

VOLUME II

TEXT AND COMMENTARY

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A BIOGRAPHY OF ULPIAN FULWELL AND A
CRITICAL EDITION OF
THE ART OF FLATTERY (1576)

A Dissertation
Presented to
the Shakespeare Institute,
the Faculty of Arts
Birmingham University

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Doctor of Philosophy

by
Roberta Buchanan
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UNIVERSITY OF
BIRMINGHAM

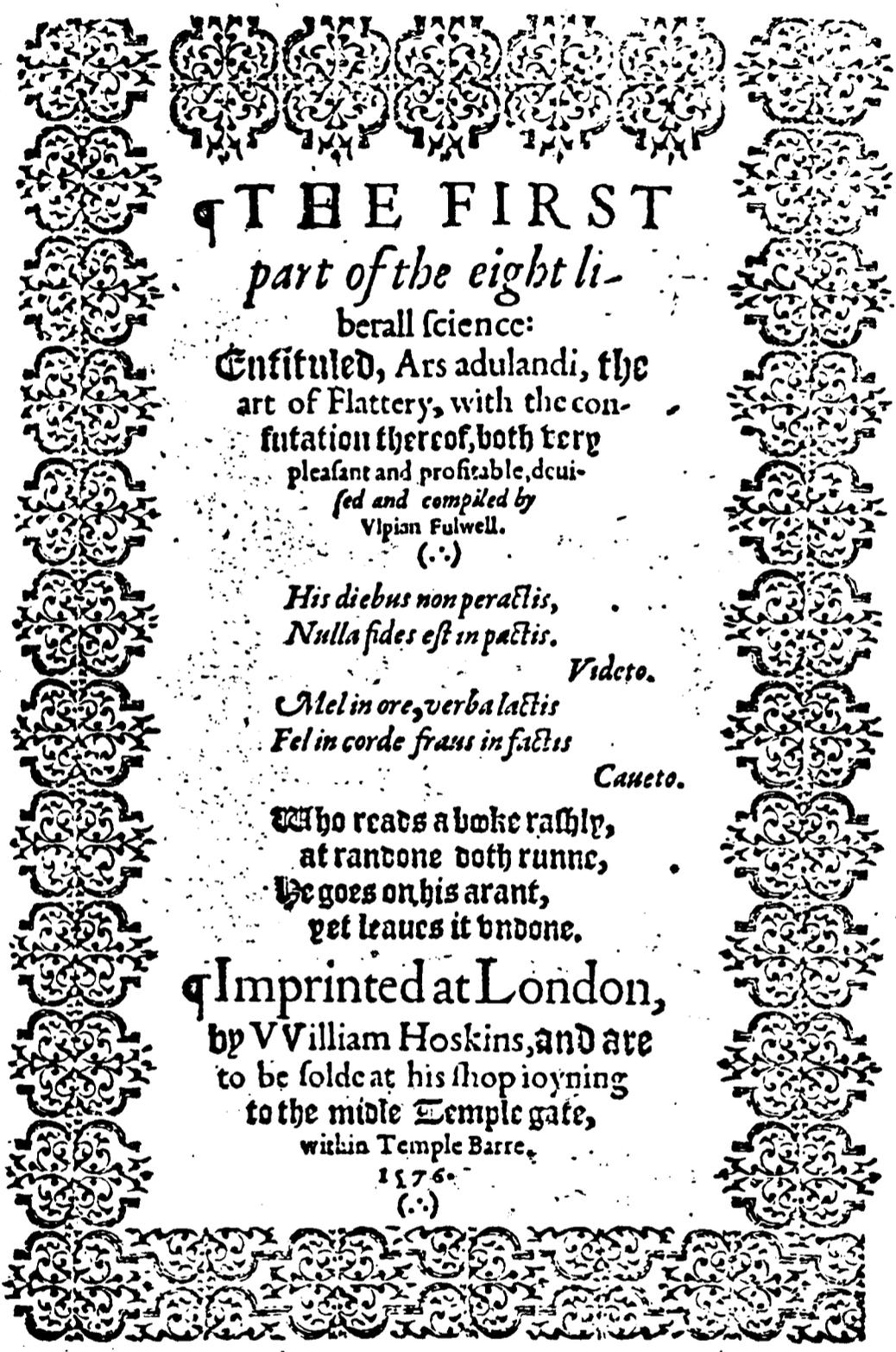
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THE FIRST
part of the eight li-

berall science:
Entituled, *Ars adulandi*, the
art of Flattery, with the con-
futation thereof, both very
pleasant and profitable, deu-
ised and compiled by
Vlpian Fulwell.
(..)

*His diebus non peractis,
Nulla fides est in pactis.*

Videto.

*Mel in ore, verba lactis
Fel in corde fraus in factis*

Caueo.

Who reads a booke rashly,
at randone doth runne,
He goes on his arant,
yet leaues it vndone.

Imprinted at London,
by VWilliam Hoskins, and are
to be solde at his shop ioyning
to the middle Temple gate,
within Temple Barre.

1576.
(..)

Plate 1: Title-page, Q1a; Trinity College Library

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THE
FIRST PARTE, OF
The Eighth liberall Science:
Entituled, *Ars adulandi,*
The Arte of Flatterie,
with the confutation therof, both very
pleasaunt and profittable, deuised and
compiled, by *Vlpian Fulwell.*
Newly corrected and augmented.

*His diebus non peractis,
Nulla fides est in pactis.*
Videto.
*Mel in ore, verba lactis,
Fel in corde, fraus in factis.*
Caueto.

Who reade's a booke rashly,
at randon doth runne:
Hee goes on his errand,
yet leaues it vndone.

Imprinted at London, by
Richarde Fones, and are
to bee solde at his shoppe ouer
agaynst *Sainct Sepulch*
chers Church. 1579.

3

Plate 2: Title-page, Q2; Huntington Library

THE FIRST PARTE,
Of the Eyghth liberall
Science: Entituled,

Ars adulandi, the Arte of flatterie, with
the confutation therof, both very plea-
saunt and profitable, deuised and com-
piled, by *Vlpian Fulwell*.

Reuoly corrected and augmented.

*His diebus non peractis,
Nulla fides est in pactis.*

Videto.

Mel in ore, verba lactis,

Fel in corde fraus in factis.

Caueto.

Who reades a booke rashly,
at randon doth runne:
Hee goes on his arrant,
yet leaues it vndone.

Imprinted at London, by
Richarde Fones, and are
to bee solde at his shoppe ouer
agaynst Sainte Sepul-
chers Church.

A dialogue betwene the Author and his Muse,
as touching the dedication
of this booke.

9/2

Author. My friendly Muse leaue Parnas hill a while,
I craue thy ayde and counsaile now at neede:
Lende me thy laurell crowne to guyde my stile,
DRED driues my mind to doubt of lucky speede.
 5 May I be bolde this rude booke to addresse,
 To her who is a mirror of worthynesse.

Musa. Blush not at all (thou dastard) in this cace,
Vnto the best, best welcume is good will,
Refraine thy doubts, and hope for fauours grace,
 10 Giue me the charge to rule thy rusty quill:
LEY all thy care vpon her curtesie:
 Whose noble heart knowes all humanitie.

Author. Thy wordes (my Muse) some hope of hap doth yeld,
 But yet I feele a conflict in my brest:
 15 And whether part may win in me the feelde,
 My staggering doubt vncertaine yet doth rest.
 Before mine eyes a platforme doth appeare,
 Of all her worthynesse as thou shalt heare.

If learning may lift vp her fame to skies,
 Her laude is sent vnto the highest throne:
 If vertue vaunt, a loft her honor flies,
 In godlines her like is rarely knowne.

5 For noble nature, and for curtesie,
 What should I saye, my pen cannot descric.

May I not then be ouer sausie deemd,
 To make a match as this so farre vnfit:
 May I haue hope my booke to be esteemd,

10 That shewes not foorth one dramme of skil ne wit.
 Nay nay my Muse, I am resolvde in mind:
 My vndeserts, shall slender fauour find.

Musa. Ah simple sot, I cannot choose but smile,
 To see how thou dost maske in follies nett: /

15 Thou seemst abashed of thy homly stile. ¶ 2^v
 Learne this of mee, and do it not forget,
 Where learned skil her golden gifts do place:
 Good wil vnlearned shall finde fauours grace.

Where vertue keeps possession of the brest,
 20 And godlines doth harbour in the heart,
 Scorne is exilde, shee doth disdaine detest,
 From noble nature, fauour doth not start.
 Shun not to shew the fruites of thy good will,
 No shame ensues where meaning is not ill.

The simple beast that feares the Lyons lookes,
 Is flesht at length by fauour once obtaynde:
 Though (as thou sayste) vnskilfull bee thy bookes,
 Yet thou er this hast fauours friendship gaynde.

5 Her noble spouse, thy booke did not disdaine,
 While in thy brest like skirmish did remayne.

The flower
of fame.

Where Milde is first, Rede then what doth ensue,
Milde mindes are alwaies matcht with courtesie:
Dread not at all she wil vouchsafe to viewe

10 Thy booke if thou approch with modestie,
 No tricke of loue or Venus wanton toyes,
 Are herein pend, to feede fond louers ioyes.

If coy conseite of curious eloquence,
 Had fixed foote within her learned mind:

15 Then were it time for thee to fly from hence,
 To hunt for termes that hardly thou mayst finde.
 But why do I, to thee this lesson tel,
 She is none such, and that thou knowest ful well.

Sidenote: The flower of fame.] Omitted Q2; my italics.

6 thy brest] Q2; my ~ Q1

Author. Then on I go, God send me lucky speede
In humble wyse to craue her fauours grace:
Adiewe dispayre, on hope my heart shall feede,
With full assurance of her friendly face.
5 And this I vowe and shall performe the same,
In prayer to record her noble name,
While life doth last.

1 Author.] omitted Q2

7 last] Q2; least Q1

¶3

To the right noble and vertuous Lady, the Lady
Mildred Burgleigh, wife vnto the ryght
honorable Lord Treasurer of England,
Vlpian Fulwell wisheth
perfect felicitie.

When I had taken a viewe (right honorable and vertuous Lady) of the great and grieuous enormities, that issue from the filthie fountaine of pestilent flatterie, the practitioners whereof (as it is
 5 saide) are the most pernicious of all tame beastes, I was iustly moued, or rather vrged in conscience, to display the wicked and impudent exercises of the flattering flocke in these dayes, which trade is now frequented and vsed for an occupation.

10 I shall not neede to flye to the poet Homer for his ayde in description of the Syrens, seeing that this our vnhappie age is furnished with Mermaydes,

0.2 Burgleigh] Burleigh Q2

8 flocke] floake Q2

8-9 these dayes,...occupation.] these dayes: Not that I thinke my selfe the meetest man to take this charge in hand (beeing very rude both in phrase and also inuention) but rather to
 5 call the fine sorte of writers that now swarm in England, to leaue the currant handling of Venus Pageants (wherin they shew their excellency) and prosecute this, so necessary matter to bee inueied at, as a pestilent weede
 10 in a pleasant Garden, most necessary to bee Irradicate. Q2

12 this] thus Q2

whose luring songs yelde such daintie and delicate tunes
 to the eares of ambitious and vaine glorious people,
 that while they seeme to swim in the flood of Fortune,
 they sinke in the stinking puddle of follye: But
 5 the wiser sorte follow the example of Vlisses for the
 auoyding of their sweete venemous enchauntments. And
 as it is well knowen that your Ladyship haue stopt your
 eares against their magicall incantations, as a patterne
 of prudence and discretion, for others, (both therein
 10 and in all other commendable vertues) to imitate: So
 I am bolde, humbly to desire your honour to be my
 Patronesse in this my inuectiue against that illiberal
 science, which though I haue (by a contrarie) termed it
 the Eyghth liberall Science, not that it contayneth in
 15 it any liberalitie of vertue or honest knowledge, ¶ 3^v
 yet because benefites are so liberally contributed vnto
 it (as dayly experience sheweth.) And if any Scycophant
 will captiously turne vpon me the pyke of this edge
 toole, for any thing in this Epistle vnto your L.
 20 contayned, I doubt not but easely to auoyd his assault,
 with a great multitude of witnesses. For the
 abandoning of which filthy art, I refraine to write that
 which comon knowledge and publike report do of your L.

worthinesse dayly testifie. And although I may seeme
very presumptuous, to aspire to so noble a patronesse
with so slender a present, to so learned a Lady with so
rude a treatise, yet the great curtesie that I haue
5 both seene and receiued at your L. hands, hath enforced
mee to expresse my duitiful gratuitie, with this my
verye simple and vnpolished peece of woorke, in the
acceptation whereof, I shalbe most bounden vnto your
honour, with my humble and hartie prayer vnto almightie
10 God, both for you and my good Lord, whome God preserue
to the inestimable comfort of the common wealth of this
Realm.

Your honours most humble

Vlpian Fulwell.

To the friendly Reader, Vlpian Fulwell.

¶4

I doubt not at all (gentle reader) but that I,
 for my industry in detecting this eyghth liberall science,
 shalbe reputed with many sapientum octauus, the eyghth
 wise man: that is, as wise as Will Sommer, but I shall
 5 content my selfe with such reputation, rather choosing
 to be truthes drudge, then Fortunes flattering dearling.
 And I can not but greatly lament, that so many in these
 dayes do so addict them selues to the filthy trade of
 flatterye: whereby both noble men, gentlemen, and good
 10 naturde men are abused: and fooles, flatterers,
 dissemblers, and gesters, noseled in impudencie, and
 nourished by petie thieuerie, like the waspe that liueth
 vppon the labour of the paynful Bee. And although such
 Waspes will for this my labour do their endeuour to
 15 sting mee for my paine: yet I will be so bold with them
 as to tel thee (gentle Reader) what they are. Such
 they are as lye at receipt for the fruits of other mens
 deserts. They catch the byrdes, for the which other
 men beat the bush, and such they are as with their
 20 detestable practice of flatterie, withdraw men from the
 studie of vertue. /

And this their execrable science hath so peruerthed
the nature of many in this age, and hath taken such
habit in mans affections: that it is in moste men
altera natura, and very difficile to be expelled: yea,
5 the verye sucking babes hath a kinde of adulation towards
their Nurses for the dugg, which (in my iudgement)
commeth vnto them by corruption of nature: and as they
growe in reason, so they encrease therin, vntill in tyme
it is turned from greene and tender adulation, to ripe
10 and perfect dissimulation, except by good education the
same be preuented. If I should generally condemne al
men of this foule crime, I might iustly be blamed, yet
may I boldly say, that in comparison of the multitude,
verye fewe there are, whose heartes and tongues are not
15 tainted with the blemish of flattery and the branches
thereof: namely, dissimulation, deseight, wicked
perswations, with such other like sinister practises.
How common a thing is it to see one man embrace another
with such friendly salutations, as though they were knit
20 in the insoluble knot of perfect frindship, and yet a
man may buy as much loue at Belinsgate for a box on
the eare.

2 many] Q2; man Q1
15 tainted] Q1; stayned Q2
16 deseight] Q1; deceit Q2
17 sinister practises] Q1; sinisters practis [sic] Q2
21 Belinsgate] Q1; Byllingsgate Q2

How swift are some men with golden wordes to
 promes, and how slacke to performe: howe easie to haue
 a friend in wordes, and how harde to finde one in deeds:
 and certes if I should particulerlie descend from men of
 5 countenance, by degrees, euen vn- / to the very begger, A1
 I should both be too tedious in this epistle, and also
 publish the effect of my second part of this matter
 (as yet to come) vntil which time gentle reader, I pray
 thee let not this my beginning offend thee, except thou
 10 bee one of them that is here rubbed on the galle: but
 trusting that thou art one of Ladie Truthes retinew, I
 submit my labour vnto thy censure, wishing thee thy
 hearts desire in God. Vale.

Vlpian Fulwell.

-
- 1 How swift are some] Q1; How shifte some [sic] Q2
 4-5 descend from men of countenance, by degrees, euen
 vnto the very begger] Q1; descend to the very
 Begger Q2
 8 (as yet to come) vntil which time gentle reader,]Q1
 (as yet to come,) Desiringe thee not to wreste
 my woordes / vnto a worse sence, then my playne
 meaninge hath pretended: and where thou findest
 5 this name Fortune, my meaning is the selfesame
 blinde Mammon, that the Poets speake of, vnder
 whose name and person, they comprehend earthly
 prosperitie, which wee daily see to bee vnegally,
 and vndiscretly distributed: and her stately
 pallace, is the wide worlde, wherunto all men haue
 10 ingresse and egresse: and thus dooing, thou shalt
 both gratify my desire, and hasten mee forth vnto
 my second part: Vntil which time (gentle Reader,
 Q2, sig. A4^V-B1

The printers desire vnto thee (gentle
Reader) to pardon his negligence for
the faultes escaped in this
booke

Sith through my fault, such faults are scape,
by letters wrongly plaste:

As some perhappes, wil seeme to taunte,
to haue the booke defaste.

5 That thou accept the authors minde,
I craue with humble sute:

The fault is mine, the paine is his,
and thou shalt reape the fruite.

Vouchsafe therfor this my desire,

10 To mende them with thy pen:

By prouerb olde a Palfrey good

May stumble now and then.

A description of the seuen liberall Sciences,
into whose company the eight hath
intruded her selfe.

A1^v

Grammer.

If learning may delight thy youthfull brest,

If tender yeares to skilfull lore be bent,

Approch to me, vouchsafe to be my guest:

My entertainment shall thy minde content.

5 My key in hand shall ope the gate of skill,

My Booke on brest shall teach thy tong and quill.

Logick.

From Grammers scoole approach to me with speede,

Where thou maist learne the rule to reason right,

I geue the fruit, though Grammer sow the seede:

10 In me thou maist decerne the darke from light.

My fastened fist much matter doth import,

Cought in few words fit for the learned sort.

0.2 eight] Q1a, Q2; eighth Q1b

0.3 intruded] Q1a, Q2; intrudeth Q1b

1 delight] Q1b, Q2; deligh Q1a

Rethorick.

When Grammers grace, and Logicks learned lore,
 Hath deckt thy minde, and mended nature well,
 My golden study shall yeeld thee such store,
 Of flowing words and phrases that excell.

5 Lo heere with open hand I do display,
 The flowing flood of eloquence alway.

Musick.

When mistie cloude of drouping dumpish head /
 Doth driue thy minde to plunge in pensiuue poole, A2
 The clog of care that soking sorowes bred:

10 Is cleane shakt of, by entring to my scoole.
 My dainty tunes do yelde such sugred sap,
 As drawes eche blisse, and driues eche foule mishap.

Arithmetik.

By sciphering Science, lo my summes I cast,
 By wit and weight, I wonderous thinges contriue,
 15 With bunch of keies, my counts are lockt vp fast:
 In me thou maist see how thy wealth doth thriue.
 My armes and brest, my legs eke naked be,
 To shew that trueth and plainenesse rests in me.

Astronomy.

From earthly skill vnto the lofty skies,

My globe and I, will shew the lore of light,
Thou shalt foresee what tempests will arise:

To thee such secrets shall apeare in syght,
5 That Starres and Planets shall thy mates remaine,
And thou a felow with celestiall traine.

Geometrie.

Beholde the Compasse and the other tooles,

Wherwith I worke such wonders as seeme strange,
My Rule and Quadrant, are no bookes for fooles,

10 A learned scull must in my precepts range.

Now when thou hast vs Sisters seauen obtainde,
A world of wealth and wisdome then hast gainde. /

Adulation, or Flatterie.A2^v

Beholde the brags that Sisters seauen haue made,

Suruiew their vaunts that seeme to shine so bright,

15 My glittering skill shall clips them in the shade:

In me appeares the beames of perfect light.

My flattering tong shall gaine more then they all,

I geue the trip and they shall take the fall.

3 tempests] Q1a, Q1b; tempest Q2

12 then] Q1b; thou Q1a, Q2

12.0.1 Adulation] Q1a, Q1b; Adulatio Q2

14 vaunts] Q1b; Q2; wants Q1a

Grammarians gaine nought els but bread and cheese,

Percace dame Logick haue a small reward,

Nete Eloquence will plead for slender fees:

Nice Musik as a Minstrell men regard.

5 Arithmetick obtaines but litle thrift,

Astronomy serues for a simple shift.

Geometrie may iog on barels bun,

And drink the dregs when liquor all is spent,

My golden art the game and gole hath wonne:

10 To my sweete skill, ech hart and eare is bent.

The well of wealth my Science doth contriue,

Then learne my lore all ye that meane to thriue.

To me doth flow the flood of happy state,

In me is matcht a masse of worldly blisse,

15 No sturdye storme my fauour may abate:

For Princely eares my presence may not misse.

I spin the threed and weue the web of hap,

And none but I may sit in Fortunes lap. /

2 Percace] Q1a, Q1b; Perchance Q2

16 eares] Q1a, Q1b; cares Q2

The first Dialogue betweene the
Author and the printer.

B1

Author.

Full well I do finde, that Fortune is blinde,

her wheele runnes by chaunce:

When shee list to frowne, the wise shee throwes downe,

And fooles doth aduaunce.

5 Printer. Sir I do not a little maruaile that you
seeme so to blame Fortune whose fauour (I suppose) you
haue sufficiently enioyde from time to time, wherfore
(mee seemeth) you shewe your selfe verye vnthankfull for
her good gifts on you bestowed.

10 Author. In deede (my olde felowe and frinde
W. Hoskins) I deeme you are guyled by this old prouerbial
reason, Fortuna fauet fatuis, that is to say, Fortune
fauoreth fooles, ergo, Fortune fauoreth Fulwell, but all
olde prouerbes are not alwayes true, for then shoulde I
15 bee verye fortunate, but I will render vnto thee the
cause that I am oute of her grace and fauour.

Printer. Sir, I pray you let me craue that curtesy at

11 W. Hoskins] W.H. Q1b, Q2

11-13 I deeme...fooles] (I deeme you are guided by this
Prouerbial reason,) Fortune fauoureth fooles Q2

your handes, so may I happelye learn the cause why
she is my professed enemy also.

Author. First thou muste vnderstande, that I
was seruant a long time vnto Lady Hope, who in fine,
5 was minded to preferre me vnto the seruice of
Lady Fortune, and when my sayd mastresse perceyued
that this blinde Goddessse was determined to
entertaine certaine men into her seruice, and
bestow on them very liberally, shee sent mee to
10 Fortune, with her letter of commendations, the
tenure wherof ensueth. /

B1^v

Most bountifull Ladye and my good
Cosyn (dame Fortune) your approued
frendship towards mee at all tymes
15 extended, emboldeneth mee to write vnto
you at this present, in the behalfe of this
bearer, Vlpian Fulwell my seruant, whom
to preferre vnto your Ladiships seruice,
is my desire, and earnest suite vnto you,
20 of whose approued fidelitie (vtterly
voide of dissimulation and flattery) I
geeue you warrantise, and in entertayning

Lady Hopes
letter to
Fortune.

12-13 Sidenote: Q1a, Q1b; omitted Q2

17 Vlpian Fulwell] Q1a; V.F. Q1b, Q2

of hym, you shal do mee a very acceptable
 good turne. Thus with hartie
 salutacions, I wishe you, as vnto my
 selfe, from my house at Naunton etc.

5 By your very louing cosin,
 Lady Hope.

Printer. Truely this was a verye louing letter,
 and (in my iudgement) you were happy to haue so
 frindly a mastresse. I maruaile that vpon the
 10 deliuary of this letter vnto Lady Fortune, shee
 made not you chiefe ruler and orderer of her house.

Author. Nay nay, one clause of this letter
 dasht all the rest, and made mee loose my golden
 seruice.

15 Printer. What clause was it I pray you?

Author. These are the words that marde all,
 (vtterlye voide of flattery and dissimulation.)

Prynter. Why? then I perceiue that flattery
 and dissimulation is the way to wyn Fortunes
 20 fauour, and certes now I see playnly the cause
 that I haue ben always alienated from her fauour,
 and a continuall subiect to her frowns. But I

Fortune
 fauoreth
 none but
 flatterers.

4 Naunton etc.] Q1a; N. Q1b, Q2
 13 loose] Q1a, Q1b; lose Q2

pray you, had you a flat denial at the first, or
else by some prety sleight of circumstance? /

Author. I will disclose vnto thee the order of
my comming to her court, and of my entertaynement
5 there. At my first entry into her court, I set
asyde bashfulnes, knowing that boldnes hath more
free passage into the court gates. Then with the
courtlikst fashion that I coulde, (beeinge in deede
more carterlike then courtierlike) I prest my selfe
10 into the chamber of presence, my threedebare cloke
was markt of many, and the rest of my attire
agreable therunto, was mokt of most, but specially
of them that swingd vp and downe in brauerye of
other mens cost, and I was thought verye saucye
15 and malapert. And among the rest, one lusty
courtyer (whose name as I vnderstoode afterwards,
was Double Diligence) asked of mee how I durste
presume to iussell my balde cloake by their braue
garments? Sir (saide I) the basenes of mine,
20 doth encrease the beauty of yours. This
gentleman was so proude of his Pecocks plewmes,
that to ostent his brauery by my contrary, was

B2

Double
Diligence.

8 courtlikst] Q1a, Q1b; Courtlikest Q2

13 swingd] Q1a; swunged Q1b, Q2

22 ostent] Q1a, Q1b; ostend Q2

willing to walke and talke with mee in the chamber
of presence, vnto whom at laste I brake my minde,
and the cause of my comming to the court, and when
hee vnderstoode that I had letters to dame Fortune
5 from her cosin Lady Hope, hee welcomed mee very
frindly, and with small entreatie became my
soliciter vnto his mastresse the Lady Fortune: by
meanes wher of I was called into the presence of
this blynde goddesse, whom when I sawe, I founde the
10 Poets and paynters true men and not lyers, for shee /
was muffled from her chin to the top of her temples,
and it so fell out that as I came in, shee was
blindly in bestowing of her giftes, in suche sort,
as I haue sene the priest in time past, deale
15 holy bred: shee gaue too muche to very many,
but inoughe to none, superfluitie sate aloft, but
sacietie was shut in prison: and as did the rest,
so dyd I holde oute my hand for her beneuolence.
I gaped wide, but other snatched vp the benefits
20 before they fell to the ground, I stretched forth

B2^v

Of Fortune
in dealing
of her
doale.

13-14 Sidenote: Q1b positioning adopted; in Q1a
it is placed at the beginning of
Dialogue 1; it is omitted in Q2.
Fortune] Q1b; Fort. Q1a

15 bred:] Q1b; bred, Q1a; bread, Q2

19 snatched] Q1b, Q2; snatch Q1a

my arme and opened my hande, but I couldē finger
 nothing, shee crossed my hand with many bare
 blessings, but the gifts fel on both sides of my
 fist and none right: it rayned pottage, but I
 5 wanted a dish. There might I see how some of
 William Sommers kynred had their handes full,
 Pierce Pickthank filled his purse, Frances the
 Flatterer florished in wealth, Crispin the Counterfait
 was compted a ioly felowe, Dauy Dissembler had
 10 wealth at will and in great estimation, but to
 resite the detestable crewe of fooles, flatterers,
 and parasites, that receyued gifts of this blinde
 Lady Fortune, would be too tedious to describe.
 At last I espied in a corner all solitarily, a
 15 beutifull Ladye of comly feature, in verye modest
 attire, and shee noting my simplicitie among suche
 a sorte of snatching companions: come hither thou
 simple foole Fulwell (quod she) for thou art very
 vnegally matched. I approched vnto her, and that
 20 so muche the sooner because I sawe the doale deuided,
 and nothing fell to my share, hopinge to haue had
 some- / what at her hands. But when I had communed

B3

-
- 14 solitarily] Q1a; solitarily Q2; solitarie
 Q1b
 16 among] Q1a, Q1b; amongst Q2
 18 Fulwell] Q1a, Q1b; F. Q2
 20 deuided] Q1a, Q2; deuied [sic] Q1b

with her a while, I perceiued she was as nedie as
my self, and as like to beg of mee as to gieue
any thing vnto mee.

Truth a
poore
Ladye.

Printer. I pray you what was this ladies
5 name, and what communication had you with her?

Author. Her name was Lady Trueth, a wight (at
that time) abiect from Fortunes presence, yet not
so alwayes, for when Fortunes gifts chanced into
the hands of the verteous and honest sorte, her
10 share was alwaies therein, which somtimes hapned,
and thus shee rubbed out among the rest. And to
begin, shee ripte vp vnto me her whole secretes,
and of the state of Fortunes court in fourme
folowing.

15 I assure thee Fulwel, I haue passed the
plunges of this transitorie worlde hythervnto,
with very variable chances of fortune, and yet
by the power and prouidence of the eternal God, I
haue escaped that vtter subuertion, which my
20 wordly aduersaries haue practised against me.

Truethes
communica-
tion.

In the beginning, I was persecuted by the viperous
broode of cursed Cain, vntil the Almightye Ioue,

Gen.4.

1-2 Sidenote: Q2; omitted Q1a, Q1b
12 vnto me her] Q1a, Q1b; vnto her Q2
15 I assure thee Fulwel, I] Q1a, Q1b; I
assure thee I Q2
20 wordly] Q1a, Q1b; worldly Q2

in reuenge of my quarell, sent a vniuersall
 deludge ouer the face of the whole earth, to the
 vtter extinguishing of all worldly creatures
 (except Noah and his familie, and those that by
 5 Gods apointment were with him preserued in the
 Arke, by whome the worlde was again renued.)
 Then as after stormes and tempest fayre weather doeth
 ensue, so were my troubles turned all to ioye,
 and my former aduersitie changed / to present
 10 prosperity, vntil a most wicked wight and
 abominable strumpet, called Lady Pleasure, began
 with many subtil sleightes and secret practises
 to allure vnto her filthie delites the affections
 of mortall men, who so greatly preuailed in her
 15 proceedings that with her Syren lyke songs and
 sugred delightes, sauced with bitter gall, she wan
 the harts of all my adherents, sauing a very fewe,
 whom God had ordained to assist mee, and chiefly
 these three noble Ladies, Faith, Hope, and Charitie,
 20 by which comfortable companions, I was preserued
 from the deepe dungeon of dispaire, into which

B3^v

Lady
 Pleasure
 enemy to
 Trueth.

1 a vniuersall] Q1a; an ~ Q1b, Q2
 3 extinguishing] Q1a, Q1b; exterminacion Q2
 3 worldly] Q1b, Q2; wordly Q1a
 11-12 Sidenote: Q1a, Q1b; omitted Q2
 17 sauing a very fewe] Q1a, Q2; sauing a few
 Q1b

filthy caue, my Enemy Dame Pleasure would haue cast
 mee. Thus in this second age, in which time I
 was conuersant among the holy prophets and men of Prophetes.
 God, I endured many sharpe assaultes, and hard
 5 skirmishes, to tedious at this time to declare.
 But at the last, it pleased the creator and former
 of the world to send his onely and beloued sonne
 in the shape of man, to aide mee with his diuine
 power against my enemies, who (for my sake) was Christ
persecuted
for
truthes
sake.
 10 vehemently persecuted, and suffered many notable
 iniuries, of whose birth, life, death, and
 ascending to his heuenly father, I neede not to
 thee discourse, being a professor of holy write,
 and he was no sooner departed from the earth to
 15 the celestial throne, but I ioyned my selfe with
 his Apostels, and so consequently vnto their Apostels.
 successors, til at the last it was the good will
 and pleasure of God, to raise vp godly christian Christian
Princes.
 princes, to the maintainance of mee, against /
 20 my great enemies. Then was I planted most B4
 florishingly as a goddessse on earth, and was
 enthronised in churches by publike consent, and

3 Sidenote: position as in Q1b; in Q2 by line 1; in Q1a by p.23.12.

5 to] Q1a, Q2; too Q1b

9-11 Sidenote: Q1b, Q2; omitted Q1a

my hateful aduersarie Lady Pleasure for shame hid
 her face, yet ceased shee not by secreat conspiracie,
 to molest this primatiue Church (my pompous see)
 with traiterous heretickes, but my noble champions
 5 (the famous doctors) kept them so stoutly at speares Doctours.
 point, that they had no power to annoyne any parte
 of my dominion (although they sumewhat molested
 the same.) This so rauisht the hearts of men in
 the loue of mee and my churche, that he deemed him
 10 selfe the happyest man, that could heape most
 treasure on mee and mine, but as it allwayes
 falleth out, wealth bewitcheth the mind of man:
 so was it the ruine and vtter decay of my
 15 flourishing estate. For Dame Pleasure (lurking
 in a corner like a cocatrice) perceiuing my
 retinue to wallowe in wealth, sent secretly
 amongst them (in disguised attyre) these three
 pernicious hagggs of hell, as ambassadours to parle
 and treat for peace betwene them and her, the first
 20 was Fleshly Appetite (an impudent harlot) the
 second Pride, the third Ambition, and they so
 preuailed, that my traine became friendes with her,
 and rebelled against me. Thus was she aduaunced,

Wealth
 bewitcheth
 mans minde.

and I throwne downe. Then was I compelled to seeke
 my habitation among temporall princes, and noble peeres,
 but my enemies were so mighty, that they constrained
 many potentates, to haue of me small regarde, yet the
 5 diuine power so prouided for mee, / that I was not, nor
 am not vtterly frendles, and being aduertised by a
 sister of mine, named Ladie Vertue, that I am had in
 great veneration at this time within the realme of
 England, I am determind to adres my iourney thither,
 10 as well for the singular good reporte that I heare of
 the most renoumed Queene of that realme, compared to
 the godlie and verteous Queene of Saba (Elizabeth by
 name) as also for the good hope of welcum vnto that
 famous nation. And in this my wandring pilgrimage, I
 15 chanced vpon this palaice of blind Fortune (as thou now
 seest) wherein I haue noted great liberality with no
 lesse parcialitie: wise men beat the bush and fooles
 catch the birdes, valiant men crack the nuts, but cowards
 eat the curnels. Thus as I sit, I see and smile
 20 thereat. Among the rest, I sawe when Homer came vnto
 this courte, accompanied with the .ix. Muses, vnto whom
 I stept (knowing his entent) and like coale prophet

B4^v

Homer.

9-10 iourney thither, as] Q1b; iourney, as Q1a, Q2
 14 this my wandring] Q1a, Q1b; this wandring Q2
 22 coale prophet] Q1a, Q1b; coole Prophet Q2

vtttered vnto him these wordes,

Frend Homer though you seeme to come,

with gard of Muses nine,

Bring you nought els? nay then a dewe,

5 go feede among the swine.

And full truely proued this prophesie, for
 while he was liuing, he was litle regarded in this
 court, but being ded, the great conqueror Alexander
 spake of him much worship. And so it fareth heare,
 10 wise men are not wanted, till they are lodged in their
 graues. And although I know full wel, that ther /
 resteth in thee no extraordinary wisdom, nor scant
 so mucche as shoulde serue thy turne, yet the
 experience that I haue in this court, and by the
 15 coniecture of thy nature, I dare assure thee, thou
 shalte haue a cold suit, if thou haue ought to doing
 with Lady Fortune.

C1

Madame (quod I) I haue attentively hearkened
 vnto your tale euen from the beginning, and am
 20 sorye for your misfortunes, whiche to redresse, I
 would it in me rested. And if it be your
 Ladships pleasure to repaire vnto the realme of
 Englande, I will bee your man, and I doubt not

The author
 exhorteth
 Lady Trueth
 to come
 into
 England.

11 although] Q1a, Q2; though Q1b

16 cold] Q1; coulde Q2

but there you shalbe entertained very nobly, bothe
in the court, city and country. Notwithstanding
(good Madam) I will bee so saucy as to beshrewe you
for your prophesy against me in this my suite vnto
5 Lady Fortune, because I knowe that your words cannot
be false, you being as you are (Lady Trueth):
notwithstanding voyde of all hope, I will
approche vnto her with my message, and then will
I keepe my promise in wayting on your good
10 Ladyship. Now friend printer, if you list to
here how I speade, read this dialogue following.

The second Dialogue betwene the
Author and Lady Fortune.

C1^v

Author.

Hap hazard dame Fortune, your wheele runnes to fast,
You lift vp a foole, and a wise man downe cast.

Fortune. What malapert iack is it that so
saucyly checketh my doings? it were more fit for
5 him to sit by the heeles in the porters lodge,
then so presumptuously to prate in our presence.
Although I winke, I am not so blind but that I
can perceiue thy bolde approching aboue thy
degree.

Blynd
Fortunes
common
almes.

10 Author. Deare Lady Fortune, as I am sorry for
that I haue so sodeinly offended you, euen so I am
right ioyous for your sodain depriuation from your
blindnesse, trusting that your Ladyship wil the
rather vouchesafe to peruse these letters that I
15 bring vnto you from my good Lady and mastres, the
Lady Hope.

Fortune. If thou be seruaunt vnto my cosyn

0.2 Lady Fortune] Q2; ~ Hope Q1

0.3 Author] Q2; omitted Q1

7 Although I winke, I am not so blind,]
Althouhh [sic] I winke, yet am not I so
blinde, Q2

Lady Hope, thou arte the better welcome to my
 presence, and I pardon thy former sawcines. But
 before I peruse this letter, tell mee what is thy
 name, and by what freindship thou were admitted
 5 into this place, being clad in so simple attire?

