Work as the Fame is) of one of her Gentlemen Pensioners, Puttenham (p. 236).' Bolton's MS. may have been written in 1618. Harington refers to the author as 'that unknowne Godfather' and as 'Ignoto' (supra, p. 196). The absence of literary clue is the more remarkable, as the author has himself supplied, by references throughout his book, a goodly list of his other writings, including *The Eclogue of Elpine* (see Arber, p. 180), *Partheniades*, *Ierotekni* (supra, p. 31), *a ditty of Great*

Britaine (supra, p. 43), a comedy *Ginecocratia* (supra, p. 139), *Of the originals and pedigree of the English tong* (supra, p. 149), an interlude *Lustie London* (Arber, pp. 183, 208), another, *The Woer* (Arber, pp. 212, 233), a Hymn to the Queen, entitled *Minerua* (Arber, p. 244), *Triumphals* (Arber, p. 245), *Philocalia* (supra, p. 170, see note), *De Decoro* (supra, p. 181), &c. Only one of these has been preserved, *The Partheniades* (Cotton MSS. Vesp. E. viii). It is printed by Haslewood and (partly) by Nichols in his *Progresses of Queen Elizabeth*, and is edited by Dr. Furnivall in *Ballads from MSS.*, ii. 72 et seq. (Ballad Society Publ.).

l. 25. *expresse passages*: e.g. p. 182, l. 30. But cf. 'sir,' p. 162, l. 16.

3. 6, &c. *A poet . . . a maker.* Cf. Sidney, i. p. 155, l. 26, note.

16. *a versifier.* See note to Sidney, supra, i. p. 159, l. 35.

4. 31. *Madame.* See note to p. 1, l. 25.

7. 8. Cf. Sidney, supra, i. 151.

28. Cf. Sidney, i. 154.

9. 10–25. Cf. Sidney, supra, i. passim.

34. *first Philosophers.* Cf. Sidney, i. pp. 151-2.

10. 1-8. Cf. Sidney, supra, i. p. 158.

32. *Perusine*, Peruvian.

12. 5–19. Cf. Ascham, supra, i. p. 29, l. 30.

13. 7, &c. A reference to the popular *Conseruandae bonae valetudinis praecepta*, written in 1100 for Robert, Duke of Normandy, son of William the Conqueror. Cf. ii. p. 361, l. 26, and Hall's *Satires*, iv. 4, 22-3 (ed. Grosart):—

> 'Tho neuer haue I *Salerne* rimes profest
> To be some Ladies trencher-criticke guest.'

Puttenham reads *Rege* and *tota schola* (an inversion of quantities), omits a fourth and fifth line, and alters the last line. (Cf. the Francfurt edition, 1573, f. 1.)

14. 1. Puttenham makes a false quantity of '&' by printing 'et' for 'atque.' He is not responsible for the other errors in quantity (e.g. sempēr, 4; nĕrē, 28; quinquē, 29, &c.).

15. 20–2. *the disportes of Ouid.* Cf. the quotation on p. 331, supra. The reference is probably to the Pseudo-Ovidius, not to P. Ovidius Naso, although the first line is found in some editions of the *Ars Amatoria*, i. 59.

27–30. Puttenham repeats this reference in Book III (see Arber, p. 261). Hucbald, monk of S. Amand, towards the close of the ninth century, wrote a poem in praise of bald heads, printed at Basle in 1516 and 1546. See the text in *Amphitheatrum Sapientiae Socraticae*, Hanau, 1619, and the account in *Histoire Lit. de la France*, vi. 215, and Ebert, iii. 167. See also Migne's *Patrologia*, cxxxii. 826.

16. 12–18. *Verse Lyon* cannot well be anything other than 'Leonine Verse' ('*versus Leonini*,' '*leonini rhythmi*,' '*rimes léonines*,' '*rimes doublettes*'), yet Puttenham's example does not illustrate the mediaeval form, viz. hexameters or alternate hexameters and pentameters in which the last word rhymes with the word immediately before the caesura. (See Scaliger, *Poetice*, ii. 29; Claude Fauchet, *Recueil* (1581), edit. 1610, pp. 552^{r}–3^{r}; Estienne Pasquier, *Les Recherches*, Bk. vii (edit. 1643); Buchler's recension of the *Instit. Poet.* of Jac. Pontanus, 69; Du Cange, s.v. '*Leonini versus*'; Langlois, *De Artibus Rhetoricae Rhythmicae*, 1890, p. 69, and *N. E. D.* s. v. 'Leonine.') Puttenham's quotation is an example of *versus reciproci* or *retrogradi*, verses which preserve the metre when the order of the words is reversed. See Scaliger, *Poetice*, ii. 30, and Buchler, u. s., who quotes the lines given by Puttenham.

17. 10. *Cherillus*. Cf. i. p. 334, l. 13.

19. Jean de Meun and Guillaume de Lorris; authors of the *Roman de la Rose*, of which the first part was written by the latter between 1225 and 1230 and the second by Jean de Meun over forty years later.

25. Sangelais, i.e. Melin de Saint-Gelais (1491–1559), son, or nephew, of the poet Octavien de Saint-Gelais who died in 1502.

Salmonius Macrinus, i.e. Jean Salmon, called 'Maigret' or 'Macrinus' (1490–1557), Latin poet, known to his contemporaries as the French Horace. See Gyraldus (ed. Wotke, u. s., p. 66).

26. Clement Marot (1495 or 1496–1544).

31. *one Gray*: probably William Gray (*d.* 1551), whose birthday verses to Somerset are printed by Dr. Furnivall in *Ballads from MSS.* (Ballad Soc. Public.), vol. i. pp. 310, 414 et seq.

18. 1. *Vargas*. See p. 326, l. 22, note. Is this the Balthasar de Vargas who wrote a verse account of the Duke of Alva's expedition to Flanders (1568)?

15. *Quintus Catulus*, i.e. C. Valerius Catullus.

27. *Antimenides*, brother of Alcaeus. See Aristotle, *Pol.* iii. 14. § 9.

19. 6, &c. Cf. Sidney, i. p. 151, l. 6, &c., and note.

1 & 30. Cf. Sidney, supra, i. p. 186, l. 33.

20. 27-8. See Quintil. vi. 2 (303). The text reads Euphantasiote, where *e* may stand for *æ*, a transliteration of Greek οι.

21. 3-12. This evergreen story of the Queen and Alain Chartier is not historical.

14. Cf. p. 17, l. 22.

22. 33. *Hermes Trismegistus*, Ἑρμῆς Τρισμέγιστος, second cent. A. D.

34. *Euax*, king of Arabia, is mentioned in a 'doubtful' passage in Pliny as the author of *De Simplicium Effectibus*. He is credited with the authorship of *De Nominibus et virtutibus Lapidum qui in Artem medicinae recipiuntur*, and is referred to by Marbodus in his *lapidarium* (*De Gemmis*).

35. *Auicenna*, i.e. Ḥusain ibn 'Abd Allah, called Ibn Sínâ (or Avicenna), the commentator of Aristotle. See Buhle, i. 325.

23. 1. *Alphonsus*. See supra, i. p. 163, l. 13.

4. The reference is to Henry VIII's *Assertio Septem Sacramentorum* (1521), against Luther.

9. *Margaret . . of Nauarre* (1492-1549). Puttenham is probably thinking of her *Heptaméron* (2nd edit. 1559), rather than her verse (*Les Marguerites de la Marguerite des princesses, &c.*).

22-4. See the complete text in the *Scholastica in Virgilium* in Masvicius's Virgil, i.

27. 18. *heywards*, in sense of 'herdsmen.' Cf. p. 39, l. 18.

29. 22. Text, *Celius*.

30. 2. *autharcos*, αὔταρχος.

14. *Anthropopathis*, ἀνθρωποπαθής.

31. 14. *our bookes of Ierotekni*. These are not extant.

33. 18-19. Cf. Jas. VI, supra, i. p. 221.

22. *brokers*. See note on *brocage*, supra, i. p. 127, l. 16.

34. 5, &c. Cf. Scaliger, *Poetice*, i. 7.

22. *Histrien*, an erroneous form of 'histrion.' See *N. E. D.*

35. 28. *Planipedes* (text Plampedes). Cf. Scaliger, *Poetice*, i. 10, with this chapter.

36. 1. *Shoppini*, chopines (see art. in *N.E.D.*). Their use in England appears to have been confined to the stage.

Chap. xvi. Cf. Sidney, supra, i. p. 178, l. 15.

39. 33. *cheuisance*, device, expedient, resource, shift.

40. 10. *I do deny*. . . . Contrast Scaliger, *Poetice*, i. 4 and 5.

43. 4. *Zenophon*, a common Renaissance form. Cf. p. 196, l. 19.

21–2. *Poets=Poets stile*. For the sense of the passage cf. τὸ γὰρ ἡρωικὸν στασιμώτατον καὶ ὀγκωδέστατον τῶν μέτρων ἐστίν, Aristotle, *Poetics*, xxiv. 5. Cf. i. p. 179, l. 28; ii. p. 338, l. 2.

26–7. The references to Pindar and Callimachus are vague. Pindar wrote hymns, but none are extant. The Odes of Victory may be 'Encomia.' Callimachus's hymns (all but one, the *L. Palladis*) are in hexameters. Some of his complimentary epigrams might be called 'Encomia.'

32–3. *Romance . . . of the Isle of* Great *Britaine*. This is not extant.

44. 2–4. Cf. Ascham, i. p. 4, and Nash, i. 323.

45. 6. *extraordinary* (subs.): 'a certaine extraordinary'=something extraordinary, an extraordinary bearing.

21. *Irus*, supra, i. p. 68, l. 14.

22. *noddie*, fool.

25. *long of*, on account of, owing to. This O.E. and M.E. usage is found at least six times in Shakespeare. It still lingers in dialect.

46. 15. *the Astronomicall of Aratus and Manilius*. The Φαινόμενα of the former (cf. supra, p. 71, ll. 19–20, note) was translated into Latin by Cicero and by Caesar Germanicus, and was known to the Humanists in the *Metaphrasis Arati* of Avienus, which was first printed at Venice in 1488. The *Astronomica* of Manilius was frequently printed with it.

16. *the Medicinall of Nicander*. Nicander, physician and poet of Colophon, quoted by Macrobius, *Saturn.* v. 21, was the author of the Θηριακά and the Ἀλεξιφάρμακα. These were printed together by Estienne (the Second) in 1566.

17. *Oppianus* (text *Oprianus*). See Scaliger, *Poetice*, v. 9, which is probably the source of the many panegyrics of his piscatory and hunting poems, even as late as Thomas Browne and Pope Blount.

50. 21-2. *Galenistes* and *Paracelsians*. The distinction here implied appears to be much the same as between the later 'Allopaths' and Homœopaths; but the contrast in literary usage (when 'Galenist' was not a mere synonym of 'physician') was between those who held by vegetable cures and those who held by chemical cures. Cf. Nash 'This needie Gallaunt ... rayleth on our Galenists and calls them dull gardners and haymakers in a mans belly' (Grosart, iii. 249): and Dekker has 'What Galenist or Paracelsian in the world, by all his water-casting and minerall extractions . . .' (*Seven D. Sinnes*, ed. Arber, 46).

26. *monethes mindes*, monthly remembrances of the dead. See quotation in Halliwell's *Dictionary*, 560.

51. 5. Text, *Procostris*.

52. 6. *Genetliaca* (γενεθλιακά). See Scaliger, *Poetice*, iii. 101.

33. *Epithalamies*. Puttenham here also borrows from Scaliger. See *Poetice*, iii. 100.

55. 23. Orig. *Ficenina*.

28-9. *Iohannes* [*Nicolaus*] *secundus*. His *Basia* was often reprinted. See the edition by Georg Ellinger, No. 14 of *Lateinische Litteraturdenkmäler* (Berlin, 1899).

56. 29. *Pasquill and Marphorius*. The *Dialogus Marphorii et Pasquilli* (Rome, c. 1552) had many imitations. Puttenham's uncle Sir Thomas Elyot, author of the *Governour*, had written in 1533 a dialogue entitled *Pasquil the Playne* (see Crofts' Elyot, i. 98). Opposite the statue of Pasquin in the Piazzo di Pasquino in Rome (so named from its having been found below the booth of the cobbler or tailor Pasquino, who had a satirical vein) stood the statue of Marforio, which, in popular belief, conversed with its neighbour. Lampoons ('pasquinades,' 'pasquills') or papers of questions affixed to the pedestal of the former were answered on sheets placed on the base of the latter.

57. 5, &c. The story of the distich will be found in the Life of Virgil by Donatus.

58. 14. *bouche in court* (text *bonche*). *Bouch* is the allowance of victual &c. given by a king to members of his household or retinue. It is confined to the phrase 'to have bouch (lit. mouth) in court,' or 'bouch of court' ('*avoir bouche à*, or *en, cour*').

60. 11-19. See Scaliger, *Poetice*, i. 53.

28. *Nenia* (*Naenia*) or *apophoreta* (*τὰ ἀποφόρητα*).
See Scaliger, *Poetice*, i. 50 (and Quintilian, viii. 2 (383)).

61. 6. *Saxon English.* Cf. p. 80 and notes.

62. 3. Cf. Sidney's list and his statement, supra, i. p. 196, l. 21.

25. *that nameles* . Puttenham's accuracy in not taking Piers as the author is noteworthy, especially as the error is common with his contemporaries. Cf. Spenser, 'Epilogue' to *Shep. Cal.*; Webbe, supra, i. p. 242; Meres, infra, p. 314; &c.

63. 2. *the first reformers.* Cf. infra, p. 131, l. 23; also p. 219, l. 7.

4. *Lord . . Vaux.* Puttenham refers to his *'facilitie'* on p. 65, l. 19, and again on p. 247 of Mr. Arber's complete text of Bk. III ('a man otherwise of no great learning, but hauing herein a maruelous facillitie'). 'Nicholas' is a slip for 'Thomas.' See Index.

8. Text *Hoywood.* John Heywood (?1497—?1580). His *Proverbs* and *Epigrams* are printed by the Spenser Society (1867).

13. *Edward Ferrys* (or Ferrers). This appears to be an error (repeated by Meres and Anthony Wood) for George Ferrers, the dramatist. The description suits the latter. The form occurs again, p. 65, l. 24, and in association with Lord Buckhurst. See also Meres, infra, p. 319, l. 27. For notes on the only known 'Edwards,' see *D. N. B.* Evidence of a literary Edward Ferrers or Ferrys is entirely lacking.

18. *In Queenes Maries time.* Cf. infra, p. 144, l. 5. The form (if not a printer's error) is curious.

19. *Phaer.* Supra, i. p. 137, l. 29, note.

22. *Golding.* Supra, i. p. 243, l. 27, note.

24. *that other Doctour*, i. e. Thomas Twyne. See supra, i. p. 137, l. 29, note.

32. *Edward, Earle of Oxford* (cf. p. 65, l. 26). Puttenham quotes from him in Bk. III (Arber, p. 215). See i. p. 243, l. 7.

33. *Bukhurst.* Supra, i. p. 196, l. 32, &c.

Henry, Lord Paget. Have his 'doings' been 'found out'? I have failed to discover a clue to his literary work.

34. *Edward Dyar.* Supra, i. p. 89, l. 7, note.

35. *Fulke Greuell* (1554–1628).

Gascon, i. e. Gascoigne.

Britton, i. e. Nicholas Breton (? 1545—? 1626).

Turberuille. Supra, i. p. 315, ll. 11–12, note.

64. 6. Puttenham elsewhere (Arber, p. 246) shows an intimate acquaintance with Chaucer's works.

12. *John de Mehunes.* Supra, ii. p. 17, l. 19, note.

20. *riding ryme.* Supra, i. p. 56, l. 25, note.

26. *much deale*=much. See *N. E. D.* (s. v. 'deal') and Stratmann (s. v. 'dael').

65. 8. *Pantomimi.* Cf. Scaliger, *Poetice*, i. 10.

12. *as before.* Supra, p. 63, l. 2.

18. *Vaux.* Supra, p. 63, l. 4. See note, p. 413.

24. *Ferrys.* See note to p. 63, l. 13.

26. Meres (p. 320, l. 10) repeats this statement that Edward, seventeenth Earl of Oxford (1550–1604) was known as a writer of comedy. No plays are extant.

Edwardes. Supra, i. p. 242, l. 33, note.

28. *Challener*, i. e. Sir Thomas Chaloner the elder (1521–65), referred to by Meres (infra, p. 321, l. 10). Most of his work is in Latin. His *De Repub. Anglorum instauranda* and other pieces appeared in one vol. in 1579.

29. *that other Gentleman*, Spenser. See note to i. p. 112, l. 12.

31. *insolent*: to be taken in a good sense, 'swelling.'

67. 21. *rate*, proportion, standard. Cf. *Faerie Queene*, IV. viii. 19, 5.

28. *concents*, i. e. 'musical' concords (Ital. and Span. *concento*).

68. 2. *Regals.* The 'regal' or 'regall' (It. *regale* or *ninfale*, Fr. *régale*) was a small organ or reed-piped musical instrument. See Grove's *Dict. of Music*, iii. p. 93. The *Record* or *Recorder* is a variety of flute, now obsolete. See ib. iii. p. 88.

26. Text, *quadrien.*

28. Cf. Gascoigne, supra, i. p. 55, l. 20; p. 57, l. 4.

31. ib. p. 54, l. 32.

70. Chap. iii. Cf. Scaliger, *Poetice*, ii. 2.

71. 30. *Saxon English.* Cf. p. 61, l. 6.

73. 18. Cf. James VI, supra, i. p. 215, l. 2.

74. 13–15. Gascoigne (i. p. 54), when discussing caesura, does not think of an odd number of syllables. On this topic see Van Dam and Stoffel's section on the 'Dogma of extra syllables' in

Chapters on English Printing, Prosody, and Pronunciation (1550–1700), Heidelberg, 1902.