Author. Deare Lady, the first letter of my first
 name beginneth with this letter U. signyfyinge
 vnfortunate, and my sirname is Fulwell, whyche being
 ioyned together, is Unfortunate Fulwell. And as
 10 touching my aproching into your presence, so it is
 that I fulfilled the olde prouerbe (who so / bolde
 as blinde Bayarde), but I came not to this place
 without a back burthen of mocks and tauntes, but if
 scofs had been Cotten, and frumps had been Furre,
 15 my threedebare garments had ben conuerted to
 courtly apparaile, and thus am I come vnto your
 Ladyships presence.

Fortune. While thou haste been tellinge thy
 tale, I haue perused the letter, and considered the
 20 contentes there of, and I wish thou hadst come a
 little sooner while I was in dealing of my doale,
 that somewhat might haue fallen to thy share.

A common
 excuse I
 would you
 had come
 sooner.

Author. In deede, Madame, as somewhat hath

some sauour, so nothing doth no harme, but I was
 present at your doale, and yet may cary awaye my
 gaines in my eye and not blemish my sight. I
 confesse your hand blessed me very often, but I
 5 feele no vertue to consist therein, so that I can
 make no great bragges of my gaines at your hands.

Fortune. Right now thou madste confessyon of
 thy boldnesse, what sodaine bashfulnes possessed
 thee, that thou fearedst to snatch out of my hands,
 10 as wel as others?

Author. Truelye Madame I was neuer instructed
 in the scoole of scambling, and now I am to olde to
 learne, but quietlye to stande at receyte to take
 vp nothing.

15 Fortune. Then arte thou vtterlye vnable to
 thriue in these daies, but now to the purpose,
 my cosin Ladye Hope, hath wrytten vnto mee verye
 freindly in thy behalf, that I should take thee
 into / my seruice, but one clause therein
 20 contained maketh me deeme thee very vnfit for my
 court.

Many haue
 not learned
 to thriue.

C2^v

Author. May it please your Ladyship to shew me
 wherein my vnabilitie consisteth.

Fortune. As thou saiest, thy name is Vnfortunate
 Fulwell, so I perceyue thy destenyas agree thereunto,
 for except thou bee skilful in the Eyght liberall
 science, thou canst not enioy eyther wealth or any
 5 special fauour.

All sauinge
 flatterers
 are vnfit
 to serue
 in Fortunes
 court.

Author. Truely Madam, I haue ben a blockedly
 schollar all daies of my life, and not vtterlye
 ignorant in some of the .vii. liberal sciences,
 although cunning in none of them all, but certes of
 10 the .viii. I neuer hearde vntill now, wherby I see
 that the longer a man liueth the more he may
 lerne. Wherfore I pray you Madame vouchsafe to
 let mee vnderstand somewhat of this science at
 your handes.

The Eight
 liberall
 science,
 the nature
 of it, and
 wherein it
 most
 consisteth.

15 Fortune. For thy mastresse sake I will doe
 so muche for thee, it is called Ars adulandi, and
 well deserueth to be rekened among the liberal
 sciences and may be called Scientia liberalissima
 because it hath more liberalitie contributed vnto
 20 it then is to anye other Arte, and of it selfe
 liberallye bestoweth her skill on as many as are

2-4 Sidenote: serue] Q2; seue [sic] Q1
 3 Eyght] Q1; Eyghth Q2
 10 .viii.] Q1; eighth Q2
 10-11 I see that the] Q1; I see the Q2
 12 Sidenote: Eight] Q1; eyghth Q2

willing to studye the same. It consisteth more in
 practises then on precepts, and the first principle
 of it is this, qui nescit Simulare, nescit Viuere.
 Hee that knoweth not how to dissemble cannot tel
 5 how to liue. Now that I haue directed thee thus
 farre in this science, go study the same diligently,
 and practise it effectuallye, and then come vnto
 my court againe.

Author. But is there any vniuersitie wherein
 10 this science is studied? /

Fortune. It is both studied and practised
 throughout the worlde, and thou mayst haue
 enstructors in euerie citie, towne, vilage, and
 hanlet, yea and almoste in euerye priuate house,
 15 wherefore learne with speede, or els liue like a
 verie foole, and so farewell, for I can no longer
 attend thee.

C3

The world
 is full of
 such
 Graduates.

Fulwels farwell vnto dame Fortune

Fare well thou froward frowning dame

The fautor still of fooles:

20 I list not learne thy fawning lore,

I loth thy flattring scooles.

For tract of time by tryed truth,
 Shal turne thy whirling wheele:
 And throw him from thy tickel top,
 To tumble at thy heele.

5 My dreary date shall driue the line,
 To Atrops fatall blade:
 Er I vnto thy filthy art,
 will frame my liuing trade.

Let greedy neede make olde wiues trot,
 10 To fyll their rustie hutch:
 Let Gnato feede his hungrie panch,
 I list not to be such.

Let Aristippus cogging skill,
 The ytching eares still rub:
 15 And I with plaine Diogenes,
 Will tumble in a Tub.

Where we with rootes wil take repast,
 With conscience cleare possest:
 Before fine fare, with tongue in mouth,
 20 quight from the heart in brest.

A dew therefore thou doting dame,

I do disdaine thy skill: /

And wile I liue against thy lore,

I will direct my quill.

C3^v

5 Thy fruit with filthy tast is fraught,

yet fayre to vew of eyes:

Where vnder priuie poyson lurkes,

And secret venim lyes.

The sap is sweete and plesant bane,

10 yt feedes the foolish minde:

Such graffs so sett on rotten stockes,

such fruite muste yelde by kinde.

I rather chuse the homely dishe

That holson drinke doeth hold:

15 Then sugred wine with poyson saust,

In cup of glittring gold.

As thou hast alwayes scornd my state,

So I do thee disdaine:

That pleasure is to deerely bought,

20 That purchasd is with paine.

10 yt] Q1; yet Q2

And glorious though thy gifts appeare,

Yet tickle is the staye:

And hatefull hearts pursues with grudge,

Thy golden gifts alway.

5 And when thy wrinkeled forehead frownes,

Upon the welthy wight:

What sot is he so simple then,

That shewes not forth his spight?

Then he poore wretch that earst was set,

10 Full nysely in thy lap:

Lyes prostrate at ech peasants foote,

To waile his wofull hap.

When flud of welth is turnd to eb,

What greater griefe may be?

15 Two contraries extreemely plast

doth ay full il agree. /

So he that hath bene fynely fed

C4

wyth swetnes of thy bower:

Most grievouslie sustaines the chaunge,

20 when he tastes of the sower.

19 sustaines] sustaynes Q2; sustianes [sic]
Q1

20 tastes] Q1; castes [sic] Q2

The mene estate, that thee contemnes,

In stedfast boate doth row:

The Ship in sauegarde most doth passe,

That beres her sayles but low.

5 And for my part, I force thee not,

Thy Frownes I can sustayne:

For yf thou cause my spedye fall,

I fall but in the playne.

This vauntadge then I haue by ryght,

10 To vaunt wher euer I go:

That I may sytt and smyll at thee,

That haue deceiued thee so.

But moste of all, I muste neades muse,

That wyse men seeke thy grace:

15 Syth trobles so attende on them

That haue thy freindly face.

But some can vse thee in thy kynde,

Whom thou hast finely fed:

And are not now to learne I trow,

20 To bring a babe to bed.

2 doth] Q2; do Q1

7 cause] Q2; force Q1

Let them that lyst that hazard try,

And trust in thee repose:

As I by thee no gaynes do seeke,

So nothing wyll I lose.

5 And thus fare well, I wyll returne

To Lady Hope agayne:

And for a token I thee sende,

A doting Fig of Spayne.

FINIS. /

The third Dialogue betweene the
Author and a Frier.

C4^v

Author.

A Fox or a Frier, who fasting doth meete:
Presageth ill fortune to lye at his feete.

Frier. In very deede that olde prouerb is not
to bee disproued, for I dare auouch the truth
5 therof, and yet (gentell sirra) it is not as you
vnderstand it, for I know that you construe it as
thus: if you meete with me or such as I am, or
with a Fox, in a morning (you being fasting)
that then it prognosticateth yll luck vnto you
10 that day, but the true construction is cleane
contrary, and is thus to bee vnderstoode. If
you meete with a Fox in a morning that hath not
broken her fast, or a Frier that goeth from the
place where hee was harbored, without eating any
15 thing, it may well pertend some mysfortune, for a
Fox purloyneth al the nyght, and returneth to her

A gentle,
and true
inter-
pretacion.

0.3 Author.] Q2; omitted Q1

6 I know that you construe] Q1; I know you
consture [sic] Q2

15 pertend] Q1; protend Q2

berye with a full paunche: And a Frier issueth not
out of dores without his breakfast both in his bely
and in his budget, for faylyng.

Author. I am ryght ioyous that I haue met with
5 so noble a doctor this morning at whose handes I
haue already learned one lesson, and by whose company
I hope to attayne more skylle: I pray you master Fryer
let me be your companyon thys day, for I am all readye
enflamed with the loue of your companye.

10 Frier. Is thy busynesse so sclender, that thou
maist intende to walke with me at randon? /

Author. My busynesse is soone dispatcht, for I
haue nought to doing this day but to make loytring
pinnes. D1

15 Frier. In faith good fellow, then is thy occupation
and myne much a lyke, and me seemeth by thy attire,
thou thriuest but slowly with thy trade, or els
thou art one of them that cannot thriue for shame,
howbeit (because thou seemest to be a good fellow)
20 I will for good felowships sake teach vnto thee the
eighth liberall science, which is a verie profitable
Arte, wherein (I iudge by thy estate) thou art vtterly

1 berye] Berry Q2; verye Q1

2 out of dores] Q1; out of the doores Q2

15 then is] Q1; then, then is Q2

ignorant.

Author. And are you (master Frier) a student
in that Science?

Frier. Yea syr that am I, and in degree aboue
5 a student, for I am an auncient practitioner
therein, and think my selfe of sufficiency to proceed
Doctor in that faculty, so good an opinion I haue
of my selfe.

A Doctor
in knauery.

Author. It is lyke that you are verye well
10 seene in the olde liberal sciences, and in other
good studies, that you are so excellent in this
new found Arte.

Frier. Nay verely, I count him a foole that
beateth his braines about many matters, and hath
15 no excellency in any one, wherfore I haue set asyde
all other studies to attayne to the very perfection
of this only arte, whereby I am welcome whersoever
I come. The name of it is, Ars adulandi, The art
of Flatterie, and there belongeth / vnto it,
20 glosyng, cogging, doublenes, dissimulation, iesting
and rayling, with many other branches as in practise
is verie easie to be learned. But euery man that

D1^v

6 my selfe of sufficiency] Q1; my selfe
sufficiencie Q2

weeneth to win credit by this art, may not be
rash in making his choise of these branches,
least he be espied, and so discredit himself.

Some one
to be
followed.

I wil not mencion vnto thee of the courtiers
5 practise, nor of the homely country mans handlynge
of his matters, nor of any others, but I wil
reueale vnto thee which of these branches I haue
chosen, and how I vse it.

Author. My eares are prepared to heare your
10 discourse, I pray you begin.

Frier. Thou knowest that it is my profession to
wander as a pilgrim, from place to place, and am an
authorised begger, my coule is my pasport, and
my shauen crowne my credite. And when I fyrst
15 began to wander, I was vtterly vnskilfull in this
art before mencioned, at what time my order was, to
geue holsome and godly counsell vnto my good dames
of the cuntrie, and wolde sumtimes check their wanton
children, when I sawe them rude and lassiuious,
20 insomuch that at the last, when I was espied cumminge
into any Villedge, the children, ye and their
mothers also, wold shut their dores against me.

1 this art] Q1; his ~ Q2
21 ye] Q1; yea Q2

I (knowinge the cause of their dislyking mee) was
 so saucy as to draw the latch, and boldly entred
 into the house, for I was as perfecte of the way
 in, and also of euery corner in the house, as was
 5 the good wife herself. This was / no poore mans
 house, but a good fat Farmer, and my dame was a
 lusty wench, and had a rowling eye, and when I
 came into the hall, there was she and her two
 daughters with her, the elder of them being but
 10 twelue yeares of age, and the yonger ten yeares
 olde, and her onely sunne lyinge in the cradle.
 God blesse my good dame (quoth I) and God be
 heere, etc. Let it not offende you (my good
 dame) that I rush in so boldly vnto you, for I was
 15 this night warned by god in a vision, to bring
 you good tidings, and the spirite that appeared
 vnto me reuealed as I haue already founde, the
 words that he spake were these. Frier Fraunces,
 I charg thee that this day about ten of the clock
 20 in the forenoone, thou repaire to thy good
 benefactor Jane Gibbes and will her stedfastly
 beleeeue, that what soeuer thou shalt say vnto her,

A bould
Gheast.

D2

A counter-
feict
reueilation.

1 Sidenote: A bould Gheast.] Q1; A bold
geste. Q2

12 quoth] Q1; quod Q2

21 Jane Gibbes] Q1; I.G. Q2

is as true as the gospell, and at thy fyrst comminge
 thou shalt finde her dores shut against thee,
 notwithstanding, enter in boldly, and thou shalt
 finde her, and her three children with her in the
 5 hall, but her husband shal be at plow in the fielde
 (which I knewe before I came thither) and thou shalt
 say vnto her, set your seruantes that are about your
 house, to such worke as they may not come to heare
 the secrets that I haue to reueale, and also let
 10 your two daughters be secluded from our presence,
 and then (Frier Fraunces) I will sende to thy minde
 what thou shalt say.

Author. Truely this is a proper ceremoniall /
 beginning, but was she not doubtfull lest sum body
 15 should come in and take you so suspiciouslye
 together?

D2^v

Frier. Nay, we Friers are at a good pointe for
 such matters, we are not suspected because we are
 accounted men mortified from fleshlye lustes, and
 20 are authorised to shriue secretly both men and
 women.

Author. Latet anguis in Herba, I doubte least
 vnder your cloke of simplicitye lurketh a huge

20 shriue secretly both] Q1; shreue both Q2

heape of subtiltie, and I feare me least you be one
of them that Saint Paule mencioneth of in the second
epistle to Timothie in the third Chap. Who with
externall holynesse and internall filthynesse, deuoure
5 the soules of the simple, whose words are these.
Sunt qui subeunt in familias, et captiuas ducunt
mulierculas, aceruo peccatorum adobrutas: quae
ducuntur concipisentijs uarijs, etc. There are some
which creepe into houses, and leade captiue simple
10 women laden with sinnes and lead with diuers
lustes etc.

And also vnto Titus in the first Chapter, as thus.
Sunt multi intractabiles et Vaniloqui, qui totas
domos subuertunt, docentes quae non oportet, turpis
15 lucris gratia. There are many disobedient and vaine
talkers, and deceiuers of mindes, which subuerte
whole houses, teachinge thinges which they ought
not, for filthy lukers sake.

Notwithstandinge (Master Frier) I pray you proceede

- 2 mencioneth of in] Q1; mencioneth in Q2
6-8 Sunt...uarijs, etc.] omitted Q2
6 subeunt] ed.; subent Q1
7 quae] ed.; quea Q1
8-11 There...lustes etc.] omitted Q1
12 Titus in the first Chapter, as thus.] Q2;
Titus the fyrst, Q1
13-15 Sunt...gratia.] omitted Q2
14 quae] ed.; quea Q1
15-18 There...sake.] omitted Q1

with your discourse, and we wyll set Saint Paule
asyde till you haue done.

Frier. Tush, tush, I was a Preacher of Peter
and Paule a greate while, vntill the Worlde was
5 werie of mee, but I fynde more profite in this
Science ten to one, as in the ende thou shalte
perceiue. And now to returne to my good Dame /
Gibbes againe, when we weare by our selues, then
called I my wyttes together how I might set a face
10 of honestie vpon my pretenced Reuelacion, affirming
that I speake nothing of my selfe, but by diuine
inspiracion. You are (quoth I) at this present
conceiued with a Sunne in your wombe, whiche
Childe is predestinate to bee a Noble Peere of
15 this Lande, and shall aduaunce Your whole linage
to great Honour and Dignities, and you shall liue
to see those happie dayes. Your selfe shall haue
Souerantie (the thinge that Women cheiflye deasire.)
Your two Daughters shall bee Ladies of greate
20 Renowmne, and haue many suters come vnto them for
to get their good willes in Mariage, and that of no
meane Persons, and I trust (as owld as I am) to see
this littell Boy in the Cradell (G O D blesse him)

More
profyt in
flattering,
then in
preaching
gods word.

D3

Hipocrisie
cloaked
vnder
religion.

bee of great estimacion in this countrey.

This newes so rauisht the harte of my Dame, that
 shee thought her selfe immediatlye halfe way to
 Heauen, supposinge that I had ben the Angell Gabriell.
 5 Then had I the best chere in the house set before
 me, and who then but Master Frier Fraunces?

Author. Me thinke this was a blinde polocie, and
 sounded in her eares incredible. But to begin a
 littel (with your licence) was she then conceiued
 10 with Childe. /

Frier. Ye sir that was she, for I had hearde
 certen of her gossips reasoning of that matter
 before. And least she should seeme incredulous
 of my wordes, I set in that caueat in the beginning,
 15 whereby shee might stand in feare of incredulytie,
 and if any thinge should happen contrarie to my
 words, I would haue ascribed it to her vnbeleefe,
 and as for the chiefe effect of my prophesie, I was
 certen that in my lyfe time it could not be
 20 expected, so that I forged this matter but to
 serue for my lyfe time.

D3^v

Se a
 crafty
 dissemblers
 conueiance.

Author. But was she not inquisitiue to know by

7 polocie] Q1; policy Q2

11 Ye] Q1; Yea Q2

14 in the beginning] Q1; at ~ ~ Q2

what meanes this thing should come to passe?

Frier. Yes, and I had a proper inuention in a readinesse. I tolde her, that when this childe cummeth to the age of xxii. yeeres, there shoulde
 5 be greate warres betweene the Emperour, and the Turke, and it should fall to his lot to atchiue many notable stratagems, against the machometicall Emperour, by meanes whereof his glorie should be aduanced throwout all christian Regions, and especially within this
 10 nation. But to se how Fortune fauored my proceedinges, when I was once entred into the profession of this Art, it happened, that while we were at our ioly good chere, there came in a gossip of hers, (who accordinge to the curtesie of our cuntrey) was
 15 inuited to doo as we did. And when we had chatted a while together, I willed her to shew mee her left hand, professing my selfe to be very cunning in palmestry (in which / art I haue as much skill
 20 would sumtimes name linea vite, sumtimes linea nuptialis, but to conclude, I knewe neither of them both nor any other line, but for a shadow to bleare her eyes withall. And then I mused

D4

Knauerie
 couloured
 vnder a
 shadow of
 learning.

19-21 Sidenote: vnder a shadow of learning] Q2;
 vnder learning Q1

with my selfe (as if I had ben in a browne study)
 during which time, I considered with my selfe what
 daungers are commonly incident vnto men and women:
 and at the last I tolde her that she had hardely
 5 escaped the daunger of drowninge, shee ratified
 my assertion with an oth, deeming mee to be rather
 an Angell then a mortall man: this so flesht mee
 that I was now a gog.

Author. But what if she had denied that she euer
 10 escaped such daunger?

Frier. Then would I haue saide that it was in
 her youth, before her remembraunce, but it fell
 out better. Then I blundered at other of her
 misfortunes past, and sum I hit right, and on the
 15 rest that she remembred not so well, I cast such a
 cloke of collusion that she rather asscribed it to her
 oblyuion, then to any want of art in me.

Author. But was shee not as desierous to heare of
 her good fortunes to come, as of her euill chaunces
 20 past?

Frier. Yes mary was shee, and there beginneth the
 sport. I should haue noted vnto thee before, that
 while we were in our meriments as we sate at our
 dinner, this wife drank to al good hus- / bands, and
 25 then (quoth shee) my husbandes part is least. I
 thought on these words, and I perceiued also by more

of her talke, that there was but small good lyking
 betweene her husband and her, therefore to please her
 minde by telling of good newes, I sayde that as
 she had suffered care and sorowe by the frowardnesse
 5 of an vnlouinge man, so shee shoulde (within short
 space) possesse ioy and solace by the entire loue
 of a faithfull Husbande, with whom she should
 haue her owne will, and welth at pleasure, and she
 should see her desyre vpon her enemies, and beare
 10 the swing and sway of all the women of the parish
 she should dwel in, with such lyke. Thus I was
 among my good Dames esteemed as a very Prophet,
 because I spake vnto them pleasinge thinges, and
 by these meanes I was more sought vnto then any
 15 Doctor of Phisick, or Counsaylour of the Lawes,
 and especially of women.

Faire
 words
 make such
 fooles .
 faine.

Author. But could you please all that came
 vnto you with these practises, or had you other
 shiftes in store?

20 Frier. Nay, I am not so simple but I can respect
 the person, for I met with sum women, that I knew
 loued their Husbandes full wel, and for them I had
 other deuises. I wyll flatter some of them in

their Children saying, that as they are of amiable
 countenance, and of faire feature, so there are
 manyfest tokens in their faces of wisdom,
 towardlynes, grace and good fortune, and what /
 5 Parente will not delight to heare this of their
 children, and for the parents themselues, I haue a
 thousand plesing inuencions in this head of mine.

E1

Author. But will not the foolish parents
 perceiue thy grosse flatterie if they se no such
 10 thing in their children indede, as thou speakest of?

Frier. Neuer a whit, for thou knowest the fable
 in Esope, that the Oule thought her owne birdes
 faierest, and in this respect parentes for the more
 parte are blinde, and specially mothers. And it
 15 is as fit a point of flatery to glose in that which
 is neuer like to com to pas, as to promise that
 which a man neuer ment to geue, or wold do him no
 plesure to whom it is offered. As I read once in
 a profane story that at what time verteous Deborah
 20 the prophetesse iudged Israel, in the city of
 Babell was dwellinge a ritch Lieutenant whose name
 was Ishewa who being presented by a souldier which

Ishewa.

15 as fit a point of flatery] Q1; as feate a
 poynte in flattery Q2

21-22 Lieutenant whose name was Ishewa] Q1;
 Lieutenant named Ishewa Q2

22 Sidenote: Ishewa.] omitted Q2



faught vnder Apollos banner with a simple piece of
 woorke which hee had framed in Mineruas shop:
 requited him onely with a bezeles manus, and fead
 him with faier wordes, promisinge him that which
 5 nether he could geue, as he knew right well,
 neither the other regarded as did plainlye
 appeare. But as for any other rewarde the
 diuell a whit he gaue him for his paines.

Monstrous
 promises
 to choake
 fooles.

Author. I am sure thou aboundest in such good
 10 examples, but what nede so far fet and of such
 antiquitie? I thinke thou maist haue store in
 the profound misters of your facultie and neuer
 trauell to / Babel for them. For ye are all of
 one predicament, both hee of whom thou spakest and
 15 all the rable of you, a company of cogging coistrels,
 howbeit I am sure thou hast taken forth a lesson
 before them all, and maist well reade a lecture in
 the art of Adulacion. For truely thou flatteringe
 Frier, I haue heard so much of thee that I am
 20 ashamed to heare any more. And that inuentinge
 head of thine, lacketh nothing but a halter, in

E1^v

4-5 Sidenote: promises to choake fooles] Q1;
 promises choake foles Q2

12 misters] Q1; Maisters Q2

13 trauell] Q1; trauaile Q2

steade of a hood, but yet I pray thee (Frier)
 betweene earnest and iest, was it not thou that
 preachedst of late vnto certaine theeues by the
 hie waies side, and approuedst them worthy
 5 members of a common wealth, comparinge them in
 many poyntes vnto Christe?

It was he,
 or some
 like godly
 chapleine.

Frier. No verely, it was not I, but certes I
 know him and commend him, for hee was a wise fellow
 and made a learned and profitable sermon. He
 10 preached not for six shillings and eight pence,
 the ordinarye price: but for ten pound and more.
 And truely to gaine halfe the monye (although it
 stand not with my profession to handle monye) I
 will affirme that theeues ought to be rulers, and
 15 not to be ruled, yea and are worthy to be canonised
 among the Saintes, when the yeare of Iubile
 commeth.

Author. First I haue noted thy apostacy, in
 falling from thy profession to the filthye trade
 20 of Flattery for thy bellyes sake, wherby I condemne
 thee for a belly god: and before I proceede any
 further, I wyl compare thee to that wicked Iulian /
 Apostata, whose end may be a mirrour to the terrible

E2

example of al runnagates, of which number thou art
a captaine, most blasphemously belying the holy
spirite of God, with thy forged inspiration, not
vnlike that false seducing prophet Machomet who
5 with his forged inspiracions vnto this daye
beguileth the Turkes. So that thou hast denyed
Christ our sauour, who in the generall iudgment
wil also deny thee, except (by his special grace)
thou repent. Secondly, I condemne thy impudent
10 arrogancy in arrogatinge to thy selfe cunninge
skill in Palmestrie, thou hauing no more iudgement
then an Asse, wherin thou art one of the deceiuers
of the worlde foreprophesied by Saint Paule, to
abuse the later age. And also, whereas thou art
15 vtterlye vnlearned in any good art or facultie,
thou art not to be taken for a member (much lesse
a minister) of Christes church, but to be whipt
out of the same, as one for whose cause the worde
of God is euell spoken of, for thou and such as
20 thou art, haue bene the ruin and ouerthrow of many
goodly houses, to the great annoiance of pouertie,
and of such bussards as thou art are to many in

Machomet
seduceth
the Turkes
by a forged
reuelation.

1 runnagates] Q1; Renegates Q2
4-6 Sidenote: Q2; omitted Q1
14 later] Q1; latter Q2

these daies, that maketh the world in feare of a
 second subuersion (whiche God forbid). Thirdly,
 thy lyking, and allowing of blasphemouse doctrine,
 comparing Christe our sauour to wicked and
 5 abhomynable theeues, is most stinkinge, and
 detestable. Thou knowest, or oughtest to knowe,
 that Iohn the Baptiste, although he were the Kings
 chaplaine, namly King / Herodes, fed not his Lorde
 and Maisters eares with flattering doctrine for
 10 promotions sake, but reprobud his sin to his
 face, for the truthes sake. He rather chose to
 liue in penurie, with locustes, and wyld hony in
 the desert, then to fare dilycately in the
 wickednesse of his maisters court. Hee desired
 15 with the Psalmist, rather to bee a dore keeper in
 the house of God, then to dwell in the tentes of
 vngodlynes. He might haue bene aduanced, to be
 taken for the Messias of the worlde, but hee put it
 from him, vnto him who of right ought to haue it.
 20 He was neither coueitous, nor proude, nor lassiuious,
 he was no dissembler, but a true preacher, not
 protesting one thing and performing another: hee
 was no simonist, he hunted neither for byshopricke
 nor benefice, but directed his whole lyfe to the
 25 setting foorth of gods glory. When the Pharasies
 and head rulers came to his baptisme, hee called

Detestable
blasphemie.

E2^V

A commen-
dation of
S. Iohn
the Baptist.

them not gracious Lordes, but generation of vipers,
and bid them bring foorth fruites of repentaunce,
he was altogether ignoraunt in thy fylthy Art of
Flattery.

5 When the publycans came to hym to learne their
duties, he preached not lyinge palmestrie but learned
diuinite. He allowed not their pilling and pollinge,
with a cloake of custome because they were receuers
of custome for the prince, but sharply rebuked their
10 extorcions, and bad them take no more of any man then
right required. But the professors of thy art will
not stick to perswade them, (by wrestinge the scripture
cleane out of ioynt) that all their dealinges, what
wicked and / peruerse meanes so euer they vse, is
15 tollerable. Also when the roystinge soldiours came
vnto him, hee commended nor their valientnesse nor
their couragious stomackes, but checkt and taunted
their iniurious violence shewed towards men, and
exhorted them nether actually to hurt any man vnder
20 coloure of true seruice to their Prince, nor
wrongfully to accuse any man, which two faults they

E3

-
- 7 pilling and pollinge] Q1; polling and
pillinge Q2
12 scripture] Q1; Scriptrues Q2
16 nor their valientnesse] Q1; not ~ ~ Q2
18 violence] Q2; vioēlce [sic] Q1
19 any man] Q2; no ~ Q1

commonly vsed, and lastlye perswaded them to be content
 with their wages and stipende. Finally (as is before
 sayde) he spared not the maiestie of the king his
 maister, in respect of the trueth, which if hee wolde
 5 haue done, no doubt but he might haue bin (if he listed)
Princeps Sacerdotum, in steede whereof, he was content
 rather to lose his hed then recant.

Thus (Frier) I haue expressed vnto thee parte of
 my minde, defying both thee and thy detestable Art of
 10 Adulation.

Frier. I am sory that I conceiued so good an
 opinion of thee, seing thou art so contrary to my
 disposition, and wheras thou saiest thou hast expressed
 parte of thy minde vnto me, I assure thee, I thinke
 15 neither thou, nor any man can shewe any more then thou
 hast rehersed. And whereas thou hast brought in
 Saint Iohn against me, I can alledge for that one a
 number, that were as wel lerned as euer was Saint Iohn,
 who were studients, and practisioners of my arte, and
 20 I pray you among the rest, what say you of Saint Peter
 (as good a man as Sainte Iohn in ech point) did not he
 dissemble by denying his maister for feare of his lyfe?
 and I holde him the wiser of the twaine. /

Author. O thou childe of perdicion, that so
 25 dissolutly, and desperatly runnest hedlonge to the
 pit of hell. Firste because thou saiest I can cyte

no more examples to make for my purpose, I wil omit
a great many that I might name for the confirmacion
of my assertion, as well the Apostles of Christe,
as a multitude of other godly martirs, and note
5 vnto thee only saint Peter. For whereas thou
saiest that Peter for sauegard of his lyfe dissembled,
thou shewest thy ignorance in the sacred truthe,
and thy execrable studye in wrestinge the same.
Peter dissembled not, but the hope that hee had to
10 see his maisters delyueraunce out of the handes of
his malicious enemies through the entyre loue that
he bare vnto his master Christ caused him to reiect
consideration of any former matters, as wel his
stout promise, as otherwise, which in the end he
15 bitterly (with teares) repented. Hee so much
hated dissimulation, that he could not abide an
olde grandfather of thine, Simon Magus, to delude
the world with his cogging skill, dispisinge and
abhorring both him and his money. And as
20 touchinge his flattery, let the whole course of
his doctrine witnesse, wherein I thinke thee to
be ignorant. Of timorousnesse of death, his end

Simon
Magus
Grandfather
to
dissemblers.

2 confirmacion] Q1; contentacion Q2

4 godly] Q1; goodly Q2

16 Sidenote: Magus] Q2; Mergus Q1

can witnes, for he suffered death for Christes sake.

Frier. Mary syr there hangeth the dowbt, for I
haue heard that he neuer came at Rome, wher it is saide
that he was put to death vnder Nero, and was Pope
5 there, by old reporte. /

Author. It is impertinent to our matter to proue
whether Peter were at Rome or not, but whosoeuer
affirmeth that he neuer was at Rome (in prooffe wherof
he must condempne sum good Authors) yet will he not say
10 that Peter suffered not death for Christes sake: and
it may well be old reporte, or rather old wiues tales,
that Peter was pope of Rome, for that name was ascribed
many yeres after Peters death. Thus thou hast abused
that holy Apostle by chalenging him to be of thy Art,
15 which thou tearmest the Eight Liberall Science. And
thus to conclude with thee, I shal pray to God to
illuminate thy hart with his holy spirite, to expell
that foule fiend of Flattery from thee, vntill which
time, I shall detest and abhor thy company, as Saint
20 Iohn fled from Cerinthius that wicked hereticke. /

E4

15 eight] Q1; Eyghth Q2

18 fiend] Q2; find Q1

The fourth Dialogue betwene the
Author, and Fortunatus.

Yf Fortunes grace be perfect happe,
For worldlings calles it so:
Then I at last do bathe in blis,
That erst was wrapt in wo.

5 Author. Sir, I haue heard many men complaine of
that lady whom you so commende, for the felicitie
and happynes on you bestowed, but I se that ech
man speaketh as iust cause him moueth. And
sithens you are (by her benifits and bountie)
10 occasioned to honor her, may I bee so bolde as to
learne at your handes, what waies and meanes you
used to obtaine so highly her fauour, and friendship?
so shall you binde me vnto you, for I haue bin an
vnskilfull suter vnto her ladiship, and therefore
15 a slow speeder.

Fortunatus. Your reasonable request, which seemeth
vnto me to be tempered with meere simplycitie, shall
be easely granted: attende therefore and marke well
the euent, so thou maiest (perhaps) be directed a

2 worldlings] Q2; wordlings Q1

2 it] lt[sic] Q1

more ready and perfect way to win her fauour by
dylygent imitation.

Little
thrift in
simplicitie.

When I fyrste came to the Courte, I lyued a
bare and beggerlye lyfe, vsing sundry simple
5 shiftes to rub out amonge the rest. I cared not
in whose det I became so I might serue my present
necessitie. But at the laste I perceiued that this
trade could not longe continew, for experience
taught me that easely woone was lightly loste, and
10 euill gotten was ill spent. I / applyed my selfe
to a profitable trade, which was to learne the
Eight liberall Science, and to practise the same,
by meanes whereof I haue obtayned Fortunes speciall
fauour, but before I could bring this matter to
15 perfect effect, I was constrained to vse prety
sleights, for there are certen degrees ascending
before a man may come to her grace and fauour. I
presumed not at the first to her owne presence,
but obserued dilygently on whom she vsed most
20 commonly to smile, and when I perceiued who was
her mynyon, I also found out which of his
gentlemen wayters was greatest in his bookes, and
hauing dilygently searched these premyses, I framed

F1

Craftie
insinuation.

5 amonge] Q1; amongst Q2

12 Eight] Q1; Eyghth Q2

my selfe to be very officious and seruiceable vnto
 Lady Fortunes man, towards whom I behaued my self
 so pleasantly by skilful insinuation, that (what
 with my cunning adulation and deepe dissimulation)
 5 I crept euen into the verye bowels of his secretes.
 Then began I to magnifie and extol the wisdome,
 prowes, fame, and renowme of his noble maister,
 yea, (and I may tell thee) far aboue his deserts,
 and doubting least my words in commending him,
 10 shuld not be brought to his eares, I compyled a
 pleasant pamflet, and dedicated the same vnto him,
 in the preface wherof I fed his vaine glorious
 humor with magnificent titles and termes. But
 before I would presume to exhibite the same vnto
 15 him, I thought it good to vse the / counsell and
 aduice of my yonge maister and new found friend,
 whom I knew to haue perfect experience of his
 masters and my patrons inclinacion. This my
 industrie ioyned with fayned fidelitie liked him
 20 so wel, that (to further my wished successe) he
 gaue a very good reporte of mee vnto his maister,
 and by his counsaile I wayted oportunytie to
 delyuer my sayde pamflet vnto the patron when I
 founde hym in a mery moode (which is a thing

To publish
 deserued
 commenda-
 cions is no
 flattery,
 but aboue
 measure
 is folly.

F1^v.

Flatteringe
 Epistels sum
 time finde
 fauour, but
 wise men
 smile at the
 folly of
 such and
 geue them
 small thanks
 for their
 flattery.

6-9 Sidenote: Q2; omitted Q1

19-24 Sidenote: Q2; omitted Q1

specially to be regarded of al suters) it plesed
 him so wel to reade his owne commendations, that he
 vouchsafed to pervse the rest, and gaue me his
 reward and good countinace which was the thing
 5 for the which I wished, and fisshed, and within
 shorte space I grew into greater fauour then was
 my first maister, his man before specified: so
 that I was not Lady Fortunes mynions mans man,
 but Lady Fortunes minions fellow. And not long
 10 after that, by my dayly accesse vnto Lady Fortunes
 presence, and my cunning skill in Adulation, wherin
 I was an absolute scholar, I had the charge of her
 whirlyng wheele in my owne hand, to aduaunce whom
 I liked, and throw downe whom I listed.

15 Author. Then I doubt not but the authors of
 your preferment were at your handes right
 bountifully rewarded.

Friendship
 wel
 rewarded.

Fortunatus. Certes and so they were, for I
 not only deprivied them from their former dignities,
 20 but also banished them the Court. For / thinkest
 thou that I would suffer any man to be in the
 Court that might iustly vpbraide mee with these

F2

5 which I wished, and fisshed] Q1; which I
 fished Q2

16-17 Sidenote: Q1; omitted Q2

words? I was the causer of this thy preferment,
 or thou maist thank my father or friends for thy
 dignities? Nay, nay, I wyll none of that, I
 rather commend the heroicall minde of him that
 5 sayde, he would rather be a Prince to rule and
 reigne, yea though he had no possessions, then to
 be a vassal, or subiect with infinite wealth.
 What neede I be ashamed of ambicion, sithens to
 hit the top of dignytie is the marke wherat al men
 10 shoote. Doth not the yong scholar couet to excell
 all others in learninge, the Musitian in musick,
 the Artificer in hys craft, and so of the rest?

Oh heroy-
 call heart.

Author. Yea sir, but (vnder your correction) I
 deme that these desire of excellency, proceede
 15 from an honest emulation, but the other from a
 wicked condicion, and I think that neither the
 finest scholar, the most cunninge Musitian, nor
 the excellentest Artificer, with the rest, think
 no scorn of their first enstructors, though you of
 20 your first founders.

Fortunatus. Tush, tush, who so preferreth
 honesty before honor, shal proue himself a foole.

1 Sidenote: Q1; omitted Q2

9-10 al men shoote] Q1; all shoote Q2

Author. But experience teacheth, that honour
 vpholden with honestie, standeth when honor without
 honestie falleth to decay, and as nothing is more
 fickle then fortunes fauour, so nothing may be
 5 more dangerous then an aspy- / ring minde, who
 hauing attayned the top of dignytie, by the
 fawninge face of vnconstant Fortune, is forced to
 sustayne a most greuous and irrecuperable fall, at
 whose ouerthrow, men rather reioyce then lament.

F2^v

10 Wherfore I prefer the mene estate, who if he
 fal, falleth but in the plain, which he may easely
 endure, and quickly rise agayne, before the great
 danger of the lofty degree, when it liketh froward
 Fortune to frowne.

15 Fortunatus. I see full well, the Fox wyll eate
 no grapes because he cannot reach them, so thou
 mislykest honor and dignytie, because thou canst
 not attayne vnto it, which I haue in thy former
 words obserued, when thou saydst that thou were
 20 a suter in vaine vnto Lady Fortune, and in good
 sooth, I do partly remember thee since that
 time, as wel by thy face, as also by thy bald
 thredbare robes, as though thy wardrap
 were in the castle of ragges: but if thou

8 irrecuperable] Q2; irrecurable Q1

23 wardrap] Q1; Wardrop Q2

wilt applye thy selfe to the noble Science of
Adulation, thou maist soone come to good
 preferment, and set forth thy selfe after a more
 braue and costly fashion.

A better
 trade to
 be applied.

5 Author. Sir, if there be no meane to attaine
 vnto brauery without the exercise of knauery (for
 I account flattery no better) I wyll rather content
 my selfe to liue beggerly. And as for your
 brauerye, and such as you are, it is maintained
 10 with double theeury, which is almost as ill as
 vsurye, for I may wel ioyne them both together.
 I heard one say of late that all / worne in the
 Court is not paid in the citie, but let the
 Marchant looke to that, and as for the poore
 15 husbandman who toyleth for the liuing not onely
 of himselfe and his owne famyly, but also of the
 common wealth, findeth the cost of your brauery
 in his fines and rentes, but the best is, whereas
 he was wonte to ingurgitate himself in your
 20 kitchin, by surfeiture, now he is moderated, and
 may returne from thence with a good appetite,
 for your beefe is on your back, and the rest of
 your wonted victualles conuerted by strange

A theefe is
 almost as
 yll as a
 vsurer.

F3

Note this
 poynt.

9-10 Sidenote: Q2; omitted Q1

19 ingurgitate] Q1; ingurgitace Q2

metamorphosis, into breeches, and brauery. But as
 for my misteris your wyfe, I will not say she
 weareth in her kirtle the poore mans oxe, nor in
 her veluet gowne the bankroupts stock. If these
 5 be the fruites of flattery, for gods sake (syr)
 learne sum new trade of fressher fashion, and
 study the art of trueth (which god wyll prosper):
 for trueth in the end shal preuaile, and so shall
 god blesse your store and encrease, both in the
 10 feild and in the kitchin, in the house and in the
 barne, when brauerye shall be turned to beggery
 and bewty to baldnes. And as touching your
 poletick practise at your first entry into
 Fortunes Court, I say no more, but wish that as
 15 many as loue flatterers tales had Mydas eares.
 Wherefore (gentle master Philodoxus) I byd you
 adue, with this motion, or caueat:

Vincit
veritas.

All is well
that endes
well.

Respice finem. /

The fifth dialogue betweene Syr Symon
the person of polle Iobbam,
and the Author.

Sir Simon.

Who liues to learne, and learnes to liue
and list to come to thrift,
May see the skill, and finde the way
by my new founded shrift.

5 Author. If your shrift haue such vertue as to
 teach men thrift, I pray you Syr Symon take mee
 vnder benedicite, who neuer as yet could finde
 the way to thriue, I think it be for want of
 absolution ab omne frugalitate.

10 Syr Symon. I neither vse auricular confession,
 nor any kinde of absolution, but certen infallyble
 preceptes to be obserued, by practise whereof,
 thrift is obtayned.

15 Author. And yet (syr Symon) if the common
 saying be true, you haue plaid an vnthriftie part

The Parson
 of poul
 Iobbam.

-
- 0.1 fifth] Q1; eyghth Q2
 0.2 person] Q1; Parson Q2
 0.4 Sir Simon] Q2; omitted Q1
 14-15 Sidenote: Q2; omitted Q1.
 poul [sic]

your selfe, for you are sayd to be he that sold
his benefice for a boile of new ale in corns, and
what thrift call you that?

Sir Simon. Better thrift then you are ware of,
5 for the boule was spyced with a hundred duckets,
which spice sunke to the bottome that all men could
not see it.

Author. Then your name shall be conuerted from
syr Symon to syr Symonye, but haue you any other
10 benefice left to liue vpon, and kepe hospytalytie
withall?

Syr Symon. I am not as yet vnfurnished of / my
pluralytie, but if I had not one, yet haue I the
feate to fishe and catch: so fine a bayte I haue
15 in store.

F4

Sir Simon
fisheth
with a
golden
hooke.

Author. How longe haue you bene so cunninge a
fisher? When I knew you first you had no such
skill, but contented your selfe to liue as barely
as I, and other your poore neighbours.

20 Sir Symon. That I lyued barely I confesse, but
that it contented me I denye, wherefore I directed
my study to the Arte of Flatterie: wherin I found

2, 5 bole...boule] Q1; boale Q2

13-15 Sidenote: Q2; omitted Q1

21 directed] Q1; directe Q2

such sauour, that I set aside al other studies, and
 dedicate by selfe wholly to that, in which art I am
 now an absolut schoolemaster, and if thou once
 tastedst the sweetnesse thereof, thou woldest
 5 reiect thy stoicall studie, and become a
 philosopher of our sect.

Honest
 studies
 reiected
 in respect.

Author. I praye you syr Symon, for olde
 acquaintance, tell mee how you put this kinde of
 philosophie to so profitable vse?

10 Sir Symon. I wil rip it vp vnto thee euen
 from the beginninge. It is not vnknown vnto thee
 how solytarie a lyfe I led when I first became a
 cleargie man, and when I went any where abroad, e,
 my onely arrant was to preach, in which my sermons
 15 I coulde not cease to invey against the abuses of
 these daies, not sparing Lorde or Lady or any
 degree, in reprocuing of sin and wickednesse, so far
 forth, that I was counted a saucye knaue amonge
 gentles. And' specially of patrones of benefices,
 20 whose / foule disorders, in making marchandice of
 the church being Gods part, wold heape vp wrath

F4^v.

-
- 2 dedicate] sic Q1, Q2
 4-6 Sidenote: placed by lines 7-9 in Q2
 11 not vnknown] Q1; not knowen Q2
 19 gentles. And] gentles, and Q1; Gentiles.
 And Q2

for them against the day of vengeance, and that
 thereby the childrens bread was taken away and
 cast vnto dogges, for not onely they were
 depriued from the foode of the soule, by selling
 5 of the benefice to simple syr Iohn, vtterly
 vnlearned, but also the patron must haue the
 swetest sop of the tithe to maintayne his houndes,
 greyhoundes, and spanyelles, for lack whereof the
 poore person is vnable to kepe hospytalytie: and
 10 as Christe whipt out the marchantes from the temple
 at Ierusalem, so these church marchants must
 looke for a greuous scourge to come on them from
 god. For this and the like doctrine I was hated
 of many, and loued of few. On the other syde,
 15 I sawe how some other Preachers that were my
 neere neighbours, could cunningly claw the ytching
 eares of vain gloryous men, and like Protheus
 conuert them selues vnto sundry shapes, by meanes
 whereof lyuings were powred into their lapps. I
 20 set a side my satyricall sermons, and became a
 plausible preacher, I reiected solitarines, and
 became a bone companyon: I left my bookes and

This
 enormity
 is greatly
 to be
 lamented.

Let them
 surely
 looke for it.

2-4 Sidenote: Q2; omitted Q1
 9 person] Q1; parson Q2
 22 bone] Q1; boone Q2

fell to my bowles, I shut vp my studye, and sought
 out the ale house, and then who so good a fellow
 as sir Simon? with the papist I was a papist:
 with the protestant an earnest gospeller, in the
 5 newfound Famely of Loue, I was a louing com- /
 panion: among graue men, Ancient: with wild otes,
 youthfull: amonge gamesters, a good fellow: and
 finally, a man at all assayes. Then began my
 credite to encrease, and those that before spake
 10 euell of mee, now gaue mee good reporte, and in
 shorte space I had more lyuinges heaped on me,
 then law would permit mee to receiue, but I
 would refuse none: for I inuented a proper
 policie both for fauour and profit. When so
 15 euer any lyuing came vnto mee more then by law I
 was capable of, I wolde either make marchandice
 of one, or els make ouer my entangled lyuinge
 vnto some man of such aucthorytie, as against
 whom no common promoter durst presume, by meanes
 20 whereof, I was sure to haue a good buckler of
 defence and a profitable gaine without desert,
 so that in short space I was taken vp among
 states, in whose presence, (to win further
 fauour) I could behaue my selfe so pleasantly,
 25 that who so great a man as I among Lordes

G1

A chaplain
of trust.

Scoggins
dole is to
geue wher
as is
neither
neede nor
desert.

Such
marchandice
haue mard'
all.

and Ladies. I haue committed to my minde such
 store of pleasant deuises to feede their humors
 at the table, that I am called my Lordes mery
 greeke, for the company is the meryer that I am
 5 in. And on mee attendeth simple syr Iohn, who
 is made a dolt and dogbolt of euery seruinge
 man, because of his simplicitie, but for all
 that, I with my subiltie, and he with his
 simplycitie, and my lords men with their policye,
 10 keepe in our handes / many good benefices in the
 cuntrie, if this be not thriftie now iudge you.

An vnfit
 thing for
 a priest
 to be a
 iester.

A chaplain
 more meet
 to serue a
 thatcher
 then in the
 church.

G1^v

Author. If such shiftinge thrift, ende with
 good thriuing, I much maruel, but this meane
 while, how do you discharge your conscience in
 15 preaching according to your function?

Sir Simon. I preach very often, and that with
 great commendations, for when I am in pulpit
 before nobles and peeres of the realme, I tend my
 inuectiues wholly against the insaciabile couetousnes
 20 of the cuntry man, with the subtyltie that is in
 them harbored vnder the cloke of simplicitie,
 and how they beat their braines onely about

Sir Simon
 preacheth
 for
 profit.

11 not thriftie] Q1a, Q1b; no thrifte Q2
 18-19 Sidenote: Q1b, Q2; omitted Q1a
 preacheth] Q1b; preacht Q2

worldlye affaires, omitting first to seeke the
kingdome of god, and the rightuousnes therof,
according to the commandement of our maister
Christe. etc. And lykewise of the Lawyers that
5 vnconsionably take fees, by whom contrauersies are
rather mayntayned, then ended. And when I preach
in the Citie, and before Lawyers, I declayme
against both the Courtier and the cuntrie occupyer,
whose dealynges are so vnconcionable towards the
10 marchant, that he causeth many rich and wealthy
marchantes to becum bankrupt. Againe in the
Cuntrey, I preach that the pride of Landlordes is
the impouerishment of the common wealth, wherby
also vice is nourished and vertu decayed, and
15 that the disguised attire of men and women, maketh
them seeme more / lyke monsters then humaine
creatures. And in all my sermons, I haue one
pleasant dogtricke or other to delight my
auditorye, which mery conseight is committed to
20 memorye, when the rest of my doctrine is neglected.

G2

Sir Simon
preacheth
dogtriks
in steede of
doctrine.

Author. But I pray you syr Simon, is your life
so confourmed to your doctrine that it cannot

15 that the disguised] Q1a, Q1b; that
disguised Q2

17-19 Sidenote: Q1b, Q2; omitted Q1a

iustlye be sayde vnto you, medice cura te ipsum?

Sir Simon. Tush that is the least care that may
encomber my minde, for I haue so bolde a tongue,
and such a brasen face, that if I be detected of
5 any notorious crime, I can so hide my wouluish
carkas vnder a cloke of lamskin, that my deserued
blame shal rebounde into the bosoms of my accusers.

Author. But I pray you (syr Simon) haue you had
free passadge in these your proceedings without
10 taking of sum notable foile.

Sir Simon. Lo now thou doest vrge mee either to
accuse my selfe vnto thee, or els to deny thy
request, but because I thinke that what so euer I
doo reueale vnto thee, shall be buried in the
15 sepulture of thy secretes, I wyll display certen
sinester practises that of late I put in vre, to
the vtter Shipwrack of my fame, and greeuous wounde
of my good reporte, which skarre lyeth so open vnto
the eyes of the world, that it is shot at with the
20 sharpe arrowes of many mens tongs, and yet I hope
to / saue it from festring by a plaster of new
inuention, as in the ende of my tale thou shalt

G2^v

15 sepulture] Q1a, Q1b; Sepulchre Q2

16 practises that of late] Q1a, Q1b; practises
of late Q2

21 saue it] Q1a, Q2; saue it saue it Q1b

heare.

Author. I couet fyrste to heare your practises
(the causes of your wound) and then your
chirurgicall polecie.

5 Sir Simon. Thou knowest that when I was in the
flower of my youth, I was well regarded of many men,
as well for my prompt wit in scoffing and
tauntinge as also for the comlynesse of my
personage, beinge of verye tall stature, and
10 actiue in many thinges, by meanes whereof I
became a seruitour, but I was sone wery of that
trade, and tooke on mee a habit of holynesse,
namely a friers coule, and was a painefull
preacher. Shortly after I cast of my coule and
15 tooke on me the office of priesthood. But within
a while, I lyked so ill of that function that I
shakt of my square cap and my tippet, and became
a practicioner of the ciuill law in the attire of
a temporal man, as though I had taken no orders at
20 all more then the .4. at which time I traded many
thinges, and cheefely in mineralles. But it is a

Belyke syr
Simon was
a long
lubber.

Syr simon'
a sercher
for al kinde
of mettals.

7 prompt] Q1a; promp Q1b, prompe Q2
12 and tooke on mee] Q1a, Q2; and tooke mee
Q1b
15 of priesthood] Q1a, Q2; of a priste hood
Q1b
20 .4.] ed.; .24. Q1a, Q1b, Q2; see
Commentary

worlde to see how promotions pricketh the minde of
 man, as in me may appeare a perfect pattern: for
 it so happened that a certaine Archdeacon in the
 Prouince of Tesremos dyed while I was at Slew a
 5 citie of the sayde Prouince, after whose death I
 toke new orders, and became a new olde priest
 againe, then I labored so effectually and /
 fisshed so finely, as wel with my golden hooke,
 as my glosing tongue, that at last I gat into my
 10 hands, not onely the saide Archedeaconrie of Slew,
 but also certein fat benefices in that same prouince,
 wherat the world smiled and spake of me much
 shame. But I bare out that with a brasen face,
 and deuised meanes to win newe credite, for the
 15 olde was so crakt and worme eaten rotten, that it
 was nought worth.

G3

Author. Truely syr Symon, I deeme it one of
 the most difficult matters in the worlde for a man
 to win newe credite in a place where the olde is
 20 so farre past as you haue described.

1 promotions] Q1a; promocion Q1b, promotion
Q2

4 Tesremos] Q1a, Q1b; M. Q2

4, 10 Slew] Q1a, Q1b; N. Q2

9 gat] Q1a, Q1b; got Q2

Syr Symon. Nay verely, I esteeme it no difficult matter. For by this meanes that I shal tell thee, I beare a greater countenance then euer I did. For I keepe iolly good cheere in my house, but not
 5 for eche poore knaue and euery rascal, or for the poore and impotent, but for lords, knights, esquiers, and gentlemen. And let them bring with them whom they list, yea, euen their verie dogs, Rug, Rig, and Risbie: yea, cut and longtaile,
 10 they shalbe welcome, and for this cause I am a companion among estates.

Sir Simons
Almes.

Author. But I think those men of honour and worship, vse you as men vse their water spaniels: that is, they make you their instrument to fetch
 15 and bring vnto them such commodities, as you by the corrupting of your conscience may compasse, and for your labour they spit in / your mouth, and make you their mocking stock behinde your back, and if it be so what new credite do you win
 20 hereby?

Sir Simon
is a
seruisable
spaniell.

G3^v

Sir Simon. It may be as thou sayest, but I haue not as yet perceiued it. But all this while I haue not told thee of one of my practises which

7 Sidenote: Q1b, Q2; omitted Q1a

13-14 Sidenote: Q1b, Q2; omitted Q1a
spaniell] Q2; spamell [sic] Q1b

sticketh more in my stomack then all the rest, the
wound whereof, though in time it may be cured, yet
I feare me the skar wyll remayne while I liue.

Wherefore, to vnlode my stomack of that chorasie,
5 I wyll vtter it vnto thee, as foloweth.

There is a verye honest man dwellinge neare
vnto a Towne called Dropmall in the Countrey where
my dignities are, which honest man was my very
friend in time of necessitie, who dwelleth on a
10 lyuing geuen vnto hym by an olde maister of his,
who was sumetimes Archdecon of the place that I
now possesse, and by my archdeconry I am now his
Landlorde, but oh how it greeued me to see so
swete a sop (as he enioyed) out of my dishe,
15 wherefore I somoned an assembly of my wits and
wiles together, and so deuised how to surprise
him by the practise of my professed art of
Adulation, wherin I vsed also deepe dissimulation,
which is a speciall branch of this art, and to
20 begin, I wroat vnto him a letter in effect

Another
mans liuing
was a great
eye sore to
Sir Simon.

7 Dropmall] Q1a, Q1b; D. Q2
10-11 his, who was sumetimes] Q1a; his,
sumetimes Q1b, Q2
12 archdeconry] Q1a; dignitye Q1b, Q2
13-15 Sidenote: Q1b, Q2; omitted Q1a
great] Q1b; greefe [sic] Q2
16 wiles] Q1a, Q1b; willes Q2

following. /

G4

My olde freind M. the sundrye good
 turnes that I haue receiued at your
 handes enforceth mee to studie how I may
 5 requite the same. And sith Fortune
 hath now aduanced mee to be your
 landlorde, I assure you, (if your
 lyuinge were not already on you
 bestowed) I wold endew you therewith
 10 in more ample manner, then did your
 olde maister, and perswade your selfe
 heerein that you shall finde mee as
 fast a friend vnto you, as any you
 haue in the world, whereof you may
 15 make proofe when you wyll. And
 because I make the lyke account of
 you, I am bolde to request the vse
 of your friendship at this time,
 which is, that you wil lende me one
 20 hundred powndes of money, towardes
 the charges that hath growne vnto
 mee by my late purchased promotions.

15 you wyll] Q1b, Q2; yon ~ [sic] Q1a
 22 by my late] Q1a, Q1b; by late Q2

Thus with hartie commendations I
 wyssh you well, from my house at
Slew, etc.

By your etc.

5 Author. Truely syr, your letter portendeth much
 Adulation, and yet peradventure you perfourmed
 your promise vnto him, and in so doying your wordes
 were friendly and not flattery.

Sir Simon. Indeede I performed the same with
 10 shame enow vnto my selfe, for he (ioyning / with
 another of my tenants) gratified my request, and I
 requited it in this maner: I refused to receiue
 my rent of him, because the forfaiture of his
 liuing, stode vpon the non paiment of his rent:
 15 willing him not to regarde the tendering thereof
 at the dayes and place limited, seing that not
 onely I was his very friend, but also endetted
 vnto him farre beyonde the value of my rent.

But hereby I see how God standeth with true
 20 meaning men, and frustrateth the wicked policies

G4^v

A man of
 good
 conscience
 as by this
 practise
 appeareth.

God prouideth
 for plain
 meaning men.

p.80.22- promotions. Thus...Slew, etc.] Q1a,
 p.81.3 Q1b; promotions, I wish you well, from
 my house at N. etc. Q2
 5 portendeth] Q1a, Q1b; protendeth Q2
 10 enow] Q1a, Q1b; enough Q2

of vnconscionable dealers to their shame, as in mee
 may appeare a notable example, for I intending to
 circumuent him with my subtiltie, was my selfe
 caught in the snare of shameful obloqui. For
 5 when I supposed that he had forfeited his said
 lease for want of tendering the rent, whereas (in
 very deede) he (vnknowen to me) had leafully
 tendered the same, I came vnto his house as Iudas
 did vnto his master and friend Christ with a
 10 trecherous kisse of egregious dissimulation, and
 brought with mee a troupe of my adherents. And at
 our comming, (albeit it was on a suddeine) we
 found such cheare and frindli entertainment, as
 right wel deserued great thankes, in recompence
 15 whereof, I sent the good man out of the waye by a
 trayne, and in his absence gaue possession of his
 house to another, which being knowen, all the
 countrey cryed against mee crucifige. And yet he
 (by his aboue specified wisdom) pre- / uented
 20 my pestilent wilnesse. And this is the scarre
 that I feare me I shal neuer cure.

A good
 turne wel
 requited.

H1

Author. Certes of all knaueries, coggings and

7 leafully] Q1a; lawfully Q1b, Q2

14-15 Sidenote: Q1b, Q2; omitted Q1a

dissimulations, I neuer heard the like, but I
 praye you haue you applyed no plaister vnto this
 so foule a wound, which I thinke stinketh so that
 it offendeth the sences of as many as knowe you
 5 or heare of you?

Syr Symon. Yes I haue a little molified the
 same with the oyntment of smooth words, saying
 vnto him that my meaning was to take it into my
 owne handes, and so to bestow it againe on him
 10 that thereby he might perceiue how well I loued
 him, but all this cannot stoppe the mouthes of
 the people, and therefore (as I tolde thee before)
 I cleue fast vnto the companye of worshipfull,
 trusting that in tyme, it wil be a scarfe to
 15 shadowe the scarre of my knauery.

A proper
 excuse to
 blear the
 eyes of
 fooles.

Author. Now to conclude with you (Syr Symon)
 I praye you what is the price of a good benefice
 in your countrey? for I knowe that you are both a
 Merchant and a factor for other chapmen.

20 Syr Symon. Ah sir, that is such a secrete as I
 list not reuele vnto you for doubt lest I be shent.
 But if thou wilt studie my arte, I wil be thy

A secret
 not to bee
 publicly
 knowen.

6-8 Sidenote: Q2; omitted Q1
 20-21 Sidenote: Q2; omitted Q1
 not] ed.; note Q2

reader, and then thou shalt both knowe the order,
and enioy the fruites thereof.

Author. Uerely Syr Symon, I do so / much
detest and abhorre the studye and practice of
5 that filthie science, that I will rather suffer
any worldly penurye, then be a follower of thy
sect, and nowe I cannot choose but declame against
all thy practices, as thou hast particularly
recited them vnto me. And first to begin with,
10 whereas thou hast acknowledged thy returne from
grauitie to knauery, from holynesse to holownesse,
from lyght to darknesse, from truth to lying, and
from sinseritie to flatterie, for this thy notable
apostacie, thou deseruest to be baffolde here on
15 earth, and to be enstalled the Archdeacon, or
rather Archdeuill of Plutos infernall court.

H1^v

A fit
preferment
for such a
chaplein.

Also where as thou hast confessed thy impudencie
in committing of euil, and bearing out the same
with a blushles brazen countenance, I assure thee,
20 the day wil come when thou shalt stand before the
tribunal seate of Christ, and all thy filthye
factes shalbe then layde before thy shamelesse
face, and penetrate the brasse thereof (if any

14-15 on earth] Q2; on the earth Q1

19 countenance] Q2; face Q1

there be) when thy owne conscience shal put thee
 in mynde of these wordes that thou hast often
 times preached, out of the Psalme: that is.

And vnto the vngodly sayde God, howe darest thou
 5 take my lawes in thy mouth where as thou hatest to
be reformed, for when thou sawest a theefe thou
consentedst vnto him, and hast layde downe thy
portion among the adulterers.

And also thou hast read Saint Paules rules /
 10 vnto Timothe, as touching the framing of his lyfe
 to his doctrine, and his woorkes to his wordes,
 that in the function of his ministerye might be
 found no fault. Then wilt thou saye, Oh that I
 had so directed my life by the lyne of Gods worde,
 15 that I might boldly and truely haue sayde with our
 Sauour Christ, Quis ex vobis potest me arguere de
peccato? But all to late shal it then be, except
 while thou hast space thou call for grace, and
 without dissimulation turne vnto God, whose eyes
 20 thou canst not bleare with all thy cunning in
 Adulation, because he is scrutator cordis, the
 searcher of the verye heart of man and wil not bee
 deceiued by any arte of glosing wordes etc. Nowe

H2

Man can not
 bleare the
 eyes of God.

3 Psalme: that is.] Q2; Psalme. ^ ^ Q1

18-19 Sidenote: Q2; omitted Q1

where as thou hast practised to be bolstred vp by
the countenance of worshipfull gentlemen, I must
needes note, that many noble men and gentlemen are
by thee and thy sect vehemently abused. For thou
5 hast acknowledged thy insinuation towards them, by
meanes whereof they commit credit vnto thee, and
such is thy wickednes, that whether they bee
enclyned to vertue or to vice, all is one to
thee: So that if they be couetouse, extortioners,
10 proude, voluptuous or blasphemers of Gods holy
name, they are not by thee rebuked, but such
shall dye in their owne sinne, and their blood
shal be required at thy hands, and also (as I
haue heard of thee) thou hast honest termes to
15 cloke these forenamed vices. / First, couetousnes
is thrift: extortion, good husbandrie: pryde is
clenlynesse: lecherie, a spurt of youth: and
swearing is lustinesse. etc.

Ezek.33

H2^v.Clenly terms
for filthy
faultes.

And as for simonye, it is but honest consideration,
20 whereby thou, and simple sir Iohn, with sir William
the weauer, and sir Thomas (but lately a Tinker)

-
- 12 Sidenote: Ezek. 33] Q2; ~ 32 Q1
16-17 Sidenote: Q2; omitted Q1
8 to vertue] Q1; to to [sic] ~ Q2
20 sir William] Q1; Sir W. Q2
21 sir Thomas] Q1; Sir T. Q2

with Saunce the seruing man, snatch vp the benefices
of the countrey. But (god be thanked) these
disorders are lyke to be reformed by the
prouidence of our noble Queene and her honorable
5 counsaile, with the Bishops and fathers of the
Church: and then shal Syr Symon be shaken of
from the presence of noble men, and men of
Authoritie, and trewe preachers placed in his
rome. And nowe to conclude with thy sinister and
10 execrable practise in the prouince of Tesremos,
whereof thou saiest thou art ashamed. Consider
the premisses, and liue hereafter like an honest
man (if thou canst) and that shalbe the best
plaister to cure that scarre, which otherwise wil
15 neuer be healed, and being once whole and sound
with continuance of that salue, thou maist then
boldly shewe thy face, which is, as yet so
blemished, and alwayes regard these wordes,
veritas non quaerit angulos. Truth seeketh out no
20 corners, nor searcheth for coulorable shiftes.

Vnmeet
Ministers
in the Church
of Christ.

God grant
this may
bee done
with spede.

2 of the countrey] Q1; in ~ ~ Q2
2-3 Sidenote: Q2; omitted Q1
9 rome] Q1; roome Q2
10 Tesremos,] Q1; M. Q2
19-20 Truth...shiftes.] Q2; omitted Q1
[20.1 FINIS. Q2 only]

The sixt dialogue betweene Pierce Pikethank,
dronken Dickon, dame Annat the
alewife, and the Author.

H3

Dickon.

Now fill the pot ostesse with liquor of life,
In steede of your payment faire wordes shalbe rife.

Annat.

Faire words makes fooles faine, the old prouerb doth say:
Such gwestes are best welcome when they go away.

- 5 Pierce Pikethanke. In faith Dickon this goeth
 very hard that we haue rackt and crackt our credit
 so long vntil it is not worth one pot of ale, and
 my throte is so dry, that a man may grate ginger
 on my tong.
- 10 Dickon. Well Pierce, as hard as the world goes,
 I trow we shal finde some shift or other to quenche
 the scorching heat of our parched throtes, with the
 best nippitatum in this towne, which is commonly
 called hufcap, it wil make a man looke as though
- 15 he had seene the deuill, and quickly moue him to
 call his owne father hooreson.

The alie
 knights
 retorick.

0.1 sixt] Q1; fifth Q2

13-14 Sidenote: Q1; omitted Q2

Pierce. This thy description of dagger ale,
 augmenteth my thirst vntill I taste thereof,
 wherefore I pray thee make haste to flatter my
 Ostesse in the best maner thou canst, and yet I
 5 dare ieobard my cappe to fortie shillings, thou
 shalt haue but a colde suite.

Dickon. I assure thee Pierce, our Ostesse /
 dame Annet is as friendly a wench as any is in
 this land, and she loueth a good fellow very wel,
 10 and hath holpen many a one in her dayes, that
 otherwise would haue don ful yil. I would all
 weomen were of her nature and condicions, for shee
 is both honest and liberall with great discretion.

H3^v

Annet. Go to you drunken knaue, that flatering
 15 face of thine shal cost me a glasse of dissembling
 water.

Dickon. What Ostes, did you heare mee? now I
 sweare by my honestye I thought you had bene
 farther of. But my good sweete ostes I pray you
 20 keepe in store your dissembling water for Pierce
 the promoter, and Crispin the counterfait, with

Take heed of
your oth.

5 ieobard] Q1; ieopard Q2
 17 Sidenote: Q2; omitted Q1
 20-21 Pierce the promoter] Q1; P. the Promoter Q2
 21 Crispin the counterfait] Q1; C. the
 Counterfait Q2

Milo the makeshift, and other of your daintye
 guesstes, for I poore Dickon wil thanke you more
 for one pot of ale of the ryght stampe, then for
 twentye your glasses of water.

5 Annet. I see wel Dickon thou art a good ale
 oratour, but I cannot pay the brewer with faire
 wordes, and that thou knowest.

Pierce. Truelye Ostes I was doutfull at my
 first cumming in to call you by the name of
 10 Ostes, for I rather supposed you to haue bene
 one of the maydens of the house, you looke so
 yong and smoth.

A shift to
 win some
 simple
 women.

Annet. Well honest man, I will take your worde
 for two or three pots of drinke. But as / for
 15 Dickon, I am too wel acquaynted with his
 condicions to geue him any credit.

H4

Pierce. How sayst thou Dickon to this?
 whether of vs two are better worthye of
 commendations for the Arte of Flatterye?

20 Dickon. Truelye Pierce, I perceiue that thou
 hast a verye good dexteritie in pleasing the
 humours of weomen, whose natures I see, are most
 affected with hearing commendations of their

Some women
 loue to bee
 counted
 yonge.

1 Milo the makeshift] Q1; M. the Makeshift Q2
 21-22 Sidenote: Q2; omitted Q1

youth, bewtie, and comely feature, with other the
lyke, in which subtilties it appeareth thou hast
perfect experience.

Pierce. Yea Dickon, thou and I are apte schollars
5 in the Eyghth liberall Science. And if there be
anye painter disposed to make a perfect portraiture
of two flattering knaues, he shal not neede to
seeke any further for his paterne then to vs.

Dickon. In deede as thou sayest, but the best
10 Artizan in Europe cannot depaint thee in thy ryght
kinde better then I my selfe can, but I wil omitt
the description of thy lyniaments, and display
thy conditions.

And to begin withal, thou art an egregious
15 flatterer, a deepe dissembler, a singular good
Bawd, a playn counterfayt, / an archerakehell, a
natural varlet, a knaue incarnate, and to conclude,
a passing pikethanke. Thou hast two faces vnder
one hood lyke Ianus, two hearts in one body like
20 Magus, two tongs in one head like Iudas, and

H4^v

The perfect
blazoning of
a knaue in
grain.

-
- 11 then I my selfe] Q1; then my selfe Q2
16 a playn counterfayt, an archerakehell] Q2;
a playn counterfayt, a priuie pykthank, an
archerakehell Q1
19 lyke Ianus] Q1; omitted Q2
19-20 like Magus] Q1; omitted Q2
20 like Iudas] Q1; omitted Q2

finally in all knauerie thou art incomparable, and
this is the right imblazure of thy condicions.

Pierce. Certes Dickon, thou makest mee right
proud of my excellencie in these commendable
5 qualities. Wherefore to requite thy curtesie, I
wil fulfil the old prouerb, muli mutuum scabunt,
and I wil shewe thee as in a glasse, both thy
proportion and thy laudable conditions. And
first I will begin at the crown of thy head,
10 which is so comely knauebald as the like is harde
to be founde, whereunto is ioyned a bewtiful
browe, much like vnto the forehead of a faire
Cowe, very well adorned with Oxe fethers of the
ryght stampe, and a litle beneth that, there
15 sitteth as it were in a chaire of estate a most
riche precious and glorious nose tipped with a
great bottel of brazile, garnished with Rubies,
Saphires and crincums, bewtified with orient
colours much like vnto scarlet or crimson veluet,
20 indented with motheaten maladies, which bewtiful
member of thine is circumvented with a flusshing

A description
of a proper
man.

6 scabunt] ed.; scabiunt Q1, Q2

7-8 Sidenote: Q2; omitted Q2

15 a most] Q1; and most Q2

fierie face, whereat a man may warme his handes in
the colde winter, and light a candle at any tyme,
with manye other commodities conteined in that
good face of / thine, and therewithall hath fixed
5 thereon a terrible tartarian beard, a notable
harbour for the crablouse. And to make speedy
dispatch of the rest, thou art whole chested in
the brest like an owle, an excellent back to cary
my lords ape, a grande lyrycumpanch like a mare
10 with fole, a bounsing buttoke of a cart lode, a
paire of left legges with the thighes downewarde,
and a goodly splaye foote iust the length of the
slouaines last. And now to thy properties, thy
vse is to counterfait thy self to be a mad mery
15 companion, and wilt not blush to place thy selfe
in euery mans companye, and taste of euery mans
pot. And if thou perceiuest the company to be
delighted with thy iestes, then art thou in thy
ruff, but if they be so wise as to mislyke of thy
20 saucinesse, then thou hast this subtile shift,
with olde drunken latine, which I haue often times
hard thee pronounce,

I1

Goodly
condicions
I warrant
you.

13 slouaines] Q1; slouens Q2
17-18 Sidenote: Q2; omitted Q1

Potus lusorum meretrices presbiterorum

Panis perfusus, cunctorum spectat ad vsus.

Also thou canst prate lyke a pardoner, and for thy
facilytie in lying, thou art worthy to weare a
5 whetstone in thy hat in stede of a brouch. Lo now
haue I playde the painter, by drawinge thy picture
in their right coulours.

Dickon. Wel Pierce, let vs now leaue our painting,
and fall to drinking, for when I haue well swilde
10 my soule, then am I a mate for all companies and a
master of our art.

Pierce. Thy counsaile is good, wherefore / let
vs tosse the can too and fro, with hay iolye
Ienkin I see a knaue a drinkyng. etc.

I1^v

15 Author. Although (gentle Reader) I may seeme
perhaps to offend thy modesty with this drunken
dialogue, yet I pray thee let me be rather
excused, because I swarue not much herein from the
vaine of Erasmus of Roterodame, (although far
20 beneth any comparison vnto hym) who vsed to place
pleasant pamphletes in the midst of serious and
graue matters, as well for the recreation of his

1 presbiterorum] Q1; Prespiterorum Q2

2 perfusus] Q1; perfesus Q2

Reader, as also to display and thereby to taunt the
 follies and trifling fantasies of all sorts of
 people. And now that these two drunken drudges,
 that glory so much in their iniquities are busy in
 5 their bibbinge, I will play the painters part
 indifferently for them both, desiring thee that I
 may herein use thy patience. The one of them,
 namely drunken Dickon, (under whom I comprehend
 all manner of Roisters, rakehelles, and
 10 drunkardes) is a saucy and malapert varlet, who
 useth verie broad iestings, as well with men of
 honour, as with meaner sorte, whom they tearme
 a mad merry knave. He taketh all floutes and bobs
 in good part, by means whereof he bobbeth manie
 15 others. Amonge the company of lusty swearers
 hee will outswear them all. And sumtimes hee
 will put on the habite of a foole, in which
 garment hee is receiued in, when wiser, and
 honest men are put backe, and because hee
 20 noteth that wise men take sport to see fooles in a
 rage, hee will counterfeit himselfe to be in a mad
 moode when he is nothing at all angry, hee is a

Such impudent
 counterfaires
 are to well
 used at manye
 mens Tables.