75. 25. Cf. i. p. 54, l. 14.

29-30. Cf. i. p. 54, l. 15.

33. *Alexandrine.* See the chapter in Ronsard's *Abrégé.*

76. 4-6. Cf. i. p. 54, l. 19.

77. Chap. v. Cf. Gascoigne, i. p. 54, James VI, i. pp. 214-15, and notes.

10. *confuse*=confused. Cf. p. 173, l. 22.

78. 9. Cf. the metaphor in Campion, infra, p. 346, l. 2, and note.

79. 11. *riding ryme.* Cf. p. 64, l. 20, note.

80. 18. *monosillables.* Supra, i. pp. 51, 215, &c.

English Saxons. Cf. p. 61, l. 6; p. 71, l. 30.

19. Cf. i. p. 51, ll. 26-7.

24. *Saxon angles.* Cf. p. 61, l. 6; p. 71, l. 30; p. 80, l. 18.

27-32, 81-1, &c. Cf. Scaliger, *Poetice*, ii. 2.

81. 1 and 23. *rithmos* or *numerositie.* See Scaliger, *Poetice*, v. 1; and cf. Sidney's 'numbrous kinde of writing,' supra, i. p. 159, l. 34, and Puttenham again, p. 83, l. 16, and p. 152, l. 33.

19. ὁμοιοτέλευτον. Aristotle, *Rhet.* III. ix. 9. Cf. Scaliger, *Poetice*, iv. 41; Du Bellay, *Defense*, Chap. viii.

82. 13-19. Cf. Gascoigne, supra, i. 49, § 4.

20. Puttenham shows his fondness for 'new termes' in the ingenious catalogue of figures in his third book. See the summary on pp. 167-72.

83. 4, 7. *Saxon English, Normane English.* See p. 80, l. 24, note.

20. *cadence*, as defined here and by Bullokar (1616), 'the falling of the voice,' though Puttenham practically identifies it with rhyme. Elsewhere it frequently means rhythm. With Puttenham's account, cf. Morley's contemporary definition (1597) of the musical cadence (not *cadenza*): 'A cadence wee call that, when, coming to a close, two notes are bound together, and the following note descendeth' (*Introd. Mus.* 73; quoted in *N. E. D.*).

84. 10-20. Cf. James VI, supra, i. p. 216.

1-3. Cf. Gascoigne, i. p. 49, l. 19; Harvey, i. p. 120, l. 12 et seq., James VI.

86. 1-2. 'Roy' is found in Northern writings, and is, of course, a common word in Middle Scots.

87. 16. *Cantabanqui*, It. *cantambanchi*.

19. Cf. Sidney's 'blind crowder' (i. p. 178).

22-4. See supra, p. 44, ll. 2-4, note.

91. 10. *Seizino*. Cf. Gascoigne, supra, i. p. 55, l. 19, p. 57, l. 4.

93. 34. ἐπιμονή. See Scaliger, *Poetice*, ii. 32. The term is defined in the *Rhetoric* of Alexander (Spengel, *Rhet. Gr.* iii. 17). See also Longinus, xii. For *versus intercalares* see Scaliger, *Poetice*, ii. 30.

95. Chap. xii. Puttenham is in error in limiting the classical examples to the Figure of the Egg (l. 25: cf. i. p. 305, note). Scaliger (ii. 25) mentions the Axe of Simmias Rhodius, and the Wings; and adds 'Ouum quoque eiusdem memorant poema. Quod quia non extabat, nos duo dedimus animi gratia: alterum minusculum quasi Philomelae, alterum grandius, vt sit Cycni.' Puttenham, if he followed Scaliger, as is probable, had fixed his attention on the figured examples. An account of these figures will be found in the old Cambridge edition of the *Poetae Minores Graeci* by Winterton (ed. 1684, pp. 314-29), but more fully in Haeberlin's *Carmina Figurata Graeca* (Hanover, 1887).

For contemporary references and examples, cf. the 'Pasquine Piller,' entitled *My Love is Past*, in Watson's Ἑκατομπαθία (Spenser Soc. edit., pp. 94-5); Willes, supra, i. 47, note; Harvey's *Letter-Book*, supra, i. 126; James VI's Preface to *Phoenix* (ed. Arber, *Counterblaste*, pp. 40-1); Nash's *Haue with you to Saffron-Walden* (ed. Grosart, iii. 98).

96. 10. *translated*: presumably from the Italian (see p. 95, l. 26), though Puttenham, on p. 97, l. 16, professes to be careful of 'Oriental' idiom.

19. (p. 97, l. 12, &c.), *Fuzie*. Fr. *fuseau*, heraldic Fr. *fusée* (med.L. *fusus*, a spindle). *N. E. D.* does not give this form (see under *Fusil*).

99. 17. For an account of this etymology, see Liddell and Scott, s. v. πυραμίς.

100. 9-11. Yet the name is not always used in this sense. Cf. Watson, supra, note to Chap. xii (p. 95).

102. 31. *bonch*, bunch, protuberance. Not to be confounded with *bouche* (printed *bonche* in text, supra, p. 58, l. 14).

105. 23. *Liricks*, Lyrists, u. s.

106. 16. The Italian *Impresa* was either the emblem or device which was accompanied by a motto, or (later) the motto or saw itself. (See, for example, the fifth dialogue, *Delle Imprese*, of Guazzo's *Dialoghi piaceuoli*.) The fashion had already begun in English literature, but it was during the next century that it reached its height. See Daniel's *Worthy Tract of Paulus Ionius, contayning a Discourse of rare inuentions, both Militarie and Amorous, called Imprese* (1585), and especially the *Preface and Epistles* (reprinted by Grosart, *Daniel*, IV). There Daniel discusses 'the difference of *Emblemes* and *Impreses*,' and defines thus, '*Symbolum est genus, Emblema species.*' See also the *Discourse on Impresas* (and correspondence) in the 1711 edition of the Works of Drummond of Hawthornden, where, at p. 228, we have this distinction made: 'Though *Emblems* and *Impresa's* sometimes seem like other, . . . the words of the *Emblem* are only placed to declare the figures of the *Emblem*; whereas, in an *Impresa*, the figures express and illustrate the one part of the author's intention, the word the other.'

109. 2. *Porkespick*, porcupine.

3. *Purpentines*, porcupines.

28. *coillen*, cullion, base fellow, rascal.

113. 6, &c. Puttenham borrows the stories of the anagrams of Ptolemy, Arsinoe, François de Valois, and Henri de Valois, direct from Du Bellay's *Defense*, Chap. viii.

114. 1. Cf. the anagram Rosalind, referred to by 'E. K.', supra, i. p. 375.

13, &c. Sir John Davies has twenty-six acrostics on *Elizabetha Regina*.

116. 27. *peason*, peas (M.E. plur. *pesen*).

117. 8. *our vulgar Saxon English*. Supra, p. 87, l. 5, note.

9. *monosillable*, &c. Supra, p. 80, l. 18, note.

17–19. Stanyhurst. Cf. p. 178, ll. 28–31, note.

119. 16. *geazon*, 'rare,' 'scarce,' a common Elizabethan word. Cf. Puttenham, 'The good is geazon, and short is his abode' (ed. Arber, p. 222); Lyly, *Euphues*, p. 21 (ed. Landmann); Spenser, *F. Q.* vi. p. 4, l. 37; and Greene's *Philomela's Second Ode*, ed. Dyce, ii. p. 302. Cotgrave gives it as a translation of Fr. *rare*.

120. 23. *the rule of position.* Cf. Webbe, supra, i. p. 273, l. 15, and note to i. p. 121, l. 4.

121. 15. *our old Saxon English*: 20. *our Normane English.* See p. 117, l. 8, note.

122. 12. *plat*, plan, outline, scheme. Cf. p. 191, l. 6. See 'The Platt' of Tarlton's *Seven Deadly Sins*, transcribed in Halliwell's Introduction to *Tarlton's Jests*, p. xxxv. Cf. *plot*, and *platform* as in 1 Henry VI, ii. 1. 77.

13–15. Cf. p. 117, ll. 17–19.

34, &c. *By preelection in the first Poetes.* Cf. i. p. 103, ll. 6–20, note.

127. 26–7. See Nott's edition of Wyatt and Surrey, ii. p. 9.

128. 1. Ibid. i. p. 5.

3. Ibid. i. p. 26.

130. 16–17. Horace, *Ars Poet.* 71–2. Puttenham repeats his reading of *vis* for *ius* in his quotation and translation on p. 153. Cf. p. 367, l. 8.

21. Nott, u. s., i. p. 45.

131. 23. *the first reformers.* See p. 63, l. 2.

132. 30. *smatch.* Cf. p. 158, l. 20.

134-5. Chap. xvii. This chapter is discussed in Van Dam and Stoffel's section on 'The Dogma of the extra Syllables' in *Chapters on English Printing, Prosody, and Pronunciation* (1550–1700), Heidelberg, 1902.

134. 26–9. Nott, u. s., ii. p. 13.

137. 21. Ib. ii. 17.

139. 23. See p. 142 et seq.

28. *Ginecocratia.* This 'Comedie,' of which Puttenham gives an account (pp. 139–41), is not extant.

140–1. For the common pun on *Weemen*, cf. Gascoigne, *Steele Glas* (Arber, p. 83); Breton, *Praise of Vertuous Ladies and Gentlemen* (1599); Barnfield, *The Combat betweene Conscience and Covetousnesse* (Grosart, p. 183); the verses from Robert Jones's *First Book of Songs and Airs*, 1601 (Bullen, *Lyrics*, p. 136); and Peele's *Edward I.*

143. 10. 'of' may be a misprint for 'or.'

10–26. 'Decorum.' See Introduction, p. xli, and Index.

144. 5. *Queenes.* See supra, p. 63, l. 18, note.

6. *Knight of Yorkshire*, &c. This appears to be an error

for the first Speaker of Queen *Elizabeth's* reign, Sir Thomas Gargrave, who represented the county of York in 1558. The first Speaker of Queen Mary's reign was Sir Charles Heigham, of Suffolk (see Manners's *Lives of the Speakers*).

34. Sir Nicholas Bacon (1509–79) Lord Keeper.

35. *Lord Treasorer.* See i. p. 1.

145. 23. Quoted in the passage printed on i. p. 377.

148. 9–12. *Enargia* (ἐνάργεια, a vivid description; Dion. Halic., *De Lysia*, vii); *Energia* (ἐνέργεια, efficiency, energy: Arist. *Rhet.* iii. 11. 2 et seq.). See Quintil. viii. 3 (396) and (401), and Scaliger, *Poetice*, iii. 26 ('*Efficacia*').

149. 20–1. See note to p. 1.

26. *Idioma.* Cf. Gascoigne, i. 53, § 11; and see p. 152, l. 19, infra.

28. *the Anglesaxon.* Cf. note to p. 87, l. 5.

29. *Walsh*, an error for 'Welsh.'

150. 15. *charientes* (οἱ χαρίεντες), contrasted with οἱ πολλοί: see Arist. *Pol.* ii. 7. 10. Cf. also Plato, *Rep.* 452 B, &c.

16–26. Another contribution to the problem of 'fitting vocabulary,' discussed by Gascoigne, James VI, Webbe, and others. The reference is more pointed,—perhaps to the *Shepheards Calender.*

152. 19. *Idiome.* See supra, p. 149, l. 26.

33. *Numerous, numerositee.* See supra, p. 81, l. 23, note.

153. 19–21. See p. 130, ll. 16–17, note.

154. 6, &c. Cf. Scaliger, *Poetice*, iv. 1 ('*Character*') 29–32: also Horace, *Ars Poetica.*

155. 26. *decorum.* Cf. p. 143, ll. 10–26 (and note), and p. 161, ll. 8–9.

157. 1. *implicatiue*, a statement implying more than is expressed.

158. 2. *teder*, tether.

20. *smatch.* Cf. p. 132, l. 30.

159. 23–9. Cf. Whetstone, i. p. 59, l. 33 et seq., and other passages for a like expression of the doctrine of 'decorum' in the drama. See Index.

160. 6–14. See the complete list on pp. 167–72.

161. 15. *ne quid nimis.* Cf. i. p. 52, l. 26.

162. 4, &c. ἀναλογία: Arist. *Rhet.* iii. 2 and 10, Dionys. Hal.

Ad Amm. viii. *τάσις*: Dionys. Hal. *De Compos. Verb.*, ed. Reiske, p. 133. *συντομία*: Arist. *Rhet.* iii. 6, Demetrius, *De Elocut.*, passim, Dionys. Hal., *Ad Pomp.* iii. *σύνθεσις*: Demetrius, *De Elocut.*, passim. *κυριολογία*: Longinus, xxviii. 1; cf. Arist. *Poet.* xxii. 8, *Rhet.* iii. 2; Dionys. Hal. *De Lysia*, iii, and Melanchthon *Rhet.* (1582) p. 387. *τρόπος*: Longinus, xii. 1, &c.

163. 13. *fitly*, fitting, suitable.

165. 1. *beau semblant.* Cf. *False Semblant*, p. 169, l. 22.

167. 1. *numerositie.* Infra, p. 180, l. 33, note.

9. *Enargia.* Supra, p. 148, ll. 9–12, note.

28. The complete text of Chapters xi–xxii, here given in epitome, will be found in Haslewood's edition, pp. 134–218, and Arber's, pp. 173, &c.

168. 25. Supra, p. 84.

34. *th' Archers terme.* See Ascham's *Toxophilus*, ii (ed. Giles, ii. 145).

169. 12–18. Cf. James VI, supra, i. p. 219; Du Bellay, *Defense*, ii. 9.

25. *Frumpe*, taunt, flout. It is thus described by Puttenham: 'as he that said to one whose wordes he beleeued not, "no doubt, Sir, of that." This fleering frumpe is one of the Courtly graces of *Hicke the scorner*' (Arber, p. 201). It is not uncommon in contemporary writings. Cp. *Euphues* (ed. Landmann), pp. 68, 86; Greene, *James IV*, ii, 'a frown, a scoff, a frump.'

33. *Anaphora.* Cf. A. Fraunce, i. p. 305.

35. *Anadiplosis.* Watson in his '*Εκατομπαθία* (Spenser Soc., p. 55) gives a metrical example 'framed vpon a somewhat tedious or too much affected continuation of that figure in Rhetorique, whiche of the Greekes is called *παλιλογία* or *ἀναδίπλωσις*, of the Latines, *Reduplicatio.*'

170. 33. In the first copies, at the close of the section 'Of Paradigma,' Puttenham speaks disrespectfully of the Flemings ('a people very vnthankfull and mutable'), but in other copies a passage is substituted on the propriety of the English Queen's helping the Low Countries and rescuing them ffrom the Spanish seruitude.' See Mr. Arber's edition, pp. 252–3.

36. '*Exargasia* or the Gorgious,' in the text of Chap. xx.

37. *Philocalia.* This unknown work is again referred to by Puttenham in Book III: 'a worke of ours entituled *Philo*

Calia, where we entreat of the loues betwene prince *Philo* and Lady *Calia*, in their mutual letters, messages, and speeches' (see Arber, p. 256).

171. 24, &c. The writer referred to is John Southern, who published (before Constable) a volume of sonnets to his mistress Diana (*The Musyque of the Beautie of his Mistresse Diana*, 1584). See the account of this rare volume in *D. N. B.* In *N. E. D.* 'Egar' is quoted from Southern's *Pandora*. The quotations containing the words disliked by Puttenham will be found in Haslewood, p. 211, and Arber, p. 260.

172. 10-40. Cf. James VI, supra; Du Bellay, *Defense*, ii. 9.

173. Chap. xxiii. 'Of Decorum.' See infra, p. 181, l. 20.

22. *confuse*. Cf. p. 77, l. 10.

23. Text, *liminous*.

174. 3. *Saxon English*. Supra, p. 87, l. 5, &c.

5-6. *comelynesse . . . commyng*. See *N. E. D.* (s.v. 'comely'), to which this passage should be added.

21. *Analogie*. See p. 162, l. 4.

177. 5, 6. *th'Emperor Anthonine . . . Orator Philiseus*. The original reads *Philiscus*. The story is found in Philostratus, *Vitae Sophistarum*, ii. 30. 'Anthonine' is the Emperor Caracalla.

32-5. Cf. supra, p. 157, l. 1 et seq.

178. 9. A reference to Stanyhurst's line (*Aen.* i. 7)—

> 'Lyke wandring pilgrim too famosed Italie trudging.'

Cf. line 26.

28-31. 'tot volvere casus
Insignem pietate virum, tot adire labores
Impulerit.' (*Aen.* i. 13-15.)

The translation would appear to be a recollection of Stanyhurst's (l. 16)—

> 'Wyth sharp sundrye perils too tugge so famus a captayne,'

though the words 'the same translator' (l. 28) refer naturally to 'another' (l. 13).

179. 6. This may be Heywood's: but I have failed to find it.

181. Chap. xxiv. Cf. Ascham, supra, i. pp. 1-2, &c.; Lyly's *Euphues*, passim; Spenser, *Faerie Queene* ('Letter'), &c.

20. *our booke de Decoro*. This is not extant.

183. 30. *alo Turquesque.* Cf. Spenser, *M. Hubb. Tale*, l. 677. Cf. the whole description with that in Spenser, ibid. ll. 208 et seq.

184. 16. *baines*, baths.

185. 9. *Pasquil wrote.* See supra, ii. p. 56, l. 29, note.

186. 18. *sit on his skirts.* Cf.—

> 'Crosse me not Liza, neither be so perte,
> For if thou dost, I'll sit upon thy skerte.
> Tarlton cutt off all his skirts, because none should sit upon them.'