I2

3 these two drunken] Q1; these drunken Q2

7-9 Sidenote: Q2; omitted Q1

common cosoner, and a subtile shifter, the
 circumstances of which mischeuous practises, I
 wyll hereafter note in my seconde parte, and
 these are the branches of his Adulation that
 5 bringeth foorth most bitter fruite, of whiche
 kinde of dissemblers, let as many beware, as either
 feare God or regard their owne profit, for the
 plague of God is imminent ouer the place of their
 abode, and threatneth vengeance both vpon them and
 10 their fautors. Now as touchinge the other,
 (namely) Pierce pickthanke, his condition is to
 cloke his hollow harte, with a holy pretence, and
 his dissimulation is chieflye in matters of
 religion, although (in very deede) there is in him
 15 no more sincerytie then in an ape. Hee wyll come
 sumtimes vnto a Bysshop, and sumetimes to others,
 that hee thinketh to bee zelous in Relygion, and
 hath vnder his arme a new Testament, or a psalter,
 as though his speciall care, and onely studie were
 20 in the Scriptures, vnder which pretext hee beguileth
 both the wise and the learned. Hee will in their

A religious
dissembler.

7-10 profit, for....Now] Q1; profite. Now Q2
 10 Sidenote: Q2; omitted Q1
 20 in the Scriptures] Q2; on ~ ~ Q1

Such knaues
would bee
better
knowen.

I2^v

presence temper his talke with such a shewe of
godlynesse, as though hee were rapt vp into the
thyrde Heauen. Hee is a Sainct outwardlye and a
Deuyll inwardlye. And hee wyll seeme / to be
5 greatly griued in conscience, that papistrie
should beare such sway in mens harts, and that
such papistes (naming this man: or that) are not
straitly seene vnto and sharplye punished, and
wyll pray God to preserue such good men as they
10 are, vnto whom he talketh, as by whom Gods true
relygion is aduanced and errorr suppressed, etc.
With these and the like practises hee winneth
fauour and beneuolence among the protestants.

Then he hath an old portas, or some such
15 booke in store, and therwith he commeth vnto them
that hee knoweth to be of the olde stamp, and
frameth his tale to this effect.

A good syr (saith he) the great anguish that
I beare in my conscience, enforceth me to seeke
20 for the setlynge and satisfaction of the same at
your handes, or sume such godlye learned man, as I
know to be of vpright iudgement in the scriptures,
the true interpretation whereof hath beene

1-3 Sidenote: Q2; omitted Q1
knowen] ed.; hnowē [sic] Q2

wrested and peruertered by the professors of this new religion. I see, and am sory to thinke vnto what penurye the worlde is brought since the ouerthrow of Abbais, to the great impouerishment of this
 5 relme, and what a sort of skipiackes are now crept into the places of auncient and graue fathers, by whom the holy sacramentes are nothing at all sacramentally vsed, contrary to the institutions of the catholyke church of Rome, our holy mother
 10 the spouse of Christ. etc. With these and the like / words he is a deepe dissembler in relygion. I3
 And also to pike thanks and profit at all mens hands, he can frame himselfe to feede al mens humors, so cunning is hee in this filthy Art of
 15 Flatterie, from which kinde of dissemblers, and al others, God shield vs, and sende vs his grace, that wee may embrace the honest and godly retinew of Lady Truth, and shake of all such flatterers and dissemblers, as haue hithervunto peruertered the
 20 natures of men in these our daies.

4 Abbais] Q1; Abbies Q2

9-10 mother the spouse of Christ. etc. With]
 Q1; Mother. With Q2

The seauenth dialogue betweene Diogenes, and Vlpianus.

13^v

Wherin is expressed vnder the person of the Author,

the simplicitie of suche as thinke the court to

preferre all that flock vnto it, which

0.5 after experience had therof, is

found an vnfit place for

simple persons of

grosse education.

Diogenes.

What new delight hath rapt thy minde

my tumbling tub to shun:

Hath franticke folly woue the web

that foolish fancy spun?

5 Doth carefull court ackoy thy minde

where dangers dayly dwell

To loth the fieldish quiet lyfe

that whilom lykt thee well?

Expresse therefore the cause to mee

10 whom friendship driues to doubte

Least thou be causer of thy woe

by seeking Fortune out,

Whose coy conseights I saw full well

0.1 seauenth] Q1; sixth Q2

Diogenes
was an olde
Courtier.

while I in court abode
Wherby my old delight renewd
to liue in fields abroadē.
When Alexander mighty king
5 in Macedon did raine
He won me to dame Fortunes court
by lure of pleasant traine
Where I might view the vayne delyghts
that vaded euery day
10 I saw and smylde how some styll gapte /
for gayne of golden pray.
Which was in deede a harmefull hooke,
with pleasant poysoned bayte:
For beeing had spight spurnd a pace
15 on his downefall to wait.
On fauour alwaies dyd attende
with fayned friendly face
The flatterer with cap and knee
to sue for Fortunes grace.
20 But secret spight stood styll aloofe
to hatch his hatefull broode,
And open malice kept a coyle,
with mad and ragyng moode.

I4

Enuy
pursueth
promotion.

1-2 Sidenote: Q2; omitted Q1
16 alwaies] Q1; alwaye Q2

These and a thousande troubles more

in Fortunes court I vewd:

I lothd to drynk those pleasant dregs

that danger dayly brewde.

5 At last as I lay on my couch

a sely mouse I saw

That crept out of her homlye nest

to feede her hungry maw.

And hauyng fed, she tournde agayne

10 with well contented mynde

Which lesson was a lore to mee

from courtlyke state to wynde.

Then to my tub I turne agayne

where I am Lorde and King,

15 A castell meete for such a Prince

wherto I closely clyng.

My homly house no eye sore is,

my landes none doth desire,

My fall no man seekes for my wealth

20 I hang not by the brier.

And thus I dare be bolde to speake, /

as trueth shall offer cause:

Diogenes
vsed a Tub
in steede of
his house.

I4^v

6 sely] Q1; silly Q2

17-18 Sidenote: Q2; omitted Q1

22 offer] Q2; after Q1

And yet I lyue in safeties seat

free from the tyrants iawes.

Wherefore friend Fulwell leaue thy gad

and liue with me in rest:

5 No lyfe is lyke a quiet hart

lodgd in contented brest.

Vlpianus. No new delight of courtly ioyes

hath drawne me from thy loue,

Ne sugred bane of Fortunes toies

10 may once my minde remoue.

To learne experience was the cause

that I from thee dyd wende,

Skill is a poole thats bottomlesse

and wisdome hath no ende.

15 Insatiable knowledge is

a burning quenchles fire:

Knowledge
is
vnsaciabile.

The more experience geues me drink

the more I styll desire.

How oft hast thou with scornfull tong,

20 dame Fortunes name exprest:

Which made me long to see the wight

whom thou dost so detest.

9 bane] Q1; band Q2

15-16 Sidenote: Q2; omitted Q1

18 I] Q2; they Q1

That I might say by sight of eye,
 as eke by hearesaies talke,
 That Fortune is a vading flowre
 a withred fruteles stalke.
 5 This, this I say sent me to court
 where I might see and learne,
 To know the dusty chafe from corne
 and good from yll discerne.
 There saw I wonders very strange
 10 that asketh time to tell, /
 They think there is no other heauen, K1
 that ay hath bene in hell.
 When thou and I in whelmed tub
 from stormes in couert lay:
 15 I thought no harbour like to that,
 for night and rayny day.
 Our rootes me seemde was sweete repast,
 and iunkets passing fine:
 For hunger is a noble sauce,
 20 and thirst makes water wine.
 A wodden dish is worthy plate,
 where mettals are vnknowne:

2 by hearesaies] Q2; of ~ Q1

7 chafe] Q1; chaffe Q2

In steede of goblet, nature gaue

vs handes that are our owne.

But when I came to courtly traine,

then might my eyes behold:

5 Such buildings braue, such costly robes,

such plate of glittering gold:

Such gems and iewels of great price,

such fashions of attire:

Such flaunting dames whose beautie braue,

10 would kindle cupides fyre.

Such iustling to beare swing and sway,

Note.

such clyming to the top:

And some I saw did reape the corne,

that neuer sowde the crop.

Diogenes. And might not these enflame thy mind

16 in courtly troupe to stay?

Vlpianus. No no, but lend thy eares a while,

And so shall I display,

The cause that I am farre vnfit,

20 to serue in Fortunes traine: /

3 came] Q2; come Q1

8 fashions] Q2; fation Q1

11 Sidenote: Q2; omitted Q1

16 courtly] Q1; courty Q2

Whereby my fates enforceth me
to clownish field againe.

As kinde forbids the Larke to swim
and fishe to flye in ayre:

5 So I in court deuoyde of hope
may liue in deepe dispaire.

When first I came to Fortunes court,
with hope of happie speede:

I sawe the fruite like Tantalus,

10 but might not thereon feede.

I smeld the rost, but felt no taste,
my hunger to augment:

I might beholde the fragrant wines
and followe by the sent.

15 I sawe the ladies galant gownes
with many a garde and dent,
And courtiers for their ladies sakes
in costly colours went.

The facion of my threadbare robes,

20 no courtier did desyre:

But eche one said a ragged colte
may serue a scabbed squire.

And thus I kilde a courtier then
for courting any more:

A hungry
plague to
see meate and
drinke and
yet to starue.

I sawe the snare and scape the traine,
 and hauing learnde this lore,
 I can exhort my compires nowe
 that are for court vnapt,
 5 To leaue the life thats linkt in care,
 with troubles dayly wrapt.

Diogenes. Then shewe I praye thee what thou sawest,

And what thou didst obserue:
 Tis long since I of court had viewe, /
 10 and courtly fasshions swerue.

K2

Declare to me how lustie lads
 dame Fortunes grace doth winne:
 Prepare thy tongue, my eares are bent
 to heare thy tale begin.

Vlpianus. To shewe of robes the sundry sutes

16 and fashions very strange:
 Would be to tedious to describe,
 for why they dayly change.
 And what was vsde but last yere past,
 20 is now so olde and stale:
 That countrey clownes do buy them nowe
 in court they haue no sale.

And that which now in court is worne,
growes dayly out of vre:

A merye
world for
Taylors.

The taylor that can make new guise,
of currant coyne is sure.

5 But this I chiefly did obserue,
Frenchemen haue framde such tooles:
That now french nets are cast on neckes
to catch vp English fooles.

French nets
are to catch
englishe
fooles.

But let it passe, I spurne it not,

10 Let eche one vse their vaine:

These vanities I wil omit,
and turne my tale againe
Vnto the woonders that I sawe,
by practise put in vse:

15 But first to honest courtiers I
wil frame my iust excuse.

Whome I do not in any poynt
meane to offend at all:

Though galbackt Bayard winch when he

20 is rubd vpon the gall. /

K2^v

I sawe where Aristippus stoode,
fast by a lordings syde:

Aristippus
was a good
Courtier.

1-2 Sidenote: Q2; omitted Q1
5-6 Sidenote: Q1a, Q2; omitted Q1b
20 rubd vpon] Q1; rubbed on Q2
21-22 Sidenote: Q2; omitted Q1

Who in his taunting tatling tongue
 reposde a iolly pryde.

He finely framde his fyled talke,
 the hearers to delyght,

5 Smoth wordes I see doth beare great sway
 and are of mickle might.

Eche man salutes him by his name,
 and he doth them embrace:

Words are good cheape, and tis small cost
 10 to shewe a friendly face.

His new found science in the court
 did trueth oft times betray:

And who but Aristippians
 might beare the bell away.

15 At last he me espyde by chaunce,
 and thus to mee gan say:

What? olde acquaintance? what affaires
 hath thee to court now brought:

What winde driues thee? and whats the cause?
 20 that thou the court hast sought.

If any thing in mee doth rest,
 that may thy fansie feede:

Some men call
 this, holy
 water of the
 Court.

12 oft] Q1; of Q2

19 driues] Q1; driue Q2

19-20 Sidenote: Q2; omitted Q1

Expresse thy mynde, aske and receiue,

But speake and thou shalt speede.

I gaue him thanks, but yet I thought

these goodly golden wordes

5 Would proue but winde of slender weight,

and bushes voide of burdes.

I calde to mynde an olde sayd sawe,

which I haue not forgot:

Tis wisdom to take time in time,

10 and strike whyle thyron is whot. /

When Pig is proferd, ope the poke,

K3

my Nurse taught me that tricke:

My poke was open by an by,

my hammer was very quick.

15 Faire sir (quod I) your friendly wordes

emboldneth mee to craue

that I (through you) in Fortunes court

some simple place may haue.

Small entertainment serues my turn,

20 so it be ought at all:

Poore men are pleasde with potage ay

til better vittailles fall.

And you that earst was as I am

sit now in Fortunes lap:

Make frinds of fortune while you may:

men say shee hath a trap,

wherin her darlings oft times falles,

when frowning cheere beginnes,

5 First point of hawking is holde fast,

he laughes they say that winnes.

Tush tush (quod he) thou witles wight,

thou spendest winde in waste:

First learne the skill to flatter fine,

10 and then thou maist be plaste.

Diogenes that doting drudge

hath drawne thee to his scoole,

His preignant wit is yll applyde,

he proues him selfe a foole.

15 He calles mee Dionisius dogg,

for fawning flatterie fine,

But he like dog doth snar and grinne

at this wise trade of myne.

If he would turne his taunts and quips,

20 to pleasant mery iest, /

Hee might in fauours grace remaine,

and flaunt it with the best.

Fortunes
giftes eb
and flow.

K3^v

1-2 Sidenote: Q2; omitted Q1

8 winde] Q2; wine Q1

So thou that yet hast not shakte of

that sottish kinde of skill:

Must smooth thy tonge, and oyle thy wordes,

and finely file thy quill:

5 Then come to court, and I protest

thou shalt haue my good will.

Ah sir (quoth I) I see right well

my sute growes very colde,

All promises are not performde

10 All glistering is not golde.

And wordes of course haue coorse effect,

Experience teacheth so:

Deedes sink, and ly at lowest ebbe,

while golden words doo flo.

15 And sith no meane but flattery may

saue mee from fortunes scorns:

I list not seeke a pleasant rose,

among so many thorns.

As good such frends were lost as found

20 That helpeth not at neede:

Of thousand losses tis the least,

Thus wee weare soone agreed.

As good is a
foe that
hurteth not,
as a frend
that helpeth
not.

1 So thou that yet] Q2; So thou thou
[sic] that it Q1

11 course...coorse] Q1; ~ ...course Q2

14 flo] Q1; flowe Q2

21 tis] Q2; is Q1

Diogenes. Ah sir, and sawest thou Aristip,
 that spaniell of currs kinde?
 Who hunts ech haunt where gaine doth grow,
 and turneth with the winde?
 5 A smelfeast Gnato for his gut
 to vouch ech Thrasos bragge:
 Whose wordes are free to promise much,
 but bound vp is his bagg.
 His filthy foule philosophy /
 10 more frindship hath obtaynde, K4
 Then truthfull tongue and trustie heart
 that neuer was distainde.
 Much like the false and wylye Fox
 that whilome had espyde
 15 A Rauen with her praye in mouth,
 where at the Fox enuide.
 And cast within his craftie minde,
 how he might her beguile:
 From top of tree where Rauen sate,
 20 at last he framde this wile.
 O noble birde whose heauenly hue,
 with ioyful eyes I see:

The Foxes
 flattering
 Oration to
 the Rauen.

8 is] Q1; in Q2

14 had] Q1; hath Q2

And muse that fame hath forgd such tales,

And fowle vntruthes of thee.

For flying fame, nay, lying fame,

reportes thee to be blacke,

5 But sure I see thy stately corpes,

no beautie braue doth lacke.

The loftie oke thou makst thy pertch,

the haughty towre thy seat:

Thy mightie wings with princely pompe,

10 the fleggie ayre doth beat.

Thy port doth passe the Eagles lookes,

I know ful well thy kinde:

Thy race is sure heroicall,

thou art of noble minde.

A good
Orator.

15 And if thy song be like thy shape,

the beasts would sure reioyce:

To see that comely corps of thine,

and heare so sweete a voyce.

The Rauen then puft vp with pride,

20 her prayes to augment:

Began to syng, The pray fel downe, /

The Fox had his intent,

K4^v

And laught to scorne the foolish birde,

that thought her selfe so braue:

2 fowle] Q1; foule Q2

13 Sidenote: Q1a, Q2; omitted Q1b

Euen so playes flatterers when they catch
the thing that they would haue.

But now proceede, what sawest thou els,

It is no newefound cast:

5 Tis common now for fooles to feede,
when wiser men do fast.

Vlpianus. If I should shewe what sleights I sawe

dame Fortunes grace to gaine:

would trye my wittes and me procure,

10 displeasure for my paine.

Diogenes. Hast thou such feare of Fortunes frownes

or of her whirling wheele?

Who since thou were three horseloues hygh

hast tumbled at her heele?

15 Dread not at all except thou meane

to learne her fawning skill:

Whose flattering cup is fild with wine

that thirst enforceth still.

Vlpianus. Nay, nay, tis time that we go in,

4 no] Q2; n& [sic] Q1

7 I sawe] Q2; a ~ Q1

to take some small repast

My limmes wax weake, my tongue is faint,

Pigges are content with mast.

The courtly fare hath fed my eyes,

5 but belly had no share:

Nothing at all no sauour hath,

nothing is homly fare.

I know thy storehouse is not voyde

of rootes or some such dish. /

10 Sharp hunger is a noble sauce

L1

for rootes, for flesh or fish.

Diogenes. Yet tel I pray thee, foundst thou not

one faithfull friend at all:

Whereby some hope of better hap

15 in tyme to thee might fall.

Ill is his chaunce, worse is that place

where friendship none is found.

Vlpianus. Yes verely one friend I had

to whome I am much bound.

Diogenes. But was he of habilitie

21 by Fortunes fawning grace?

9 or some] Q2; of some Q1

Vlpianus. Dame Vertue gaue him worships seat
in spight of Fortunes face.

Diogenes. Faine would I know that friendly wight,
I long to heare his name.

Vlpianus. Some men would deeme I flatter him,
6 if I should write his fame.

Diogenes. Truth may be blande but neuer shamde,
Truth needes not feare her foe:
In truthfull praise a man may speake,
10 Truth needes no glosing sho.
A lying flatterer ay is forste
his forged tale to hyde,
With cloke of fained eloquence,
for feare he be espyde. /

15 But why shouldest thou refraine to speake L1^v
the trueth that thou hast tryde.
Wherefore thou maist imparte to mee
his name and worthinesse:

Vlpianus. Then marke my wordes, and couertly
20 the same I wil expresse.

E rnest he is in zeale of sacred trueth,
D ebonaire eke, and friend to euery wight:
M odest and meeke, a father vnto youth,
V ertue to further is his whole delight.

A faithfull
 friend to the
 Author.

5 N o nigard of the wealth that God him sent,
D espysing pryde, and with his state content.

H is heart doth harbour giftes of heauenly grace,

A mong the poore a pattron of defence:

R ight louingly doth learned wightes embrace,

10 M akes small accoumpt of currant quoynd pence.

A pacient man in suffring any wrong,

N ot rendring yll againe in deede or tong.

Diogenes. Ful wel I nowe perceiue his name,

and haue obserude his praise:

15 Such frinds in whome such vertues are

be rare in these our dayes. /

The eyghth dialogue betweene Tom Tapster,
Miles makeshift, Wat Wyly, and
the Author.

L2

Tom Tapster.

You are welcome gentlemen
will it please you to go neere.

Author.

Such welcome I lyke not
that bought is too deere.

5 Miles Makeshift. Sir I perceiue right well
that you haue bene accustomed with the flattering
entertainment of Tapsters, vnto whom a mans purse
is alwayes better welcome then his person.

Wat Wyly. In good sooth Tapster, if thou knewest
10 how weak our purses are, thou wouldest geue vs but
feeble entertaynment.

Tom Tapster. I see you are merye gentlemen and
disposed to iest, but if it be as you saye, you shal
(notwithstanding) haue so much credit at my handes
15 as your dinner and horsemeat amounteth vnto, for
you seeme to be honest gentlemen.

Miles makeshift. Of our honestie we will make
 no great vaunts, but that we are gentlemen, and
 cleane gentlemen, we will not denye, for I suppose
 we three cannot make a stocke of two pence. But
 5 I pray thee whereby dost thou deeme vs to be
 gentlemen. /

Tom Tapster. Sir it is a gentle tapsters
 curtesie, generally to salute all men by that
 tytle, which lesson I first learned in the Scoole
 10 of Adulation, in which Art I haue so profited that
 I am now a publike reader thereof: and by my
 absolute knowledge herein, I can both proue you a
 gentleman, and also emblaze your armes.

L2^v
 The tapsters
 curtesie.

Wat Wyly. Thou art a gentlemanlike tapster.

15 Miles makeshift. I warrant you he was neuer
 begotten without the consent of a gentleman.
 But tapster, set forwards our dinner, and if we
 lack money, I wil promis thee by the faith of a
 gentleman, to pay thee when I come hither next.

A good guest
 I warrant
 you.

20 Tom Tapster. I take your word, you shal lacke
 no good cheere. exit.

Author. Lo here is cretensis cum cretense, a
 cogging knaue with a foysting varlet wel met: he

with his herhaltrie and you with your hemphaltrie,
I trust anon wil make a good medley.

Wat Wyly. Hold thee content fond fellow, and
giue vs leue, and so shal thy charges be borne,
5 for thou hast oft heard say, that fallere fallentem
non est fraus to deceiue a deceiuer is no disceit.
And he that with his flatterie deceiueth a thousand
in a yere is now like to be mated with his
matches, hold thou thy tongue and obserue the
10 euent. No more wordes, for now he commeth in.

Tom Tapster. Gentlemen, I pray you haue
pacience yet a litle while, and it wil not be long
vntil your dinner be redie.

Wat wyly. No hast but good, better is a litle
15 ta- / riance then a raw dinner. But in the
meane season I pray thee tel vs what newes is now
stirring.

L3

Tapsters are
maisters of
newes.

Tom tapster. I haue in my taphouse both stale
and fresh newes: yea, and if neede require, I
20 haue there a stamp to quoyne newes at all tymes.

Miles make shifte. I pray thee tel vs new
newes and trew newes.

5 fallentem] Q1; fallentum Q2

16-17 Sidenote: Q2; omitted Q1

21-22 new newes and trew newes] Q2; new and trew
newes Q1

Tom tapster. Sithens you are so griedie of
newes, I wil tel you such as wil seeme wonderful,
and incredible. First, I geue you to weete, that
there is betwene Sir Morpheus and mee, verie
5 great and familiar acquaintance, by meanes wherof,
we conferre together sumtimes at noone, as wel as
at midnight, and being this last night past in a
deuout dreame, he led me vp by the hand into a
pleasant paradise, where I might behold wonderful
10 visions: first I saw how Iupiter sate in his
throne of maiestie calling all the other gods to
accompt of their offices and ministeries, before
whose royall seate, the petie gods and goddesses
endeuored with al diligence to curry fauour by
15 sundry strang and vnacustomed sleights: the
terrible and wreckful god Mars, whose heart was
whylom bent altygether to conquer whole monarchies
and empires, as an infest enemie vnto peace and
tranquilitie, hath nowe set a side his warlike
20 instruments, and is become a suter to Ioue, to
liue at ease, preferring quiet before conquest,
and gold before glorie, he hath shaken of his

Tom Tapsters
dream.

harneis, and taken into his armes in stead of
 armour, the beautifull Lady Venus, whereat the
 cunning smith Vulcan taking indignation (bi his
 exquisit skil) enclosed them together in a net of
 5 wier / for the which, this noble craftesman was
 had in great admiration among the Gods and wel
 commended to Iupiter him selfe. And when Vulcan
 had playde this pleasant pageant, in came Appollo
 (as it were vpon the stage) to solace Ioue with
 10 some kinde of adulation, wherby I see full well
 that my science is practised euen among the Gods.
 Then came in sir Cupid like a carpet knight, and
 with smiling countenance and smooth wordes,
 allured Appollo to resigne the scepter of his
 15 prudence and his learned laurel crowne vnto Ioue,
 whereby to discharge him selfe of a great
 burthen, and also to please Iupiter with his
 excellent skill of musicke, vnto which fond
 request Appollo eftsones applyed, to his perpetuall
 20 obloqui. Howbeit his incomparable harmonie
 founde suche fauour with the father of the Gods
 and the rest that his change chaunced to the
 multiplication of his gayne, though to the

L3^v.

diminution of his credit. Thus Appollo became a
 minstrel, and many of the rest daunced after his
 pype. Then came in Mercurius in the habite of a
 trauayler, and he tolde vnto Ioue wonderfull
 5 newes and monstrous lyes, namely Englishe lyes,
 French lyes, Spanish, Dutche, Italian, Irish,
 Welshe, Romaine, Polonian, Moscouian, Babylonian,
 and Turkish lyes. And to conclude, he could set
 out all maner of lyes, wyth al maner of colours.
 10 But it is a world to see how / acceptably his
 newes were receiued, and to consider how the eares
 of gods are delyghted with vayne fables, and
 forged fantasies. But here began the sporte:
 There stode a farre of, a simple sot named U.F.
 15 and when he saw how Mercurie was faoured for his
 fables, and commended for his cogging: perswaded
 him selfe, that he by speaking the trueth should be
 right wel regarded. And euen on the suddeine
 russhed into the place, as though his .q. was then
 20 to speake, with malepart and saucie boldnes,
 vttered these wordes following.

He that hath
 trauayled so
 far, as none
 so far as hee,
 may lye by
 authority.

L4

3-5 Sidenote: Q2; omitted Q1

19 .q.] Q1; quill Q2

O mightie Ioue sith licence thine

to speake is now assignde,

And pardon free proclaimde, geue leue

for me to speake my mynde.

5 Fooles bolts (men say) are soonest shot

yet oft they hit the marke:

Blind Bayard is as sure of foote

as Palfrey in the darke.

On stage who stands to play his parte

10 eche frowne may not him daunt:

Some playe to please, some laugh, some weepe,

Some flatter, some do taunt.

But he whose parte tends to this ende,

fond fansies toyes to scoole:

15 Best welcom is when he resines

the scaffolde to the foole.

Lo now the foole is come in place

though not with patcht pyde cote,

To tel such newes as erst he sawe

20 within cocklorels bote. /

The Rowers cryde, to Barge to Barge,

the passengers make hast:

The tyde is turnde, and euery foole

in his degree is plaste.

25 With lustie gaole and laboring oars

the barge hath wonne the porte,

Where Iupiter doth raigne and rule,
 within a stately Fort.
 Eche one deuisde which way were best
 In fauours grace to growe:
 5 Some crake, some brag, some flaunt it out,
 Some crouch and creepe ful low.
 With cap and knee some sue and serue,
 some gape for others falles:
 Some snatch the fruite before rebound,
 10 some gnawe on tastlesse shalles.
 Some fish and catch a Frog at last,
 yet feede on better hope:
 Some sting their hands with nettles keene,
 whyle they for flowers grope.
 15 Some sing, some daunce, some pype, some play,
 and all for fauours grace:
 Thus greedie gaine makes men beleue,
 they runne in endlesse race.
 What desperate hazarde is so harde
 20 that makes the yonker doubt:
 What way so wylde where gaine doth growe,
 that worldlyng fyndes not out.

10 gnawe] gnaw Q2; grawe Q1

19 is] Q2; in Q1

What hole so small in writings olde,
 that cannot now be found:

But lucre and large conscience makes
 Some holes where words be sound.

5 Ah, Conscience is a banisht wight,
 with garments all to torne: /

But though she sit in homely raggs,
 she laughes some robes to scorne.

M1

She smiles at tyrants that turmoile
 10 to make their will a lawe:

Whose climbing minds by right or wrong
 woulde hold all men in aw.

Refusing fame and chusing shame
 by hunting Mammons chace:

15 A fig (say they) for good report,
 let me haue Fortunes grace.

Oh Ioue, are these things hid from thee,
 nay, nay, thou seest them all:

But winking wisdome is not blind
 20 to turne the tossed ball.

Thou seest that sundry sorts of men,
 by flattrye do aspire:

To guerdon great, when trusty trueth,
 hath hatred for her hyre.

Thou seest (I know) the subtile sleights
 that wordly wights deuise:
 Who currieth fauour currantly,
 is onely counted wise.
 5 Alas how is relygion vsde
 to serue the turne at neede:
 Whose cloke hides sundry hypocrytes
 that many errours breede?
 For why tis now a common trade,
 10 when refuge all is past:
 To take relygion for a shield,
 a shift to serue at last.
 Oh Ioue if thou wilt ransack some
 that vaunt of her decrees
 15 They wyll appeare but flanting leaues
 of withered fruitlesse tres. /
 To flatter Princes many men
 apply them to the time:
 They force no whit relygions fall,
 20 so they aloft may clime.
 Now mighty Ioue, looke well about
 all things are in thy sight:

M1^v

2 wordly] Q1; worldly Q2
 14 vaunt] Q2; want Q1
 15 flanting] Q1; flauntinge Q2

The touchstone tries, all is not gold,

that glistereth faire and bright.

Euen at thy elbow euery day,

such deepe dissemblers stand:

5 As well deserue by rightfull doome,

to be exilde thy land:

Loe thus I haue exprest my mind,

and shewd foorth my intent:

My part is playd, and I am pleasede

10 so that I be not shent.

Miles Makshift. Mary sir this was a very saucy and presumptuous foole, for not onely his boldnesse in preasing him selfe to that place was worthy of reproche: but the subtiltie of his
15 metaphoricall phrases deserued iust punishment.

Wat Wily. Thus wee may see what madnesse it is to permit fooles freely to speake their mindes, but much more to suborne them in their taunting talkatiue veines, whose tonges are alwaies bent
20 to shoote their doltish boltes at other mens vices, and yet see not their owne follies, but I hope to see the day that such cokscomes shall be

restrayned, for they are infest enemies vnto the
noble facultie of Flattery. /

Tom Tapster. Uerely, if you had heard his
wordes, and behelde his gestures, you woulde haue
5 wondered at his impudencye, for besydes that his
speech, which I haue recited vnto you, he rayled
and raged at the egregious flatterie vsed among
the Gods and in Iupiters court, not sparinge any
state or degree. And he would oft times
10 attribute great commendations vnto Cornelius
Agrippa, for his displaynge of courtiers in his
booke de vanitate scienciarum.

Miles Makeshift. Well, well, gentle Tapster,
let vs now leaue to talke any more of that daw
15 and of his doctrine, and supplye the time with
more necessary matter, wherefore sithens thou art
a publyke reader in the science of Adulation, I
pray thee reade a lecture of that arte for our
instruction.

20 Tom Tapster. I graunt your request, and for
the better explication and vnderstandinge of the
matter, you must imagin your self to be the Lord,
vnto whom I read this lecture.

Miles Makshift. Be it as thou hast sayde, now
shew forth thy learning to mee thy Lorde and
maister.

Tom Tapsters lecture.

As flying fame with golden trompe,
5 hath sent thy bruse abroad:
So bounden duety by deserts
bids me my minde vnloade.
Thy hauty port, thy heauenly gifts,
thy line of noble race: /
10 Thy passing praise, thy happy state,
makes all men ioy thy cace.
As one who for his cuntreys wealth,
by fate was first ordaynd:
Oh happy soyle whose lucky lot
15 so rare a gem hath gaind.
But whether are our ioyes more great
in hauing such a wight:
Or els our griefe when sisters three,
shall worke their yrefull spight.
20 And as both heauen and earth are bent
thy honour to procure,

M2^v

So prudence thine (O noble Lord)

must cause the same endure.

But by thy leaue (O maister mine,)

I see and sigh withal:

5 That bownty should beare such a sway

as to procure thy fall.

For thou (my lord) with princely pomp

thy table doest maintaine,

A friend to all saue to thy selfe,

10 but how may this remayne.

Thy purs is open to the poore,

Their naked lymmes to cloke:

Like lords thy tennants liue at ease

free from all seruil yoke.

15 If in the ende thy state decay,

ech man bewailes the case,

Take time, in time, so feareles thou

maist spit in Fortunes face.

And to begin, first cut thy troupe,

20 and traine of seruing men,

Where two or three may serue the turne,

what shouldst thou do with ten? /

But ten times ten on you depende

M3

and by your purse maintaind:
 Leaue of my Lord, as good as you
 that pomp hath now refraynd.
 Imploy the Court with dillygence
 5 in presence of the prince:
 Whence profit growes, and fauour springs
 though mumbling lobcok wince.
 Break vp houskeeping and your troupe,
 geue pasports to your traine:
 10 In court two wayters and a page
 will serue while you remaine.
 Againe in Court such cheats do chance
 as causeth gaine to grow:
 What neede I name the order how
 15 sith you your selfe do know.
 If neede require that you appeare
 in presence of the king:
 When as it shall expected bee,
 that you a traine must bring,
 20 Your tenaunts are good handsome hines,
 when badged blew cotes on,
 So may you muster lustely
 with Simkin, Hob and Iohn.

A warme
 seruise I
 warrant you.

6 Whence profit] Q2; What ~ Q1
 22-23 Sidenote: Q2; omitted Q1

And he poore swad, wil willingly

on cote bestow the cost:

His best cart horse wil make good shift,

to ride with you in post.

5 And were not these things better saued,

then prodigally spent

Though you spend all, yet clownish crew,

wyll neuer be content.

And when continuance in the court

10 do breede desyre of change, /

With Haukes and Spaniels then you may

M3^v

about the countrey range.

Now here, now there, among your friends

who will you entertaine:

15 Plaine cuntry houses sumtimes serues,

so that you bring no traine.

Masparson sumtimes hath in store,

The Diuell
sendeth such
counsaylors.

a capon or some such:

Pinch on the parsons side my Lorde,

20 the whorsons haue to much.

14 who] Q1; how Q2

15 sumtimes serues] Q1; sumtimes hath in
store Q2

17 Masparson] Q1; Mas parson Q2

17 sumtimes hath in store] Q1; sumtimes
serues Q2

17-18 Sidenote: Q2; omitted Q1

And when you list to lye at ease,
 go to some proper towne:
 So shall you not be charged oft
 to feede Sim Swad the clowne.
 5 Your stable then your own turne serues,
 your table may be small,
 Few dishes fraight with litel meat,
 to fyll the boorde with all.
 I trow your tenantes wyll prouide,
 10 both capon, pig, and goose:
 Beare them in hand their coppis naught
 and that the lease is loose.
 So shal you haue prouision brought,
 to serue you al the yeare:
 15 Yea sir, let tenants looke to that
 for markets now be deare.
 And though your noble auncetors
 were cleane voide of the skill:
 That doth belong to husbandry,
 20 the greedy barne to fill.

6 table] Q1; stable Q2
 7 fraight] Q1; fraught Q2
 8 the boorde] Q1; thee boarde Q2
 11 coppis] Q1; coppies Q2
 15 Yea sir,] Q2; Nay, nay, Q1

Yet shun not you the trade to know,
 that yeeldeth treble gayne:

Nothing seemes hard to prudent men,
 where gaine requites the paine. /

5 The more your knowledge doth excell

M4.

The greater is your praise:

Who knowes of land to make the most,
 is wisest now a dayes.

When graue and prudent men are set,

10 at table to their meate:

Their table talke tends to this ende,
 of husbandry to treat.

By meanes wherof no toylyng hine,

that plowes and tilles the fielde

15 Can better tell then noble men,

what gaine a plough wil yeelde.

What nede the grasier you beguile,

in hyring of your ground:

When you your selfe may playnly see

20 what gaine doth thence redound.

Why should the butcher gaine the hide,

in bying of a beefe:

This knowledg now in noble men

doth cause the farmers grieffe.

Learne, learne (my Lorde) of landlords now
to let things to the best:

Tis well when tenants crouch and creepe,
to fill the landlords chest.

5 Your shepeheard is a subtil knaue,
and breeds himselfe a stock:

By keping many sheepe of his
among your lordships flock.

Also you haue the patronadge

10 and gift of goodly tithes:

With faire glebe lands in haruest time,
that tries the mowers sithes.

Which to bestow on prating priestes,
for telling of a tale: /

15 Is madnes meere, but rather you
may set them out to sale.

Sir Simon is a lusty lad

and hath good store of golde,

But set a price and doubt you not

20 the mony is soone tolde.

And if he think it very much,

to geue so large a fine:

The Tapster
hath a flinge
at Cotsol
men.

M4^v

5-6 Sidenote: Q2; omitted Q1

11 glebe] Q1; globe Q2

Then may you choose a simple sot
 who easely will incline,
 To be your drudge at all assaies
 and feede among the swine.
 5 Who will be glad with portion small
 although the fruits be much,
 Poore men with potadge are wel pleasd,
 such felowes wyll not grutch.
 What though he be no preacher sir,
 10 haue you no care for that:
 He hath a prety skill to dig
 and delue a garden plat.
 These precepts if your lordship mark,
 and put the same in vre:
 15 Then Fortune shal be at your beck
 and stoup vnto your lure.
 Loe thus (my Lorde) I make an ende
 and wish you happy daies,
 To bath in blisse, to swim in ioy,
 20 to win immortal praise.

Miles Makshift. O egregious scoolmaster
 worthy of immortall praise, whose excellent
 cunning ioyned with singular eloquence meriteth
 equallytie with Virgill and Homor, verely /

maister Tapster you are profoundly learned in this noble science of Adulation.

N1 Muli mutuum
scabunt.

Wat Wilye. I haue heard many publique readers in sundry faculties, but the lyke to him
5 I neuer heard, for he sheweth himself a perfect rethorician, his wordes are so cunningly cowched, that they importe much matter in fewe words, euery word hath his weight, ech sillable his perfect sence, he is pithy without prolixitie,
10 short, and yet substanciall. Finally, his wordes, his countinaunce, his sweete pronounciation, his comlye gesture, with all his other accions, shew forth a grace (in my iudgment) incomparable, and therefore worthy of
15 admiration. How think you friend Fulwel, let vs heare your iudgment.

A songe of three parts in one, where three flatteringe varlets are fitly matcht.

Author. My iudgement is thus, that for his excellency in his execrable science, he shal be endued with a garland of hemp, and shall take his
20 degree of poetry at the vniuersity of Tiburn, for his presence wyll become that place passing wel. And because that lecture is very vnprofitable where out no necessary notes may be gathered, I wyll shew you what I haue noted in the discourse
25 of this lecture. First that this fellow is to be

The Authors iudgment.

reputed for a maister or captaine parasite, which kinde of people are the peruertors of verteouse affections, and corrupters of noble nature, as by his detestable perswacions may appere. But let
 5 vs se how these vngracious grafs / were trod vnder
 foote (as pernicious branches, or rather rotten and stinkinge weedes) euen among the hethen wise men. Diogenes noting two of the most noysome beastes of the worlde, tearmeth a sclanderer the
 10 worste of wilde beastes, and of tame beastes a flatterer. Also Plato accoumpteth him a friend in presence, and a foe in absence, wherof dayly experience is a perfect witnes. For as a flatterer will professe friendship to thee and thy friendes,
 15 with like protestation of hatred towards thy enemies, euen so wyll hee (for his bellyes sake) vse the like dissimulation with thy aduersaries, and in the end bewray and betray you both, if any gaine may grow vnto him therby. Wherefore hee
 20 is right cosen to a dog, whose propertie is to fawne with his taile on all men that will rewarde him whether they be his masters friendes or foes. But what neede I stand vpon the inuectiues of

N1^v

1 reputed for a maister] Q1; reputed a
 Maister Q2

philosophers against flatterers and flatterye,
 seeinge the canonicall bookes of the Bible are
 furnished both with examples and documentes,
 whereof I wyll of a multitude, site a few, for the
 5 further displaying and iust detestation of that
 wicked science, wherof sathan hymselfe was the
 first scoolemaister. Wherby I infer that the
 studientes, and practisioners therof, are fit
 scholers for such a master.

10 It appeareth that by the subtiltie of this Genesis .3.
 art doctor deuill deluded our first parentes in
 Paradice, with his flatteringe promises of much /
 more then he could perfourme, the effect wherof, N2
 the world feeleth, and shal do vntil the
 15 consummation therof. And now let vs se what
 maner of disciples this doctor had, and for
 auoydinge of tediousnesse, I wyll pretermit many
 examples of the old testament, and come vnto
 Christ his time.

20 Herod with flattering words of dissembled Mathew .2:
 intent, perswaded the Magians to bring him news A noble
 where he might finde Christ, and how his words dissembler.
 agreed with his meaninge, the text doth teach

thee. In processe of time, when Christ wrought
wonders and miracles among the people, hee was
cheifly commended among them for filling their
belleis in the wildernesse, in which flocke and
5 multitude were many parasites and smelfeastes,
that for their bellies sake, would haue Iohn .6.
proclaymed Christ to be their King, flatteryng
him also with these words. This is of a trueth,
that Prophet that should come into the world.
10 And yet the selfe same flattering varlets, when
they saw no longer likelyhood of good cheare,
cried out on him, crucifige. The sect of
flattering Pharises when they ment nothings lesse
then trueth, came vnto Christ with these glosinge
15 wordes. Maister wee knowe that thou art true, Math.22.
and teachest the way of God truely. etc. But
their wicked intent was to entrap hym with wordes
of treason, wherby to condempne him, of whose
pharaseicall condicions are our maisters of
20 flattery, and thus let these fewe pla- / ces serue N2^v
for my fyrst note. Secondly I haue noted by

4 belleis] Q1; bellyes Q2
5 parasites] Q1; Pharasites Q2
6 sake] Q1; sakes Q2

his lecture, the vnconstant and fonde affections
of them that bend their eares to the sugred venim
of flattery, whereby many do dishonor, disworship,
and dishonest them selues, by putting in vre such
5 wicked attemps as this tapster hath perswaded.
Thirdly I haue noted in you two a plaine
portraiture of a brace of cogging knaues, from
whom I wyl fly as from a serpent, exhortinge all
my frindes to doo the same, and so fare you
10 well.

Fallere te nullus vult, qui tibi dura minatur

Mancinus.

Sed potius vt caueas, turbidus ille monet,

Fallimur a placidis verbis, vultuque sereno,

Cum sapido capimus, saepe venena cibo.

F I N I S.

5 attempts] Q1; attempts Q2

15 FINIS] omitted Q2

A short Dialogue, betweene the Authour and his
booke, wherin is shewed sundry opinions that
were vttered of the first Impression of this
booke, which the Authour him selfe hearde in
0.5 Paules Church yeard, and else where.

Author.

What loytring cause or lingring let,

Hath helde thee from my handes so long:

Or elss hast thou such checke mates met,

As by some meanes hath done thee wrong?

5 Some newes hath chaunst, I know full well,

If good or bad? I pray thee tell..

Booke.

Such newes perhaps, I haue to show,

As vneth will thy minde content:

If talke may make mennes eares to glow,

10 I muse if thine be not quite spent,

A thousand tongues doo speake of thee,

Thou hast so fondly framed mee.

This is a new found arte, say they,

Picke out of late from ydle brayne:

But some agaynst those wordes inuey,

And say thou tookst an honest payne, /

Q2, H4

5 By mery meane thus to detect:

The folly of the flattering sect.

Some like thy verse, but not thy proes,

Some prayse thy minde, but not thy skill:

Some shew them selues to bee thy foes,

10 By mocking thee, and eke thy quill,

Some say thou hast a litle wit,

But doost apply the same vnfit.

Some say that in times past,

In Flatteries Schoole thou hast been traynde:

15 And yet to thriue foundst not the cast,

For Fortune aye thy state disdained:

And now thou takst as weapon stronge,

Thy pen for to auenge that wrong.

And thus as I haue raunged abroad,

20 I heare the verdictes of them all:

Some rage and rayle, some lay on lode.

Belike they were rubde on the gall.

Some smyle to see so quaint a toy,
 Some laugh right out, and some looke coy.

Author.

Ah sily booke, that thus hast past,
 Amid thy freends, and through thy foes,
 5 What writer euer found the cast,
 To please all men? none I suppose,
 For fancy comes to men by fittes,
 So many heads, so many wittes. /

Sith sundry men in sundry wise,
 10 Do shoote their sentence at my name:
 Goe tell them all, that I despise,
 The scoffes that taunting tongues do frame,
 Thy humble duety do expresse,
 To thy right noble patronesse.

Q2, H4^v

15 Then reuerently thy selfe submit,
 Vnto the troupe of learned trayne:
 As for fooles boltes, that would thee hitte,
 Thou shalt full well their shot sustayne.
 And say to them, that thee doo blame,
 20 My Author prayse you mend the same.

So shall you answere his desire,

And haue his thankes, a small rewarde,

Els let your tongue from taunts retire,

Yll tongues good matters, ofte hath marde,

5 A fault is sooner found, then mended,

Few bookes by finde faulte is defended.

Farewell my booke, God bee thy speede,

I sende thee forth to walke alone:

In homly stile, a threede bare weede,

10 For robe of Rethorike I haue none,

My Waredrope hath no filed phrase,

Wheron fine eyes delight to gase.

FINIS.

EMENDATION OF ACCIDENTALS

page

- 1.15 feelde,] Q2; ~.Q1
- 1.17 appeare,] Q2; ~. Q1
- 3.8, 9 Milde...Dread] my italics
- 3.10 modestie,] Q2; ~^ Q1
- 4.1 go,] Q2; ~^ Q1
- 5.0.3 England,] Q2; ~. Q1
- 6.10 imitate: So] Q2; ~, So Q1
- 6.14 Eyghth liberall Science,] eyghth liberall
science, Q1; Eyghth liberall Science, ,
[sic] Q2
- 9.1 And] N.P. Q2
- 10.1 How] N.P. Q2
- 10.10 rubbed on] Q1b, Q2; ~ one Q1a
- 10.13 Vale.] Q1b, Q2; ~^ Q1a
- 14.2 light,] ed.; ~^ Q1a, Q1b, Q2
- 14.4 syght,] ed.; ~. Q1a, Q1b, Q2
- 14.11 obtainde,] ed.; ~. Q1a, Q2; ~^ Q1b
- 14.14 bright,] ed.; ~^ Q1a, Q1b, Q2
- 19.17 Diligence] Q2; diligence Q1a, Q1b
- 19.17 Sidenote: Diligence] ed.; diligence Q1a, Q1b, Q2
- 20.7 Fortune:] Q2; ~, Q1a, Q1b
- 20.17 prison:] Q1b; ~, Q1a, Q2
- 20.18 beneuolence.] Q2; ~, Q1a, Q1b
- 21.4 right:] Q2; ~, Q1a, Q1b
- 21.5 dish. There] Q1b; ~, there Q1a; ~: there Q2
- 21.7 Pickthank] Q2; pickthank Q1a, Q1b
- 21.8 Flatterer] Q2; flatterer Q1a, Q1b
- 21.8 Counterfait] Q2; counterfait Q1a, Q1b
- 21.9 Dissembler] Q2; dissembler Q1a, Q1b
- 21.16 simplicitie,] Q1b; ~, Q1a, Q2
- 21.17 companions:] Q1b; ~, Q1a, Q2
- 22.6 Trueth] Q2; trueth Q1a, Q1b

- 22.11 rest. And] Q1b; ~, and Q1a, Q2
- 22.22 Cain,] Q1b, Q2; ~^ Q1a
- 23.2 earth,] Q1b, Q2; ~^ Q1a
- 23.6 renewed.] Q1b, Q2; ~^ Q1a
- 23.9 aduersitie^] Q2; ~, Q1a, Q1b
- 23.10 wight^] Q2; ~, Q1a, Q1b
- 23.11 Lady Pleasure] Q2; lady pleasure Q1a,
Lady pleasure Q1b
- 24.1 Dame Pleasure] ed.; Dame pleasure Q1a, Q1b, Q2
- 25.1 Lady Pleasure] ed.; Lady pleasure Q1a, Q1b, Q2
- 25.14 Dame Pleasure] Q2; dame pleasure Q1a, Q1b
- 25.20 Fleshly Appetite] Q2; fleshly appetite Q1a, Q1b
- 25.21 Pride...Ambition] ed.; pride...ambition Q1a,
Q1b, Q2
- 26.1 throwne downe. Then] Q1b; ~ ~, then Q1a, Q2
- 26.7 Vertue,] Q2; vertue^ Q1a, Q1b
- 26.14 nation. And] Q1b, Q2; ~, and Q1a
- 26.17 parcialitie:] Q1b; ~, Q1a, Q2
- 26.20 thereat. Among] Q1b, Q2; ~, among Q1a
- 27.9 worship. And] Q1b, Q2; ~, and Q1a
- 28.6 (Lady Trueth):] ed.; (Lady trueth)^ Q1,
(Lady Trueth)^ Q2
- 30.7, 8, 9 U...Fulwell...Unfortunate Fulwell] Q2 italics
- 30.12 Bayarde),] ~^, Q2; ~)^ Q1
- 35.14 hold:] Q2; ~, Q1
- 36.18 bower:] Q2; ~^ Q1
- 36.19 chaunge,] Q2; ~^ Q1
- 37.1 estate,...contemnes,] Q2; ~^...~^ Q1
- 37.2 row:] Q2; ~, Q1
- 37.5 part,] Q2; ~^ Q1
- 37.6 sustayne:] Q2; ~, Q1
- 37.9 ryght,] Q2; ~. Q1
- 37.10 go:] Q2; ~, Q1
- 37.11 thee,] Q2; ~^ Q1
- 37.13 muse,] Q2; ~. Q1

- 37.14 grace:] Q2; ~, Q1
- 37.15 them_^] Q2; ~. Q1
- 37.18 fed:] Q2; ~, Q1
- 38.2 repose:] Q2; ~, Q1
- 38.6 Lady Hope] Q2; Lady hope Q1
- 38.6 agayne:] Q2; ~, Q1
- 38.9 FINIS] Q2; Finis Q1
- 40.19 fellow_^)] Q2; ~,) Q1
- 41.7 Sidenote: knauery] Q2; knaeury Q1
- 41.18 it_^ is] Q2; ~,~ Q1
- 41.18 adulandi,] Q2; ~. Q1
- 41.18-19 The art of Flatterie] Q2; The art of flatterie Q1
- 41.20 dissimulation,] Q2; ~_^ Q1
- 42.14 credite. And] Q2; ~, and Q1
- 43.13 heere, etc.] ed.; ~.~, Q1; ~.~. Q2
- 44.7 vnto her,] Q2; vn to ~_^ Q1
- 44.19 lustes,] Q2; ~_^ Q1
- 46.1 Saint] Q2; S. Q1
- 46.13 Sidenote: Hipocrisie] Q2; Hipocrise Q1
- 46.17 Your] Q2; your Q1
- 46.18 Souerantie_^] Q2; ~, Q1
- 46.18-19 deasire.) Your] Q2; ~_^) your Q1
- 47.2 This] N.P. Q2
- 47.4 Gabriell] Q2; Gaberill Q1
- 47.8 incredible. But] Q2; ~_^ but Q1
- 47.13 before. And] Q2; ~, and Q1
- 47.17 vnbeleefe,] Q2; ~_^ Q1
- 48.3 readinesse.] Q2; ~, Q1
- 48.12 Art] Q2; art Q1
- 48.15 did. And] Q2; ~, and Q1
- 48.20-21 linea vite...linea nuptialis] ed.; linea vite...
linea nuptialis Q1; Lineauite...Lineanuptialis Q2
- 48.23 withall. And] Q2; with all, and Q1
- 49.24 husbands,] Q2; ~_^ Q1

- 49.25 (quoth shee)] ed.; [^]quoth shee [^] Q1,
(quod shee) Q2
- 50.5 shoulde [^] (within] Q2; ~, (~ Q1
- 51.14 mothers. And] Q2; ~, and Q1
- 51.17 geue,] Q2; ~ [^] Q1
- 52.3 bezelus manus] Q2 italics
- 52.5 geue,] Q2; ~ [^] Q1
- 52.18 Adulacion] Q2; adulacion Q1
- 53.11-12 more. And] Q2; ~, and Q1
- 53.12 monye [^] (although] Q2; ~, (~ Q1
- 53.20 Flattery] Q2; flattery Q1
- 54.21 houses,] Q2; ~ [^] Q1
- 55.14 court. Hee] Q2; ~, hee Q1
- 55.17 vngodlynes. He] Q2; ~, he Q1
- 55.22 another:] Q2; ~, Q1
- 56.3-4 Art of Flattery] art of flattery Q1; Arte of
Flattery Q2
- 56.5 When] N.P. Q2
- 56.7 diuinite. He] Q2; ~, he Q1
- 56.13 dealinges,] Q2; ~ [^] Q1
- 57.2 Finally [^]] Q2; ~, Q1
- 57.8 Thus] N.P. Q2
- 57.9-10 Art of Adulation] art of adulation Q1, Arte
of Adulation Q2
- 57.17 Saint] Q2; S. Q1
- 57.18 Saint] Q2; S. Q1
- 57.20 Saint] Q2; S. Q1
- 57.21 Sainte] Q2; S. Q1
- 57.23 twaine.] Q2; ~? Q1
- 57.26 hell. Firste] Q2; ~: firste Q1
- 58.5 Peter. For] Q2; ~, for Q1
- 58.15 repented. Hee] Q2; ~, hee Q1
- 58.17 Magus,] Q2; ~ [^] Q1
- 58.22 ignorant. Of] Q2; ~, of Q1
- 59.14 Art] Q2; art Q1

- 59.15 Eight Liberall Science] eight liberall science Q1,
Eyghth Liberall Science Q2
- 59.18 Flattery] Q2; flattery Q1
- 61.3 When] N.P. Q2
- 61.12 Eight liberall Science] eight liberall Science Q1,
Eyghth liberall Science Q2
- 62.1 seruiceable] Q2; seruicable Q1
- 62.2 Lady Fortunes] lady fortunes Q1, Lady Fortunes Q2
- 63.7 specified:] Q2; ~, Q1
- 63.11 Adulation] Q2; adulation Q1
- 64.3 Nay] Q2; nay Q1
- 64.10 shoote. Doth] Q2; ~, doth Q1
- 65.10 Wherefore] N.P. Q2
- 66.1-2 Science of Adulation] Q2; science of adulation Q1
- 66.6 knauery_^] Q2; ~, Q1
- 66.8 beggerly. And] Q2; ~, and Q1
- 67.7 prosper):] ~_^ Q1, ~_^: Q2
- 69.4 Sir _^] Q2; ~. Q1
- 69.4 Better] Q2; better Q1
- 69.22 Arte of Flatterie] arte of flatterie Q1;
Art of Flattery Q2
- 71.22 companyon:] Q2; ~, Q1
- 72.3 papist:] Q2; ~, Q1
- 72.5 Famely of Loue] famely of loue Q1; Famely
of Loue Q2
- 72.5-6 companion:] Q1b, Q2; ~, Q1a
- 72.7 fellow:] Q1b, Q2; ~, Q1a
- 72.25 that_^] Q1b, Q2; ~, Q1a
- 74.5 vnconsionably] Q1b, Q2; vncionsconably [sic] Q1a
- 74.9 vnconcionable] Q1b, Q2; vncontionable Q1a
- 78.2 matter. For] Q2; ~, For Q1a, Q1b
- 79.18 Adulation] Q2; adulation Q1a, Q1b
- 81.6 Adulation] Q2; adulation Q1a, Q1b
- 81.19-20 Sidenote: moved from p.82.5-6
- 85.9 And] N.P. Q2
- 85.11 wordes,] Q2; ~_^ Q1

- 85.21 Adulation] Q2; adulation Q1
- 86.15 First] N.P. Q1
- 86.19 And] N.P. Q2
- 87.1 man,] Q2; ~^ Q1
- 87.2 countrey. But] Q2; ~, but Q1
- 90.19 Arte of Flatterye] Q2; arte of flatterye Q1
- 91.5 Eyghth liberall Science] Q2; eyghth liberall science Q1
- 91.18 pikethanke. Thou] Q2; ~, thou Q1
- 95.13 knaue. He] Q2; ~, he Q1
- 96.4 Adulation] Q2; adulation Q1
- 96.21 learned. Hee] Q2; ~, hee Q1
- 97.3 Heauen. Hee] Q2; ~, hee Q1
- 97.14 Then] N.P. Q2
- 97.18 A good syr] N.P. Q2
- 97.18 (saith he)] Q2; ~ ~ ~ ^, Q1
- 98.14-15 Art of Flatterie] Q2; art of flatterie Q1
- 98.16 others,] Q2; ~^ Q1
- 98.16 grace,] Q2; ~^ Q1
- 98.18 Lady Truth] Q2; lady truth Q1
- 99.2 shun:] ed.; ~^ Q1, Q2
- 99.12 out,] ed.; ~^ Q1, ~. Q2
- 100.21 broode,] Q2; ~^ Q1
- 101.2 vewd:] ed.; ~^ Q1, Q2
- 101.14 King,] Q2; ~^ Q1
- 101.17 is,] Q2; ~. Q1
- 101.18 desire,] ed.; ~^ Q1, Q2
- 103.12 hell.] Q2; ~^ Q1
- 104.5 braue,] Q2; ~^ Q1
- 107.12 againe ^] ed.; ~. Q1, Q2
- 108.4 delyght,] ed.; ~^ Q1, Q2
- 110.1 may:] Q2; ~^ Q1
- 112.1 Aristip,] Q2; ~? Q1
- 112.2 kinde?] Q2; ~:Q1
- 114.11 frownes ^] Q2; ~. Q1

- 114.16 skill:] Q2; ~^ Q1
- 114.18 still.] ed.; ~^ Q1, Q2
- 118.9 Tapster] Q2; Tepster Q1
- 119.9-10 Scoole of Adulation] scoole of adulation Q1,
Schoole of Adulation Q2
- 119.10 Art] art Q1, Arte Q2
- 123.4-5 Sidenote: none ^ ...hee,] ed.; none, ...hee ^ Q2
- 123.7 Moscouian,] Q2; ~^ Q1
- 126.8 scorne.] ed.; ~^ Q1, Q2
- 126.17 thee,] Q2; ~^ Q1
- 127.7 hypocrites] Q2; hopocrites Q1
- 129.2 Flattery] Q2; flattery Q1
- 129.17 Adulation] Q2; adulation Q1
- 131.8 maintaine,] Q2; ~^ Q1
- 133.3 shift,] Q2; ~. Q1
- 133.10 change,] ed.; ~. Q1, Q2
- 134.4 Sim Swad] SimSwad Q1, Simswad Q2
- 134.19 husbandry] Q2; hupsandry [sic] Q1
- 135.5 knowledge] Q2; knowlede [sic] Q1
- 135.13 wherof] Q2; wheof [sic] Q1
- 138.1 Sidenote: scabunt] ed.; scabiunt Q1,
scaciunt [sic] Q2; see Commentary 92.6
- 138.2 Adulation] Q2; adulation Q1
- 138.9 Sidenote: matcht] Q2; macht Q1
- 140.7 scoolemaister.] Q2; ~, Q1
- 141.12 crucifige.] Q2; ~, Q1
- 142.14 saepe] ed.; sepe Q1, Q2
- 142.14 cibo] ed.; scibo Q1, scipo Q2
- 143.0.5 yeard,] ed.; ~. Q2
- 143.2 long:]ed.; ~^ Q2
- 143.4 wrong?] ed.; ~^ Q2
- 145.14 patronesse.] ed.; ~, Q2

COMMENTARY

TITLE-PAGE: Q1

- lines 1-2 THE FIRST part] The projected second part was never published, as far as is known, although it is mentioned again on 10.7 and 96.3.
- line 4 Ars adulandi] a popular form of title: e.g. Ars Amatoria (Ovid); Ars Moriendi and Ars Memorandi, two popular fifteenth-century blockbooks; also Lorenzo Ducci's Ars Aulica, or the Courtiers arte
- lines 5-6 with the confutation thereof] Each dialogue is structured to end with a 'confutation' of the flatterer or flatterers involved.
- line 8 compiled] Composed as an original work (OED vb.I.3); used also on the title-page of The Flower of Fame: 'Compyled by Ulpian Fulwell'; in which he calls himself an 'uneloquent compyler' (Flower of Fame, pp.337, 338). Gascoigne also uses the word in this sense: The Steele Glas. A Satyre compiled by George Gascoigne Esquire (also published in 1576).
- lines 10-15 His diebus...Caueto] 'In these present [literally: 'not finished'] days, / There is no faith in agreements. / Behold. / Honey in his mouth, words of milk / Gall in his heart, fraud in his deeds / Beware.'

lines 13-14

Mel in ore, verba lactis / Fel in corde fraus in factis] A well-known rhymed sententia, listed under 'Falshood, or Falsnesse' in Thomas Draxe, Bibliotheca Scholastica Instructissima. Or a Treasury of Ancient Adagies and Sententious Proverbs, 3rd edition (1654, Wing D2143); Riley, Dictionary of Latin and Greek Quotations, p.224, describes it as 'A Leonine couplet of the middle ages, descriptive of a hypocrite'. It became an English proverb, Tilley T391: 'A honey tongue a heart of gall'. Although Tilley lists it under 'tongue', many of the examples he cites have 'mouth' (the literal translation from the Latin): e.g. Lyly, Euphues (1580): 'A dissembler hath euer-more Honnye in his mouth, and Gall in his minde'; Draxe (1616): 'Honie in ^{the} mouth, and poyson in the heart' (my italics).

line 17

at randone] At great speed, hence 'at haphazard, without aim, purpose or fixed principle; heedlessly, carelessly' (OED sb.I.3, 3.a); 'randone' is an obsolete form of 'random' (OED); used again 40.11.

line 18

arant] obsolete form of 'errand' (OED); used again 70.14; Q2 title-page has 'errand'

line 21

VWilliam Hoskins] Bookseller and master printer. (R.B. McKerrow et al., Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers...1557-1640 (London, 1910), p.144;

(line 21) W.W. Greg and E. Boswell, Records of the Court of the Stationers' Company 1576 to 1602 from Register B (London, 1930), pp.xli, 38). He had been apprenticed to Richard Tottell (29 Sept. 1560; Arber I, 146) and had become a freeman of the Stationers' Company in 1571 (Arber I, 447). Herbert comments 'He appears to have been but a disorderly member' (Joseph Ames, Typographical Antiquities, edited by William Herbert, 3 vols (London, 1785-1790), II, 113): in 1582 he was fined ten shillings and 'awarded to prison for iij daies' for keeping an apprentice who had not been presented to the Company (Arber II, 853), and was again fined twenty shillings in 1583 for a similar offence (Arber II, 856). In 1591 he entered into partnership with Henry Chettle (author of Kind-Hartes Dreame) and John Danter (Greg and Boswell, p.38), but this was dissolved in the following year (McKerrow, Dictionary of Printers, p.144). He must have died before 23 January 1604 because on that date his widow, Helen, presented one of his apprentices to be made freeman of the Stationers' Company (Arber II, 735).

Few of Hoskins's publications survive: two of the five listed in P.G. Morrison's Index of Printers, Publishers and Booksellers...1475-1640 (Charlottesville, 1950), p.37, are by Fulwell. He also published Lodge's Catharos. Diogenes in his Singularitie (with Danter, 1591, STC 16654); a sermon by the Reverend

(line 21) Henry Smith (with Chettle and Ling, 1591, STC 22656); and a book on blood-letting (Nicholas Gyer, The English Phlebotomy, 1592, STC 12561, with Danter). The Stationers' Company records show that he also dealt in ballads: 'xviij sortes of Ballades' were entered under this blanket heading on 4 March 1576 (n.s. 1577; Arber II, 309; Textual Introduction p.cxxv). No doubt he 'scooped' the death of Lord Gray in 1593, when he entered A lamentable songe of the Death of the lord GRAY who Deceased in Northamptonshire the 16 of October only four days after the event, 20 October (Arber, II, 638). He obtained the sole copyright in 1578 to print the lucrative religious work, The footepath of ffaith leadinge to the highe waie to heaven (Arber, II, 333; turned over to Edward White in 1580, Arber II, 369; also C. Blagden, 'The English Stock of the Stationers' Company: an Account of its Origins', The Library, 5th Series, 10 (1955), 163-185 (p.182)). In 1596-1597 he entered two books on music: Thomas Morley's A Playne and easye introduction to musick (printed by Peter Short in 1597, STC 18133), and A playne and perfect Instruction for learnynge to play on ye virginalles (Arber III, 72, 81).

lines 22- his shop ioyning to the midle Temple gate, within
 24 Temple Barre] A popular location for printers
 (Sugden, Topographical Dictionary, p.505; McKerrow, Dictionary of Printers, p.334).

(lines 22 Hoskins later moved to Fetter Lane: the colophon
-24) of Gyer's English Phlebotomy (1592) has 'Printed by William Hoskins and Iohn Danter, dwelling in Fetter Lane'. McKerrow's Dictionary misleadingly puts the latter as his first address.

TITLE-PAGE: Q2

line 9 Newly corrected and augmented] Q2 changes and additions are discussed in the Textual Introduction.

line 21 Richarde Jones] The copyright was bought by Jones in March 1578 (Textual Introduction, p. cxxv). Revised STC attributes the printing of Q2 to William Howe, the attribution, by F.S. Ferguson, being based on the evidence of the ornamental letters (information supplied by Katharine F. Pantzer, Houghton Library, Harvard University); the revised entry will read: '[W. How f.] R. Jones'. Howe was a Renter and Searcher for the Stationers' Company (E.G. Duff, A Century of the English Book Trade (London, 1948), p.77; Greg and Boswell, Records of the Court of the Stationers' Company, p.xxiii; Arber II, 41-42); and he printed at least seventeen books for Jones between ca. 1560 and 1580 (Morrison, Index of Printers, p.40).

Jones seems to have been more of a publisher than a printer: 'Jones, it is true, possessed a press, but it is not known whether any of his numerous books were

(line 21) printed on it' (Greg, Some Aspects and Problems of London Publishing between 1550 and 1650 (Oxford, 1956), p.83). He specialized in popular literature:

Throughout the thirty-eight years of his business life he dealt largely in ballads, and he also printed and published much other curious literature, most of it of a popular character. (McKerrow, Dictionary, p.159)

A prolific publisher, he issued at least 159 works (Morrison's Index), including works by Gascoigne, Nicholas Breton, Whetstone, Lodge, Peele, Drayton, Stubbes and Nashe; his most famous publication is probably Marlowe's Tamburlaine.

Why should Jones take the risk of reprinting The Art of Flattery, a work which had already got into trouble with the authorities? An examination of the Stationers' Company records shows that he specialized in controversial and sensational works, and had a reputation for defying the authorities, and 'often undertook books of a questionable character' (E.C. Bigmore and C.W.H. Wyman, A Bibliography of Printing ([London], 1880; rptd. 1969), I, 376). He was fined many times for printing books and ballads without licence, for infringing the copyright of others, and for selling banned books. For example, on 15 June 1579 he was fined 'for printinge a ballad without Lycence the ballad not tollerable' (Arber II, 849); on 21 January 1583 he was fined and committed to prison 'for printinge a thinge of the fall of the

(line 21) galleries at Paris Garden without licence and against commandement of the Wardens' (Arber II, 853); on 15 September 1589 he was fined 'for Sellinge of bookes contrary to order' (Arber II, 862); on 5 September 1597 he was 'committed to ward' and fined 'for printinge a booke Disorderly / And all the bookes to be Destroied' (Arber II, 827); on 4 March 1601 he was again fined, with other members of the Stationers' Company, 'for their Disorders in buyinge of the bookes of humours lettunge blood in the vayne beinge newe printed after yt was first forbydden and burnt' (Arber II, 832). (See also Arber I, 367; II, 334, 568, 581, 847, and 854; Greg and Boswell, pp.lxxiv, lxxv, 7, 37; Blagden, The Stationers' Company: a History, 1403-1959 (London, 1960), p.55; and Leo Kirschbaum, 'The Copyright of Elizabethan Plays', The Library, 5th Series, 14 (1959), 231-250 (p.239).)

The entries to Jones in the Stationers' Register are sometimes cautiously phrased, as if the Company was trying to protect itself from possible dire consequences. For example:

(8 March 1580) Lycenced vnto him. a booke intituled the Lust of libertye ['Lust' has been crossed out and in the margin written: 'This booke is intituled the Labirinth of Libertye.'] written by AUGUSTIN SAKER gent. vpon the said Richard Jones his promese to bringe the whole impression thereof into the Hall in case it be disliked when it is printed. (Arber II, 366)

- (line 21) (4 November 1583) Receaued of him for printinge a thinge beinge A monster which he vndertaketh to print of his own perill. (Arber II, 428)
- (22 March 1587) Receaued of him for a ballad begynnyng when Walthams Crosse &c which he is to prynt so yt may be laufully printed. (Arber II, 467)

The above evidence indicates that Jones was not afraid of incurring the wrath of the authorities.

- lines 22 his shoppe ouer agaynst Sainct Sepulchers Churche]
 -24 McKerrow, Dictionary, p.159, gives this as Jones's sixth address: 'Dwelling over against St Sepulchre's Church without Newgate, 1576-80'.

A DIALOGUE BETWENE THE AUTHOR AND HIS MUSE

- 1.0.1 A dialogue betwene the Author and his Muse] A similar device is used by William Hunnis in Hunnies Recreations (1595, STC 13973), which is prefaced by a set of verses, 'The Muse to hir Author'. Hunnis's muse also encourages the author not to be diffident about dedicating his unworthy book to a noble patron; he too uses acrostics: the two verses of 'The Muse to hir Author' spell out his name.
- 1.1-11 MILDRED BVRGLEY [acrostic]] Acrostics were one of the 'knacks' popular among Elizabethan poets: 'our Poets hath their knacks as young Schollers call them, as Ecchos, Achrostiches, Serpentine verses, Recurrents, Numeralls, &c.' (William Camden, Remaines of a Greater

(1.1-11) Worke, Concerning Britaine (1605, STC 4521), Part 2, d1^v). They are found in Nicholas Breton, Brittons Bowre of Delights - panegyrical acrostics on Anne Parker, Hopton, and an acrostic elegy on Sir Philip Sidney (2nd edition, 1597, STC 3634, C1, E4, C4-C4^v); Breton et al., The Arbor of Amorous Devices (1597) has panegyrical acrostics on Throgmorton, Sara Hastings, Katherine Ratcliffe, Southwell, etc.; George Whetstone, The English Myrror (1586, STC 25336) has a prefatory acrostic poem on 'ELIZABETHA REGINA'; and Eunapius, The lyves of philosophers and orators, translated by Hadrianus Iunius Hornanus ([1579], STC 10566), has 'A verse called Acrostichis. To the Queenes Maiestie, By the Author' spelling out 'ELISABETHA ANGLIE FRANCIE HIBERNIEQVE REGINA' (A1^v-A2). Perhaps the ultimate in panegyrical acrostics was reached by Sir John Davies in Nosce Teipsum - twenty-six 'Hymnes of Astræa, in acrosticke verse. Praises of his Soueraigne, Queene Elizabeth', each spelling out 'ELISA BETHA REGINA' (1618, STC 6352). Jonson, according to Drummond, commented scornfully on 'that Panagyrist who wrott Panagyriques in acrostics'; he himself wrote an acrostic elegy for Margaret Ratcliffe (Herford and Simpson, Ben Jonson, I, 144; VIII, 39). Fulwell includes another acrostic poem, on his patron Edmund Harman, in the Seventh Dialogue.

- 1.1 Parnas hill] Mount Parnassus; Barnabe Googe describes it as 'a goodly hyll, hauing two toppes: thys hyll was in the olde tyme dedicated to the muses' ('A brefe declaration of Poeticall wordes', in his translation of Palingenius, The Zodiac of Life (1561, STC 19149), P1^V). Fulwell uses the phrase also in The Flower of Fame: 'Ye noble Imphes of Parnas hill, / Ye Muses all arowe' (p.364).
- 1.5 rude] lacking in elegance or polish, deficient in literary merit (OED adj.A.II.8)
- 1.7 dastard] one inert or dull of wit; a dullard (OED sb.1)
- 1.8 Vnto the best, best welcume is good will] Perhaps reminiscent of Tilley G338, 'Good will and welcome is your best cheer'; Fulwell expressed a similar sentiment in his dedication to The Flower of Fame: 'I considered with my selfe... your noble nature, in accepting the good will of the geever aboue the valure of the gift' (p.338).
- 1.10 rusty] lacking in polish or refinement; rough, rude, or ragged in manner (OED a.¹ 4.a)
- 1.13 hap] good fortune, success (OED sb.¹ 3)
- 1.17 platforme] plan, design; something intended or taken as a pattern, a model (OED sb.II.3.a); as in An Admonition to the Parliament (1572): 'it hath ben thought good to proferre to your godly considerations, a true platforme of a church reformed' (in Puritan Manifestoes, edited by W.H. Frere and C.E. Douglas (London, 1907), p.8)

- 2.3 vaunt] proclaim or display proudly (OED vb.4)
- 2.8 make a match] i.e., dedicate his book to her
- 2.14 how thou dost maske in follies nett] how you are enmeshed (or entangled) in folly's net; mask: mesh, enmesh, as in Tottel's Miscellany (1557): 'Thus in the net of my conceit I masked styll among the sort' (OED v.¹)
- 2.22 start] recoil from in alarm or repugnance (OED v.I.2.e)
- 2.24 No shame ensues where meaning is not ill] perhaps an echo of Tilley S281, 'Where no shame is there is no fear'
- 3.1-2 The simple beast that feares the Lyons lookes, / Is flesht at length by fauour once obtaynde]
simple] innocent, harmless; small, weak or feeble (OED adj.1.1; II.7)
flesht] Encouraged? A technical hunting term -
flesh: to reward (a hawk or hound) with a portion of the flesh of the game killed, in order to excite his eagerness in the chase (OED vb.1); used metaphorically in The Return from Parnassus: 'I have fleshed my prodigal boy notably, notably, in letting him deal for this living; that hath done him much good, much good, I assure you' (Hazlitt's Dodsley, IX, 164).