(Quoted in Halliwell's *Tarlton's Jests*, xxxii, from *The Abortiue of an Idle Howre*, 1620.) Cf. the phrase in i. p. 124, l. 34.

21. *podestates* (Ital. *podestà*).

187. 21 et seq. *arte* and *nature.* Cf. James VI, supra, i. p. 210, l. 221.

30. *stale*, urine.

190. 10. *brimly*, clearly, distinctly.

191. 6. *plat or subiect.* See p. 122, l. 12, note.

192. 19. *Plato . . . Aniceris.* The story comes from Aelian, *Varia Historia*, ii. 27.

Harington (pp. 194-222).

194. 1-6. Σοφιστοῦ δὲ μέλλοντος ἀναγινώσκειν ἐγκώμιον Ἡρακλέους, ἔφη Τίς γὰρ αὐτὸν ψέγει;—Plut. *Apophthegmata*, 192 C.

10. *Apologie.* See head-note, i. 149. Harington borrows much from Sidney, and directly refers to his *Apologie* (p. 196, l. 27).

the verie nurse. See Sidney, i. p. 151, l. 17, note.

195. 30. *Alexanders, Cæsars, Scipios.* So Sidney, i. p. 192, l. 21.

196. 15, &c. A reference to Puttenham's *Arte of English Poetrie*, supra. See note to ii. p. 1.

the name of a Maker: a reference to Puttenham's opening words, ii. p. 3. But see Sidney, i. p. 155, l. 26, note, &c.

19. *Zenophon.* Cf. note to p. 43, l. 4, supra.

27. *Sidneys Apologie.* See i. 148 et seq. It must be remembered that Sidney's Essay was as yet unprinted.

197. 1-2. See the note to ii. p. 1.

6-7. See Sidney, i. p. 192, ll. 15-18, and note; and p. 195, ll. 19-20.

12-13. Martial, ii. 89. 3-4.

198. 23. *sweet statelinesse.* Cf. Puttenham, ii. p. 43, ll. 21-2, note.

30. *of reading Poets*, i. e. the *De Audiendis Poetis.*

199. 2-3. Cf. Sidney, i. p. 164, l. 25, note.

4-22. Cf. Sidney, i. p. 172, ll. 25-30, note. The passage here quoted is from *Gerusalemme Liberata*, c. i. st. 3.

199. 27. *De vanitate et incertitudine scientiarum*, cap. iv ('Of Poetrie,' in J. Sanford's translation, 1569 and 1575). See Sidney, i. p. 182.

32-3. Cf. Sidney, i. p. 183, l. 26 et seq., and notes.

201. 19. See Sidney, i. p. 184, l. 22.

202. 4. Plutarch, ii. 19 E.

10-12. Ovid, *Met.* iv. With Harington's argument cf. Lodge, i. p. 65, and Sidney, *passim.*

203. 5-10. A direct echo of Sidney, i. p. 206, ll. 16-18.

204. 6-14. Cf. Sidney, i. p. 173, l. 22, and especially ibid. p. 192, l. 7 et seq.

205. 25. *Vates.* Cf. Sidney, i. p. 154, l. 5, and note.

27. See Sidney, i. p. 174, l. 23.

35 et seq. Cf. Sidney, i. p. 166, l. 26 et seq.

206. 17. Cf. Sidney's phrase, i. p. 196, l. 25 (though the application is different).

33. Virgil, *Georg.* i. 84.

207. 5. Ibid. p. 94.

16. *Orpheus*, &c. The Horatian list, as in Lodge, Sidney, Webbe, Puttenham.

208. 1. *Rubarb.* Cf. Sidney's *Astrophel and Stella*, xiv. 5.

2. Horace, *Ars Poetica*, 343. This is Greene's favourite motto, on the title-pages of his prose works and as a colophon (e. g. in *Friar Bacon*). See note in Grosart's 'Greene,' i. 88; and cf. *The Returne from Parnassus* (1) I. i. 214.

6-8. From Sidney, i. p. 172, ll. 21-3.

10. Horace, *Sat.* i. 1. 68.

209. 3. See Sidney, i. p. 186, l. 13.

13-14. Ibid. p. 186, ll. 29-30.

16, 21. *meerly*, wholly.

29. Martial, iv. 49. 10.

31. Martial, xi. 16.

210. 11. *Scaliger writeth of Virgill*: in the *Poetice*, passim.

15. This tragedy of Richard III is not the pre-Shakespearian *True Tragedie of Richard the Third* (which Mr. Fleay dates as early as 1587), but Thomas Legge's Latin tragedy, played at St. John's College, Cambridge, in 1579, and imitated by Henry Lacey in his Trinity College play (1586). The text is printed by the Shakespeare Society (1844). See Meres, infra, p. 319, l. 33, note.

16. *Phalaris*. See i. p. 170, l. 33.

23. *Pedantius*, a Latin comedy, acted in Trinity College, Cambridge, is ascribed by Nash, in *Strange Newes*, to 'M. Wingfield.' It was printed in 1631 (Halliwell). *Bellum Grammaticale, sive Nominum Verborumque Discordia Civilis*, by Spense, was played before Elizabeth in Christ Church, Oxford, on September 24, 1592. See the descriptive note in Mr. Ward's *Hist of Dram. Lit.* iii. 187. It was printed in 1635.

25. *the play of the Cards*. This play does not appear to have been identified.

30. *In the margin* 'Sir Francis Walsingham' He died in 1590.

211. 22–4. This is mentioned in Ruscelli's Commentary (edition of 1568).

25–6. C. xlvi, st. 140.

28. *prayeth*: a misprint for *prayseth*.

212. 5–6, 8. See the verses of Augustus Caesar in the *Scholastica in Virgilium*, referred to supra (ii. p. 23, l. 23, note).

10. See p. 210, l. 11.

12–16. *Inferno*, I.

32–3. C. xiv, st. 69.

213. 3. C. xvii, st. 1.

214. 34. *Aen.* viii. 387.

215. 4. *Aen.* viii. 404.

216. 17–18. Cf. Minturno, when speaking of the 'period' of *Scenica Poesia*: 'E chi ben mirerà nell' opere de' più pregiati authori antichi troverà che la materia delle cose addutte in scena in un dì si termina, ò non trapassa lo spatio di duo giorni. *Si come dell' Epica più grande, e più lunga s' è detto, che non sia più d'uno anno*' (*L'Arte Poet.* p. 71).

18 et seq. Harington here appears to be acquainted with Minturno, *De Poeta*, p. 125 et seq. His definition of *Peripeteia* (περιπέτεια: Aristotle, *Poet.* xi. 1; *Rhet.* i. 11. 24) is based directly on the paragraphs there dealing with 'euentus inopinatus,' and 'Agnitio' (pp. 126-7), a reference which supplements Mr. Butcher's note on περιπέτεια in *Aristotle's Theory of Poetry and Fine Art*, third edition, pp. 323-4. See also Bucer, *Scripta Anglicana*, 1577 (c. liv, 'De honestis ludis'), and Heinsius, *De Tragœdiæ Constitutione*, chaps. vi and vii.

218. 2. Plut. ii. 40 F, &c.

18-19. Cf. Nash's epithet 'comique,' i. p. 313, l. 11.

219. 7. *the first refiners.* Cf. ii. p. 63, l. 2, note.

10. *Bartholomew Clarke* (? 1537-90). See *D. N. B.* (Clerke, B.). His Latin translation of the *Courtier* appeared in 1571.

219. 21. Cf. Heywood, *Proverbes* (Spenser Soc., p. 61):—

> 'But many a man speaketh of Robyn hood
> That neuer shot in his bowe.'

See Sidney, supra, i. p. 184, l. 5.

22. *correct Magnificat.* See note to i. p. 117, l. 18.

220. 24. 'Samuel Flemming of kings colledge in Cambridge' (*Marginal note*). Cf. note to i. p. 244, l. 5.

221. 27. *supererogation*, a word much in vogue at this time. Cf. Harvey's book (1593), infra, p. 245 and note.

222. 26. *triple*, i.e. I. (An apology for Poetry), to p. 211, l. 5; II. (In praise of Ariosto), p. 211, l. 6 to p. 217, l. 23; III. (An answer to Critics), p. 217, l. 24 to end.

32. *that a Potter did to Ariosto.* Marginal note, 'In the life of Ariosto.' I cannot trace this story.

Nash (pp. 223-8).

For an account of the different issues of *Astrophel and Stella* in 1591, see Flügel's edition of *Sir Philip Sidney's Astrophel and Stella* (Halle, 1889), pp. lxxiv-lxxv. See also Grosart's reprint of *Nashe's Works*, i. pp. xxxix-xlv.

223. 1-10. Probably a reference by Nash *more suo* to some recent play: but the identification is not easy. Can it be to Lyly's *Mydas* (printed in 1592)? See note to p. 226, ll. 28-9.

224. 16. *casks*, caskets. Cf. Shakes., 2 Hen. VI, iii. 2. 409.

23. Sidney died in 1586.

31. *absurditie*, a favourite word with Nash. Cf. his *Anatomie of Absurditie*, ante, i. p. 321.

225. 33. Mary Sidney, Countess of Pembroke (? 1555–1621).

eloquent secretary to the Muses. Cf. p. 264, l. 35. The phrase is common. Cf. Daniel (ed. Grosart, iv. 7), who speaks of Pliny and others as the 'Secretaries of nature.'

226. 22. *Almond leape verse.* (Almond = Almain, i.e. German.) See Cotgrave, s.v. *Saut*, '*Trois pas & un saut*, The Almonde Leape.' Cf. Jonson, *The Devil is an Ass*, i. 1. 104.

28–9. Is this a double reference to (*a*) the Euphuistic vocabulary generally (see supra, i. p. 202, l. 34, note), and (*b*) to Lyly's *Mydas* (especially Act i. Sc. 1)? With this and the passage referred to in the next note compare Nash's lines on p. 243, ll. 10–12.

31, &c. Is this a covert allusion to the Reformed versifying or so-called classical Prosody? See previous note.

227. 5. *Cornish diamonds*: crystals found in Cornish quartz; stones of inferior quality. Cf. Fuller's *Worthies*, 1662, p. 126.

8–9. *vpseuant muffe, after the Muscouy fashion.* This is a puzzling phrase; but the sense is helped by reference to the copy of the print of Sigismund I of Poland in Mr. Morfill's *Poland* ('Stories of the Nations'), where Sigismund is wearing a fur cap with turned-up points, which looks just like a muff. This was the Russian and Polish cap, called 'Yermolka.' (I am indebted to Mr. Morfill, through Mr. Doble, for this reference.) *Upseuant* is not clear, though it recalls Jonson's *vpsee.* Can it be a misprint for 'upslaunt'? (cf. p. 183, l. 29) or 'up-flaunt' (cf. p. 253, l. 31, note, and *N. E. D.* s.v. 'Flaunt')? Breton refers to the 'muff' in his *Pasquills Fooles-cap* (Grosart, i. 'f.', p. 24).

'Hee that puts fifteene elles into a Puffe,
And seauenteene yards into a swagg'ring slappe [? flappe]:
And twentie thousand Crownes into a Muffe,
And halfe his land into a hunting Cappe.'

9. *Capcase*, portmanteau, or, generally, any box or receptacle. Harvey in *Pierces Supererogation* (ed. Brydges, p. 149) speaks of the 'Capcase of *Strange News*' in association with 'an old urinal case.'

14. *Orig.* 'Sextus Empedocus.'

22-6. Is this a further reference to *Mydas* (see note to p. 223, ll. 1-10), perhaps a hit at Licio's speech, 'Ah, my girle, is not this a golden world?' Nine lines on, Licio says, 'Why, thou foole, what hen should lay that egge?' and Pipenetta replies, 'I warrant a goose.'

31-2. Cf. Nash, supra, i. 310, ll. 28-9.

Harvey (pp. 229-38).

229. Three editions of *A Quippe for an Upstart Courtier* appeared in 1592, but that which contained the attack on the Harveys as sons of a ropemaker of Saffron Walden is not extant. There are one or two references to a 'Ropemaker' in the known text, but they are of small account. Nash, in his *Strange News*, maintains that the offending passage ran to only 'seven or eight lines.' See the reprint in Collier's Yellow Series, Hindley's reprint in 1871 (Reeves & Turner), and Grosart's in his edition of Greene. A handy bibliographical list of Greene's, Harvey's, and Nash's works will be found in Arber's edition of Greene's *Menaphon*, pp. vi-x.

Mother Hubbard's Tale. See p. 183, l. 30, note, and cf. Harvey's remarks on the *Faerie Queene* in his letter to Spenser, i. p. 115, l. 25.

230. *Elderton.* See i. p. 125, l. 28, note. *Scoggin.* See i. p. 120, l. 24, note.

5. *Saturnist.* Cf. Greene's *Menaphon*: 'The Feasts which the melancholy *Saturnists* founded in *Danuby* were neuer so quatted with silence but on their festiual daies they did frolicke amongst themselues with manie plesaunt parlies' (ed. Arber, p. 46).

21. et seq. Cf. the Spenser-Harvey correspondence in vol. i (pp. 87-122). It is fair to say, as Mr. Schelling has pointed out, that this passage, which has been so often quoted to Harvey's discredit as proof that he was the vainest of pedants, is, in its proper context, an apology, rather than 'a foolish boast.' (See *Poetic and Verse Criticism of the Reign of Elizabeth.* Publications of the University of Pennsylvania, 1891, pp. 25-6.)

231. 3. *greene*, a punning allusion to Robert Greene.

5. *father of misbegotten Infortunatus.* Is this a reference to: (1) Greene's own penitential writings, in which, as Harvey repeatedly reminds his opponent in the *Third Letter*, he laments his ill-fortune ('Remember thine owne Marginal Embleme, *Fortuna favet fatuis*,' and again, 'Yet who euer hearde me complaine of ill-luck, or once say *Fortune my Foe*'); or (2) Harvey's adversary Nash, whose first literary effort, the Preface to Greene's *Menaphon* (supra, i. 307), was written by Greene's request? Though Harvey, further over, speaks of Nash as Greene's 'sworne brother,' yet Nash's retort (p. 243, l. 19) to another gibe (see note to p. 241, l. 21) lends some support to the latter interpretation.

29. *Guiciardines siluer Historie.* Cf. note to i. p. 107.

Ariosto. See Harington, ii. p. 194 et seq.

32. *queasie.* See i. p. 66, l. 24, note.

232. 6. *Pierce Pennie-lesse*, i.e. Nash, author of *Pierce Pennilesse his Supplication to the Diuell* (1592). See l. 13.

9. i.e. *Greene.* See Meres, infra, p. 324, ll. 19–22.

19. *Tarleton.* See ii. p. 122, l. 12, note. His play of the *Seven Deadly Sins* is described by Collier from the original 'plat' in the library of Dulwich College (*History of the Stage*, iii. 394; reprinted in Halliwell's *Tarlton's Jests*, pp. xxxv–xxxviii).

29. *Doctor Pernes religion.* Andrew Perne (? 1519–89), dean of Ely and vice-chancellor of Cambridge, whose time-serving brought him the nicknames of 'old Andrew Turncoat,' 'Father Palinode,' and 'Andro Ambo,' and supplied his contemporaries with the verb 'perne,' i.e. 'to turn coat.' Harvey in this letter complains of him as a man who 'flattered' and 'overthuarted' him and 'alwaies plaied fast and loose'; and he speaks of 'a naturall Perne artificially emproued.' Perne is praised by Bishop Kennet. (See the extracts in Brydges's *Archaica*, II, 'Advertisement.')

233. 9-10. Mantuan, *Eclogae*, i. 1—

> 'Fauste, precor, gelida quando pecus omne sub umbra
> Ruminat, antiquos paulum recitemus amores.'

See *Love's Labour's Lost*, iv. 2. 89, where Holofernes quotes the line. The early editions of Mantuan are 'deepelie learned'

in notes: e.g., in the 1546 edition, the 'annotatiunculae' on this phrase run to three quarters of a page.

234. 9. *Aretinish*, a favourite gibe with Harvey.

21. *Gnomes*, γνῶμαι, maxims, sayings: not '*Tomes*,' as Ingleby suggests (*Shakspere Allusion-Books*, i. 36). Cf. p. 170, l. 23.

28. Watson died before the year (1592) was out.

Is the entry of Nash's name here a slip on the part of Harvey, or (more likely) a would-be compliment to add point to the retort? See also p. 249, ll. 20–1 (note).

235. 24, &c. *Experience*. Cf. supra, i. p. 102, l. 13, ii. p. 283, l. 33. and passim in Harvey.

236. 27. *Rodolph Agricola* (1443-85). See the letter quoted in Hallam's *Literary History*, i. 210.

28. *Ludouike Viues*. Supra, i. App. p. 342, l. 11, note, &c.

Peter Ramus. See i. p. 309, l. 11, note, and ii. p. 245, l. 6, note.

237. 7. On Regiomontanus (or Müller) and Jerome Cardan, see Hallam's *Literary History*, i. 190, 458-9.

Bacon, Roger (? 1214-94).

24. After the Alexandrian critic Neoptolemus of Parium.

238. 25. Jewel, John (1522-71), Bishop of Salisbury. See p. 247, l. 32, and p. 281, l. 22, note.

Thomas Harding (1516-72), theologian, in controversy with Jewel. He is not to be confused with the chronicler, p. 62, l. 26, p. 314, l. 24.

John Whitgift (? 1530–1604), Archbishop of Canterbury.

Thomas Cartwright (1535–1603), Puritan controversialist.

31. *Oh-is* 'oyez.'

Nouerint, &c. See i. p. 311, l. 33, note.

Nash (pp. 239-44).