Fulwell, although afraid of the 'lion' Burleigh, is encouraged by a past favour to dedicate his book to Lady Burleigh. He may be referring to the Aesopic fable of the lion and the mouse; Caxton's version

- (3.1-2) stresses the duty of the great and powerful to help the 'lytyll and feble' (Caxton's Aesop, edited by R.T. Lenaghan (Cambridge, Mass., 1967), p.86). In another fable a 'simple beast', the timorous hare, is emboldened to speak out after the lion has set up a Utopian rule of gentleness and justice ('Once in Utopia', Babrius and Phaedrus, translated by B.E. Perry, Loeb Classical Library (London & Cambridge, Mass., 1965), pp.137-139).
- 3.5 Her noble spouse, thy booke did not disdaine] referring to the dedication of The Flower of Fame (1575) to Burleigh.
- 3.7-9 Milde...Rede...Milde...Dread] punning on Mildred, the Christian name of Lady Burleigh
- 3.13 coy] disdainful (OED a.3)
- 3.13 conseite] applied disparagingly to a strained or far-fetched turn of thought, figure, etc., an affectation of thought or style (OED sb.III.8); the phrase 'coy conseights' is used again, below 99.13
- 3.13 curious] intricate, abstruse (OED II.10.b)
- 3.16 hunt for termes] presumably of 'curious eloquence'; 'Taffeta phrases, silken terms precise' (Love's Labour's Lost, V.2.406)
- 3.18 ful well] Fulwell is fond of punning on his own name, as noted in Literary Introduction, and he also indulges in this in The Flower of Fame: And ^eth~~h~~e I wrote as shee mee taught / God graunt it be Ful well!' (p.375). Other

(3.18) distinguished parallels spring to mind: Shakespeare's 'will' sonnets (135, 136, 143), and Sidney punning on the name of Lady Rich (e.g. Astrophil and Stella, 24).

DEDICATION

5.0.1-2 Lady Mildred Burgleigh] An authorial spelling: the name is spelt 'BVRGLEY' in the acrostic verses on 1.7-11, 'Burghleygh' in the dedication of The Flower of Fame (p.338).

Mildred Cecil, née Cooke, was born in 1526, and married William Cecil in 1545; he was created Baron of Burghley in 1571. Her father was Sir Anthony Cooke, tutor to Edward VI, an enlightened educator who believed 'that sexes as well as souls are equal in capacity' (V.A. Wilson, Society Women of Shakespeare's Time (London, 1924), p.9). Mildred and her sister Ann (later Lady Bacon and mother of Francis Bacon) were regarded as 'the most learned women in England' (DNB, IV, 1001). Ascham, in a Latin letter to Sturm (14 December 1550), singles out Mildred as comparable to Lady Jane Grey for learning, and says that she 'understands and speaks Greek like English' (English translation by M.A.S. Hume, The Great Lord Burghley (London, 1898), p.13). Another glowing tribute was paid to her by the anonymous translator of Lancelot Voisin's The Historie of France (1595, STC 11276), A5-A5^v, as a

famous Religious and learned Ladie (flower

(5.0.
1-2) of her familie,) prouident mother, blessed in her posteritie,...besides her knowledge in the latine letters, (wherein of a subiect she excelled) such were her studies, exercises, and continuall Meditation in the Greeke Doctors of the Church, (especially Basil, Ciril, Chrisostome and Nazianzene, [Gregory of Nazianzus] as a chiefe reader in that tonge (Laurence by name) hath ere now confessed vnto me, that in his iudgement she Egalled if not ouermatched any, in whose profession (as expected so) most was to be required. Neither were these excellent parts of hers, onely Theoricall [sic], but still put in practise like an other Dorcas, full of piety and good works, as without any ostentation or κενοδοξία [i.e., conceit], besides her readines in solliciting for poore and distressed sutors vnto her deare Lo. ... in her life time setting on her owne charge so many poore aworke, her exhibition to Schollers, liberallitie to Vniuersities, bounty to exiled strangers, and her most abounding charitie euerie quarter to all the prisons about London hath manifestly declared.

Mildred's secret charities were listed by her husband in a 'Meditation' written after her death in 1589 (Strype, Annals of the Reformation, III, Part 2, pp.125-128).

Two other books were dedicated to Mildred: Thomas Drant's translation of Horace, A Medicinable Morall, that is, the two Bookes of Horace his Satyres, Englyshed accordyng to the prescription of saint Hierome (1566, STC 13805), which was jointly dedicated to her and her sister Lady Bacon as 'fauourers of learnyng and vertue (a1^v). Drant's book also contained 'The Wailynge of the Prophet Hieremiah' and epigrams, and perhaps indicates that Mildred had a taste for satire as well as devotional works. The other book was Christopher Ockland's EIPHNAPXIA Siue Elizabetha. De pacatissimo Angliae statu

(5.4-5) most deadly of wild Beasts is a backbiter, of tame ones a flatterer.' The saying is attributed to Diogenes, as Fulwell notes below, 139.8-11, and is related in Diogenes Laertius's life of him:

Being asked what creature's bite is the worst, he said, 'Of those that are wild a sycophant's; of those that are tame a flatterer's.'
(Lives of Eminent Philosophers, II, 53)

It is repeated in Erasmus's Apophtegmes, translated by Nicholas Udall (1564), edited by E. Johnson (Boston, Lincs., 1877), p.132; also William Baldwin, A Treatise of Morall Philosophie (1547), Book VII, chapter 8, 'Of Flatterie':

Flattery is a pestilent and noysome vice...
Of slanderers and flatterers take heede if ye will,
For neyther tame nor wilde beasts can bite so ill:
For of wilde beasts, slander is the most bitter:
And of tame most biteth a Flatterer.
(1620 edition, facsimile (Gainsville, 1967), p.269)

5:10-11 Homer...Syrens] Homer, Odyssey, XII.39, 184. The sirens' songs were associated with flattery by St Jerome: 'We ought not to give eare vnto the Syrenian songs of flatterers' (quoted by William Wrednot, Palladis Palatium: Wisedoms Pallace (1604, STC 26014), F4).

5.fn. invention] Wilson, Arte of Rhetorique, edited by G.H. Mair, p.6, defines invention as 'the finding out of apt matter,...a searching out of things true, or things likely, the which may reasonable set forth a matter, and make it appeare probable'.

5.fn.
11.6-7

currant handling of Venus Pageants] Probably referring to such collections of amorous verse as The Courte of Venus ([1558?], STC 24650); Tottel's Miscellany (1557); and its imitations: A Handful of Pleasant Delights (lost first edition, 1566), and The Paradise of Dainty Devices (1576). Many prose works also presented amorous stories: for example, the scurrilous A lyttle treatyse called the Image of Idlennesse, conteininge certeyne matters moued betwen Walter Wedlock and Bawdin Bachelor. Translated out of the Troyane or Cornyshe tounge into Englyshe, by Olyuer Oldwanton, and dedicated to the Lady Lust, by 'Walter Wedlocke', which went through at least four editions. The author states his allegiance to Venus's 'louynge lawes' and claims that his 'hystories... are not fayned, but written by good aucthorite in the boke of Cupides sayntes' (second edition(?) [1558?], STC 25196.5, B8^v). Among 'the fine sorte of writers that now swarm in England' (5.footnote.5-6), Fulwell may have had in mind George Gascoigne, who turned 'From layes of Loue to Satyres sadde and sage' in The Steele Glas (1576) (Complete Works of George Gascoigne, edited by J.W. Cunliffe, 2 vols (Cambridge, 1907-10; rptd. Grosse Pointe, Mich., 1969), II, 139); and George Whetstone, who regretted his 'vaine, wanton and worthlesse Sonets', but included them in The Rocke of Regard (1576, STC 25348) to make it 'the better saileable' (¶2^v).

Moralists of the time were concerned about the

(5.fn. 6-7) flourishing of erotic literature: Thomas Brice made a frontal attack in his broadside Against Filthy writing / and such like delighting ([1562], STC 3725):

What meane the rimes that run thus large in
 euery shop to sell?
 With wanton sound, and filthie sense, me thinke
 it grees not well...
 Tel me is Christ, or Cupide Lord? doth God
 or Venus reigne?

Edward Dering, a puritan minister, attacked 'vaine and synfull imaginations of our owne vnbridled wits, which haue now filled so many volumes', in particular the bawdy songs in

our Songes & Sonets, our Pallaces of pleasure,
 our vnchaste Fables and Tragedies....Yea some
 haue ben so impudent...and haue not bene a
 shamed to entitle their bookes, The Court of
 Venus, The Castle of Loue, and manye such
 other as shamelesse as these.
(A briefe & necessary Instruction, Verye
 needefull to bee knowen of all Housholders
 (1572, STC 6679), A3^v, A3)

John Hall attacked The Court of Venus, and attempted to produce a virtuous rival in The Court of Virtue (1565).

William Lambarde, the Kentish magistrate, submitted a bill in 1580 attempting to restrain

sundrie bookes, pamfletes, Poëesies, ditties,
 songes, and other woorkes...of many sortes
 and names serving (for the great parte of them)
 to none other ende...but only to let in a mayne
 Sea of wickednesse, and to set vp an arte of
 making lasciuious vngodly love...to the
 intollerable corruption of common lyfe and
 manners....(Arber, II, 751; the bill was
 drafted in 1577, two years before Fulwell
 added this passage)

5.12 Mermaydes] A similar idea is expressed in a medieval sermon, which compares the flatterer to a mermaid, which

(5.12) 'syngeth so merry that it maketh schipmen, that hyreth [heareth] it and taketh tent therto, falle in slepe and perisshe in the see' (quoted by Owst, Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England, 2nd revised edition (Oxford, 1961), p.201). According to Fulwell, the mermaids' victims 'sinke in the stinking puddle of follye' (6.4).

6.5,
7-8 the example of Vlisses...your Ladyship haue stopt your eares against their magicall incantations] Ulysses plugged the ears of his comrades with wax so that they could not hear the Sirens' song: Odyssey, XII.177.

6.6 sweete venemous enchauntments] Cornelius Agrippa uses a similar phrase:

with a certaine venemous sweetenesse, like to the Mermaides, with voices, gestures, and lasciuious soundes, doo destroie and corrupte mens mindes.

(Of the Vanitie and Vncertaintie of Artes and Sciences, translated by J. Sanford in 1569, edited by C.M. Dunn (Northridge, 1974), p.67)

Fulwell mentions Agrippa's book below, 129.12.

6.12 inuectiue] 'A rayling, biting, opprobrious discourse, or speech' (Randle Cotgrave, A Dictionarie of the French and English Tongues (1611; facsimile, Columbia, 1950), Aaaii^v); the word was often applied to 'biting' satires: e.g., Cornelius Agrippa, De incertitudine et vanitate scientiarum declamatio inuectiua (1531); Richard Rice, An Inuectiue against vices, taken for Vertue (ca.1575); Lambert Daneau, True and Christian Friendshipp contains 'a right excellent Inuectiue...

(6.12) against the wicked exercise of Diceplay, and other prophane Gaming' (1586, STC 6230, title-page). The word is used again below, 139.23.

6.12-13 illiberal science] Milton makes the distinction: 'Not liberal science, but illiberal must that needs be that mounts in contemplation meerely for money' (Animadversions, in Complete Prose Works of John Milton, edited by D.M. Wolfe, Vol I 1624-1642 (New Haven, 1953), p.720); also Aristotle, Politics, VIII.2:

A task and also an art or a science must be deemed vulgar if it renders the body or soul or mind of free men useless for the employments or actions of virtue.
(translated by H. Rackham, Loeb Classical Library (London & Cambridge, Mass., 1967), pp.637-639)

6.17 Scycophant] 'A scycophant: an accuser: a tale bringer' (Adrian Junius, The Nomenclator, or Remembrancer (1585, STC 14860), p.525 (misnumbered 425)); a malicious accuser; calumniator, traducer, slanderer (OED sb.2).

6.18 captiously] fallaciously, sophistically

6.18-19 turne vpon me the pyke of this edge toole] turn the tables on the author and accuse him of flattery

pyke] spike, sharp point (OED pick sb.¹ II.2)

edge toole] cutting-tool; 'any implement with a sharp cutting edge, as a knife or sword' (OED);

'Her tong is no edge toole, but yet it will cut'

(John Heywood, A Dialogue of Proverbs (1546), edited by R.E. Habenicht (Berkeley & Los Angeles, 1963), 1.578)

TO THE FRIENDLY READER

8.3-4 sapientum octavus, the eyghth wise man] Horace, Satires, II.iii.296: 'Haec mihi Stertinius, sapientum octavus, amico / arma dedit, posthac ne compellarer inultus' - 'Such were the weapons which my friend Stertinius, eighth of the wise men, put in my hands, that no one thereafter might call me names with impunity' (Satires, Epistles and Ars Poetica, edited and translated by H.R. Fairclough, Loeb Classical Library (London & Cambridge, Mass., 1961), pp.176-179). The philosopher Stertinius is ironically added to the Seven Sages, or Seven Wise Men of Greece, 'a name given in ancient tradition to seven men of practical wisdom, statesmen, law-givers and philosophers, of the period 620-550 B.C.' (Paul Harvey, Oxford Companion to Classical Literature (Oxford, 1951), Seven Sages). The phrase 'an eighth wise man' is 'applied ironically to a person who affects to be remarkably wise, or, as we say, "a second Solomon"' (Riley, Dictionary of Latin and Greek Quotations, p.408). Fulwell is referring to himself tongue in cheek, as does Sir John Harington:

Now it is possible that I may be reckoned after these seven, as sapientum octavus, because I will write of A Jakes.
(A New Discourse of a Stale Subject, Called The Metamorphosis of Ajax (1596), edited by E.S. Donno (London, 1962), p.64)

8.4 as wise as Will Sommer] Compare Tilley M636, 'As wise as a man of Gotham'; McKerrow comments that Sommers's name 'was almost a general term for a fool' (Nashe, IV,

(8.4) 420). Will Sommers (or Summers) became court fool to Henry VIII in 1525 and died in 1560 (DNB, XVIII, 667). He was the anti-type of the flatterer: 'Will is ready to do anything but flatter, which is against his vocation' (John Doran, The History of Court Fools (London, 1858), pp.141-142); his anonymous biographer wrote that

he was no carry-tale, nor whisperer, nor flattering insinuator, to breed discord and dissension, but an honest plaine downe-right, that would speake home without halting, and tell the truth of purpose to shame the divel. (A Pleasant History of the Life and Death of Will Summers (1637, STC 22917.5), B6^v-B7)

Fulwell may be paying himself an oblique compliment:

Sommers had the reputation of being a 'shrewd' fool:

'Some cal'd a foole, some held him wise' (Pleasant History, E1). He became a folk hero, and is featured in Nashe's Summers' Last Will and Testament (1592) and Samuel Rowley's When You See Me, You Know Me (1605); see also Enid Welsford, The Fool, pp.165-170.

8.6 dearling] obsolete form of darling (OED)

8.11 gesters] i.e., jesters

8.11 noseled] Trained (OED, nuzzle v².2); as in the Statutes of Thame School, 1574:

that the youth committed unto their charge, may neither through blind ignorance, and lack of knowledge be nousled up in darkness and want of good learning. (Quoted in Foster Watson, The English Grammar School to 1660, p.129)

8.12- like the waspe that liueth vppon the labour of the

(8.12
-13)

paynful Bee]

paynful] painstaking, diligent, careful (OED adj.4);
as below, 76.13-14: 'a painefull preacher'

A commonplace, as in the emblem,

Wee, bring the Hony to the Hive;
But, others, by our labours thrive...
As with such Bees, it fares with many a one,
That, spends his youthfull time in honest thrift;
And, by the Waspe, the Hornet, or the Drone,
Of all their labours, they are soone bereft.
(George Wither, A Collection of Emblemes (1635),
Scholar facsimile (Menston, 1969), p.250);

and Shakespeare, Rape of Lucrece, lines 838-40: 'In thy
weak hive a wandering wasp hath crept, / And suck'd the
honey which thy chaste bee kept.'

8.17 at receipt] The act or practice of receiving stolen goods
(OED, receipt, sb.III.5); also a hunting term: 'a
position taken up to await driven game with fresh hounds;
a relay of men or dogs placed for this purpose' (III.14).
This would link up with the bird-hunting image in the
next sentence.

8.18
-19

They catch the byrdes, for the which other men beat the
bush] Tilley B740, 'One beats the bush and another
catches the bird'; C.G Smith, Spenser's Proverb Lore
(Cambridge, Mass., 1970), no. 82. The proverb is used
again below, 26.17-18.

9.3 affections] dispositions, inclinations (OED sb.4, 5)

9.4 altera natura] Second nature; part of the proverb,
'Usus est altera natura' (Erasmus, Adagia, 1149D);

(9.4) Tilley C932, 'Custom (Use) is another (a second) nature'.

9.4 difficile] the opposite of facile, difficult (OED)

9.5-8 the verye sucking babes hath a kinde of adulation towards their Nurses for the dugg, which...commeth vnto them by corruption of nature] An Elizabethan belief: Tilley E198: 'He sucked evil from the dug'; Erasmus Adagia 283c: 'Cum lacte nutricis'. Tilley cites Elyot's Governor (1531): 'Often times the childe soukethe the vice of his nouryse with the milk of her pappe.' The same idea is expressed by Wilson, Arte of Rhetorique, edited by G.H. Mair, pp. 109-110:

if the Nurse bee of an euill complexion, or haue some hid disease, the childe sucking of her breast, must needes take parte with her.... if the Nurse be of a naughtie nature, the childe must take thereafter.

9.15 flattery and the branches thereof] also itemized below,
-16
41.20-21

9.20-22 a man may buy as much loue at Belinsgate for a box on the eare] Tilley F128, 'You shall have as much favor as at Billingsgate for a box on the ear'; Tilley's earliest example is 1659; The Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs gives Fulwell as above as its earliest example (p.59).

10.1-2 How swift are some men with golden wordes to promes, and how slacke to performe] Tilley P602, 'Great promise small performance'; also M1216, 'He promises golden hills and

- (10.1 -2) performs dirty dales'; and M1217, 'To promise golden mountains'.
- 10.2-3 howe easie to haue a friend in wordes, and how harde to finde one in deeds] Perhaps an amalgam of Tilley W820, 'Not words but deeds', and F693, 'A friend in need is a friend in deed'.
- 10.4 certes] certainly, assuredly
- 10.7 second part] discussed in note on Q1 title-page, ll.1-2
- 10.10 rubbed on the galle] touched on a sore or tender point; Tilley G12

gall] a painful swelling, pustule or blister, especially in a horse; a sore or wound produced by rubbing or chafing (OED, sb² 1)

A proverb often used by satirists: e.g. Skelton (Tilley, loc. cit.); Marston and Rankins (quoted Alden, The Rise of Formal Satire in England, pp.128, 134); Heywood, Dialogue of Proverbs, line 1863: 'Where your words now do but rub hym on the gall.' Fulwell uses the proverb again 107.20 and 144.22.

- 10.fn. blinde Mammon] 5

In Matthew VI.24 and Luke XVI.13, 'Mammon' is an abstract noun meaning wealth, but later it was used as the name of 'the prince of this world' (John XII.31). Medieval and Renaissance tradition often associated Mammon with Plutus, the Greek god of riches. (The Poems of John Milton, edited by John Carey and Alastair Fowler (London & Harlow, 1968), p.500)

The idea of Mammon being blind may be derived from

(10.fn. Aristophanes' Plutus (Wealth), 'a poor blind old man',
5)
afflicted with blindness by Zeus so that he cannot distinguish between good and evil men (Aristophanes, edited and translated by B.B. Rogers, Loeb Classical Library, 3 vols (London & New York, 1924), III, 365, 371). Lucian's Plutus is also blind ('Timon, or the Misanthrope', Loeb Lucian, II, 347, 353-7, 365). Spenser's Mammon in The Faerie Queene II.vii.3, has 'bleard' eyes. Jonson identifies Plutus with Mammon in his masque Love Restored:

Thou, then, art aged, lame, and blind,
And canst nor path, nor persons find.
(Herford & Simpson, VII, 384)

Milton refers to Mammon's blindness in his Animadversions:
'boast not of your eyes, 'tis fear'd you have Balaams disease, a pearle in your eye, Mammons Praestriction' [i.e. cataract] (Complete Prose Works, I, 696-697).

THE PRINTERS DESIRE VNTO THEE (GENTLE READER)...

- 11.7 The fault is mine, the paine is his] A similar sentiment is expressed in Robert Walley's verse 'The Printer to the courteous Reader' in Barnaby Rich, The straunge and wonderfull aduentures of Don Simonides (1581, STC 21002), A4^v: 'The faultes are myne, that passed haue the Presse,/ The praise is his, that tooke the paine to penne.'
- 11.11-
12 By prouerb olde a Palfrey good / May stumble now and then]
Tilley H670, 'It is a good horse that never stumbles'; also H633, 'The best-shod horse does slip sometimes'.

A DESCRIPTION OF THE SEUEN LIBERALL SCIENCES

12.0.1 seuen liberall Sciences] The traditional medieval and Renaissance educational curriculum, comprised of the Trivium (grammar, logic, rhetoric) and the Quadrivium (music, arithmetic, astronomy and geometry); first personified by Martianus Capella in De Nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii, written between 410 and 439 (Adolf Katzenellenbogen, 'The Representation of the Seven Liberal Arts', in Twelfth-Century Europe and the Foundations of Modern Society, edited by M. Clagett et al. (Madison, 1961), 39-55 (pp.40-41); and described in the medieval encyclopaedic work The Mirrour of the World, translated and published by Caxton [1481]. They were featured as personifications in several English poems: e.g., The Courte of Sapyence, attributed to John Lydgate, and Stephen Hawes, The Pastime of Pleasure.

12.0.2 the eight (Q1b eighth)] Perhaps Thomas Heywood had Fulwell's conception of an eighth liberal science in mind in Philocothonista, or the Drunkard Opened, Dissected, and Anatomized (1635) in which he echoed both the title and the idea of The Art of Flattery:

There is now profest an eighth liberal art or science, call'd Ars Bibendi, i.e. the Art of Drinking. The students or professors thereof call a greene garland, or painted hoope hang'd out, a colledge...
(quoted in John Brand, Popular Antiquities, revised and enlarged by Sir Henry Ellis, 3 vols (London, 1849), II, 337)

- 12.1-2 youthfull brest...tender yeares] Because grammar was the first subject studied at school: it is 'the fyrst famous arte'; 'Of euery scyence / it is orygynall' (Hawes, The Pastime of Pleasure, edited by W.E. Mead, EETS (London, 1928), 11.580, 529). In art, Grammar is depicted surrounded by children: e.g. Hawes, p.25.
- 12.5 My key in hand shall ope the gate of skill] Grammar 'is the grounde / the gate / the entrynge To all the noble artes lyberall' (Lydgate, The Courte of Sapyence ([1510], STC 17016), e8). In Reisch's Margarita Philosophica (1503), Grammar is shown holding a large key about to enter the 'House of Learning' (Plate 41, The Legacy of the Middle Ages, edited by C.G. Crump & E.F. Jacob (Oxford, 1926); in the Hortus Deliciarum she is also shown holding a key (Figure 8, Katzenellenbogen, 'The Representation of the Seven Liberal Arts').
- 12.6 My Booke on brest] So shown in the figure of Grammar in the sculptures of the Seven Liberal Arts on the Royal Portal of Chartres Cathedral: the book is held open on her breast with the pages outward so that the two small children who sit at her feet can see them (Figure 1, in Clagett, Twelfth-Century Europe).
- 12.8 the rule to reason] as in Thomas Wilson's The Rule of Reason, conteinyng the Arte of Logique (1551)
- 12.11-12; My fastened fist much matter doth import, / Coucht in few

13.5-6 words fit for the learned sort.../ Lo heere with open hand I do display, / The flowing flood of eloquence alway]

Zeno beyng asked the difference betwene Logique and Rethorique, made answeere by Demonstration of his Hande, declaring that when his hande was closed, it resembled Logique, when it was open and stretched out, it was like Rethorique.
(Wilson, The Rule of Reason (1551, STC 25809), B3^V)

Logic...so much as is useful, is to be referred to this due place withal, her well couched Heads and Topics, until it be time to open her contracted palm into a graceful and ornate Rhetoric taught out of the rule of Plato, Aristotle, Phalereus, Cicero, Hermogenes, Longinus.

(Milton, quoted in Foster Watson, The English Grammar School to 1660, p.90)

The idea of the 'few words' of Logic contrasted with the 'flowing flood of eloquence' of Rhetoric is made by Wilson in his mnemonic poem in The Rule of Reason, B2:

Logique by art settes furth the truth,
And doth tel [vs] what is vayne.
Rethorique at large paintes wel the cause,
And makes that seme right gay,
Whiche Logique spake but at a worde,
And taught as by the way.

13.3 golden study] Hawes refers to Rhetoric as 'golden':
'swete and sentencyous Depaynted with golde...The golden rethoryke' (Pastime of Pleasure, lines 911-914); The Courte of Sapyence refers to the 'gylted craft' of Tullius, 'chosen spouse' of Rhetoric (f1^V).

13.7 dumpish] Sad, melancholy, 'in the dumps' (OED adj.2);
as in 'With dolefull tunes, for dumpish eares' (The Poems of Robert Southwell, S.J., edited by J.H. McDonald & N.P. Brown (Oxford, 1967), p.72).

- 13.9 clog] A heavy piece of wood often attached to the neck of a man or beast (OED sb.2); this would account for his 'drouping' head in line 7.
- 13.9 soking sorowes] draining, exhausting; OED ppl.a.1 cites Churchyard's Chippes (1575): 'For soaking soores, a souraigne salve could finde.'
- 13.12 drawes eche blisse, and driues eche foule mishap] Hawes also stresses the power of music
- To reioyce the yeres [ears] / and confort the brayne...
Deuoydyng bad thoughtes / whiche dyde remayne
It gladdeth the herte.
(The Pastime of Pleasure, lines 1577-1580)
- 13.13 sciphering] using Arabic numerals in the process of arithmetic; working the elementary rules of arithmetic (OED vb.1)
- 14.2 globe] Astronomy's globe is depicted in Caxton's Mirroure of the World, edited by O.H. Prior, EETS (London, 1966), p.40, fig.11; and in the Margarita Philosophica, reproduced in Mead's edition of The Pastime of Pleasure, p.lxv.
- 14.7,
9 the Compasse and the other tooles, / ... My Rule and Quadrant]
- And Geometrye her subtyll crafte out ronge...
She sat at lust with lynes large and longe
Compass rule / plumbe / and many instrument
With fygures queynte and all to her entent
Of euyer thyng to geue the true mesure.
(The Courte of Sapyence, f2^v)

Geometry holds a compass in the Margarita Philosophica;
a large compass and a rule in a miniature of 'Philosophy

- (14.7, 9) and the Liberal Arts' (Fig.9, Clagett, Twelfth-Century Europe); and a compass in Caxton's Mirroir of the World (Prior's edition, p.37, fig.9). The quadrant, 'an instrument, properly having the form of a graduated quarter-circle, used for taking altitudes in astronomy and navigation' (OED sb.¹ 5), is associated with astronomy rather than geometry in Hawes (pp.lxix, 103).
- 14.14 Suruiew] survey
- 14.15 clips] an aphetic form of 'eclipse' (OED)
- 14.18 I geue the trip and they shall take the fall] A wrestling term: 'I gyve one a tryppe, or caste my foote byfore hym to gyve hym a fall' (Palsgrave (1530), quoted OED sb.¹ II.5). Compare Tilley T526, 'To take one in a trip'.
- 15.2 Percace] perchance, perhaps
- 15.4 Nice Musik as a Minstrell men regard] OED points out that down to the end of the sixteenth century the word 'minstrel' was 'a general designation for any one whose profession was to entertain his patrons with singing, music, and story-telling, or with buffoonery or 'juggling', and that it was commonly used to designate 'a mere jester, mountebank, or conjurer'; as opposed to its present 'narrowed and elevated application'.

Cornelius Agrippa would agree with this view of music:

although men confesse that this Arte hath mucche sweetenesse, yet the common opinion is, and also euery one maie see it by experience, that it is the exercise of base men....For this cause Musicke hath euer bene wandringe here

- (15.4) and there for price and pence, and is the seruaunte of bawdrie.
(Of the Vanitie and Vncertaintie of Artes and Sciences, p.66)
- 15.6 shift] fraudulent or evasive device (OED sb.III.4)
- 15.7 Geometrie may iog on barels bun] A puzzling line, which becomes clearer if we take 'iog' as an obsolete form of 'jag': 'to pierce with a sharp instrument, to stab', or 'to pierce, thrust, pick' (OED v.¹ 1, 1.c). Instead of Geometry's compass being used to draw circles and diagrams, it is used to pierce a 'barels bun', the bung, or stopper, of a barrel; instead of working 'such wonders as seeme strange' (14.8), she has declined into using her 'toolles' to obtain the dregs of the barrel.
- 15.17 I spin the threed and weue the web of hap] Flattery elevates herself to the level of the Fates. For 'hap' see note to 1.13.

THE FIRST DIALOGUE BETWEENNE THE AUTHOR AND THE PRINTER

- 16.0.2 the printer] William Hoskins, as line 11 makes clear. R.B. McKerrow expresses disappointment that this dialogue sheds no light upon the relationship of author to printer in the Elizabethan period (An Introduction to Bibliography for Literary Students (Oxford, 1967), p.205).
- Another dialogue, in verse, between author and printer appears in A new booke intituled the blasinge of bawdrie, by R.C., Citizen (1574, STC 4295, A3-A5).
- 16.1 Fortune is blinde] Tilley F604 (earliest example 1588);

- (16.1) the Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs has earlier examples, but does not cite Fulwell, and has no examples of the use of the proverb between c.1500 and 1583.

Wither explains Fortune's blindness in his Emblemes:

She is blinde,

(Or, hath still closed eyes) to put in minde,
How blindly, and how heedlesly, she throwes
Her Largesse, where her Bounty, she bestowes.
(A Collection of Emblemes (1635), p.174)

- 16.4 fooles doth aduaunce] Referring to the proverb, below, 16.12-13; compare Tilley G220, 'God sends fortune to fools'.
- 16.12 Fortuna fauet fatuis] Latin proverb (Alfred Henderson, Latin Proverbs and Quotations (London, 1869), p.132). It was used by Nashe in Pierce Penilesse (McKerrow's Nashe, I, 158); McKerrow comments that 'The saying, either in Latin or in English, is exceedingly frequent, but so far as I am aware no origin has been found' (IV, 89). McKerrow and Herford and Simpson, commenting on Jonson's use of the English version of the proverb in the Prologue to The Alchemist and in Every Man Out of his Humour, I.2.178-9, connect it with Virgil's 'Audentes fortuna iuvat' (Aeneid, X.284), and Terence's 'Fortis fortuna adiuvat' (Phormio, 203) (McKerrow's Nashe, IV, 89; Herford & Simpson, IX, 428). Tilley, quoting from the Q2 text of The Art of Flattery, does not mention the Latin origin of the English proverb (Tilley F600).
- 16.12 Fortune fauoreth fooles] Tilley F600
- 13
- 16.13 Fortune fauoreth Fulwell] with a pun on 'fool-well'

- 17.1 happelye] i.e. haply; perhaps, maybe
- 17.22 geeue you warrantise] guarantee, give assurance (OED sb.2.b)
- 18.4 Naunton] An important reading, found only in Q1a, as discussed in Textual Introduction; Fulwell became rector of Naunton in 1570 (Biography, pp.76-77).
- 18.20 certes] as above, note to 10.4
- 19.2 prety sleight] ingenious trick; repeated 61.15-16
prety] ingenious, artful, clever (OED adj.II.2.a)
sleight] cunning trick, artifice (W.W. Skeat & A.L. Mayhew, A Glossary of Tudor and Stuart Words (Oxford, 1914), p.367; OED sb.¹ 1)

Spenser uses a similar phrase in 'Colin Clouts Come Home Again', line 692:

and he doth soonest rise
That best can handle his deceitful wit,
In subtil shifts, and finest sleights deuise.

- 19.10 my threedebare cloke] Perhaps an oblique reference to the poverty of the clergy; William Harrison in his Description of England (1577) states that:

Not a few also find fault with our threadbare gowns, as if not our patrons but our wives were causes of our woe...the cause of our threadbare gowns would easily appear, for such patrons do scrape the wool from our cloaks. (edited by G. Edelen (Ithaca, N.Y., 1968), p.38)

- 19.13 swingd vp and downe] Strutted or flaunted: a rare use of the word in this sense. OED cites the nonce-word 'swingebreech' (1581), 'one who struts or flaunts about';

(19.13) otherwise the closest sense it gives is 'swing' v.¹ 3:
 'to move or go impetuously; to rush; to fling oneself'.
 The earliest example of 'swing' in the sense of 'to walk
 with a swinging step' is 1854 (v.¹ 13).

19.15 malapert] presumptuous, impudent

19.17 Double Diligence] Double in the sense of 'acting in a
 double manner...; characterized by duplicity; false,
 deceitful' (OED A.adj.5); as in Nashe, Summers Last Will
 and Testament, lines 1162-3:

Simplicitie and plainnesse, you I loue:
 Hence double diligence, thou mean'st deceit.
 (McKerrow's Nashe, III, 270)

In Respublica, Adulation assures Respublica: 'Madame ye
 shall fynde me double diligente' (Respublica (1553),
 edited by W.W. Greg, EETS (London, 1952), 1.553).

Diligence is a character in several plays: Lindsay's
Ane Satyre of the Thrie Estaitis; The Three Lords and
 Three Ladies of London; and John Redford's Wit and Science.

19.18 iussell] jostle

19.21 proude of his Pecoocks plewmes] Tilley P157, 'As proud
 as a peacock.'

19.22 ostent his brauery by my contrary]

ostent] show off, display ostentatiously or
 boastfully (OED 'ostentate')

A similar situation is described by Plaine-Dealing in
 Dekker's The Whore of Babylon (II.1.81): a gallant 'cast

(19.22) off his cloake, hauing good cloathes vnderneath, single out some in the roome worse accoustred then himselfe, with him to walke boldly vp and downe strutting' (The Dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker, edited by Fredson Bowers, 4 vols (Cambridge, 1953-1961), II, 521).

20.9-
11

I founde the Poets and paynters true men and not lyers, for shee was muffled from her chin to the top of her temples] As in Henry V, III.6.31:

Fortune is painted blind, with a muffler afore her eyes, to signify to you that Fortune is blind:...in good truth, the poet makes a most excellent description of it.

That Fortune was a favourite subject for painters and poets is also suggested by the Painter and Poet in Timon of Athens (I.1). According to Greene, the famous Greek artist Zeuxis painted Fortune, although not 'muffled':

Ah despightfull and iniurious Fortune...well did Zeuxes paynt thee blinde, and yet without a vane, as hauing thine eyes not couered with a lawne, but darkened with despight.
(Greenes farewell to folly (1591, STC 12241), D3^V)

Fortune was a favourite motif of the emblem books, and was often represented as blindfolded (Rosemary Freeman, English Emblem Books (London, 1948), p.120; Robert J. Clements, Picta Poesis: Literary and Humanistic Theory in Renaissance Emblem Books (Rome, 1960), p.26; A. Henkel & A. Schöne, Emblemata: Handbuch Zur Sinnbildkunst des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts (Stuttgart, 1967), pp.147, 1116 (a sculptor working on a relief of Fortune), 1232, 1797, 1801, 1802; H.R. Patch, The Goddess Fortuna in

(20.9
-11

Medieval Literature (New York, 1967), p.44 and footnote 3; and F.P. Pickering, Literature and Art in the Middle Ages (London, 1970), p.184). Jean Cousin (c.1500-c.1589) in a drawing of 'Fortuna Fenestralis' shows her veiled rather than blindfolded (Le Livre de Fortune Receuil de Cents Dessins Inédits, edited by L. Lalanne (Paris & London, 1883), Plate 149). Pickering has an extensive discussion of the iconography and concept of Fortune in the middle ages and Renaissance, pp.168-222.

20.sn.
13-14

dealing of her doale] Perhaps Fulwell had in mind the custom of the funeral dole, at which large sums of money were sometimes given away, and to which beggars swarmed (W.K. Jordan, Philanthropy in England 1480-1660 (London, 1959), pp.119, 255, 343).

20.14
-15

as I haue sene the priest in time past, deale holy bred]
J.R.H. Moorman describes the method of administering the sacrament in the Elizabethan period: the congregation

gathered round the altar, sitting in the choir stalls or standing beside the table. There was no system of 'going up' to receive the Sacrament which was normally carried round to the people as they stood, sat or knelt.
(A History of the Church of England (London, 1953), pp.219-220)

With a careless minister, the bread could be unequally divided among the congregation. There was a controversy over whether 'common bread' or 'wafer bread' should be used at communion; ordinary bread was used in the Queen's chapel (R.M. Woolley, The Bread of the Eucharist (London, 1913), pp.33-39).