239. 7. *Coppinger and Arthington* were fellow fanatics with William Hacket (*d.* 1591). Their mission of preparation for the Messiah developed into a plot to dethrone Elizabeth and to abolish episcopacy. They were tried after a riot in Cheapside, to which Nash here refers. Edmund Coppinger died in prison in 1592. Bishop Cosin or Cosins (see p. 281, l. 2) wrote *The Conspiracy for Pretended Reformation, viz. Presbyterial Discipline*

by Hacket, Coppinger, and Arthington: with . . . the life . . . the arraignment and execution of Hacket (1592).

10–12. This is explained by a passage in the previous letter (not printed in this volume): 'And that was all the Fleeting (see p. 231, l. 10) that euer I felt: sauing that an other company of speciall good fellowes . . . would needs forsooth verye courtly perswade the Earl of Oxforde that some thing in those Letters, and namely the Mirrour of Tuscanismo, was palpably intended against him: whose noble Lordeship I protest I neuer meante to dishonour with the least preiudiciall word of my Tongue or pen, &c.' See supra, i. pp. 107–8, and note.

13. See p. 230, l. 10 et seq.

17. *Howliglasse* (Owl-glass): an uncomplimentary association with 'Tyl Eulenspiegel,' whose adventures had been printed in English, by W. Copland, in ? 1528 and ? 1530. Cf. p. 272, l. 29.

240. 19–20. The literary figure of 'velvet' and 'cloth' was used *ad nauseam* by the Martinists and their contemporaries. Cf. the sub-title of Greene's *Quip for an Upstart Courtier*—'*a Quaint Dispute between Veluet breeches and cloth-breeches.*'

23. *Gilgilis Hobberdehoy*, i. e. Gabriel Harvey, for whom Nash has many names. Cf. *Gabriel Hangtelow, Gregory Habberdine*, &c.

28. *praisd by Gabriel.* See p. 234, l. 27, and Harvey's letters in vol. i.

31. *Maister Butler.* Is this the eccentric physician, William Butler (1535–1618)? See *D. N. B.*

33. *Fleeting.* See p. 231, l. 10.

241. 4–7. A parody on Stanyhurst. See p. i. 316, l. 5, note. The sting is in the tail, for Harvey's attitude to rhyme was a commonplace.

9, &c. The verses, twelve in number, will be found in Harvey's *Third Letter.* The first is—

'Where shud I find, that I seeke, A person cleere as a Christal?'

To these Harvey adds, 'And so foorth: for the verse is not vnknowen: and runneth in one of those vnsatyricall Satyres, which Mr. *Spencer* long since embraced with an overloouing Sonnet: A token of his Affection, not a Testimony of hys Iudgement.' Nash seldom fails to attack Harvey's claim to

Spenser's regard. Spenser's Sonnet is printed in the 'Globe' edition, p. 607, and in Brydges's *Archaica*, ii. 69.

17. Read 'still a foole by flattring.'

21. 'What hee is improued since, excepting his good olde *Flores Poetarum* and Tarletons surmounting Rhetorique, with a little Euphuisme, and Greenesse inough, which were all prettily stale before he put hand to penne.' (Harvey's *Third Letter*.) See infra, p. 399, l. 33.

29. *inkehornisme*. Supra, i. p. 51, l. 24, note. Nash quotes from Harvey's vocabulary.

242. 14. *absonisme*, solecism. Harvey refers to this word on p. 275, l. 22.

17. *Traynment*. See p. 236, l. 32.

22. *indesinence*, want of fitting ending, of proper bounds. Cf. infra, p. 330, l. 21.

26. *balductums*. See i. p. 103, l. 23, note.

243. 8–27. See quotation in note to p. 241, l. 21, and see note to p. 231, ll. 5, 10–12. Cf. p. 226, l. 28—p. 227, l. 3, and notes.

18. *Orig.* 'madde man.'

30. *Christopher Bird* of Walden. The letter referred to, with the postscript containing the 'Sonnet,' is printed in Brydges's *Archaica*, ii. 1–2.

244. 1. *reuiest*, reviest, retortest. 'Revie,' a gaming word, means to respond to a challenge, 'return.'

5. *bulbegger*, bugbear, bogy. Nash refers to Harvey's taunt in the *Four Letters*—'Her redoutable bull-begging Knight.'

Harvey (pp. 244–84).

245. *Pierce's Supererogation*. See p. 247, l. 27; p. 251, l. 28; p. 256, l. 15; also p. 221, l. 27, note.

6. Iustinus Martyr. His *Eversio falsorum Aristotelis dogmatum*, edited by G. Postellus, appeared at Paris in 1552.

Philoponus, Ioannes, i.e. John of Alexandria, the Grammarian (7th cent.), author of a life of Aristotle and editor of several Aristotelian books. See the list in Buhle's *Aristotle*, i. pp. 303–5.

Valla, i.e. Georgius (not Laurentius), editor and commentator of Aristotle, who interpreted the *Poetics* in 1515.

Ioannes Ludovicus Viues. Supra, ii. p. 236, l. 28, note. He published a summary of the *Nicomachean Ethics* in 1540.

Ramus (La Ramée). Supra, p. 236, l. 28, note. His *Animadversiones Aristotelicae* appeared in 1548, but Harvey is probably referring to his famous Logic (see i. p. 423), in which he is at variance with the Aristotelian view in the *Organon*. Harvey was an enthusiastic admirer of Ramus: see his *Rhetor* (1577), Sigs. E, E_2, H_3, &c., and his *Ciceronianus* (1577), 29, &c. He was probably influenced by the Ramist enthusiasm of William Temple. (See note to i. p. 309, l. 11.)

9. Perionius, Joachimus. See supra, i. p. 18, l. 29, note.

Gallandius, Petrus, author of *Contra novam Academiam P. Rami Oratio* (Paris, 1551).

Carpentarius, Jacobus (Claromontanus Bellovacus). His *Descriptio universae artis differendi ex Aristotelis logico organo collecta & in libros tres distincta* appeared at Paris in 1562, 1564. See note on Ossatus, infra.

10. *Sceggius*, i.e. Jacobus Schegkius (Deginus) the elder (1511-87), Aristotelian commentator.

Lieblerus, Georgius, author of an *Epitome philosophiae naturalis ex Aristotelis libris excerpta* (1561, &c.).

12. Talaeus, Audomarus, commentator. He associated himself with Ramus in several works, e.g. in the latter's *Dialecticae libri duo* (supra, i. p. 280, l. 33, note). Ascham mentions them together (*Scholemaster* ed. Mayor, pp. 101, 102).

Ossatus, i.e. Cardinal Arnaud d'Ossat. Harvey refers to his *Expositio in Disputationem Iacobi Carpentarii de Methodo*, Francfurt, 1583.

Freigius, Ioannes Thomas, author of *Rami praelectiones in Ciceronis orationes*, 1575. He edited Ramus's *Ciceronianus* in 1577.

Minos, i.e. Claude Mignault, editor of Cicero.

Rodingus, apparently an error for Rhodiginus (Lodovico Celio Rodigino, otherwise Ludovicus Coelius Richerius), commentator on Cicero. A certain Gulielmus Rodingus published two orations at Heidelberg in 1576, 1577; but it is unlikely that he is intended.

246. 1. Scribonius, Gulielmus Adolphus, author of the *Triumphus Logicae Rameae*, 2nd edit., Londr 1583.

19. Agrippa. Supra, p. 199, l. 27, note.

22. Copernicus, Nicolas (1473–1543), astronomer.

23. Cardan. Supra, p. 429. See p. 435.

Paracelsus. See note, supra, i. p. 50, l. 21.

24. Erastus. See p. 248, ll. 9, 10, note.

Sigonius (Carlo Sigonio). See i. p. 25, l. 13, note.

Cuiacius, Jacobus, jurist. See p. 291, l. 31.

a bable. Cf. note, supra, i. p. 375.

247. 32. *Harding and Iewell*, u. s., p. 238, l. 25.

248. 5–13. Cardinal Jacopo Sadoleto (1477–1547). See Ascham's judgment on Sadolet, Omphalius, and Osorius in the *Scholemaster*, ed. Mayor, p. 110.

Longolius (cf. i. p. 13, l. 17, note). He is the author of an *Oratio . . . ad Lutherianos iam damnatos* (1524, 1529).

Omphalius, Jacobus (*d.* 1570). He was a Professor at Cologne, and was best known by his commentaries on *Cicero*.

Osorius, i. e. Jeronimo Osorio da Fonseca, Bishop of Silves. See note on Haddon, infra. He is frequently referred to by Harvey in his *Ciceronianus* and *Rhetor*. See Ascham's *Scholemaster* (ed. Mayor, pp. 129, 238–9, 271).

Sturmius. Cf. i. p. 9, l. 32, note.

Haddon (cf. i. p. 21, l. 31). Harvey refers to the book *Gualteri Haddoni pro Reformatione Anglicana epistola apologetica ad Hier. Osorium* (1562), a reply to Osorius's Latin book which was Englished by R. Shacklock in 1565. See note on Osorius, supra.

Balduin, François, who wrote more than one *Responsio* to Calvin and a *Responsio ad Calvinum et Bezam*, Cologne, 1564.

Erastus (see p. 246, l. 19, note), i. e. Thomas Lieber (1523–83), a physician of Heidelberg, who adopted the name *Erastus* at Basle in 1540. He was opposed to the study of astrology and to the doctrines of the Paracelsians (supra, p. 50, l. 21), and denied the penal right of the Church. Hence the term 'Erastian.'

Trauers, Walter (? 1548–1635), puritan divine, and friend of Beza.

Sutcliff, Matthew (? 1550–1629), dean of Exeter and anti-Catholic controversialist.

Bellarmine, the famous Jesuit controversialist.

Whittaker, William (1548–95), Master of St. John's College, Cambridge, and Regius Professor of Divinity.

Bancroft, Richard (1544–1610), Archbishop of Canterbury.

14. *the Precisians*, the Puritans. The term was much in vogue. Cf. Marlowe, *Dr. Faustus*, sc. ii. 26, and the passage in the *Jew of Malta*, i. 2. See also Sir Thomas Overbury's 'character' *A Precisian*.

20. *meacocke*, an effeminate: a favourite term at this time, synonymous with 'milksop,' and often associated with it. Cf. *Euphues* (ed. Landmann, 81), 'I shall be accompted a Mecocke, a Milkesoppe': and Lodge's *Alarum* (Shakes. Soc. 51), 'The wisest by lewde love are made foolish, the mightiest by lust are become effeminate, the stoutest monarches to miserable mecockes.'

Papp-hatchet, John Lyly, to whom the anonymous *Pappe with an hatchet* (1589), is generally given. See infra, p. 268, and the travestied title-page, p. 270.

28-9. See headnote, supra, p. 238, and p. 229.

249. 15. *Sir Iohn Cheeke*. See i. p. 9, l. 30 note, &c.

20–1. Did Harvey not know the identity of Pierce and Nash, or did he affect ignorance? See a like case, supra, p. 234, l. 28, note.

250. 5. *nippitaty* (cf. p. 252, l. 7), strong liquor. Halliwell gives the form *nippitato*, 'a cant term,' 'chiefly applied to ale.'

11. *Tuscanisme*. See supra, i. p. 107, l. 19, and note. *In grain*, thorough, downright, ineradicable.

22–3. See headnotes, pp. 239, 245.

251. 20. *Ciceronian*, not necessarily in the stricter sense derived from the Ciceronian controversy of the sixteenth century, but in the general sense of 'scholarly person' as opposed to a writer or reader of the intellectual level of Scogan, the court fool.

22. *Conny-catcher*, cheat, swindler (lit. one who catches conies, dupes); a side thrust at Greene's pamphlets on *Conny-catching* (three parts, 1591, 1591, 1592), and the *Disputation betweene a Hee Conny Catcher and Shee Conny catcher* (1592), which popularized the term.

22–3. In Gabriel's 'Philosophers' and 'Mathematician' there is perhaps a fraternal reference to the astrologers, John

Harvey (? 1563-92), and Richard Harvey (*d.* ? 1623), who had been dragged into the quarrel (see p. 229), and had suffered—the latter especially—at the hands of Nash. See Index.

252. 1-5. Is Harvey alluding—in his 'Apes and Foxes'—to Spenser's *Mother Hubberds Tale*, included in the volume of *Complaints* (1591)?

7. See p. 250, l. 5.

253. 5, &c. Cf. p. 261, l. 18 et seq.

7. *Martins libelling*, i.e. the lampooning of the *Martin Marprelate* controversy.

Holinsheads engrosing. Raphael Holinshead (*d.* ? 1580), author of the *Chronicles* of England, &c.

12. *a hotchpott for a gallymafry.* Cf. i. p. 130, l. 12; also *Mingle-mangle* in Puttenham, supra, ii. p. 171, l. 14. All were much in vogue. Cf. Lyly's *Mydas* (Prologue), 'what heretofore hath beene serued in seuerall dishes for a feast, is now minced in a charger for a gallimaufrey. If we present a mingle-mangle, our fault is to be excused, because the whole world is become an hodge-podge.' See also *The Returne from Parnassus*, pt. II. iv. ii. l. 1586 et seq.

31. *flaunt-aflaunt*, swagger. So Gascoigne, *Steele Glas*, Epilogue, l. 33 (Arber, p. 83), and Breton, *Flovrish upon Fancie*, 18 (ed. Grosart).

255. 5. *egges in mooneshine.* Cf. Shakespeare, *King Lear*, ii. 2. 32. For particulars of this once popular dish, see the quotation from May's *Accomplished Cook*, in Nares's *Glossary*, and *Notes and Queries*, 4th Ser., xii, July 19, 1873.

7. *awke*, untoward, clumsy: *hibbergibber*, gibberish.

256. 23. *was running on my halfpeny*, a common Elizabethan phrase. See *N. E. D.*, s.v. 'Halfpenny.'

257. 6. *Elderton*, supra, i. p. 125, l. 28, note.

21. *Agrippa.* Supra, p. 433.

Cardan. Probably Girolamo Cardano (1501-76), supra, p. 433; but to which work does Harvey refer?

23. *Ancontius*, an error for Acontius (Jacopo Aconzio)? 1500-? 66, whose *Ars Muniendorum Oppidorum* (in Lat. and Ital.) is said to have appeared at Geneva in 1585 (see Mazzuchelli and Watt).

25. *Antony Riccobonus*, i. e. Antonio Riccoboni, author of

De Historia Commentarius, Venice, 1568, and of a *Poëtica*, explaining Aristotle's Poetics (Vienna, 1585, Padua, 1591).

28. *Calepine*, dictionary, so called from Friar Ambrosio Calepino (of Calepio), 1435–1511, whose Latin Dictionary, which first appeared in 1502, was of great account during the sixteenth century, and was the basis of the not less famous Lexicon of Forcellini. Calepino's plan to give the meaning of the Latin words in more than one European tongue was rapidly developed in succeeding editions, till in the Basle edition of 1581 (to which Harvey probably refers) the dictionary had become a polyglot of no less than eleven languages. See Hallam, *Lit. Hist.* i. 258.

32–3. The full title of *Petrus Gregorius's* work is *Syntagma Iuris universi atque Legum pene omnium gentium et rerum publicarum praecipuarum in tres partes digestum.*

258. 33. *filthy Rymes*. Cf. p. 261, ll. 16–17.

259. 8. *horrel-lorrel*, a reduplication of *lorrel*, a worthless fellow.

14, &c. Cf. Harvey, supra, i. p. 106.

30. *an Inglishe Petrarck*, i.e. Spenser. Cf. Clerke, in his *Polimanteia* (1595), 'Let other countries, sweet Cambridge, envy, yet admire . . . thy Petrarch, sweet Spenser.'

260. 16. Manardus, Joannes (1462–1536), author of several medical works.

17. Pomponatius (Pietro Pomponazzi, nicknamed Peretto), 1462–? 1526, who stirred up controversy by his *De Immortalitate Animae.*

261. 18, &c. Cf. p. 253, l. 5, et seq. For Elderton, see i. p. 125, l. 28, note; Turberuile, i. p. 244, ll. 11–12, note; Drant, i. p. 90, l. 13, note; Tarlton, ii. p. 232, l. 19, note. Tarlton was notorious for his extempore rhyming as well as his jigs. Harvey elsewhere speaks of Greene's 'piperly extemporizing and Tarletonizing.'

22–3. A happy sentiment, but fuller in meaning to us than it can have been to Harvey and his contemporaries.

25–31. See note to i. p. 58, l. 5.

262. 2. *in one volume*, i. e. the first edition of 1589.

15. William Borough (1536–99). See *D. N. B.*

17. Robert Norman, mathematical instrument maker. See *D. N. B.*

33. Sir Roger Williams (?1540–95). His *Brief Discourse of War* appeared in 1590.

34. Thomas Digges (*d.* 1595), mathematician, muster-master-general of the English troops in the Netherlands in 1586.

263. 8. Iohn Asteley (*d.* 1595), master of the Queen's jewel-house, published his *Art of Riding* in 1584. He is one of the dinner-party described in the Preface to Ascham's *Schole-master.*

9. Pietro Bizzaro. See Tiraboschi, vii. 1468.

12. Thomas Blundevil, author of *The fower chiefyst offices belonging to Horsemanshippe* (1565-6) and other works.

16. *Musidorus and Pyrocles,* in Sidney's *Arcadia.* See p. 264.

20–1. Probably a reference to Painter's popular *Palace of Pleasure* (1st vol. 1566), and to the translation of *The Courtier* by Hoby (1561).

22. The *Arcadia* was first published in 1590.

34. Philip de Comines was not yet translated by Danett (1596). *Guicciardine.* See note, supra, i. p. 107, note.

264. 4. Read 'priuitie.'

35. *Secretary of Eloquence.* Cf. p. 225, l. 33.

265. 3. *Suada* (Πειθώ), the goddess of Persuasion.