20.15
-16

shee gaue too muche to very many, but inoughe to none]

Derived from the Latin epigram by Martial, 'Fortuna multis dat nimis, satis nulli' - 'Fortune to many gives too much, enough to none' (Epigrams, XII.10, edited & translated by W.C.A. Ker, Loeb Classical Library, 2 vols (Cambridge, Mass. & London, 1961), II, 325). The phrase was translated by Sir John Harington:

Fortune (men say) doth giue too much to many:
But yet she neuer gaue enough to any.
(Epigrams both pleasant and serious (1615,
STC 12775), no. 63, D2^v)

20.17 sacietie] satiety

20.19 gaped wide] Gape: to open the mouth open wide, esp. in order to bite or swallow anything (OED vb.1); to gape after or for: to be eager to obtain, to have a longing for something (vb.4). Perhaps Fulwell has at the back of his mind the proverb, 'He that gapes until he be fed, well may he gape until he be dead' (Tilley G31), or Heywood's 'He that gapeth tyll he be fed, / Maie fortune to fast, and famishe for hunger' (A Dialogue of Proverbs, edited by R.E. Habenicht, line 498). Certainly the idea of going hungry is expressed at the end of the sentence. Fortune in Boethius's Consolation of Philosophy complains that men are 'euer gapyng, redy to receyue more and more' (translation of George Colville (1556), edited by E.B. Bax (London, 1897), p.33).

21.4 fist] 'the hand, not necessarily clenched or closed'
(OED sb.¹ 2)

21.4-5 it rayned pottage, but I wanted a dish] Tilley P510;

Tilley's earliest example is 1583.

21.6 William Sommers kynred] Fortune not only favours fools

but also the unworthy; as in Wither's Emblemes (1635), p.224:

Her favours, Fortune, oft imparts,
To those that are of no deserts...
For, thus, unworthily, blind Fortune flings,
To Crowes, and Geese, and Swine, her precious things.

William Sommers is discussed in note to 8.4 above.

21.7 Pierce Pickthank] He reappears as one of the characters
in the Sixth Dialogue.

Pickthank] 'one who "picks a thank", i.e. curries favour
with another, esp. by informing against some one else; a
flatterer, sycophant; a tale-bearer, tell-tale' (OED A.sb.).
Adrian Junius defines 'Adulator' as 'A flatterer: a
clawbacke: a pickethanke' (The Nomenclator, or Remembrancer
(1585, STC 14860), p.523). Whitney associates him with
treachery and deceit:

Here fauninge foes, here fained frendes are rife.
With pickthankes, blabbes, and subtill Sinons broode,
Who when wee truste, they worke our ouerthrowe,
And vndermine the grounde, wheron wee goe.
(A Choice of Emblemes (1586), edited by Henry
Green, 2nd edition (New York, 1967), p.150)

Green defines pickthanks as 'officious parasites', and
quotes Daniel, 'Base pick-thank flattery' (p.261). There
is a 'Prig Pickthanke' in a book entered to Richard Jones
in 1581: 'The Picture of Twoo pernicious varlettes
Called PRIG PICKTHANKE and CLEM CLAWBACKE, described by
a peevishe painter' (Arber II, 401).

- 21.7-8 Frances the Flatterer] The flattering friar in the Third Dialogue is also called Francis.
- 21.9 Dauy Dissembler] 'Diuisiō double faced dauie' is one of the 'whole Alphabete' of 'A rable of Roysterly ruffelers', the officers of Moros in William Wager's The Longer Thou Livest the More Fool Thou Art (c.1568), Tudor Facsimile Texts (Edinburgh & London, 1910), F4^v.
- 21.15 beutifull Ladye of comly feature] Petrarch, who comes face to face with Truth in the beginning of his Secretum Meum, similarly stresses her 'wondrous beauty': 'I was greatly astonished to behold a very beautiful Lady,.... She seemed as one whose beauty is not known, as it might be, to mankind' (Petrarch's Secret, or the Soul's Conflict with Passion, translated by W.H. Draper (London, 1911), pp.3, 1).
- 21.15 in verye modest attire] 'Truth has a good face but ill clothes', according to the proverb (Tilley T571). In Dekker's The Whore of Babylon (1607), Truth is 'discovered' in the opening dumb show 'in sad abiliments'; in III.3 she describes herself to Plaine-Dealing: 'I am not gorgious in attire, / But simple, plaine and homely' (Dramatic Works, II, 500, 549).
- 21.16 simplicitie] freedom from artifice, deceit or duplicity (OED 3)
- 21.18 simple] innocent (OED A.adj.I.1)

- 22.7 abiection] cast off, rejected (OED A.ppl.1)
- 22.11 rubbed out] Continued in a certain course with more or less difficulty or restraint; contrived (OED vb.¹ III.15); as in The Return from Parnassus (Hazlitt's Dodsley, IX, 125): 'let us prove coneycatchers, bawds, or anything, so we may rub out'; used below 61.5.
- 22.12 ripte vp] Opened up, raked up, brought up again into notice or discussion (OED vb.² 4.b); as in A Packe of Spanish Lyes sent abroad in the World;...Now ripped up, unfolded (1588, STC 23011); and Dekker, The Whore of Babylon, II.1.111: 'rip vp the bowels of vice in such a beastly manner, that...the beholders learne more villany then they knew before' (Dramatic Works, II, 522); used below 70.10.
- 22.16 plunges] the point of being plunged or overwhelmed in trouble, difficulty, or danger; a critical situation, crisis (OED 'plunge' sb.II.5)
- 22.19 subuersion] overthrow, ruin
- 22.20 wordly] Obsolete form of 'worldly' (OED), perhaps with a quibble on 'wordy'; Q2 text has 'worldly'; used by Wyclif, 'ne for bodily alms ne for wordly goods' (Two Short Treatises, against the order of the Begging Friars (1608, STC 25589), C1; and Wilson's Arte of Rhetorique:

If others neuer get more by bookes then I haue done: it were better to be a Carter, then a Scholar, for wordly profite. (A5)

22.21
-22

viperous broode of cursed Cain] According to OED,
'viperous brood' is a common term of opprobrium at this period. Genesis IV contains the story of Cain and a list of his descendants, but there is no suggestion in the Bible that they persecuted Truth; but traditionally the 'Cainites' came to be associated with

the progressive degeneration of the religious condition of man, the evil gaining a predominance over the good by its alliance with worldly power and knowledge, and producing the state of things which necessitated the flood.
(W. Smith & J.M. Fuller, A Dictionary of the Bible, 2nd edition, 3 vols (London, 1893), I.i, 481)

23.4 Noah] Genesis VI-VIII

23.7-8 after stormes and tempest fayre weather doeth ensue]

Tilley S908, 'After a storm comes a calm (fair weather)'.

23.11 Lady Pleasure] Reminiscent of some of the characters in the morality plays: e.g., Sensualitie who opposes Verity in Sir David Lindsay's Ane Satyre of the Thrie Estaitis; or Voluptas in The Castle of Perseverance. Pleasure appears as a (male) character in two interludes: The Trial of Treasure; and The Three Lords and Three Ladies of London: in both these plays Pleasure is converted to good uses, and lacks the sinister and evil aspect of Fulwell's Lady Pleasure. His conception may have been influenced by the 'picture in words' of Pleasure in St Augustine's City of God (which he refers to in Like Will to Like, 1.757); she is like 'some domineering and vulgar woman' (City of God, V.xx, translated by W.M. Green, Loeb

(23.11) Classical Library, 7 vols (London & Cambridge, Mass., 1963), II, 247).

23.16 sugred delightes, sauced with bitter gall] reminiscent of the proverb 'There is no honey without gall' (Tilley H556); also 'as bitter as gall' (Tilley G11)

23.20 comfortable] in the now obsolete sense of 'strengthening and supporting (morally or spiritually)' (OED a.adj.I.1)

23.21 deepe dungeon of dispaire] Spenser's Cave of Despair immediately springs to mind (Faerie Queene, I.ix.33).

24.13 professor of holy write] referring to the fact that Fulwell was a clergyman

25.3 primatiue Church] 'The Christian Church in its earliest and (by implication) purest times' (OED A.adj.I.1), which Bishop Jewel claims is the foundation on the Church of England:

We have searched out of the Holy Bible, which we are sure cannot deceive, one sure form of religion, and have returned again unto the primative church of the ancient fathers and apostles, that is to say, to the first ground and beginning of things, as unto the very foundations and headsprings of Christ's Church. (An Apology of the Church of England, translated by Lady Anne Bacon, edited by J.E. Booty (Ithaca, 1963), p.135)

25.5 doctors] The Doctors of the Church, 'certain early "fathers" distinguished by their eminent learning, so as to have been teachers not only in the Church, but of the Church, and by their heroic sanctity' (OED sb.3.a). Sir David Lindsay also links the Doctors with Truth:

- (25.5) Devoit Doctours and Clarkis of renoun
Now in the Kirk sall haue dominioun:
And Gude-counsall with Ladie Veritie.
(Ane Satyre of the Thrie Estaitis, edited by
J. Kinsley (London, 1954), p.171)
- 25.12 wealth bewitcheth the mind of man] Tilley W201, 'Wealth
makes wit waver'; also W202, 'Wealth makes worship'.
- 25.15 cocatrice] A serpent, identified with the Basilisk,
fabulously said to kill by its mere glance, and to be
hatched from a cock's egg (OED sb.1); also a prostitute
(OED sb.3), as in Lindsay's Ane Satyre of the Thrie Estaitis
p.114: 'That Cockatrice, that commoun huir'. The latter
fits in with the description of Lady Pleasure as an
'abominable strumpet' (23.11).
- 25.20 Fleshly Appetite...Pride...Ambition] Again, these
-21 personifications remind one of the abstractions in the
morality plays: Voluptas and Superbia in The Castle of
Perseverance, Pride and Ambition in The Three Lords and
Three Ladies of London.
- 26.7 Ladie Vertue] Virtue appears in two plays set in
juxtaposition to Fortune: in The Contention between
Liberality and Prodigality (1567?) Fortune complains that
'she me rejects; / I her despise, she setteth me at nought'
(Hazlitt's Dodsley, VIII, 342); in Dekker's Old Fortunatus
both Virtue and Vice are in Fortune's train, but at the
end of the play, Fortune kneels to Virtue and acknowledges
her as empress (V.2.315). In Like Will to Like, Virtuous
Life comments on pleasure, virtue and fortune:

(26.7) Some there be that do fortune prefer;
 Some esteem pleasure more than virtuous life;
 But in my opinion all such do err,
 For virtue and fortune be not at strife.
 Where virtue is, fortune must needs grow,
 But fortune without virtue hath soon the overthrow.
 (Four Tudor Interludes, p.150, l.766)

26.12 Queene of Saba] I Kings X.1-13; 'called Sheba in the Authorised Version of the Bible, but Saba is the correct form' (Sugden, Topographical Dictionary, p.445). Queen Elizabeth was often compared to the Queen of Sheba: e.g., in Cranmer's prophecy at her christening in Shakespeare's Henry VIII:

she shall be...

A pattern to all princes living with her,
 And all that shall succeed: Saba was never
 More covetous of wisdom and fair virtue
 Than this pure soul shall be. (V.5.21)

The Queen of Sheba was a by-word for wisdom: 'as wise as Saba' (Marlowe, Faustus, II.1.153; Sugden p.445).

26.14 my wandring pilgrimage] The idea of Truth as a wanderer on earth is expressed by Bishop Jewel:

It hath been an old complaint, even from the first time of the patriarchs and prophets, and confirmed by the writings and testimonies of every age, that the truth wandereth here and there as a stranger in the world.
 (An Apology of the Church of England, p.7)

Jewel cites Tertullian's Apology, chapter 1: 'Truth knows that she is a stranger on earth and easily finds enemies among men of another allegiance' (Apology, De Spectaculis, translated by T.R. Glover, Loeb Classical Library (London & Cambridge, Mass., 1960), p.3).

- 26.15 palaiice of blind Fortune] Fulwell explained the meaning of Fortune's palace in Q2: above, p.10, footnote, ll.8-10. Her palace is discussed in Patch, The Goddess Fortuna in Mediaeval Literature, pp.140-143.
- 26.17 wise men beat the bush and fooles catch the birdes] A variation on Tilley B740, used above 8.18-19; compare Tilley M605, 'Wise men propose and fools dispose'.
- 26.18 valiant men crack the nuts, but cowards eat the curnels] A variation of Tilley K19, 'He that will eat the kernel let him crack the nut'.
- 26.20 Homer] Fulwell's account of Homer coming to the court, 'accompanied with the .ix. Muses' but being 'litle regarded', may be derived from the Homeric epigram 'Cuma refusing his [Homer's] offer t'eternise their state, though brought thither by the Muses', which begins (in Chapman's translation):
- O to what Fate hath father Jove given O're
My friendles life, borne ever to be Pore?
(Chapman's Homer: the Iliad, the Odyssey and the Lesser Homerica, edited by Allardyce Nicoll, 2 vols (London, 1957), II, 606)
- It tells how Homer visited Cuma, at the instigation of the Muses, but left after being harshly treated.
- 26.22 coale prophet] 'One who pretends, by magic or occult means, to predict the future, tell fortunes, etc.' (OED 'cole-prophet'). There is a proverbial expression, 'to play cole-prophet' (Tilley C510).
- 27.2-5 Frend Homer...swine] A free translation of Ovid,

(27.2
-5) Ars Amatoria, II.279-280: 'Though you come, Homer, and all the Muses with you, if you bring nothing, Homer, out you go!' (The Art of Love, and Other Poems, translated by J.H. Mozley (London & Cambridge, Mass., 1957), p.85). William Harrison quotes the Latin lines of Ovid in his Description of England (first published in 1577 in Holinshed's Chronicles), when he is describing methods of obtaining benefices:

not so much as the room of a common soldier is not obtained oftentimes without a 'What will you give me?' I am brought into such mistrust of the sequel of this device that I dare pronounce (almost for certain) that if Homer were now alive, it should be said to him:

Tuque licet venias musis comitatus Homere,
Si nihil attuleris, ibis Homere foras.
(Description of England, edited by G. Edelen (Ithaca, 1968), p.39)

gard] guard, train

feede among the swine] referring to the prodigal son, Luke XV.15-16; used again below 137.4

27.8-9 being ded, the great conqueror Alexander spake of him much worship] Alexander's admiration for Homer is a theme often repeated in Renaissance literature: e.g., by Sir Philip Sidney:

This Alexander left his Schoolemaister, living Aristotle, behinde him, but tooke deade Homer with him:...the chiefe thing he ever was heard to wish for, was, that Homer had been alive.
(Apologie for Poetrie, edited by E.S. Shuckburgh (Cambridge, 1905), p.43, and note on p.130)

Also Erasmus, Apophthegmes, translated by N. Udall, chapter on Alexander, p.223, and pp.228-230; Elyot, The Governour, edited by H.H.S. Croft, 2 vols (London,

(27.8 1883), I, 59.
-9)

27.10-11 wise men are not wanted, till they are lodged in their graues] Tilley quotes this as an example of the proverb 'He will be missed when he is gone' (Tilley M1015); compare Tilley W924, 'The worth of a thing is best known by the want'.

27.16 cold suit] Cold: without power to move or influence (OED a.II.11); as in The Merchant of Venice, II.7.73: 'Fare you well; your suit is cold.'

27.23 Englande] In Lodge's Truths Complaint Ouer England (1584) Truth tells the poet that in England formerly

There was I lou'de and sought too euerie howre,
Their Prince content with plainnesse loued Truth.
(Complete Works of Thomas Lodge, edited by E.W. Gosse (Glasgow, 1883), I, 86)

28.2 in the court, city and country] Proverbial, Tilley C725; Tilley quotes this passage.

28.3 beshrew] curse, blame - used humorously or playfully (OED v.3b)

THE SECOND DIALOGUE BETWENE THE AUTHOR AND LADY FORTUNE

29.0.2 the Author and Lady Fortune] There are several famous dialogues between an author and Fortune: Boethius's Consolation of Philosophy, Book II, which was translated by Chaucer; Chaucer's poem 'Fortune' contains complaints against Fortune and her reply; Boccaccio's dialogue with Fortune at the beginning of Book VI of De Casibus Virorum

(29.0.2) Illustrium was translated by Lydgate.

- 29.1 Hap hazard] Gabriel Harvey also associates the phrase with Fortune: 'Who but happ hazarder in Madame fortunes lapp?' (Letter-Book of Gabriel Harvey, edited by E.J.L. Scott (London, 1884; rptd. London & New York, 1965), p.142).
- 29.2 You lift vp a foole, and a wise man downe cast] as above, 16.3-4
- 29.3 iack] low-bred or ill-mannered fellow (OED sb.¹ 2)
- 29.4 checketh] rebukes, reproves, reprimands (OED v.¹ III.11)
- 29.5 sit by the heeles] Similar to the proverbial 'To cool one's heels', Tilley H391.
- 29.7 winke] I.e. in the sense of having one's eyes shut or blindfolded (OED v.¹ 1, and present participle); Fortune's eyes are 'muffled' in Fulwell's description 20.11.
- 30.11 who so bolde as blinde Bayarde] Tilley B112; 'bayard' means bay-coloured, and was the name of the magic steed given by Charlemagne to Renaud, one of the four sons of Aimon; later Bayard became 'the type of blindness or blind recklessness' and the name was applied to 'one... who has the self-confidence of ignorance' (OED sb.¹ 1, 2, 3). A popular proverb, John Heywood used it in his Dialogue of Proverbs, edited by R.E. Habenicht, p.110:
- Boldly and blyndly I ventred on this,
How be it, who so bolde as blynde bayard is?
- He also wrote an epigram on it in his Three Hundred Epigrammes, vpon Three Hundred Prouerbes, no.101.

- 30.14 frumps] Sneers, jeers, mockery (OED sb.1, 2); 'sharpe rebuking of our aduersarie, or frumpes', according to Wilson, Arte of Rhetorique, p.10; he describes those 'able to abashe a right worthie man, and make him at his wittes ende, through the sodaine quicke, and vnlooked frumpe giuen' (p.135).
- 30.23 somehat hath some sauour] Tilley S620; Tilley's earliest
-31.1 example is 1585.
- 31.2-3 may cary awaye my gaines in my eye and not blemish my sight] Intimating that he got nothing by Fortune; proverbial, Tilley W506, 'I might put my winnings in my eye and see never the worse'; Tilley quotes Fulwell. Heywood uses the proverb in A Dialogue of Proverbs, l.1077:
 At ende I myght put my wynnynge in myne iye,
 And see neuer the wors. for ought I wan them by.
- 31.5 vertue] 'the power or operative influence inherent in a supernatural or divine being' (OED sb.I.1)
- 31.12 scambling] Scamble: 'to struggle with others for money, fruit, sweetmeats, etc. lying on the ground or thrown to a crowd; hence, to struggle in an indecorous and rapacious manner in order to obtain something'; a 'scambling day' was one on which free food was doled out (OED vb.1, vbl. sb.b). Avarice in Respublica says that 'I doubte not to skamble and rake as well as one' (l.176), and boasts:
 This bag have I kepte of other sectourships whole,
 whiche the madde knaves woulde have scattered by
 penie dole.

- (31.12) This is of Churche goodes scraped vpp withoute alawe,
For which was a quicke scrambling as ever I sawe. (1.865)
- 31.13 stande at receyte] Stand ready to receive; in hunting,
'a position taken up to await driven game with fresh
hounds' (OED 'receipt' sb.10, 14). Fulwell conveys the
sense of disappointed anticipation: he 'stands at receipt'
but only 'to take vp nothing'.
- 32.6 blockhedly] The earliest example in OED is 1612: 'your
blockheadly tradesman' (Chapman).
- 32.11 the longer a man liueth the more he may lerne] Tilley
-12 L393; Tilley quotes Fulwell as his earliest example.
- 32.18 Scientia liberalissima] The most liberal science - with
a pun on 'liberal' as the rest of the sentence makes clear.
- 33.3 qui nescit Simulare, nescit Viuere] 'Qui nescit dissimulare
nescit vivere' is a Latin proverb (Riley, Dictionary of
Latin and Greek Quotations, p.368; the favourite maxim of
several monarchs - Frederic Barbarossa, Philip II of Spain,
and Louis XI (Sir Gurney Benham, Benham's Book of
Quotations, Proverbs and Household Words (London, 1948), 679a).
It was used in Wily Beguiled (Hazlitt's Dodsley, IX, 248):
you shall see me deal so cunningly, that he shall
make me an instrument to compass his desire....
Qui dissimulare nescit, nescit vivere.
- 33.4-5 Hee that knoweth not how to dissemble cannot tel how to
liue] Tilley D386; Tilley does not cite Fulwell. He
gives a quotation from Pettie (1581) which links the
proverb specifically with flattery: 'Hee which knoweth

(33.4
-5) not howe to glose and flatter, knoweth not howe to behave
himselpe in companie.' Also used by Palingenius, The
firste syxe bokes of the zodiake of life, translated by
Barnabe Googe (1561, STC 19149), K7^v-K8:

For now the time is such
That wisdom great it is to faine,
(as true the people say)
He cannot liue that knows not how
with both his handes to play.

33.18 froward] Disposed to go counter to what is demanded or
what is reasonable; perverse (OED A.adj.1); used again
below 65.13. The adjective was often used to describe
Fortune: 'The froward Fortune and contraire', 'froward
Fortune and pervers' (Chaucer, The Romaunt of the Rose,
in Works, ll.5411, 5467); she is 'Now debonaire, now
froward to do grace' (Lydgate, Fall of Princes, edited by
H. Bergen, 4 vols, EETS (London, 1924), III, Book VI, l.66);
'Whan frowarde Fortune lyst for to frowne' (Mirror for
Magistrates, edited by L.B. Campbell (Cambridge, 1938), p.91).

33.19 fautor] protector, patron (OED 2)

33.21 flattring scooles] Gnatho, the flattering parasite,
envisages of 'school' of flattery in Terence's The Eunuch.

34.1-2 tract of time...Shal turne thy whirling wheele]
Traditionally, Fortune is in control of Time and not vice-
versa: she holds his clock, glass, or razor (Patch, The
Goddess Fortuna in Medieval Literature, p.115).

34.3 tickel] Not to be depended upon; uncertain, unreliable;

- (34.3) changeable, inconstant, capricious, fickle (OED a.5);
used again below 36.2. OED quotes Painter's Palace of
Pleasure (1566): 'Holde fast thy fortune, for she is
tickle and can not be holden against her will.'
- 34.5 dreary date] the date of his death
- 34.6 Atrops] Atropos, one of the three Fates, in charge of
cutting the thread or 'line' of life
- 34.8 frame my liuing trade] direct my manner of living
trade] course, way, or manner of life (OED sb.I.3)
- 34.9 Let greedy neede make olde wiues trot] Tilley N79, 'Need
makes the old wife trot'; Tilley does not cite Fulwell.
It was used in The Contention between Liberality and
Prodigality (Hazlitt's Dodsley, VIII, 357):
- For beg I cannot, and steal I may not, the truth is so;
But need doth make, the proverb say'th, th'old wife
to trot for woe.
- There is a similar saying in Samuel Rowlands's Diogines
Lanthorne: 'But he that lackes, must mend his pace, /
Neede a good foot-man makes' (Complete Works, edited by
E.W. Gosse, 3 vols (Glasgow, 1880; rptd. New York, 1966),
I, 43).
- 34.10 rustie hutch] rancid chest or coffer
rustie] reasty, rancid (OED a.²)
- 34.11 Gnato] Gnatho is the flattering parasite in Terence's
Eunuch who describes how he gets free dinners through the
art of flattery (Terence, edited & translated by J. Sargeaunt,
2 vols, Loeb Classical Library (London & Cambridge, Mass. ¹⁹⁵⁹))

(34.11) I, 257-259).

34.11 panch] Obsolete variant of 'paunch', as in Henry Hutton Follies Anatomie (1619), Satire 7:

And rammes his panch, that bottomlesse abyss,
As if to glut were legall, promised bliss.
(quoted in R.M. Alden, The Rise of Formal Satire
in England, p.215)

34.13 Aristippus] The Greek philosopher (c.435-350 B.C.) who

was one of the flatterers of Dionysius of Sicily, and distinguished himself for his epicurean voluptuousness, in support of which he wrote a book.
(J. Lemprière, Classical Dictionary (London & New York, n.d.), p.77)

He became the type of the flattering courtier.

34.13 cogging] Employing feigned flattery; fawning, wheedling (OED vb.³ 5); cogging is one of the 'branches' of the Art of Flattery, according to Friar Francis (41.20).

34.14 ytching eares] 'A craving to hear something new, persons who crave to hear novelties' (OED ppl.a.2; earliest example given 1582); used again below 71.16-17.

34.15 Diogenes] Greek philosopher (404-323 B.C.), renowned for his 'cynical plainesse and boldnesse of speaking' (Erasmus, Apophtegmes, translated by N. Udall, p.151); he became the type of anti-flatterer. Like Fulwell in this passage, he defied Fortune: 'he claimed that to fortune he could oppose courage' (Diogenes Laertius, Lives of Eminent Philosophers, II, 39). He is discussed in the Commentary to the Seventh Dialogue below. He and

(34.15) Aristippus were great rivals:

Betwene Aristippus and Diogenes the Cynike,
there was moche good Cocking, and striuing,...
because thei wer of twoo sondry, and in maner
contrary sectes. (Apophthegmes, p.45)

34.16 tumble in a Tub] In his quest for the simple life,
Diogenes 'took for his abode the tub in the Metroñn [the
Archives office in Athens]....And in summer he used to
roll in it over hot sand' (Diogenes Laertius, II, 25).

34.17 we with rootes wil take repast] There are several
anecdotes in Diogenes Laertius about the simplicity of
Diogenes's diet:

Diogenes, washing the dirt from his vegetables,
saw him [Aristippus] passing and jeered at him
in these terms, 'If you had learnt to make these
your diet, you would not have paid court to
kings,' to which his rejoinder was, 'And if you
knew how to associate with men, you would not
be washing vegetables.' (I, 197)

The same story is repeated with regard to Plato, Diogenes
this time washing lettuces (II, 59). In his attack on
the 'Spiritualitie' in Ane Satyre of the Thrie Estaits,
Lindsay refers to the example of Diogenes:

And in ane tumbe [sic] him selfe inclusit,
And leifit on herbs and water cauld,
Of corporall fude na mair he wald.
(J. Kinsley's edition, p.132)

34.19 with tongue in mouth, / quight from the heart in brest]
-20
Probably an inversion of a proverb: e.g. Tilley H334,
'What the heart thinks the tongue speaks', or H321,
'Nearest the heart nearest the mouth'.

35.1 doting] weak-minded, foolish, stupid (OED ppl.a.1)

35.5-6 Thy fruit with filthy tast is fraught, / yet fayre to vew of eyes] Referring to the Apples of Sodom, or Dead Sea Fruit: Tilley A300, 'Sodom apples outwardly fair, ashes at the core'. Tilley quotes Batman (1582):

In the brinke of this sea, about the countries that be nigh to Sodoma, grow the foresaid apples and be faire to sight, and stinking and bitter in the taast [sic].

Also Tilley F29, 'Fair without but foul within'.

35.9 The sap is sweete and plesant bane] Like 'pleasures poysoned sap' in Richard Edwards, The Paradyse of Dainty Deuises (1576, STC 7516), Scholar facsimile (Menston, 1972), A3); and Milton's 'precious bane' (Paradise Lost, I.693). The phrase 'sugred bane' is used below 102.9.

35.11 Such graffs so sett on rotten stockes, / such fruite must yelde by kinde] This seems to be a combination of two proverbs: 'To graff a green graff on a rotten root!' (Whiting G416), and Tilley T494, 'Such is the tree, such is the fruit'; compare Tilley T486, 'And evil tree brings forth ill fruit'.

graff] Obsolete form of 'graft'; used also in The Flower of Fame, p.340: 'Considering well, that often tymes is founde good graffes uppon a crab-tree stocke.'

35.13 I rather chuse the homely dishe / That holsom drinke doeth hold: / Then sugred wine with poyson saust, / In cup of glittering gold] Tilley P458, 'Poison is hidden in golden cups'; Tilley quotes Norton & Sackville, Gorboduc

- (35.13
-16) (1565), II.2: 'Loe, thus it is, poyson in golde to take,
And holsome drinke in homely cuppe forsake.'
- 35.19
-20 That pleasure is to deerely bought, / That purchased is
with paine] Compare Tilley P420, 'There is no pleasure
without pain', and P412, 'He that will have the pleasure
must endure the pain'.
- 36.2 tickle is the staye] Unreliable is the support; 'tickle'
is defined in note to 34.3 above; stay: support (OED sb.²1.c)
- 36.3 hatefull hearts pursues with grudge] This does not make
grammatical sense, since the verb 'pursues' is neither
congruent with Fortune, who is being addressed in the
second person, nor with the 'hatefull hearts'. Presumably
it is the 'hatefull hearts' who pursue the 'golden gifts'
of Fortune, unlike the morally superior Diogenes and
Fulwell - but why should they pursue 'with grudge'?
Perhaps he is using 'grudge' in the sense of 'discontent'
(OED sb.1): Fortune complains in Boethius's Consolation of
Philosophy that however much she gives, people are always
dissatisfied:
- And woulde neuer wythdrawe her hands, but powre
downe and geue ryches continuallye: yet for al
that mankynde would not cesse wepyng and
complayning.
(translated by George Colville (1556), edited
by E.B. Bax (London, 1897), p.33)
- 36.7 sot] fool, dolt
- 36.13 When flud of welth is turnd to eb] Referring to the
'flood' of Fortune 'when she is caryed aboute as the

- (36.13) boylynge floud' (Boethius, p.31); A Mirror for Magistrates, p.94: 'whan Fortunes flud ran with full streame'; also below, sidenote, 110: 'Fortunes gifts eb and flow.'
- 36.15 Two contraries extreemely plast / doth ay full il agree]
-16 Aristotle, Rhetoric, 'Contraries and Contradictories': 'it is by putting two opposing conclusions side by side that you prove one of them false' (quoted in M. Joseph, Rhetoric in Shakespeare's Time (New York & Burlingame, 1962), p.324).
- 36.20 tastes of the sower] Compare Tilley S1035, 'He deserves not the sweet that will not taste of the sour'.
- 37.1 meane estate] 'Mediocria firma' - 'moderation is safe' (H.P. Jones, Dictionary of Foreign Phrases and Classical Quotations, revised edition (Edinburgh, 1963), p.69); compare Tilley M793, 'The mean is the best'; Tilley quotes Draxe, 'A meane state of life is best'. This whole stanza with its image of the ship seems to be inspired by Horace's ode, 'The Golden Mean' (II.x).
- 37.3-4 The Ship in sauegarde most doth passe, / That beres her sayles but low] Compare Horace, Odes, II.x: 'Yet wisely reef thy sails when they are swollen by too fair a breeze' (Odes and Epodes, translated by C.E. Bennett, 2nd edition, Loeb Classical Library (London & Cambridge, Mass., 1934), p.131).
- 37.8 I fall but in the playne] Compare Tilley G464, 'He that lies upon the ground can fall no lower'; Publilius Syrus,

- (37.8) 'Humilis nec alte cadere nec graviter potest' - 'A lowly man cannot have a high or heavy fall' (Benham's Book of Quotations, 593a); Brant, Ship of Fools, translated by Alexander Barclay, edited by T.H. Jamieson, 2 vols (Edinburgh, 1874; rptd. New York, 1966), I.188:

Yet better ly on grounde, hauynge no name at all
Than hye on a Clyf ferynge alway to fall;

Lydgate, Fall of Princes, III, 683:

I eschewe to clymbe to hih aloffte,
List for presumpcioun I shold nat falle softe.

- 37.20 To bring a babe to bed] Compare Tilley F507, 'To bring a fool to bed'.
- 38.8 doting] defined above, note on 35.1
- 38.8 Fig of Spayne] 'The fig of Spain is an ejaculation of contempt, derived from the Spanish "dar la higa", i.e. to give the fig; the fig being a gesture made by thrusting the thumb between two of the fingers' (Sugden, p.481); it is also used 'as a protective device' (Desmond Morris et al., Gestures: their Origin and Distribution (London, 1979), 'The Fig', 147-160 (p.148)). Pistol uses the phrase in Henry V, III.6.59: 'Die and be damn'd! and figo for thy friendship!...The fig of Spain!' OED cites this passage from Fulwell as its earliest example of the use of the phrase (1579, using the second edition; 'fig' sb.²). Compare Tilley F210, 'A fig for him (it)'; used below 126.15.

THE THIRD DIALOGUE BETWEEN THE AUTHOR AND A FRIER

39.0.2 a Friar] It seems odd that Fulwell should include a dialogue with a friar in a book published in 1576 when the friars had been abolished in England in 1533. Friars had often been satirised for their hypocrisy and flattery: e.g., Langland's Friar Flattery in Piers the Plowman and his attack on friars in B Passus X and XX; Wyclif in Two Short Treatises, against the Orders of the Begging Friars (printed in 1608, STC 25589) had particularly dwelt on their use of flattery (e.g. Cap.14, 'Great flatterers of the people nether reprovng nor removing there sinnes from among them' (D4); in Lindsay's Ane Satyre of the Thrie Estaits the character Flatterie disguises himself as friar Devotion. He too cultivates the 'gudewyfis': 'The gudewyfis will not let Freirs want', and they reveal their secrets to him; like Fulwell's Friar Francis he has studied palmistry and tells the king's fortune (Kingsley edition, pp.64, 71).

However, Fulwell's friar may perhaps be specifically identified as a satirical reference to Gilbert Berkeley, Bishop of Bath and Wells from 1560 to 1581. The friar's name, Francis, suggests a friar of the Franciscan order, and Berkeley started his ecclesiastical career as a Franciscan friar (Geoffrey Baskerville, 'Married Clergy and Pensioned Religious in Norwich Diocese, 1555', English Historical Review, 48 (1933), 43-64 (pp.56, 201);

(39.0.2) Christina Barrett, The Marian Exiles (Cambridge, 1938; rptd. 1966), p.87). Charles Wriothesley in his Chronicle contemptuously refers to him as a hypocrite:

this year [1538] in June the Kinge gave a commaundement that noe religious persons of the suppressed houses...should goe abroade in theyr religious habytes, whereupon divers religious persons took secular preistes habittes, chaunginge theyr religious coates, as Doctor Barkley of the order of Grey Friars [i.e. Franciscans], which was very loath to leave his ipochrytes coate till he was compelled for feare of punishment. (A Chronicle of England during the Reims of the Tudors ...1485 to 1559, edited by W.D. Hamilton, 2 vols (London, 1875; rptd. New York, 1965), I, 82)

Baskerville calls him 'the eminent Franciscan' and says that he was

in 1535 ordained deacon from the Lincoln house, and priest from the Northampton house of his order, while his name appears three years later on the surrender list of the Grey Friars of York....However, he soon made the best of things, took a living in Norfolk and a wife....(English Monks and the Suppression of the Monasteries (London, 1950), p.239)

Fulwell's indictment before the Court of High Commission suggests that he attacked Berkeley in The Art of Flattery:

owt of the w^{ch} booke it hath bin gathered that I shold write and meane vnreverentlie and sclauderouslie of your right reverend father in god my L. bisshop of Bath and Wells and others. (Biography, p.99)

Ribner takes this to refer to the Fifth Dialogue, in which Fulwell attacks the Archdeacon of Wells in the character of Sir Simon (Ribner II, pp.269-270), but it may be that Fulwell is referring in a scandalous and scurrilous

(39.0.2) fashion to Berkeley's earlier career as a Franciscan friar, taunting him with his religious apostacy in switching from Roman Catholic to Protestant, and 'in falling from thy profession to the filthye trade of Flattery' (53.19).

Berkeley's later career suggests that he was not a man of great integrity. Sir John Harington says that

he was a good justicer, ... saving that somtimes being ruled by his wife, by her importunitie he swarved from the rule of justice and sinceritie, especially in persecuting the kindred of Bourne his predecessor. The fame went that he dyed very rich, but the same importunate woman caryed it all away, that neither church nor the poore were the better for it. (Nugae Antiquae, selected by Henry Harington, edited by Thomas Park, 2 vols (London, 1804; rptd. New York, 1966), II, 150)

Garrett also judges him with severity: 'Styrye's praise of him as a man of "singular integrity of life" is hardly borne out by his lax and venal administration of his diocese (Marian Exiles, p. 87).

39.1
-2
A Fox or a Frier, who fasting doth meete: / Presageth ill fortune to lye at his feete] Despite Fulwell's description of this as an 'olde proverbe' it is not in Tilley, the Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs, Stevenson, Apperson, or Whiting. But in the play of Robin Hood and the Friar, Robin Hood tells Friar Tuck:

Of all men in the morning thou art the worst;
To mete with the I have no lust,
For he that meteth a frere, or a fox, in the morning,
To spede ill that day he standeth in ieoperdy:
Therefore I had lever mete with the devil of hell -....

(39.1-2) Then mete with a fryer, or a fox,
 In a mornynge or I drynke.
 (Chief Pre-Shakespearean Dramas, edited by
 J. T. Adams (Cambridge, Mass., 1924), p.343)

Adams notes that the third and fourth lines are 'an old proverb', but gives no further documentation.

Foxes and friars were often associated in the popular mind: 'The fox turns monk at length' (Tilley F640); 'Two friars and a fox make three shrews' (i.e. villains) (Whiting F620). Reynard the Fox is shown in clerical garb in a woodcut in Caxton's translation (The History of Reynard the Fox (1481), edited by D.B. Sands (Cambridge, Mass. & London, 1960), p.163).