7. James VI and I. Cf. i. p. 208 et seq. The *Uranie,* with Du Bartas's text, was printed in the *Essayes of a Prentise* (1584). James's volume of *Poeticall Exercises at vacant houres* (1591) contained a translation of the *Furies* of Du Bartas, 'his owne' *Lepanto,* and Du Bartas's version of the latter, *La Lepanthe.*

266. 18. *weedes.* Gascoigne's *Posies* consists of four parts, *Flowers, Herbs, Weeds,* and the *Notes of Instruction* (i. p. 46).

21. *nippitatie.* Supra, p. 250, l. 5, note.

23. *the old pickle herring.* Supra, p. 232, l. 9, note.

30. A Euphuistic punning translation of *O tempora O mores.*

32. *Copesmate,* fellow (in the contemptuous sense).

267. 18–19. Can it be that *The Pilgrimage to Parnassus* makes fun of these lines in its fourth act (l. 405)?

268. 16, &c. *Pap-hatchet.* Supra, p. 248, l. 20.

269. 5. *courtly holly-water.* Cf. *King Lear,* iii. 2. 10.

20. *alla Sauoica.* See p. 268, l. 18; p. 271, l. 32.

21. *Albertus Magnus.* Cf. p. 273, l. 14.

24, &c. *stones . . . Foules . . . beastes and fishes.* See note to i. p. 202, l. 33; and to p. 322, l. 28.

30. *olde Accursius*; probably the Glossator of Justinian, rather than M. Ang. Accorso (Accursius), born ? 1490, philologer and editor of *Cassiodorus.* The former wrote in a rough style and had small reputation for knowledge of classical literature. He is credited with the saying: *Graecum est; non legitur.*

31. *Bartholus de Saxoferrato* (1313-56), jurist, whose quaint plainspoken style may have attracted Harvey in his legal studies. One of his works is entitled *Processus Satanae contra Virginem coram iudice Iesu.* See infra, p. 460.

270. 1-2. Cf. Gosson and Lodge (i. p. 63, l. 5).

11. *Country Cuffe,* countercuff.

14. *Iohn Anoke,* &c. See note, supra, i. p. 185, ll. 30-1.

271. 21. *bore . . . cushion.* See note to i. p. 140, l. 25.

272. 4. *hatchet.* See p. 268, l. 16 et seq.

6. Orontius Finaeus (Oronce Finée), French mathematician, author of *Quadrans astrolabicus* (revised, 1534) and other works.

10. *mandillion,* a jacket or jerkin. 'The mandilion or mandevile was a kind of loose garment without sleeves, or, if with sleeves, having them hanging at the back' (Halliwell).

14. *Mammaday.* Cf. *The Courtier and the Countryman,* 1618 (Roxb. Libr.): 'Thy meat tasts all of mammaday pudding, which breaking at both ends, the stuffing runnes about the Pot.'

19. *Dranting.* See supra, i. p. 90, l. 13, note.

21. *Iohn Securis,* i. e. John Lyly ('Pap-hatchet').

26. *Hundred merrie Tales.* See *A C. Mery Talys* in Hazlitt's *Shakespeare Jest-Books.*

29. *Howleglasse.* See supra, ii. p. 239, l. 17, note.

30-2. Harvey is indebted to the concluding paragraphs of Poggio's *Facetiae,* where the latter speaks of his story-telling friends 'in secretiori aula Martini papae.' He says, 'Visum est mihi eum quoque nostris confabulationibus locum adiicere, in quo plures earum, tanquam in scaena, recitatae sunt. Is est Bugiale nostrum, hoc est mendaciorum veluti officina quaedam, olim a secretariis institutum, iocandi gratia. . . . Erat in eo princeps fabulator Raçellus Bononiensis, cuius nonnulla in

confabulationes coniecimus. Antonius item Luscus, qui saepius inseritur, vir admodum facetus. Cinciusque Romanus & ipse iocis deditus. Nos quoque plura e nostris addidimus non insulsa. Hodie, cum illi diem suum obierint, desiit Bugiale, tum temporum tum hominum culpa, omnisque iocandi confabulandique consuetudo sublata' (edit. 1513).

273. 1. Doctour Clare.?

Doctour Bourne. Perhaps William Bourne, the almanac-maker, who died in 1583. See infra, p. 279, l. 25, and *D. N. B.*

M. Wakefield? Referred to again in l. 15.

4–7. A retort to Nash's list, supra, pp. 241–2.

5. *bumme Carde*, lit. a marked card for cheating at play. The reference is to *Pappe with a Hatchet*, Cij.: 'Hee'le cog the die of deceipt, & cutte at the bumme-carde of his conscience.'

14. Albertus, supra, p. 269, l. 21.

Poggius, supra, p. 272, ll. 30–2, note.

Bebelius (text 'Bebelices'). A reference to the *Facetiarum Libri Tres* of Heinrich Bebel, a popular contribution to Poggian literature, often reprinted with the *Facetiae* of Nic. Frischlin.

15. *Wakefield's*. See l. 1.

Parson Darcye, i.e. Brian Darcy, referred to in *Scot's Discouerie of Witchcraft*, 1584 (rep. p. 455).

17. *double V's*, i.e. 'W's': but whose initial is this?

22. *Cheeke, Smith*. See Ascham, supra, i. p. 9, l. 30, &c.

24–7. Cf. p. 283, l. 13 et seq. Probably a reference to such passages as supra, ii. p. 223, l. 12 et seq.

274. 20. *gargarisme*, lit. gargle.

29. Cf. p. 272, l. 3.

275. 2. *Toy*, frequently used in the special sense of a jest or anecdote, or bit of doggerel. Cf. *Tarltons Toyes*, 'a new booke in English verse,' licensed 10 Dec. 1576.

8. *lillypot*, in this pun, is an old size of paper with the 'lily-pot' as a watermark.

21 et seq. See note to p. 273, ll. 4–7.

22. *Absonisme*. See p. 242, l. 14.

32. *a Calimunco*, lit. a kind of fine stuff. See 'Calamanco,' *N. E. D.*, and Lyly's *Mydas*, passim.

276. 14. *Tite-tute-tate!* From the line of Ennius (*Annales*,

p. 113, Vahl.), 'O Tite, tute, Tati, tibi tanta, tyranne, tulisti,' given by Priscian, and copied and recopied in Renaissance Arts of Poetry. For example, it occurs twice in Buchler's recension of the *Institutio Poetica* of Jac. Pontanus, where it is described as something to be avoided ('cacophonus,' 'ridiculus,' 'insuavis,' &c.).

10. See the list of books in Rabelais, II. vii.

18. *filed Suada*, supra, p. 265, l. 3, note.

21. *Gueuara*, Antonio de (*d.* 1545), author of the *Marco Aurelio* (1st ed. 1529), which was translated by Lord Berners in his *Golden Booke of Marcus Aurelius* (1532), and, in its revised form (*Libro del Emperador Marco Aurelio con el Relox de Principes*), by Sir Thomas North in his *Diall of Princes* (1557). His *Epistolas Familiares* was rendered in the *Familiar Epistles* of Edward Hellowes in 1574, and was supplemented in 1575 by Geoffrey Fenton's version of the *Golden Epistles*. Sir Francis Bryan gave the *Libro llamado Menospreçio del Corte* in his *Dispraise of the Life of a Courtier* (1548), reprinted as *A Looking Glasse for the Courte* (1575).

22. *Amiot*, Jacques Amyot (1513-93), translated the *Theagenes and Chariclea* of Heliodorus (1547, revised 1559), seven books of Diodorus Siculus (1554), Longus (1559), and Plutarch's *Lives* (1559) and *Morals* (1572). His translation of Plutarch's *Lives* was Englished by Sir Thomas North in 1579.

277. 3. *slaumpaump*. Cf. Stanyhurst's *Aeneid* (ed. Arber, p. 116):—

> 'Quod she, "shal hee scape thus? shal a stranger geue me the slampam?
> With such departure my regal segnorye frumping?"'

33. *Leripup*, lit. the tail of an academic hood = 'rôle,' 'lesson.' See *N. E. D.*, s. v. *Liripipe*.

278. 16. *quaime*, qualm.

279. 3. *Hermes Trismegist*, supra, p. 22, l. 33.

4. *Danters Presse*. See p. 403, l. 28. John Danter printed in London between 1591 and 1597, and his widow in 1599 and 1600. He is introduced in the second part of the *Returne from Parnassus* (Act I. Sc. iii). Cf. infra, p. 466.

8. Thomas Delone or Deloney (? 1543-? 1607), silkweaver,

a notorious ballad-maker and pamphleteer. Nash calls him 'the balleting silk-weaver.'

Philip Stubs or Stubbes, author of the *Anatomie of Abuses*. See supra, i. p. 63, and note to i. p. 321.

Robert Armin, actor and dramatist. (See *D. N. B.*) He had the honour of being known as the literary son and successor to Scogan.

22. Humfrey Cole (fl. 1575). See *D. N. B.*

23. Iohn Shute (fl. 1560), author of *The First and Chief Groundes of Architecture* (1563). See *D. N. B.*

24. Robert Norman. Supra, p. 262, l. 17, note.

William Bourne. See note to p. 273, l. 1.

25. Iohn Hester (*d.* 1593), distiller. See *D. N. B.*

280. 2. Digges. Supra, p. 262, l. 34, note.

Hariot, Thomas (1560–1621). See *D. N. B.*

Dee; the famous John Dee (1527–1608), astrologer.

9–12. Cf. Meres's scheme of comparison, infra, p. 314 et seq.

15. *Floide*, i. e. Ludovic or Lewis Lloyd, author of *The Pilgrimage of Princes*, 1573, &c. (See *Brit. Mus. Catalogue.*) The forms 'Lloyd' and 'Floyd' are interchangeable. Cf. Iohn F. or L., composer (*d.* 1523), and Sir Charles F. or L., royalist (*d.* 1661).

Ritch, i. e. Barnabe Rich (? 1540–? 1620), miscellaneous writer.

17. Kiffin, Maurice (*d.* 1599), author of *The Blessednes of Brytaine, or a Celebration of the Queenes Holyday*, 1587. He translated the *Andria* in 1588.

23. Cartwright, supra, p. 238, l. 25.

25. *Reinolds.* I have failed to identify him. The reference would appear to be too early for Henry Reynolds the translator of Tasso's *Aminta* and author of an essay on Poetry (1632), or for John Reynolds who published his *Epigrammata* in 1611. Can he be Iohn Rainolds (1549–1607) who was in high repute for his Oxford lectures on Aristotle, and translated the Prophets for the 'Authorized Version'?

Stubbes, supra, p. 279, l. 8, note.

Mulcaster, Richard (? 1530–1611), supra, i. p. 336, l. 32, note.

26. Norton, Thomas (1532–84), supra, i. p. 398. Besides

collaborating in *Gorboduc*, he wrote a number of prose works, including a translation of Calvin's *Institutes*.

Lambert. Is this the antiquary William Lambarde (1531–1601), the historian of Kent?

Lord Henry Howarde (1540–1614), first Earl of Northampton, second son of Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey.

29–30. *the Resolution.* Is this the poem of which the first part, entitled *The Mirrour of Mans Miserie*, was printed by Edward Allde in 1584?

Mary Magdalens funerall teares, by Robert Southwell ('S. W.'). The first known edition is dated 1594.

31. *Scottes discouery of Witchcraft* (1584). See Reginald or Reynold Scott (? 1538–99), *D. N. B.*

Jean Bodine (*b.* 1530) wrote *De la Démonomanie des Sorciers* (Paris, 1580), which passed into many editions, and was translated into Latin (by Lotarius Philoponus, Basle, 1581), German, and Italian. Sidney deals with him not too kindly: 'You may read him and gather out of many words some matter' (*Correspondence*, ed. Pears, p. 199).

281. 2. This *Apology*, written by Richard Cosin, or Cosins, Bishop of Durham, was printed in 1591. See note to ii. p. 239, l. 7.

11. *Doctour Hutton.* Brydges, in *Archaica*, ii. 233, identifies him with Leonard Hutton the antiquary (see *D. N. B.*), but the reference is rather to Matthew Hutton (1529–1606), a Cambridge man, Master of Pembroke Hall, raised to the Archbishopric of York in 1596.

Doctour Young, i.e. John Young (? 1534–1605), also Master of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, and afterwards Bishop of Rochester. He is the 'Roffy' of Spenser's *Shepheardes Calender*.

12. *Doctour Chaderton*, i.e. William Chaderton (? 1540–1608) of Pembroke College, Cambridge, Bishop of Chester, 1579–95, and afterwards of Lincoln.

M. Curtes, i.e. Richard Curteys (? 1532–82) of St. John's College, Cambridge, and Bishop of Chichester (1570).

13. *M. Wickam*, i.e. William Wickham (1539–95), Bishop of Lincoln, and afterwards (1595) Bishop of Winchester.

M. Drant. Supra, i. p. 90, l. 13, nôte.

M. Deering, i.e. Edward Dering (? 1540–76) of Christ's College, Cambridge, a puritan divine who was appointed Prebendary of Salisbury, 1571.

14. *Doctor Still*, i.e. John Still (? 1543–1608) of Christ's College, Cambridge, appointed Bishop of Bath and Wells in 1593. *Gammer Gurton's Needle* has been attributed to him; but the claim of William Stevenson, also of Christ's, is better (see H. Bradley, in *Repres. Eng. Comedies*, 1903, i. 199, and Chambers, *Med. Stage*, ii. 457).

Doctor Vnderhill, i.e. John Underhill (? 1545-92), Bishop of Oxford, 1589–92.

15. *Doctor Matthew*, i.e. Tobie Matthew (1546-1628), Bishop of Durham in 1595, and Archbishop of York in 1606.

M. Lawherne (unidentified).

M. Dooue, i.e. John Dove (1561–1618), Rector of St. Mary Aldermary, London, author of *A Confutation of Atheism* (1605).

16. *M. Andrewes*, i.e. Lancelot Andrewes (1555–1626), Rector of St. Giles, Cripplegate, afterwards Bishop of Winchester, author of several learned works on patristic theology, and one of the makers of the 'Authorized Version.'

M. Chaderton, i.e. Laurence Chaderton (? 1536–1640), Master of Emmanuel College, Cambridge (1584), and a well-known preacher at Cambridge, of Protestant views. He did not obtain his doctorate till 1613. Cf. note on Dr. Chaderton (l. 12).

M. Smith: probably Henry Smith, 'silver-tongued Smith' (? 1550–91), the Puritan divine, who had great reputation as a preacher at St. Clement Danes, London.

22. *Doctour Cooper*, i.e. Thomas Cooper (? 1517–94), Bishop of Lincoln (1570), and Bishop of Winchester (1584). He compiled the books popularly known as Cooper's *Chronicle* and Cooper's *Latin Dictionary*. He was the object of the Martinist tract *Ha' ye any work for a Cooper?*, which he had provoked by an attack on 'Martin Marprelate.'

Doctour Humfry, i.e. Laurence Humphrey (? 1527–90), President of Magdalen College, Oxford, and Dean of Winchester (1580–90). He wrote a Latin life of Jewel (1573), and translated Origen and other Fathers of the Church.

23. *Doctor Fletcher*, i.e. Richard Fletcher (*d.* 1596), Bishop of Bristol (1589), of Worcester (1593), and of London (1594).

He was the father of John Fletcher, the dramatist, brother of Giles Fletcher, the elder, and uncle of Phineas Fletcher and Giles Fletcher, the younger.

282. 29. *Suada*, supra, p. 276, l. 18, note.

283. 7. *Endenisoned.* Cf. infra, p. 359, l. 29, note.

13. *Dia-margariton or Dia-ambre*, &c., cf. p. 273, l. 24 et seq. For the medical prefix *Dia-*, see *N. E. D.*

15. *Antonius*: so entitled in the edition of 1592, but generally the *Tragedie of Antonie*: by Mary, Countess of Pembroke (1590). See the reference to the play in Daniel's dedication to *Cleopatra*. The *Discourse of Life and Death* was translated by her from *Plessis de Mornay* (1593).

33. *Experience*, u.s., i. p. 102, l. 13, note, ii. p. 235, l. 24, note.

Carew (pp. 285-94).

285. 15. *as Stephanus.* Henri Estienne (1528–98) had printed his *Projet du livre intitulé: de la Précellence du langage françois* in 1579 (Paris). This volume had been preceded in ? 1565 (Geneva) by the *Traité de la conformité du langage françois avec le grec*, in 1566 by the famous *Apologie pour Hérodote*, and in 1578 (Geneva) by *Deux Dialogues du langage françois italianisé.* The *Précellence* has been edited by Feugère, 1850, 1853, and by Huguet, 1896.

286. 14. *vogue*: 'use' (Camden's print).

287. 4. 'English-Saxon,' in Camden, as in Puttenham, supra, p. 61, l. 6, &c. See note to p. 292, l. 23.

27. 'masters' (Camden).

288. 18. This is Ralph's love-letter to Dame Christian Custance, misread by Matthew Merrygreek, in Nicholas Udall's *Roister Doister.* Thomas Wilson quotes it in his *Rule of Reason* (1551, p. 67), not in his *Arte of Rhetorique*, as 'an example of doubtfull writyng, whiche, by reason of poinctyng, maie haue double sense and contrary meanyng.'

290. 16. *Littletons hotchpot of our tongue*: a reference to Sir Thomas Littleton's (1402–81) famous treatise on *Tenures*, written in 'law-French.'

291. 31. Cuiacius *ad Tit. de verb. signif.* See p. 246, l. 24.

292. 23. Camden inserts 'Maister Puttenham' between 'Sidney'

and 'Stanihurst' in Carew's text, a fact which does not appear to have been noted in the discussions on Puttenham's authorship. See note to p. 1.

293. 19. *Agnomination*, generally, in rhetoric, a paronomasia or word-play, but here probably 'alliteration.' Camden (who prints Carew's tract) uses it in this sense in his *Remaines*, p. 27. See Hermogenes, *De Invent.* iv; Melanchthon, *Rhet.* ii; and Scaliger, *Poetice*, iii. 55.

J. J. Pontanus was perhaps the first to establish the word *alliteratio* for the older forms *agnominatio* or *adnominatio*. See Andreas Schottus: 'Budaeo adnominationem nobis resultationem nominare Latine liceat, ut in poetis antiquis, praesertim Marone, Iovianus Pontanus alliterationem solitus est appellare' (*Cicero a Calumniis vindicatus*, cap. x).

21. Sir Thomas Smith (cf. p. 287, l. 1). See Index.

26. 'Shakespeare': so, too, in Camden.

MS. and Camden read 'Barlowes.' The reference must be to Marlowe's fragment of *Hero and Leander*. See the bibliographical note in Mr. Bullen's edition, iii. 2.

Chapman (pp. 295–307).

295. 14. *queasie stomackes*. Supra, i. p. 66, l. 24, note, &c.

297. 4, &c. See headnote to 'II' on the same page; also p. 300. The 1611–12 complete edition (*The Iliades of Homer, Prince of Poets*) contained the important verse preface 'To the Reader,' the essay 'Of Homer,' and the commentaries on the books.

12. *Spondanus*. Jean de Sponde (1557–95). Chapman refers to *Homeri quae extant opera ... cum Latina versione ... Perpetuis ... in Iliade simul et Odysseam, J. Spondani ... commentariis*, 1583.

298. 6. Aristonicus, in the *περὶ σημείων Ἰλιάδος*.

10. *out of Eustathius*, in the *παρεκβολαὶ εἰς τὴν Ὁμήρου Ἰλιάδα*, of which there were many sixteenth-century editions.

16, 19. Chapman's text, '*μαρμαρεω*.' See *Iliad*, 18. 480.

21. Spondanus. See p. 297, l. 12, note.

299. 14. *caprichiously*. See *N. E. D.*, s. v. 'Caprice.'

301. 1, &c. Chapman's onslaught is directed chiefly against the long third chapter of the fifth book of Scaliger's *Poetice*,

which is devoted to a comparison of Virgil with Homer, to the disadvantage of the latter. There is some justice in Chapman's gibe that it is the only original part of the treatise, for, though neo-classic criticism had already exalted Virgil, the elaborateness of the comparison and its 'impalsied diminuation' give it a place apart from the more academic matters of 'place, time, and termes.' On Scaliger's attitude generally, see Hallam, ii. 300 et seq., and Saintsbury, *Hist. of Crit.* ii. 73 et seq.

11. *Barathrum.* See p. 388, l. 7, note.

302. 1. A reference to Arthur Hall's *Ten Books of Homers Iliades* (1581), the first Englishing of Homer. Hall used Hugues Salel's version of the ten books (Paris, 1545); his copy (1555), with his autograph dated 1556, is in the British Museum.

303. 35. *fauourles* (not a misprint for *savourles*), 'out of favour.'

304. 24. *burbolts*, 'bird-bolts.'

306. 9. *feuerie*, feverish.

31. *The length of the verse*, i. e. in fourteen syllables in rhyming couplets.

32. *quidditicall*, quibbling, captious, subtle.

Meres (pp. 308–24).

[The text has been printed by Ingleby, *Shakspere Allusion-Books*, i. 152–65. The reprint by Arber (*English Garner*, ii) is a selection, with the paragraphs rearranged and the vocabulary modernized.]

308. 17. The *Discours politiques et militaires du Seigneur de la Noue: nouvellement recueillis & mis en lumière* was printed at Basle in 1587. An English version (*Politike and Militarie Discourses*) by 'E. A.' appeared in the same year.

Beuis of Hampton, &c. Cf. Ascham, i. 4; Nash, i. 323; Puttenham, ii. 44. The *Famous Historie of the Seaven Champions of Christendom* by Richard Johnson, the romance writer, had just appeared (entered 1596).

309. 13. Cf. i. p. 59, l. 15, p. 79, l. 31, p. 332, l. 17.

310. 25–8. *Rubarbe and sugarcandie*, &c. Supra, p. 208, l. 1.

29–34. See Sidney, i. p. 180, l. 13 et seq. Note that Meres changes 'some good' into 'many cockney and wanton.' *Cockney* (as applied to women), pampered, cockered, spoilt.

Cotgrave, defining Fr. *coquine*, gives 'cokney, simperdecockit, nice thing.'

312. 11. Joseph Hall (1574–1656), ed. Singer, 1824, Grosart, 1879.

John Marston's (? 1575–1634), *Metamorphosis of Pigmalions Image* appeared in 1598 and *The Scourge of Villanie* in 1598 and 1599. See infra, p. 465.

12. William Rankins had published his anti-stage attack, *A Mirrour of Monsters*, in 1587 (see i. p. 63). His *Seaven Satyres* appeared in 1598. *The English Ape* (1588) has been ascribed to him.

313. 13–33. Copied (for the most part *literatim*) from Webbe. See i. pp. 231–2.

314. 1–7. See Sidney, i. p. 160, ll. 10–16.

19–21. Copied from Webbe. See i. p. 242, ll. 8–10, note.

24. Harding. Supra, p. 62, l. 26. Cf. note to p. 238, l. 25.

27. Sotades of Maroneia (Σωτάδης Μαρωνείτης), B.C. 280.

29. *I know not*, &c. Taken from Puttenham. See ii. p. 62, l. 27.

31–2. Ib. p. 65, ll. 8–10.

33, &c. *Consaluo Periz*, &c. Copied from Ascham. See i. p. 32, l. 25 et seq.

315. 5. Surrey. Supra, i. p. 283, l. 9, note; and by Index.

9. *Iouianus Pontanus*, Giovanni Gioviano Pontano (1426–1503), Latin writer and poet, head of the Neapolitan Academy founded by Antonio Panormita, afterwards called the *Academia Pontani*. His best known poem was the *Urania*, which at once established itself as a model to the Renaissance poets (cf. Sannazzaro's *Poemata Selecta*, pp. 1–4, and Fracastoro's *Syphilis*, passim). See note to i. p. 158, l. 30. He is the 'Pontan' or 'Pontane' of English writers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and must not be confused with the Jesuit philologer Jacobus Pontanus (1542–1626), also referred to in these notes.

Politianus, i. e. Angelo Poliziano (1454–94), author of the vernacular *Stanze* and *Orfeo*. His chief Latin poem is the *Sylvae*, in four parts, *Nutricia*, *Rusticus*, *Manto*, *Ambra*.

10. *Marullus Tarchaniota*, Michael Tarchaniota Marullus Latin poet, author of *Hymni & Epigrammata*, often reprinted, and edited, with the works of Angerianus and Secundus,

by Martellus (Paris, 1582), and by B. Albinus (Speier, 1595). The earliest edition in the British Museum is dated 1497. Scaliger gives a long account in his *Poetice*, vi. ch. iv. See *Correspondence of Sir Philip Sidney*, ed. Pears, p. 199.

the two Strozæ, i.e. Tito Vespasiano Strozzi (*d.* 1508) and his son Ercole Strozzi. See Lilius Gyraldus (ed. Wotke, p. 26) and Tiraboschi, vi. 1353-61. Their poems were often printed together in the sixteenth century.

11. *Palingenius.* Supra, i. p. 30, l. 10, note.

Mantuanus. Supra, i. p. 411, note, and by Index.

Philelphus, Francesco Filelfo (1426-81). See L. Gyraldus (u. s.), p. 23, Tiraboschi, vi. 1523; and Symonds, ii. 202, for an account of his *Satires* and *Odes.*

Quintianus Stoa. Gianfrancesco Quinziano Stoa (1484-1557. See L. Gyraldus, u. s., p. 74, Scaliger, *Poetice*, vi. 4. The best account is in Tiraboschi, vii. 2252-61.

12. Germanus Brixius. See L. Gyraldus, u.s., 65.

13. Meres's Latin poets are hardly 'ancient'; all, with the exception of the last, appear in Scaliger's chapter on 'Poetae Recentiores' in the sixth book of his *Poetice.*

14, &c. Meres's list may be compared with Nash's in i. p. 316. See notes.

15. Christopher Ocland. See i. p. 239, l. 15, note.

16. Thomas Campion (*d.* 1619). See infra, p. 327.

17. *Brunswerd*, i.e. John Brownswerd (?1540-89), master of Macclesfield Grammar School, author of Latin verses.

Willey, i.e. Richard Willes or Willey. See vol. i. pp. 46, 47, and 305.

28-34. Copied from Sidney. See i. p. 160, ll. 4-9. Meres turns Sidney's argument for prose-poetry (i. pp. 159-60) in favour of Sidney himself.

316. 3. Meres probably takes the quotation direct from Webbe, i. p. 237, l. 30 (see note).

16. Παρθένιος of Nicaea (reign of Augustus).

18-24. Samuel Daniel's *Delia, contayning certayne Sonnets* (1592). His *Complaint of Rosamund* was added to the second edition (also 1592). *The First Fowre Bookes of the Civile Wars* appeared in 1595: the extended poem, in eight books, in 1609.

25-9. Drayton's *Mortimeriados* (?1596) appeared in altered

form in 1603 as *The Barrons Wars. Englands Heroicall Epistles* (first edit., 1597) was conjoined with the *Barrons Wars* in the 1603 edition. See also note p. 317, ll. 2–3.

31. Charles Fitzgeffrey (? 1575–1638) published his poem on Drake in 1596. See p. 323, ll. 10–12, infra.

34. *Accius . . . Milithus* [Mitiletus]. Cf. Lodge, i. p. 70.

317. 2–3. *The Tragicall Legend of Robert, Duke of Normandie*, was issued in 1596 with revised editions of *Matilda, the faire & chaste daughter of Lord Rob. Fitzwater* (1594), and *The Legend of Peirs Gaueston* (? 1593).

4. *Joannes Honterus . . . Cosmography*, i. e. *Rudimentorum Cosmographicorum . . . Libri iii. cum tabellis geographicis.* Zurich, 1548.

6. *is now in penning.* The first edition of the first part appeared in ? 1612: the second part in 1622.

23. William Warner's *Albion's Englande* appeared (first part) in 1586 and (first and second) in 1589; and in a third edition 'corrected,' 1592. Other editions followed. A complete edition appeared in 1612.

30–4. 'Mellifluous and hony-tongued' appears to have been a favourite epithet in contemporary references to the poet. Cf. Weever's 'Epigram to Shakespeare' and *Poems in Diuers humors*, 1598 (? by Rich. Barnfield), both printed in Ingleby's *Shakspere Allusion-Books*, i. pp. 182, 186; also T. Heywood's *Hierarchie of the Blessed Angels* (1635). It is, however, of common application in Elizabethan literature (cf. Sidney, supra, i. p. 202, l. 1, *Arcadia*, i. 3, &c.). Shakespeare has 'honey-tongued' in *L. L. L.* v. 2. 334, and kindred phrases elsewhere; though he uses 'honey-mouthed' in *W. T.* ii. 2. 33 in the less common sarcastic sense—'If I proue hony-mouth'd, let my tongue blister.' See Ingleby's notes on the interpretation of the name *Melicertus* in Elizabethan literature (u. s., pp. xiii et seq.). The usage was probably fixed by the popularity of Boëthius, *De Consol.* (see v. 2. 2), rather than by direct knowledge of the classical μελίγλωσσος or μελίφωνος (see ii. p. 322, ll. 3–6, note).

318. 4. *Loue Labours Wonne.* This has been identified, by critics who hold that the play is not lost, with *L. L. L.*, with *M. N. D.*, with *The Tempest*, with *All's Well*, with *M. Ado*, and with the *Taming of the Shrew*. The latest contribution to the

subject is A. H. Tolman's *What has Become of Shakespeare's Play 'Love's Labour's Won'?*, University of Chicago Press, 1903.

9. *'Epius Stolo,'* i. e. Aelius Stilo (Lucius Aelius Praeconius Stilo), who made the remark and was followed by Varro. 'Varro dicat *Musas*, Aelii Stilonis sententia, *Plautino sermone locuturas fuisse, si Latine loqui vellent*' (Quintil. x. 1 (513)). The passage is quoted by Ben Jonson in his *Discoveries* (*Works*, ed. Cunningham, iii. 421). [Some texts of Quintil. read *Stolonis*, which may partly excuse Meres's error.]

11. *fine filed phrase*, 'polished,' 'fine,' a common sixteenth-century usage. Jonson speaks of Shakespeare's 'well torned and true filed lines' (*To the Memory of my beloved Master William Shakespeare*, l. 68).

15. *imitators*, fellows; not to be taken in the chronological sense. Cf. p. 315, l. 26, where Meres places Shakespeare, Marlowe, and Chapman in the same order.

19–26. Ovid, *Met.* xv. 871–2; Horace, *Odes*, iii. 30. 1–5.

29–32. The lines are printed as in the original. Ingleby, u. s., p. 160, begins the fourth line with *conspirabunt*.

319. 3–6. Cf. the lists in Nash's Preface to *Menaphon*. Supra, i. pp. 318–19.

5. Thomas Kyd's association with these poets (and in parallel with Tasso) may be explained by the fact that, besides writing some non-dramatic verse in English and Latin, he had translated Tasso's prose *Padre di Famiglia* (*The Householders Philosophie*, 1588), and may have translated some of his verse. See Mr. Boas's *Kyd*, xxv, lxii, lxxviii.

26. *Doctor Leg of Cambridge*. See l. 33, infra.

27. *Doctor Edes of Oxford*, i. e. Richard Edes (1555–1604), Dean of Worcester, friend of Tobie Mathew (see ii. p. 281, l. 15). He is credited with a tragedy of *Julius Caesar*, acted at Christ Church in 1582.

Edward Ferris. Supra, ii. p. 63, l. 13, note.

33. Thomas Legge (1535–1607), Master of Caius College, Cambridge. His Latin tragedy of 'Richard III' was acted in 1579. See Harington, supra, p. 210, l. 15, note. The manuscript of his *Destruction of Jerusalem* was 'filched' by a 'Plageary'; but Fleay says it was acted at Coventry in 1577.

320. 10. *Edward, Earle of Oxforde.*' See ii. p. 95, l. 26, note.

Doctor Gager of Oxforde, i. e. William Gager (fl. 1580–1619), who wrote five Latin plays which were acted at Oxford. He engaged in controversy with John Rainolds (see note, p. 441), who had denounced the acting of plays at Oxford.

11. *Master Rowley.* Is this Samuel Rowley, the dramatist (died ? 1633), though the reference to Pembroke Hall is a difficulty? *D. N. B.* suggests Ralph Rowley (died ? 1604), afterwards Rector of Chelmsford, 'who was the only student of Pembroke Hall of the name of Rowley during the second half of the sixteenth century.'

12. *Maister Edwardes.* See Webbe, i. p. 242, l. 33, note, and Puttenham, ii. p. 65, l. 26.

15. *our best plotter.* In Jonson's *Case is Altered* (I. i) Onion refers to this very passage when he says to Antonio Balladino (i. e. Anthony Munday), 'You are in print already for the best plotter.'

16. Porter, Henry (fl. 1596-9), author of *The Pleasant Historie of the two Angrie Women of Abington.* Four other plays are mentioned in Henslowe, but they are not extant.

Wilson. See note to i. p. 85, l. 3.

Hathway, Richard, one of the authors of *The First Part of the True and Honorable Historie of the Life of Sir John Oldcastle* (1599).

20–1. Cf. p. 312, ll. 11–12 (note).

21. *The Author of Skialetheia*, i.e. Edward Guilpin. *Skialetheia, or a Shadowe of Truth in certaine Epigrams and Satyres* appeared in 1598. It has been reprinted by Utterson (1843), Collier (1870), and Grosart (1878).

32. *C. Valgius* for *T.* Valgius Rufus, the poet. C. Valgius was a rhetorician.

321. 1. *Sir Francis Brian* (*d.* 1550) contributed anonymously to *Tottel's Miscellany* (1557). See note to ii. p. 275, l. 21.

2. *Sir Edward Dyer.* Puttenham speaks of him 'for elegie.' See i. p. 65, l. 32.

4. Samuel Page (1574–1630). His poem, *The Love of Amos and Laura*, was printed in *Alcilia* (1613).

7. *the Authour*, &c. Thomas Watson (? 1557–92), author of the Ἑκατομπαθία (see i. p. 316, l. 8, note). His *Amyntae Gaudia*, a Latin pastoral in hexameters, was printed posthumously (1592).

Walsingham's Meliboeus was written in honour of his patron Sir Francis Walsingham (1590). It was Englished by the author in the same year (*An Eclogue upon the death of . . . Sir Fr. Walsingham*).

10. *Challener.* See p. 65, l. 28, note.

Gosson's claim as a pastoralist must be supported by material which is at present unknown.

11. Fraunce (supra, i. p. 303) appears here as the translator (1587) of Watson's Latin *Amyntas* (1585), which must not be confused with the *Amyntae Gaudia*, supra, l. 7. The *Amyntas* is a version of Tasso's *Aminta*. See *Anglia*, xi. 1-38.

Richard Barnfield's *Affectionate Shepheard* appeared in 1594.

15. *Drante.* Supra, i. p. 90, l. 13, note.

Timothy Kendal (fl. 1577), compiler of *Flowers of Epigrammes.*

16. Thomas Bastard (1566-1618), author of *Chrestoleros: Seuen Bookes of Epigrames* (1598).

Dauies, i.e. Sir John Davies (1569-1626), author of the *Nosce Teipsum*, who published a volume of *Epigrammes*, undated. It is reprinted in the Isham Tracts (ed. C. Edmonds, 1870).

21-4. See p. 265, l. 7, note.

26-9. Meres is in sorry plight when he has to borrow his praises of Eliza. See Puttenham, supra, p. 66.

322. 2. Cf. p. 225, l. 33; p. 264, l. 35.

3-6. Μναμοσύναν ἔλε θάμβος, ὅτ' ἔκλνε τᾶς μελιφώνου
Σαπφοῦς, μὴ δεκάταν Μοῦσαν ἔχουσι βροτοί.
Anth. Palat. ix. 66.

7-19. Borrowed from Sidney. See i. p. 193, l. 26—p. 194, l. 1. See note on 'King James,' i. p. 396.

20-3. Taken from Ascham. See i. p. 24, ll. 4-7.

28. *Christopher Iohnson* (? 1536-97), physician, and Latin poet of some repute, author of *Ranarum et murium pugna, Latina versione donata, ex Homero*, Lond. 1580.

29. *Watson for his Antigone*, i. e. Thomas Watson, author of the Ἑκατομπαθία (supra, i. p. 316, l. 8, note), whose Latin translation of the *Antigone* of Sophocles[4] appeared in 1581. The

volume contains some allegorical pieces in Latin and some experiments in Latin metres. See also notes, ii. pp. 451, 452.

31, &c. See Webbe, i. p. 243, l. 9—p. 244, l. 15.

323. 1. *inchoate.* See ii. p. 295, note.

3. Andrea Alciati (1492–1550). See Tiraboschi, vi, pp. 1060-9). There were many editions of the *Emblematum Liber* (1531) during the sixteenth century.

4. *Reusnerus*, i. e. Nicolaus Reusner, author of a volume of *Emblemata* (1581).

Sambucus, Ioannes (cf. i. p. 13, l. 27, note). His volume of *Emblemata* was printed at the Plantin Press at Antwerp in 1564 (2nd edit. 1566, 3rd 1569, 4th 1584).

5. Geoffrey Whitney (? 1548–? 1601). His *Choice of Emblemes* was printed at Leyden in 1586. There is a facsimile reprint by H. Green (1866).

Andrew Willet (1562-1621), theologian and controversialist, author of *Sacrorum emblematum centuria*, Cambridge [1596?].

Thomas Combe.?

6. *Nonnus Panapolyta*, Νόννος of Panopolis (Egypt). The first printed edition of this work was issued by Aldus Manutius (Venice, 1501). There were many sixteenth-century editions.

7. Gervase Markham's version of the *Canticles* (*The Poem of Poems, or Sion's Muse*) appeared in 1596. He is known by his works on horsemanship and country life, and by his *Tragedie of Sir Richard Grinvile* (1595). See *D. N. B.*: also note on Googe and Heresbachius, supra, i. p. 265, l. 22.

10–2. Charles Fitzgeffrey. See p. 316, l. 31, note.

16. Sidonius. Cf. p. 322, l. 3.

17. *Quicquid*, &c. See i. p. 196, l. 14, note.

18. *Doctor Case*, i.e. John Case (*d.* 1600), the commentator of Aristotle. He practised medicine at Oxford.

24. *our wittie Wilson.* See note to p. 320, l. 16.

31–2. See ii. p. 229, &c.

35. *the Harueys.* See note to p. 251, ll. 22–3.

324. 1–10. For particulars of Nash's troubles arising from his writing of the comedy *The Isle of Dogs* (1597), now lost, see Henslowe's *Diary* and the article in *D. N. B.* *Banishment* (l. 6) refers to Nash's retreat to Great Yarmouth (see *Nashes Lenten Stuffe*).

3. *young Iuuenall*, a common nickname of Nash, as in *Greene's Groatsworth of Wit*, Chettle's *Kind-Harts Dreame*, &c.

15. *Aen.* i. 211, *vosmet.*

20. See ii. p. 232, l. 9.

23. Iodelle, Étienne (1532-73), author of *Cléopâtre captive* (1552).

27. *the Theatre of Gods Iudgements* (1597), by Thomas Beard (*d.* 1632).

VAUGHAN (pp. 325-6).

325. 9-10. Cf. i. Appendix, p. 341.

326. 10-13. From Puttenham, ii. p. 17.

13-14. ibid. ii. p. 21.

15-16. ibid. ii. 17. Poems by Joannes Dampetrus are included in the *Delitiae C. poetarum Gallorum* ([Francfurt] 1609), edited by Ranutius Gherus (i.e. Janus Gruterus). Scaliger discusses his work in his *Poetice*, vi. 4.

16-19. ibid. ii. p. 17.

22. ibid. ii. p. 18. Puttenham reads 'Vargas.' See note.

24. ibid. ii. pp. 18, 22.

CAMPION (pp. 327-55).

327. There is perhaps some significance in the dedication to Thomas Sackville, now Lord Buckhurst, who had collaborated in the blank verse *Gorboduc.*

Campion's attack on Rhyme, which surprised Daniel (infra, p. 358, l. 27), is difficult to explain in the light of his own formal excellence and musical experience. His first song-book, *A Booke of Ayres*, had been printed in the preceding year.

328. [2 et seq.] These lines echo the opening lines of the first Satire of Persius.

[6.] *a termer*, one who goes to London for the season ('term-time').

11. *discreta quantitas.* See Scaliger, *Poetice*, iv. 1 and 45.

12. Read *disseuer'd.*

15. Campion's musical allusions are frequent. Cf. the quotations in the notes to p. 338, l. 2, and p. 340, l. 26.

329. 9–10. Cf. i. p. 230, l. 18, note.

16–28. Cf. Ascham, i, passim; Webbe, i. p. 240.

John Reuchlin (1455–1522), German humanist.

23. *Epistolae obscurorum virorum* (1515). See Böcking's *Ulrich von Hutten* (7 vols., Leipzig, 1859–70), passim.

27–8. *Rithmus and Metrum.* Cf. ii. pp. 70–3.

330. 21. *similiter desinentia.* See Cic. *De Orat.* iii. 54; Quintil. ix. 3 (478). Cf. supra, ii. p. 242, note.

28–9. A reference to the popular *Pugna Porcorum per P. Porcium Poëtam*, which appeared in 1530 at ? Cologne or ? Antwerp. The writer was Joannes Leo Placentius. The book is a verse burlesque, in which every word begins with 'P.' Cf. Hucbald's verses beginning with 'C,' twice referred to by Puttenham, supra, p. 15, l. 29, and note.

331. 11. *Carmina prouerbialia* (cf. p. 361, l. 26), a quotation-book often reprinted in the sixteenth century. The title of the 1588 edition, London, 16mo, describes the collection thus: *Carmina prouerbialia totius humanae vitae statum breuiter deliniantia necnon vtilem de moribus doctrinam iucunde proponentia. Loci communes in gratiam inuentutis selecti.*

12. *bables*, baubles. Cf. i. p. 104, l. 21.

17–18. See ii. p. 15, ll. 20–2.

20–5. More's *Epigrammata* (Basle, 1520). These verses on Henry Abyngdon were often quoted. They will be found in the collection of *Epitaphes* at the end of Stanyhurst's *Aeneis* (ed. Arber, pp. 155–6). Abyngdon was appointed Master of the Children of the Royal Chapel at Westminster in 1465.

29, &c. Mr. Bullen refers to the passage in Drummond's *Conversations*: 'He [Jonson] cursed Petrarch for redacting verses to Sonnets, which he said were like that Tirrant's bed, wher some who were too short were racked, others too long cut short.'

332. 8. Campion had more than a physician's interest in Galen. Cf. the Epistle to his *New way of making Four parts in Counter-point* (? 1617): 'Galen either first, or next the first of physicians, became so expert a musician that he could not contain himself, but needs he must apply all the proportions of music to the uncertain motions of the pulse' (*Works*, ed. Bullen, xxiv).

334. 13. *licentiate Iambick.* See p. 335, l. 8 et seq.; and i. p. 95, l. 14.

336. 17. *paisd*, weighed.

337. 11. Orig. 'fift,' an error for 'fourth.'

32. *ayreable*, i. e. airable, capable of being set to music.

338. 2. *Heroik Poeme.* Campion, like his predecessors, gives the first place to it. Cf. the 'Preface to the Reader' in his first *Booke of Ayres* (1601). 'Nevertheless, as in poesy, we give the preeminence to the Heroical Poem; so in music, we yield the chief place to the grave and well invented Motet' (ed. Bullen, p. 5). See note to Puttenham, ii. p. 43, ll. 21-2. Cf. also Ronsard, *Abrégé*; Rapin, *Comparaison d'Homère et de Virgile* and *Réflexions sur la Poëtique d'Aristote*; and Dryden, *Apology for Heroic Poetry, A Discourse concerning Satire*, and *Dedication of the Æneis* (first sentence).

340. 26. Campion has left two books of Latin Epigrams (*Works*, ed. Bullen, pp. 263-366). In the Preface 'To the Reader' in his first *Booke of Ayres* (1601), he points to the analogy between epigrams and airs: 'What epigrams are in poetry, the same are airs in music: then in their chief perfection when they are short and well seasoned' (ed. Bullen, u.s., p. 4).

342. 5. *Beaten*, ? 'figured,' embroidered, brocaded. Cf. Marlowe, 'No sirrah; in beaten silk and staves-acre' (*Dr. Faustus*, iv. p. 17); and see the quotation from *Ram Alley* in *N. E. D.*, s. v. 'Beaten, ppl. 5 c,' and Mr. Bullen's note (u. s., p. 247), where he quotes from Guilpin's *Skialetheia*, Epig. 53, 'He wears a jerkin cudgelled with gold lace' (which *N. E. D.* defines in the humorous sense of 'trimming laid on heavily').

21, &c. The references are perhaps, as Mr. Bullen suggests, to Barnabe Barnes (cf. also p. 346) and Gabriel Harvey, though the latter was generally called 'Gabriel' by friends and opponents. Campion satirizes the former in *Epigrammata*, ii. p. 80.

345. 3. *Pirop* (pyropus, πυρωπός), red or gold bronze. Cf. Ovid, *Met.* ii. 2.

21. *tyres.* Mr. Bullen proposes 'tries'; but the text may stand.

346. 2. *his Inne.* A favourite Elizabethan metaphor. Cf. ii. p. 78, l. 9, supra. Campion has the same phrase in 'The man of life upright' in the first *Booke of Ayres* (Bullen, pp. 21, 48).

349. 10. *Iet*, 'jet,' u. s., 'move proudly,' vaunt, 'trip it.'
14. *to*, too.
351. 19. Martial, ix. xi. 17.
352. 5. *position*. Cf. i. p. 121, l. 4, note; ii. p. 120, l. 23.

Daniel (pp. 356–84).

This essay may have appeared towards the close of 1602, the year in which Campion's attack on Rhyme was printed. Grosart (*Daniel*, vol. iv. pp. 33 et seq.) and Rhys (*Literary Pamphlets*, i. 190 et seq.) appear to have reprinted the text of the 1607 edition, which is in some respects inferior. The former, in his title and bibliographical note, i. pp. 221–2, confuses the *Defence* with the poem *Musophilus, containing a generall Defence of all Learning*, printed in 1599. The references to *Musophilus* in these notes are to Grosart's text (*Daniel*, i. pp. 225–56).

Ben Jonson was dissatisfied with the results of the controversy. In the Drummond *Conversations* we are told that he had written an epic: 'It is all in couplets, for he detesteth all other rimes.' 'Said he had written a Discourse of Poesie, both against Campion and Daniel, especially the last, wher he proues couplets to be the brauest sort of verses, especially when they are broken, like Hexameters; and that crosse rimes and stanzaes (becaus the purpose would lead him beyond 8 lines to conclude) were all forced.'

356. 8. This has been assumed to be Fulke Greville. But see Mr. Morris Croll's essay on the *Works of Fulke Greville*, Philadelphia, 1903, pp. 5–6.

357. 18. William Herbert, third Earl of Pembroke of the second creation (1580–1630), had succeeded in 1601. Daniel had been his tutor (cf. p. 358, ll. 6–7). His mother (p. 358, l. 4) was Mary, sister of Sir Philip Sidney.

359. 1–2. Horace, *Epist.* ii. 1. 262–3.

29. *indenize*. Grosart and Rhys read 'modernize.' Cf. Daniel, i. p. 277 (ed. Grosart):

> 'Here dost thou bring (my friend) a stranger borne
> To be indenized with us, and made our owne,'

and the word *Free-denizen*, infra, p. 384, l. 27. Florio (1598)

defines *Patriare*, 'to endenize, or enfranchise into a countrie.' Cf. *endenisoned*, supra, p. 283, l. 7; and *denisoned*, in quotation in note to i. p. 44, l. 27.

360. 1. *as Aristotle saith.* Cf. *Poet.* iv. 6.

16. *Remensi*: wrongly assumed by Chalmers and Rhys to be an error of Daniel's. See Giraldi Cintio's *Discorso dei Romanzi*: '. . . quantunque vi sia alcuno che voglia che questa voce sia venuta da' Remensi, alcuni da Turpino il quale vogliono che più di ognuno abbia data materia a simili poesie colle sue scritture: perocchè essendo egli arcivescovo Remense, vogliono che state siano queste composizion' dette romanzi' (ed. Daelli, 1864, i. p. 7).

24–5. Cf. Sidney, supra, i. p. 205, ll. 11–12.

361. 4. *De Turcarum Moribus Epitome*, by Bartolomaeus Georgevicz (Rome, 1552), which was translated by Goughe in 1570. Dryden also explicitly refers (in the second edition of the *Essay of Dramatic Poesy*) to Daniel's tract when, speaking of the 'new way of poesy,' he says that 'we are able to prove that the Eastern people have used it from all antiquity.'

26. *Schola Salerna.* See ii. p. 13, l. 6, note.

Carmina Prouerbialia. Cf. ii. p. 331, l. 11, note.

362. 3. *saith Aristotle. Met.* x. 1.

6–8. Horace, *Ars Poet.* 351–3.

12. *Ill customes*, &c. Cf. Campion, supra, p. 330, ll. 9–10.

363. 7. *in what Scythian sorte.* Cf. note to i. p. 75, l. 33.

26. *Scribimus*, &c. Horace, *Epist.* ii. 1. 117.

33–5. Horace, ibid. 108–10.

364. 12. Horace, *Epist.* i. 19. 19.

365. 25. Cf. *Shepheards Calender*, 'October,' st. 14, which is frequently quoted, supra.

367. 8. Horace, *Ars Poet.* 72. For reading *vis* cf. p. 130, ll. 16–17, note, supra.

11–13. Cf. Gascoigne and James VI, supra, i. pp. 47, 210.

13, &c. Dryden expresses the same sentiment in his praise of Shakespeare in the *Essay of Dramatic Poesy*: 'He needed not the spectacles of books to read nature; he looked inwards, and found her there.'

368. 9–12. See Campion, supra, p. 329.

34. *C. Tolomæi.* Claudio Tolomei printed his *Versi e Regole de la Nuova Poesia Toscana* in 1539.

369. 6. *Iohannis Rauenensis*, i.e. either Giovanni de' Malpaghini (da Ravenna), *d.* circa 1420, humanist, pupil and friend of Petrarch; or Giovanni da Ravenna, fl. 1399, author of an *Apologia*, an *Historia Elisiae*, and other works. See the elaborate discussion of the problem of identification in Tiraboschi, v. 946–58.

8. *Leonardus Aretinus*, i.e. Leonardo Bruni Aretino (1369–1444), author of a history of Florence and lives of Dante and Petrarch. He is not to be confused with Pietro Aretino, who is frequently referred to in these volumes (e.g. p. 402, l. 18); or with Unico Aretino (see i. p. 379).

Laurentius Valla (Lorenzo Valla, 1406–57), u.s.

Poggius (Poggio Bracciolini, 'fiorentino,' 1380–1459), u.s.

9. *Biondus* (generally Blondus, *Latine*), i.e. Flavio Biondo (1388–1463), antiquarian writer and historian.

Emanuel Chrysolaras (1355–1415), a Byzantine humanist in Italy.

18. *Bessarion*, Cardinal, patriarch of Constantinople (1389–1472), Italian humanist.

George Trapezuntius, i.e. of Trebizond (Τραπεζούντιος), 1396–1485, philologer and translator. See Fabricius, *Bibl. Graec.*

Theodorus Gaza (? 1400–78), another Byzantine philologer in Italy. See ibid.

25. *Pomponius Laetus* (? 1425–97), Italian humanist. His *Opera varia* appeared in one volume at Mainz in 1521.

Aeneas Syluius Piccolomini (1405–64), afterwards Pius II.

26. *Angelus Politianus* (1454–94), u.s.

Hermolaus Barbarus (Ermolao Barbaro), 1454–95, humanist and diplomatist.

Iohannes Picus de Mirandula (Giovanni Pico della Mirandola), 1463–94, Italian philosopher and theologian.

29. *Rewclen*, &c. See note, p. 368, l. 9.

370. 1. *Aldelmus Durotelmus*, i.e. Ealdhelm of Sherborne, who died in 709. In Bale's *Catalogus* he is described as *Durotellus seu Bladunius*, but this is not taken from Leland's *De Scriptoribus*, where no surname is given. Tanner says that Dempster gives *Durobellus*. Mr. R. L. Poole suggests that

Durotellus or Durobellus must be a pseudo-classical invention of the sixteenth century, and that the passage given in the text may have been got from Bostius, whom Bale quotes.

8-12. *Iosephus Deuonius*, i.e. Joseph of Exeter (Josephus Iscanus), fl. 1190. His *De Bello Troiano* had been held to be the work of Cornelius Nepos or of Dares Phrygius. See Fabricius, *Bibl. Latina*, 73, and Jusserand, *De Iosepho Exoniensi*, Paris, 1877). It does not appear to have been noted that Daniel anticipates Camden (*Remaines*) and Dresemius (edit. 1620) in ascribing the poem to Joseph of Exeter.

12. *Walterus Mape* (fl. 1200), author of the *De Nugis Curialium*.

13. *Gulielmus Nigellus*, i.e. Nigel, called 'Wireker' (fl. 1190), author of the *Speculum Stultorum*.

Geruasius Tilburiensis (fl. 1210), author of the *Otia Imperialia*.

Bracton, i.e. Henry de Bracton (*d.* 1268), author of *De Legibus et Consuetudinibus Angliae*.

14. Roger Bacon (? 1214-94), author of the *Opus Maius*.

Ockam, William (*d.* ? 1349), '*Doctor invincibilis*,' the second founder of Nominalism.

371. 19. *Ciceronians*. Cf. note to ii. p. 251, l. 20.

20-1. Cf. *Musophilus*, ll. 487-9.

372. 22. *Erasmus*, &c. Cf. p. 369, l. 29, note.

25. *S. Thomas*, i.e. Thomas Aquinas (1225-74), '*Doctor Angelicus*.'

26. *Bartolus* (1313-56), Italian jurist. See p. 438. He is often cited in association with Cuiacius (supra, p. 246, l. 24, &c.).

27. *Scotus*, i.e. Duns Scotus (1274-1308), '*Doctor Subtilis*.'

29. Tacitus, *Dialogus de Oratoribus*, 20.

373. 11. *like a Viper*. Cf. supra, i. p. 151, l. 21.

33, &c. Cf. *Musophilus*, ll. 259-62.

375. 15, &c. A reference to Campion, p. 340 et seq.

376. 4. *his Theta*. See i. p. 321, l. 13, note.

31. *For what adoe*. See Campion, supra, p. 334 et seq.

35. *which hath euer beene vsed*. Cf. supra, i. p. 405.

380. 12. *a quest of inquirie*. Cf. Florio, 'I in this search or quest of inquirie haue spent most of my studies' ('Epist. Ded.' to the *Dictionary*).

381. 3. *Scribendi recte*, &c. Horace, *Ars Poet.* 309.

9–10. *Verba sequi*, &c. Horace, *Epist.* ii. 2. 142–3.

382. 2. *mine owne mysterie*, apparently here = art, business. Cf. p. 365, l. 24, where a choice of meaning is possible. Cf. *Musophilus*, 64.

33. *in some of my Epistles*, as in *To The Lord Henrie Howard* in *Certaine Epistles* (Grosart, i. p. 199 et seq.).

383. 34. Horace, *Odes*, i. 18. 14.

384. 5, &c. Catullus, xxii.

12. Horace, *Ars Poet.* 474.

13–19. *affectation . . . singularitie.* Cf. p. 378, l. 9, and *Musophilus*, 82–5.

27. *Free-denizens.* Cf. note to p. 359, l. 29; and Peele's account of Harington in *Ad Maecenatem Prologus* (1593).

Appendix (pp. 387–403).

388. 2. *Hath the brize prickt you?* Cf. *Poetaster*, iii. 1. *Brize*, breeze (O. E. *briosa*), gad-fly. See *N.E.D.*, s.v. 'Breeze.'

5. *In generall opinion* is run on to line 3 in orig.

It is not known why Jonson omitted this passage on Poetry from the Folio. Mr. A. W. Ward has suggested that it may have been 'a mere stage-cut.' In its place in the Folio, Edward Knowell says, 'Sir, you have saved me the labour of a defence.'

7. *Barathrum* (*βάραθρον*), in the secondary sense of 'The Abyss,' Hell. Cf. p. 301, l. 11.

38. *I*, aye. Cf. p. 390, l. 27.

39. *humor.* See p. 462.

389. 22. *To make a child, now swadled, to proceede*, &c. Cf. i. p. 59, l. 27.

25. *foot-and-halfe-foote.* So the text, in the secondary sense of *Lat. sesquipedalis*, 'of excessive length.' Cf. Horace, *Ars Poet.* 97. Gifford and Cunningham read '*foot and half-foot.*'

26. *Fight ouer*, &c. Critical tradition has found a Shakespearian reference in this line, and an allusion to Marlowe's *Dr. Faustus* in the 'nimble squibbe.' The latter is doubtful, for the 'squib' often assisted in the stage cannonade of an historical play. Cf. also *Returne from Parnassus* (II), iii. 4

(l. 1361). The reference to the 'creaking throne' (μηχανή, *machina*) of the early stage is probably general.

37–8. *Comœdie . . . an Image of the times.* See Lodge, supra, i. p. 81, l. 1, note, and Sidney, i. p. 176, l. 30, note.

390. 10. *Grex*, Chorus. See p. 392, l. 26.

13. The *loci* in the history of the term 'Humour' in its dramatic association are these:—

(*a*) *Jonsonian.* (1) *Every Man in his Humour* (passim and espec. iii. 2). (2) *Every Man out of his Humour* (ante, and passim). (3) *Cynthia's Revels*, iv. i. (4) *The Poetaster*, iii. 1; iv. 4; v. 1. (5) *The Alchemist*, Prologue. (6) *The Magnetic Lady*, or *Humours reconciled* (Induction). (7) *The Case is Altered*, I. i. (8) Mayne's verses in *Jonsonius Virbius*. Cf. also the passage 'De Poetica' in *Discoveries*.

(*b*) *Contemporary allusions* (*in titles and by reference*). (1) Chapman's *Humorous Day's Mirth*, identified by Fleay (*Eng. Drama*, i. 55) with the *Comedy of Vmers* mentioned in Henslowe's Diary, May 11, 1597; printed 1599. (2) Dekker's *Satiromastix, or the Untrussing of the Humorous Poet* (1602). (3) John Day's *Humour out of Breath*, pr. 1608. Cf. also Fletcher's *Humorous Lieutenant* (acted 1619, pr. 1647) and Shirley's *Humorous Courtier* (pr. 1640). For the popular use, against which Jonson protests, cf. especially Shakespeare's *M. W. W.* i. Sc. 1 and 3.

(*c*) (1) Dryden's *Essay of Dramatic Poesy*, passim, especially the 'Examen of the *Silent Women*.' (2) William Cavendish's (Duke of Newcastle's) *The Humorous Lovers*, and *The Triumphant Widow, or the Medley of Humours*, both printed in 1677, but acted earlier. (3) Shadwell's *Sullen Lovers, or The Impertinents* (Preface), *The Humourists* (Preface and Epilogue), *The Virtuoso* (Epistle Dedicatory and Prologue)—all in vol. i of the 1720 edition. See also the 'Epilogue, spoken by one in deep mourning,' at the end of vol. iv of that edition. (4) Congreve's Letter to Dennis, 'Concerning Humour in Comedy,' July 10, 1695 (*Letters upon Several Occasions*, 1696, pp. 80–96; Dennis's *Select Works*, 1721, ii. pp. 514–25).

27. *I*, aye. Cf. p. 388, l. 38.

391. 11. *affects*, feelings, desires (cf. i. p. 392). Gifford reads *effects*.

12. *confluctions.* Text, *constructions.*

15. *cable hatband,* cord worn round the hat.

23-4. *mirror . . . Stage.* Cf. p. 389, ll. 35-6, note.

392. 2. *intentiue,* intently directed, attentive.

11. *Furor Poeticus.* Cf. i. p. 72, l. 7; ii. p. 3, l. 27. Here, of course, the sense is somewhat quizzical. *Furor Poeticus* is introduced as a character in the second part of the *Returne from Parnassus,* Act i. Sc. vi.

19. *Vetus Comœdia.* Cf. ii. p. 34, l. 5.

24. *equall diuision . . . into Acts . . . Terentian manner,* &c. See Donatus, *De Tragoedia et Comoedia,* u.s.

27. *compasse of a daies efficiencie.* See note, i. p. 398.

39. *Susario,* &c. Cf. i. p. 81, l. 9 et seq. Gifford selects Athenaeus and Suidas, especially the former, as Jonson's quarries.

393. 25. *howe comes it then?* Gifford justly scoffs at Theobald's thinking this to be 'a flurt on Shakespeare.'

394. 11. *soule.* Gifford reads *muse.*

16. *dudgeon.* (Cf. note to i. p. 140, l. 32.) Gifford reads *desperate.*

21, 22. After Ovid, *Amor.* iii. 8. 3-4:—

> 'Ingenium quondam fuerat pretiosius auro:
> At nunc barbaries grandis, habere nihil.'

25. Caesar, earlier in the scene, speaks of Poetry—

> 'Of all the faculties on earth
> The most abstract and perfect; if shee bee
> True borne, and nurst with all the sciences.
> Shee can so mould *Rome* and her monuments
> Within the liquid marble of her lines,
> That they shall stand fresh and miraculous,
> Euen when they mixe with innouating dust;
> In her sweet streames shall our braue *Roman* spirits
> Chace, and swim after death, with their choise deeds
> Shining on their white shoulders.'

395. 1. *distaste,* dislike.

2. *Peece,* piece.

4, &c. Gifford argues, very plausibly, that the 'Virgil' of the earlier paragraphs is here Shakespeare. Symonds takes

the same view. 'I am persuaded,' Gifford adds, 'nothing but the ignorance of his numerous editors of the existence of such a passage has prevented its being taken for the motto to his works.'

17. *Materiall*, full of matter, full of good sense. Cf. *As You Like It*, iii. 3. 28.

396. 6. *Impudence*, 15. *translating*, &c., quoted from Marston, whom Jonson had ridiculed. See note to p. 402, l. 34.

Demetrius is Dekker; Crispinus, Marston. Dekker replied in *Satiromastix* (1602). See Jonson's 'Dialogue' and 'To the Reader,' appended to the *Poetaster* (Ed. Gifford and Cunningham, i. pp. 262–70).

397. 3. *old Cato*, i.e. the author of the *Disticha* (see note to i. p. 158, l. 29).

8. *Shun Plautus*. Cf. i. p. 27.

15. *out-landish Termes*, &c. Cf. i, passim. See Introduction.

19. *Some Gallo-Belgick Phrase*. A reference to a popular political sheet. Cf. Jonson, *Epigrams*, xcii—

> 'They carry in their pockets Tacitus,
> And the Gazetti, or Gallo-Belgicus.'

398. 29. *swadds*. *Swad* (lit. a peascod), a country lout or bumpkin. Cf. Greene: 'Let countrey swaines and silly swads be still' (*Perimedes*, quoted by Halliwell).

399. 3. *Veterem iubes*, &c. *Aen.* ii. 3.

11. *draughty*. See p. 400, l. 14, and note to i. p. 140, l. 20.

14. *O friends, no friends*: 'A parody on "O eyes, no eyes," *Span. Trag.*'—Malone's marginal note, quoted by Mr. Macray. See Kyd's *Spanish Tragedie*, iii. 2 (opening lines); also Tomkis's parody in *Albumazar* (1614), quoted in Mr. Boas's introduction to his edition of Kyd, pp. xcv–xcvi.

15. *bables*, baubles (see note to p. 331, l. 12). Mr. Macray follows the early prints, which read *babies*.

17. *Slymy rimes*. One of the early prints reads 'Flye my rimes.'

20. *petternels*, petronels, horse-pistols: in transferred sense, a braggart, as in the name 'Sir Petronel Flash.' See Halliwell.

demilances, short-shafted lances, or the horsemen carrying these: in transferred sense, a 'light horseman' or 'cavalier.'

28. *soure*, i. e. soar: not as in l. 25.

33. *flores-poetarum*. See supra, ii. p. 241, l. 21, note.

40. *Beluedere, or the Garden of the Muses*, of which John Bodenham has been credited with the editorship, appeared in 1600. It has been reprinted by the Spenser Society, 1875.

400. 4–5. The arrangement of these lines is from the Halliwell-Phillipps MS., as adopted by Mr. Macray.

7–8. Tibullus, i. 4. pp. 59–60. The motto on the title-page of *Belvedere* (u. s.).

13. *Antony*, presumably Anthony Munday, who may be the 'A. M.' of the prefatory sonnet to *Belvedere*. Mr. Macray proposes '[Bodenham],' but the reference to ballad-writing and the name 'Antony' point rather to Munday, the 'Antonio Balladino' of Jonson's *Case is Altered*.

14. *drafty*. See note to p. 399, l. 11.

The early prints read 'to thy praise are song'; but the line as given here, and first adopted by Mr. Macray, is supported by the line in the First Part of the *Returne* (v. 2 (l. 1534)), 'They maidens shall want sonnets at there pales,' and by that in Hall's *Satires* (iv. 6. 54), apropos of Elderton's drunken muse, 'Sung to the wheele and sung unto the payle.'

15. The sun and laurel constitute the device on the title-page of *Belvedere*.

401. 6. Mr. Macray reads *ere* for *care*, in the early prints.

10. *honours*. Mr. Macray reads *Homer's*, but the application of this epithet to Spenser is unusual. Ascham (see i. p. 30, l. 8, note) calls Chaucer (who is named in the next line) the 'English Homer.' Cf. Nash, supra, p. 240, l. 17.

18. *hony dropping*. Cf. note to p. 317, ll. 30-4.

34. *hot house*, brothel.

39. 'and a sooping,' in the early prints.

40. Henry Locke (?1553–?1608). See Grosart's *Miscellanies of the Fuller Worthies' Library*, vol. ii (1871), and *D. N. B.*

Robert Hudson. See *D. N. B.* and Montgomerie's *Poems*, ed. Cranstoun (S. T. S.), p. 337.

402. 6. *Monsier Kynsader*. Marston in his earliest work, *The Metamorphosis of Pigmalion's Image* (1598), gives the initials 'W. K.': in his second volume, *The Scourge of Villanie* (1598–

99), he adopts the full form 'William Kinsayder.' See *The Pilgrimage to Parnassus*, ii. 212. See supra, pp. 312, 320.

9, &c. I follow Mr. Macray's allocation of the speeches.

14. *Ram-ally.* A street of some disrepute, running from Fleet Street to the Temple. It gives the title to a comedy by Lodowick Barry (1611).

19. *I*, aye. See supra, p. 388, l. 38, note.

26, &c. Cf. ii. p. 324, l. 25, and note.

31. *driery*, dreary.

34. *by obseruation*, an echo of Jonson's dispute with Marston and Dekker. He had been characterized as 'a mere sponge, nothing but humours and observation.' See also note to ii. p. 396, l. 6.

41–2. The emendation of these lines is Mr. Macray's, from the evidence of the Halliwell-Phillipps MS. The early prints read 'who loves Adonis love or Lucre's rape.' Line 42 reads 'hart robbing life.'

403. 4. Thomas Churchyard's *Shore's Wife* appeared in 1563.

6. Mr. Macray (perhaps following the Halliwell-Phillipps MS.) reads '[one day]'. The text of the early prints is however quite clear. *Once*='one day' (see *N.E.D.* 'Once' 5); *I*=aye (see supra, p. 388, l. 38, note, and infra, l. 9).

8. The form 'Nashdo' in the early prints, which Mr. Macray notes and corrects to 'Nash,' is to be explained as the transfer of a syllable from 'stockado' in the next line, which is correspondingly imperfect.

9. *I*, aye. See note to p. 388, l. 38.

22–3. *tearmes to serue the tearme.* See note to ii. p. 328, ll. 6–7. One of the early prints reads *serue the turne.*

25. *beare*, in the early prints.

26. Cf. Livy, iv. 28.

28. *Danter.* See supra, ii. p. 279, l. 4, note.

34. *hard*, harsh, acid.

ADDITIONAL NOTES AND CORRECTIONS

Vol. I.

P. 106, ll. 6–7. These lines are parodied by Nash in *Strange Newes* (1592), D 3 (ed. M^cKerrow, i. p. 277).

Vol. II.

P. 233, l. 18 et seq. The verses from which these extracts are taken will be found at the beginning of Nash's *Pierce Penilesse his Supplication to the Diuell* (1592). Lines 32–33 are an adaptation by Harvey.

P. 239, l. 1. Read 'Heathenish.'

Nash's *Pierce Penilesse his Supplication to the Diuell*, also printed in 1592, contains a characteristic 'inuectiue against enemies of Poetrie.' See Mr. M^cKerrow's edition of the *Works*, i. pp. 192–5.

P. 241, l. 8 et seq. This paragraph follows the next ('As for *Flores Poetarum*') in the original.

P. 243, l. 3. For 'had' read 'hath.'

l. 8. Read 'haue I.'

P. 267, ll. 18–19 (and note, p. 437). These lines are the 'braue conclusion' to the 'Sonnetto' at the end of *Strange Newes* (ed. u. s., i. p. 334).

P. 272, l. 3. 'Ile' occurs frequently in the above 'Sonnetto,' and elsewhere in Nash.

P. 275, l. 33. *Pistlepragmos*. The reference is to *Strange Newes*, F 4^{v} (ed. u. s., i. p. 294).

P. 306, l. 7. 'preiudicate or castigatorie': apparently a favourite expression with Chapman. Cf. his Preface to *Andromeda Liberata*, 'To the preiudicate and peremptorie reader.'

P. 424 (note to 210. 23). Wingfield *or* Winkfield.

P. 426 (note to 227. 8). Cf., also from Nash—(*a*) 'his Cappe furd with cats skins, after the Muscouie fashion' (*Pierce Penilesse his Supplication to the Diuell*, B 1, ed. u. s., i. p. 166); (*b*) 'at no hand can I endure to haue my cheeks muffled vp in furre like a Muscouian' (*Strange Newes*: F 3, ib. p. 292).

P. 430 (note to 241. 9, &c.). A supplementary passage will be found on E 1, E 1^{v} (ed. u. s., i. pp. 281–2).

P. 436 (note to 260. 17). Perhaps referring also to Pomponazzi's *De Naturalium effectuum causis, sive de Incantationibus*, which appears to have been well known in England at this time.

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