Foxes, like friars, were associated with hypocrisy and flattery, as in the character of Reynard who describes 'the nature of the fox': 'where they hate they look friendly and merrily. . . For thereby they bring them under their feet and bite the throat asunder' (p.115). Also Dekker, The Whore of Babylon, II.2.155:

To flea off this hypocrisie, tis time,
 Least worne too long, the Foxes skinne be known.
 (Dramatic Works, edited by F. Bowers, II, 533)

- 39.15 pertend] (Q2, protend): i.e., portend
- 40.1 berye] (Q2, Berry): burrow (OED 'berry' sb.³)
- 40.3 budget] a bag or wallet usually of leather (OED sb.1)
- 40.3 for faylyng] without fail (OED vbl.sb)
- 40.5 doctor] teacher, instructor (OED sb.1)

- 40.11 at randon] aimlessly; used on title-page line 17
- 40.13 make loytring pinnes] A 'loiter-pin' is a stick or piece
-14 of wood whittled for pastime; the phrase (not recorded in OED) survives in Warwickshire and Worcestershire dialects:
A Worcestershire farmer at Huddington said of someone who had left his work with a trifling excuse that he 'was off for a loiterpen'...if you are walking about, you are said to be making a loiter pin. (English Dialect Dictionary, 'loiter')
- 40.22 estate] condition with respect to worldly prosperity
(OED sb.2)
- 41.5 auncient practitioner] old hand
- 41.6 sufficiency] ability, competency (OED sb.4)
- 41.9 well seene] skilled, versed, proficient in (OED ppl.a.2
-10 'well(-)seen')
- 41.14. beateth his braines] Thinks persistently and laboriously
(OED v.¹ II.29); proverbial, Tilley B602: Fulwell's use of the proverb predates the earliest examples in OED and Tilley; the Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs gives an earlier example (1560) but does not cite Fulwell.
Wilson uses the phrase in the Arte of Rhetorique:
I haue knowne diuers, that by familiar talking and mouting [sic] together, haue come to right good learning, without any great booke skill, or much beating of their braine, by any close studie or secret musing in their Chamber. (p.38)
- 41.16 very] true, full
- 41.20 glosyng] talking smoothly and speciously; using fair

- (41.20) words or flattering language; fawning (OED vb.¹ 3)
- 41.20 doublenes] duplicity, deceitfulness, treachery (OED sb.2)
- 41.21 rayling] jesting, rallying (OED vb.⁴ 2)
- 42.1 weeneth] thinks, believes (OED vb.1)
- 42.11
-12 profession to wander as a pilgrim] Unlike monks, friars were not attached to any particular house, but to the province or order; originally the Franciscans 'had no fixed abode; they wandered in pairs over the country... carrying out their mission of preaching' (Encyclopaedia Britannica, XI, 1, 'Franciscans'). In Erasmus's dialogue 'The Well-to-Do Beggars', Conrad, a Franciscan friar, explains his order's wandering:
- (Inn)Keeper: What kind of men are you...to wander like this without packhorse, without purse, without servants, without arms, without provisions?
- Conrad: You behold a sort of survival of the evangelical life.
- Keeper: Seems to me a life of vagabonds....
- Conrad: The apostles were such vagabonds; and such, too, was the Lord Jesus.
- (Colloquies, translated by Craig R. Thompson, p.208)
- 42.13 authorised begger] In the strict laws against vagabonds, all beggars had to be licensed (English Historical Documents 1485-1558, edited by C.H. Williams (London, 1967), pp.1023-1038). Friar Francis, like Chaucer's friar Huberd who was a 'lymytour', would be authorised to beg in a certain district.
- 42.18 check] reprimand; as note to 29.4 above

42.21
-22

the children, ye and their mothers also, wold shut their dores against me] This detail, and also the story of the friar who told fortunes by palmistry, is reminiscent of the folk tale 'The friar who told the three children's fortunes' (W.C. Hazlitt, Tales and Legends of National Origin (London, 1891; rptd. New York, 1972), pp.472-474). Hazlitt's source was A Hundred Merry Tales:

There was a certayn limytour which went a limytinge to a certyen vyllage wherin dwelled a certayn ryche man of whome he neuer cowde gette the valed of an halfpeny/ yet he thought he wolde go thyder agayn to assay them. And as he went thyderward the wyfe stondynge at the dore perceyuyng him comynge a farre of thought that he wolde come thyder and by and by ran in and bad her chyldren standyng at the dore that yf the frere asked for her say she was nat within. (Shakespeare's Jest Book. A Hundred Mery Talys, edited by Herman Oesterley (London, 1866), pp.86-87; reprinted from STC 23664, 1526)

The outcome is slightly different, although the idea of preying upon the superstition of the mother is similar. The friar asks to see the hands of the three children, and predicts that one of them will be a beggar, the second a thief, and the third a murderer; he then advises the distraught mother to make the eldest a friar, the second a lawyer, and the third a physician.

43.sn.1 Gheast] (Q2: geste) guest? OED gives the form 'geest' but not 'gheast'.

43.2 so saucy as to draw the latch] One of Wyclif's complaints against the friars was that 'No bolt or bar was proof against a friar' (quoted by D. Knowles, The Religious Orders

(43.2) in England, 3 vols (Cambridge, 1961), II, 103).

Langland's Friar Flattery calls himself 'sire Penetransdomos' ('Father Creep-into-Houses' as J.F. Goodridge translates it) after the Latin New Testament text of 2 Timothy III.6 (a variant of which is quoted below, 45.6-8): 'Ex his enim sunt, qui penetrant domos, et captiuas ducunt mulierculas oneratas peccatis' (William Langland, The Vision of William Concerning Piers the Plowman, Text B, Passus XX.338, edited by W.W. Skeat, 2 vols (London, 1968), I, 598 and note II, 284; Piers the Ploughman, translated into modern English by J.F. Goodridge, 2nd edition (Harmondsworth, 1968), p.255).

43.3 perfecte] thoroughly versed, conversant (OED a.2)

43.5 good wife] mistress of a household (OED 'goodwife' sb.1; 'wife' sb.3)

43.7 rowling eye] Rowling: obsolete form of 'rolling'; OED records the phrase 'rolling eye' ('rolling' ppl.a.2.b), but does not associate it with flirtatiousness, as here. OED's earliest example is 1576, but the phrase appears in Sanford's translation of Cornelius Agrippa's Of the Vanitie and vncertaintie of Artes and Sciences (1569) in which Agrippa criticized 'staged Friers' preaching 'with a rollinge and wanton eie' (Dunn edition, p.74); and also in The Schole-house of Women, attributed to Edward Gosynhill (first edition 1550?): 'so trick a way they haue to kisse/ With open mouth and rowling eyes, / Tung to tung' (1572

- (43.7) text, in Remains of the Early Popular Poetry of England, edited by W.C. Hazlitt, 4 vols (London, 1864-1866), IV, 109).
- 43.sn. counterfeict reueilation] Like the friar in the
15-16 Summoner's Tale, who pretends to have seen a woman's dead child ascend to heaven 'by revelacioun' (Chaucer, Works, p.95, l.1854, and note p.707), Friar Francis is claiming to have had a 'somnium coeleste or diuina', a dream which was supposed to be a divine revelation (W.C. Curry, Chaucer and the Mediaeval Sciences, 2nd edition (London, 1960), p.207)
- 44.10 secluded] Excluded; 'seclude' was 'formerly often used loosely as a synonym of exclude' (OED).
- 44.17 at a good pointe] in a good position (OED 'point' sb.¹ IV.24)
- 44.18 not suspected] Cornelius Agrippa complains that friars haue a speciall prerogatiue of bawdrie, forasmuche as they vnder the pretence of Religion haue libertie to goo whether they please, and to speake with all parsons whosoeuer they be, howe longe and as often as they liste vnder a shewe of visitation, consolation, and confession. (Of the Vanitie, p.218)
- 44.19 mortified] 'In religious use, of persons, their actions or occupations: Dead to sin or the world; having the appetites and passions in subjection; ascetic' (OED ppl.a.1).
- 44.20 authorised to shriue] Friars had special dispensation from the Pope to hear confessions, which caused some bitterness among parish priests; according to Langland, those who were ashamed of their questionable dealings

- (44.20) 'fleen to the freres' and were absolved by them, after giving them 'A parcel to preye for hem' (Skeat edition, B. Passus XX.277-291).

shriue impose penance on; hence, to absolve; hear the confession of (OED v.1)

- 44.22 Latet anguis in Herba] Latin proverb, 'There is a snake hidden in the grass' (Henderson, Latin Proverbs and Quotations, p.197); compare Tilley S585, 'Snake in the grass', and George Whetstone, The Rocke of Regard (1576, STC 25348), ¶¶1^v:

Take heede of the Serpent that grouels in grasse,
Th'experience is common, the Prouerbe not straunge.

It was a favorite emblem-proverb: e.g. Claude Paradin, Devises Heroiques (1557), Scholar Facsimile (Menston, 1971), p.70; the emblem and motto were copied by Whitney, with verses which apply the proverb specifically to flattery:

Of flattringe speeche, with sugred wordes beware,
Suspect the harte, whose face doth fawne, and smile.
(A Choice of Emblemes (1586), edited by H. Green, 2nd edition (New York, 1967), p.24)

- 45.4 externall holynesse] Perhaps an echo of Cornelius Agrippa:

these sectes of Friers, Monkes, and other
wandringe prowlers,...that vnder false shewe
of religion...or els vnder false hypocrisie,
shewinge outwarde holynesse, with many
inuentions of fayned miracles,...doo prole
for profite. (pp.225-226)

- 45.6-8 Sunt qui...uarijs] 2 Timothy III.6. Fulwell is using the text of the Latin New Testament edited by Walter Delaine (STC 2799, 1540) not, as one might expect, that of

(45.6-8) Erasmus or the Vulgate, which were published in England from 1538 (STC 2815-2822) in Latin and English.

aceruo peccatorum adobrutas Only in Delaine's text; the Vulgate and Erasmus both read 'oneratas peccatis' (STC 2816, Coverdale/Vulgate, 1538; STC/2819, Tyndale/Erasmus, 1548).

Q1's 'subent' and 'quea' are errors and have been amended.

45.9. creepe] Fulwell is using the translation of the Geneva Bible (1560) which has 'creep' rather than 'enter' as in Tyndale (1525); the Great Bible (1539): The New Testament Octapla: Eight English Versions of the New Testament in the Tyndale-King James Tradition, edited by L.A. Weigle (New York, 1946), pp.1208-1209; the Authorised Version follows 'creep'.

45.13
-15 Sunt multi...gratia] Titus I.10-11. Fulwell has left out a portion of the text between 'Vaniloqui' and 'qui titas': 'mētium q; seductores: maxime hi, qui sunt ex circuncisione, quibus oportet obturare os' (Delaine edition, STC 2799, Aaa3) - 'chiefly they of the Circumcision. Whose mouths must be stopped' (Geneva translation; New Testament Octapla, p.1217).

46.sn.
3-5 More profyt in flattering, then in preaching gods word] Wyclif makes the same point:

Fryars shewen not to the people there great sinnes stably, as God bids...but flatteren them, and glozen and nourishen them in sinne.... For by flattering and false beheasts, they letten men liue in there lusts, and comforten

(46.sn.
3-5)

them therein....And when men be harded in such great sinnes, and wil not amend them, Friars should flee there homely companie, but they doe not thus, lest they leese worldlie Fr^rendship, favour, or winning; and thus for the monie they sellen mens soules to Sathanas. (Two Short Treatises, against the...Begging Friars, D4-D4^v)

46.13 a Sunne in your wombe] Pregnant women were supposed to be particularly vulnerable to 'soothsaying', as the following visitation article shows:

Sorcerers. Item, whether you knowe anye that doe vse charmes, sorceries, inchauntments, inuocations, circles, witchcrafts, soothsaings, or any like crafts or imaginations inuented by the Deuill, and especially in the time of womens trauaile. (Church of England, Articles to be enquired in the visitation of the firste yeere of Elizabeth...1559 ([1589?] , STC 10129), B1, article 37; my italics)

46.18 Souerantie (the thinge that Women cheifly deasire.)]

As in Chaucer, Wife of Bath's Tale, l.1038:

Wommen desiren to have sovereynetee
As wel over hir housbond as hir love,
And for to been in maistrie hym above. (Works, p.86)

Irving Ribner noted that the above passage is 'an allusion to Chaucer's Wife of Bath's Tale which has not been noted by Professor Spurgeon' in Five Hundred Years of Chaucer Criticism and Allusion 1357-1900; and

That Fulwell had the Wife of Bath's Tale in mind seems very evident. This is of singular interest because although references to Chaucer by name and references to Troilus and Criseyde are fairly numerous before 1576, there are relatively few direct allusions to the Canterbury Tales. Professor Spurgeon lists only five earlier references to the Wife of Bath's Tale. ('A 1576 Allusion to Chaucer', Notes and Queries, 195 (1950), 24)

- 47.4 Angell Gabriell] The angel Gabriel is particularly appropriate in the context since it was he who announced the conception of Christ to Mary - 'thou shalt conceive in thy womb, and bring forth a son' (Luke I.31) - as Friar Francis does (46.13); the parallel is intentionally blasphemous. Fulwell may have got the idea from a scurrilous story in the Decameron, Fourth Day, Second Story, in which a Franciscan friar pretends that the angel Gabriel appeared to him and told him he was in love with a beautiful married woman; like Friar Francis, the friar insists on being alone with the woman when he tells her of his 'vision'.
- 47.7 blinde] false, deceitful (OED a.II.5)
- 47.sn. conueiance] cunning management or contrivance; underhand
20 dealing (OED sb.11.b)
- 48.2 proper] suitable, apt, appropriate (OED a.III.9)
- 48.5 greate warres betweene the Emperour, and the Turke]
Very topical in the 1570s: in 1571 Pope Pius V organized a Holy League against the Turks; the battle of Lepanto was fought between the Emperor Maximilian II with his allies against the Turks in 1571; in 1573 Don John recaptured Tunis, taken by the Turks in 1569; in 1574 the Turks re-possessed Tunis (W.L. Langer, An Encyclopedia of World History, 4th edition (London, 1968), p.453).
- 48.7 machometicall] Mohammedan, from the Medieval Latin

(48.7) 'Machometus' (Mohammed) (OED 'Mahometical')

48.10 to se] Used as an exclamation of astonishment: e.g.
2 Henry VI, II,1.7, 'To see how God in all his creatures
works!'

48.13 gossip] familiar acquaintance, friend (OED sb.2)

48.17 left hand] Traditionally regarded as nearest the heart;
a modern palmist, 'Cheiro', comments:

There is a well-known saying...: 'The left is the hand we are born with; the right is the hand we make.' This is the correct principle to follow, the left hand indicating the natural character, and the right showing the training, experience, and the surroundings brought to bear on the life of the subject. The old idea of reading the left hand simply because it is nearest to the heart belongs to the many superstitions which degraded the science in the Middle Ages. (Cheiro's Language of the Hand (London, 1968), p.110)

48.18 palmestry] Friars were often involved in fortune-telling: one of the questions that the innkeeper asks the Franciscan friar in Erasmus's 'The Well-to-do Beggars' is 'Do you understand palmistry?' (Colloquies, p.208).

Roger Ascham specifically links palmistry with flattery in The Scholemaster (published 1570):

where the swing goeth, there to follow, fawne,
flatter, laugh and lie lustelie at other mens
liking....To be seene in Palmestrie, wherby
to conueie to chast eares som fond or filthie
taulke. (in English Works, edited by W.A. Wright
(Cambridge, 1904), pp.207-208)

Corneliüs Agrippa attacked the use of palmistry to subvert marriages:

(48.18) with their craftie deuises, and deceites of subtill slinesse do promise vnhonest loues, and oftentimes purchase them, ..make moste wicked mariages, and more then often doo turne matrimonie into adulterie. (p.213)

The low opinion of palmists was shown in the 1572 act against vagabonds: 'idle persons...some of them feigning themselves to have knowledge in physiognomy, palmistry, or other abused sciences' (quoted in W.P.M. Kennedy, Parish Life under Queen Elizabeth (London, 1914), pp.139-140).

48.20
-21
linea vite...linea nuptialis] Literally, the line of life and the line of marriage; in Latin manuscripts of this period, 'e' was often written for 'ae' and vice versa: e.g. 'faemina' for 'femina' (according to information supplied by Dr J.W. Binns); thus 'linea vite' is not necessarily a mistake, although 'vitae' would be the correct reading today. Thomas Hill's chapter on palmistry in The Contemplation of Mankind (1571) has a diagram of the lines of the hand with 'Vite linea', although the text explains 'vitae linea, signifieth the lyfe lyne' (STC 13482, Y8, Y7^V). Joannis Ab Indagine's Briefe Introductions vnto the art of Chiromancy (1575, STC 14076, A5^V) has a diagram with 'The line of life, or of the heart'. Neither has a 'linea nuptialis'. Fulwell may have confused it with Indagine's 'linea naturalis' (B6^V-B7), or he may simply be satirising the jargon of palmistry.

According to Indagine, it is possible to tell the number of marriages, both past and future, by lines on

- (48.20
-21) the finger of Mercury (the little finger or 'ear finger');
'the pale lines signify mariages past, the long and wel
coloured them to come' (F8). It is also ^{possible} to tell the
kind of mariages (as Friar Francis does): Indagine
states that certain lines on a woman's hand 'about the
upper ioynt' show 'that she shall be had in reuerence and
made riche by hir husbands' (F7).
- 48.21
-22 neither of them both] OED gives this phrase, with an
example from Holland's Livy (1600): 'But neither of them
both had any stomacke to fight' ('neither' adj.B.2.b).
- 48.22 shadow] delusive semblance (OED sb.6.a)
- 48.23 bleare her eyes] hoodwink, throw dust in the eyes; a
common phrase in the sixteenth century (OED v.¹ 3)
- 49.1 browne study] Proverbial, Tilley S945; Tilley's earliest
example in c.1579, but OED gives an earlier one (1532);
there is an interesting use of the phrase in A Mirror for
Magistrates (1579 edition): 'and ther^efore sayde thus to
the silent cumpany: what my maysters is euery man at once
in a browne study' (Campbell edition, p.119).
- 49.4-5 had hardely escaped the daunger of drowninge] Drowning
was one of the 'daungers...commonly incident vnto men and
women' in the Wells district of Somerset, which was prone
to floods: e.g. the Dean Cosyn and Wells Cathedral
Miscellanea, edited by A. Watkin, Somerset Record Society,
Vol.56, p.xviii:

- (49.4-5) there hath ben grete waters and floodes,
and as yet, blissed be god, none hurt,
neythre drownynge of the cuntrey, but as
it is and hath ben tymes past oute of mynde.
- 49.7 flesht] defined in note to 3.2 above
- 49.16 cloke of collusion] Deceit, fraud, trickery (OED
'collusion' sb.1); OED cites Grafton's Chronicles (1568):
'Let us now leave the cloked collusion, that remayned in
Fraunce, and returne to the open dissimulacion, which now
appeared in England.'
- 50.4 frowardnesse] perversity
- 50.9-10 beare the swing and sway] Bear the swing: have full sway
or control; OED also records the phrase '(to have) swing
and sway' (OED 'swing' sb.² I.2); used in A Mirror for
Magistrates, p.75n: 'Wherfore whilst you haue place, and
'beare the swinge and sway'; Philip Massinger, The Great
Duke of Florence, II.2.45: 'This is the man that carries /
The sway, and swinge of the Court', and The Emperor of the
East, IV.1.36: 'that shee might still continue / Her
absolute sway, and swing ore the whole state' (The Plays
and Poems of Philip Massinger, edited by P. Edwards and
C. Gibson, 5 vols (Oxford, 1976), III, 130, 456).
Fulwell uses the phrase again below, 104.11.
- 50.sn
13-15 Faire words make such fooles faine] Tilley W794; Tilley
does not cite Fulwell. A popular proverb: it was used
as the title of a poem in Richard Edwards, The Paradise of
Dainty Devices (1576, STC 7516, Scholar facsimile (Menston,
1972), A1^v); it is associated with 'falsehood in
fellowship' in Lyly's Euphues:

(50:sn.
13-15)

Here you may see, gentlemen, the falsehood
in fellowship, the fraud in friendship, the
painted sheath with the leaden dagger, the
fair words that make fools fain.
(in Tudor Poetry and Prose, edited by J.W. Hebel
et al. (New York, 1953), p.766)

Heywood made it into an epigram:

Fayre woordes make fooles fayne, that was by olde
scooles:
But now we see, fayre woordes make wyse men fooles.
Otherwise.
Fayre woordes make fooles fayne, yet fayre woordes
are chereful.
But foule woordes make all folke, Irefull or ferefull.
(300 Epigrams (1562), in Works, edited by B.A. Milligan
(Urbana, 1956), p.178)

50.23-
51.1

I wyll flatter some of them in their Children] A typical
technique of the flatterer according to Theophrastus's
'character' of him:

He will buy apples and pears and bring them
in for the children, and giving them before
their father will kiss them and cry 'Chicks
of a good strain'. (The Characters of Theophrastus,
translated by J.M. Edmonds (London & Cambridge,
Mass., 1967, p.45)

51.4 towardlynes] forwardness in learning, 'promise' (OED sb.1)

51.11
-13

the fable in Esope, that the Oule thought her owne birdes
faierest] Fulwell is probably confusing two Aesopic
fables: Babrius no.56, in which an ape enters her 'naked,
snub-nosed pug' for a baby-show organised by Zeus, claiming,
amid the derisive laughter of the gods, that 'my child's
the beauty of them all': the 'moral' of the fable is
'that everyone believes his own child to be handsome';
and a contest among the birds over who was the most
beautiful: the owl claims that he should be awarded the

(51.11
-13) prize because he believed he was the most beautiful - the fable is derived from Odo of Cheriton (Babrius and Phaedrus, pp.71-73, 545).

the Oule thought her owne birdes faierest Proverb; the Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs, p.604, cites only Fulwell and Fuller (Gnomologia, 1732); Tilley C851, 'The crow thinks her own bird fairest', cites Fulwell's owl proverb as an example of this; compare Tilley A270, 'Every ape thinks his puppy the fairest'. A series of such proverbs is linked in Erasmus, Adagia in Latine and English (Aberdeen, 1622, STC 10442), A3-A3^v:

Quisquis amat Ranam, Ranam putat esse Dianam.
Suumcuique pulchrum. The crane thinketh her
owne Birde fairest....Or, He is a-kin to the
Owle, who thinketh her-selfe fairest.

Tilley also lists 'Every creature thinks her own fair' (C812), and 'Of kin to the owl, who thinks herself fairest' (K40).

51.15 fit (Q2: feate)] feate; fitting; apt, smart, adroit (OED A.adj.1, 2)

51.15 glose] flatter; as in note above, 41.20

51.19 profane story] I have not been able to trace the source of this.

profane] not biblical (OED a.1)

51.19
-20 at what time verteous Deborah the prophetesse iudged] Israel] Judges IV.4: 'And Deborah, a prophetess,...she judged Israel at that time.' Deborah was 'a heroine who,

(51.19
-20) with the aid of Barak, delivered the Israelites from their Canaanite oppressors. The victory is celebrated in the triumphal ode, Judg.5' (Encyclopaedia Biblica, edited by T.K. Cheyne and J.S. Black, 4 vols (London, 1899), I, 1047). She is mentioned by George Pettie, A Petite Pallace of Pettie his Pleasure (1576):

As Deborah for her wit and policy was appointed judge over the Israelites, by whose counsel and courage that courageous captain and capital enemy to the Israelites, named Sisera, was subdued. (edited by I. Gollancz, 2 vols (London, 1908), II, 160)

51.20
-21 city of Babel] a city as well as a tower; Genesis XI. 4-5, 8-9

52.1 vnder Apollos banner] Perhaps implying that the soldier was an archer, since one of Apollo's functions was archery (Oxford Classical Dictionary, edited by M. Cary et al. (Oxford, 1957), p.68).

52.1-2 a simple piece of woorke which hee had framed in Mineruas shop] I.e. either a weapon or a piece of armour; according to Boccaccio, Minerva was the first

to invent the cart and make iron weapons. She first thought of covering one's body with armor, and she set down strategy for soldiers and taught all the rules of battle. (Concerning Famous Women, translated by G.A. Guarino (London, 1964), p.14)

52.3 bezelus manus] A corruption of the Spanish beso las manos: 'a kissing of hands; lit. "I kiss your hands," a common Spanish salutation to a lady' (Skeat, A Glossary of Tudor and Stuart Words, p.35; besar la mano, expression of

- (52.3) courtesy or respect (M. Velazquez, A New Pronouncing Dictionary of the Spanish and English Languages (New York & London, 1900)); 'an act of reverence, adulation, or flattery' (Morris et al., Gestures: their Origin and Distribution, p.4). Morris has some interesting comments on the use of this gesture in the sixteenth century (pp.4-7).

It was a fashionable foreign phrase:

if at his returne he hath but some few foolish Phrases in the French, Spanish, or Italian language, with the Baselos manos, the Ducke, the Mump, and the Shrugge, it is enough. (Barnabe Rich, Faultes Faults and Nothing Else but Faultes (1606), facsimile (Gainesville, 1965); C4)

Gascoigne, The Glasse of Government (1575):

you are a gallant yong man, me thinkes you myght do well to walke somtimes by her lodging, and geve her the Albade, or the Bezo las manos, and by that meane you may acquaint your selfe with her. (in Works, II, 37)

Calandrino in Massinger's The Great Duke of Florence:

O that the Pesants in the Country
(My quondam fellowes) but saw me as I am,
How they would admire and worship me!...

My grand Signior
Vouchsafe a bezolus manus, and a cringe
Of the last edition.
(III.1.389; Plays and Poems, III, 150)

- 52.sn.5 choake] silence or 'shut up' (OED v.II.11)
- 52.10 far fet] Obsolete form of 'far-fetched': e.g. Lyly, Euphues (1579), 'Farre fet and deere bought is good for Ladyes' (OED 'far-fet').
- 52.15 coistrels] Knaves, base fellows, low varlets - a term of reproach and contempt (OED sb.2; OED's earliest example is 1581).

53.9-11 He preached not for six shillings and eight pence, the ordinarye price: but for ten pound and more] Ten pounds would be an exorbitant sum, since it was the annual income of many of the clergy. The satirist Robert Crowley, a 'Godly Preacher', had an income of £6 a year as a 'Lecturer', i.e. preacher, at St Antholin's in 1576 (Irvonwy Morgan, The Godly Preachers of the Elizabethan Church (London, 1965), p.51). In the Churchwardens' Accounts of the Minories in London for the years 1567 to 1570, 'the fee for the Preacher was 2s. 6d. with 1s. for celebrating Holy Communion' (Morgan, p.46). A popular and celebrated preacher could earn more: 'Miles Coverdale after his deprivation preached there fifteen times in the year 1567, earning himself 37s. 6d.' as compared to the vicar's stipend of five pounds per year (Morgan, p.46). Christopher Hill gives examples of ministers profiteering in their fees for sermons and hiring out the pulpits of their churches (Economic Problems of the Church, p.170). Visitation Articles inquired into overcharging for preaching, without, however, specifying sums: e.g.,

Item whether any preacher licensed, doth or hath exacted or receyued vnreasonable rewardes or stipends of the poore Pastors or vicars, comming to their Cures to preache.
(Visitation Articles of Winchester, 1570, STC 10352, A3^v)

The bishops denounced such materialism:

Item, that they use not to exact or receive unreasonable rewards or stipends of the poor curates coming to their cures to preach,

(53.9
-11)

whereby they might be noted as followers of filthy lucre rather than use the office of preaching of charity and good zeal to the salvation of men's souls. (Cambridge MS. 1560-1561, in W.H. Frere, Visitation Articles and Injunctions of the Period of the Reformation, III, 69)

Frere notes that 'The Canons of 1571...ordered that no money was to be asked for preaching, but that preachers were to be "content with meat and drink and plain provision and one night's lodging"' (III, 334).

53.12
-13

although it stand not with my profession to handle monye]
By the rule of St Francis, friars were forbidden to receive or handle money; they were to imitate the poverty of Christ. 'The Rule forbids us to touch money,' the Franciscan friar Conrad explains to the innkeeper in Erasmus's 'The Well-to-do Beggars', because it is 'contrary to our profession' (Colloquies, p.206). In the dialogue 'The Sermon, or Merdardus', Erasmus makes fun of the different sects of Franciscans: the Gaudentes, who 'don't shrink from touching money with bare fingers', and the Observants, who 'would rather kill a man than touch money with bare nail' (Colloquies, p.462). Leonardo da Vinci satirized this rule in one of his facetiae: a friar, carrying a merchant on his back across a river stopped half way across and asked him if he had any money on him; when the merchant replied that he had, "Alas," said the Friar, "our rule forbids us to carry any money on us," and he threw him immediately into the water' (in Charles Speroni, Wit and Wisdom of the

(53.12
-13)

Italian Renaissance (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1964), p.184)

53.16 yeare of Iubile] Originally stipulated in the Old Testament, Leviticus XXV.10: 'And ye shall hallow the fiftieth year, and proclaim liberty throughout all the land unto all the inhabitants thereof: it shall be a jubile unto you.' Pope Boniface VIII in 1300 instituted a year of Jubilee as a year of remission from the penal consequences of sin, on completion of a pilgrimage to Rome and various religious observances; at first it was to take place every hundred years; then the temptation to raise money caused the Popes to institute it at random for particular countries or cities (OED 'jubilee' 1, 2).

53.19
-20

falling from thy profession...for thy bellyes sake]

Wyclif made the same accusation against friars:

For they beene Confessours Preachers and Rulers
commonlie of al men, and they teachen them not
there foule sinnes and perils of them but
suffren them in there sinnes, for winning of
stinking mucke and lusts of there own bellie.
(Two short treatises, against the...Begging
Friars, F2^v)

53.21 belly god] Glutton, epicure (OED; Nares, p.73); a
favourite epithet of satirists:

O Labirinths of lothsome lust,
O hellish humane harts,
O beastly belching bely gods
(Edward Hake, Newes out of Powles Churchyarde
(1579), quoted in Peter, Complaint and Satire
p.126);

'Base belly-god! licentious libertine' (Randolph, Muse's
Looking-Glass, quoted Nares p.73).

53.22
-23

Iulian Apostata] Flavius Claudius Julianus (331-363), Roman emperor, commonly called Julian the Apostate because he was brought up as a Christian, but on becoming emperor in 361 tried to restore paganism. Cornelius Agrippa attributes his apostacy to the study of philosophy:

We knowe that Iuliane the Apostata did denie Christ, not for any other cause, then that he being euer studious of Philosophie, beganne to skorne and contemne the basenesse of the Christian faithe. (Of the Vanitie, p.157)

53.23-
54.1

whose end may be a mirrour to the terrible example of al runnagates]

runnagates (Q2 Renegates) apostates = renegades (OED sb.1); OED quotes Martin Marprelate (1589), 'Iulian the runnagate'; also W. Wilkinson, Confutation of the Family of Love (1579), 'Lyke a runnagate Apostata...ye betray his Saints to Sathan'.

Nashe in Christs Teares Over Iervsaleme gives a Christian version of Julian's death:

In the very houre of death, to Atheisticall Iulian (who mockingly called all Christians Gallileans) appeared a grizly shaggy-bodied deuill, who for all (at his sight) hee recantingly cryed out. Vicisti, Galilæe, vicisti, Thine is the day, thine is the victory, ō man of Galilee, yet would it not for-beare him or giue him ouer, till it had stript his soule foorth of his fleshie rinde, and tooke it away with him. (McKerrow's Nashe, II, 115)

54.4 false seducing prophet Machomet] Foxe also calls Mahomet a 'false prophet' who 'seduceth the people' (The Acts and Monuments of John Foxe, edited by J. Pratt, 4th edition, 8 vols (London, n.d.), IV, 21).

- 54.6-8 thou hast denyed Christ our sauour, who in the generall iudgment wil also deny thee] Matthew X.33: 'But whosoever shall deny me before men, him will I also deny before my Father which is in heaven'; also Luke XII.9.
- 54.12
-13 one of the deceiuers of the worlde foreprophesied by Saint Paule] probably referring to 2 Thessalonians II
- 54.17
-18 whipt out] referring to Christ's purge of the temple at Jerusalem, John II.15
- 54.21 to the great annoiance of pouertie] Wyclif charged that the friars did not use their money for the relief of the poor:
- they deceaiven men in there almes to make costlie houses, not to harbour poore men but Lords, and mightie men;
- and they allow those 'that beene poore men, to perish for default'; they are 'manquellers of poore men' (Two short treatises, against...the Begging Friars, D1^V, E4).
- 54.22 bussards] Buzzard: a worthless, stupid or ignorant person (OED sb.¹ 2). Langland uses the phrase 'blynde bosarde' in attacking the clergy (Piers the Plowman, B Passus X, line 266; I, 306).
- 55.2 subuersion] overthrow, ruin (OED sb.4); Fulwell probably had unconsciously in mind a second submersion, i.e. flood
- 55.7-8 the Kings chaplaine, namly King Herodes] Fulwell is surely mistaken here; John the Baptist was imprisoned by

(55.7
-8) Herod, but there is no mention in the Bible that he was his chaplain. Herod, according to Mark VI.20, respected John:

For Herod feared John, knowing that he was a just man and an holy, and observed him; and when he heard him, he did many things, and heard him gladly.

However, there seems to be a textual ambiguity in this verse: for the Authorised Version's 'and observed him' the Great Bible (1540), Tyndale's translation (1535), and the Bishops' Bible (1568) read 'and gave him reverence'; Wyclif's translation (1380) and the Rheims Bible (1582) read 'and he kept him' (The New Testament Octapla, pp.220-221; The English Hexapla (London, 1841), no pagination).

55.10 reproved his sin to his face] Mark VI.18
-11

55.12 with locustes, and wyld hony in the desert] 'His meat was
-13 locusts and wild honey' Matthew III.4; also Mark I.6; Luke I.80 refers to John being in the desert.

55.13 fare dilycately in the wickednesse of his maisters court]
-14 In Luke VII.25 Jesus ironically questions the people about John:

But what went ye out for to see? A man clothed in soft raiment? Behold, they which are gorgeously apparelled, and live delicately, are in kings' courts.

55.14 Hee desired with the Psalmist, rather to bee a dore keeper
-17 in the house of God, then to dwell in the tentes of vngodlynes] An almost exact quotation of Psalm LXXXIV.10: 'I had rather be a doorkeeper in the house of my God, than to dwell in the tents of wickedness.'

55.18 taken for the Messias] Luke II.15-16, John I.19-30, II.28

55.23 simonist] Follower of Simon Magus, who offered the apostle money for the gift of the Holy Ghost (Acts VIII.18-20); one who buys or sells ecclesiastical preferments, benefices or emoluments (OED).

55.25
-56.2 When the Pharasies and head rulers came to his baptisme, hee called them not gracious Lordes, but generation of vipers, and bid them bring foorth fruites of repentaunce] Matthew III.7-8:

But when he saw many of the Pharasees and Sadducees come to his baptism, he said unto them, O generation of vipers, who hath warned you to flee from the wrath to come? Bring forth therefore fruits meet for repentance.

56.5
-11 When the publycans...required] An expansion of Luke III. 12-13:

Then came also publicans to be baptized, and said unto him, Master, what shall we do? And he said unto them, Exact no more than that which is appointed you.

pilling and pollinge] To pill (peel) and poll: (lit. to make bare of hair and skin too); to ruin by depradations or extortions; to rifle, strip bare, pillage (OED 'pill' v.¹ III.9). Stubbes uses the phrase several times with relation to landlords' extortions:

No man ought to poole and pill his brother, nor yet to exact and extort of him more than right and reason requireth;....eschewing al kind of exaction, polling, pilling and shauing of his poore tenants. (Anatomy of the Abuses in England, edited by F.J. Furnivall, New Shakspeare Society Series VI, No.12 (London, 1882), pp.30, 31)

56.12 wrestinge the scripture cleane out of ioynt] Possibly
 -13 proverbial: 'to be out of joint' is listed as a proverb in
 in Tilley, J75; the idea of wresting the Scriptures is
 expressed in Tilley H531, 'The Holy Scripture is made a nose
 of wax'. Tilley cites Tyndale (c.1530): 'If the scripture
 be contrary, then make it a nose of wax, and wrest it this
 way and that way, till it agree;' also 'Are not the holy
 Scriptures good, because they are wrested?' (O. Dykes, English
 Proverbs (1708), cited OED 'wrest' v.I.5).

56.15 when the roystinge soldiours came vnto him...stipende]
 -57.2 Luke II.14:

And the soldiers likewise demanded of him, saying,
 And what shall we do? And he said unto them, Do
 violence to no man, neither accuse any falsely;
 and be content with your wages.

roystinge] roistering, boisterous

taunted] in the sense of reproached (OED v.¹ 3)

57.6 Princeps Sacerdotum High Priest; Vulgate Act.IV.6, 'Et
 Annos princeps sacerdotum....'

57.16 rehersted] spoken (OED v.1:c)

57.22 denying his maister] Peter's denial of Christ is in Matthew
 XXVI.69-75, Mark XIV.66-72, Luke XXII.56-62.

58.sn. Simon Magus Grandfather to dissemblers] According to Eusebius,
 17-19 he was 'the first author of all heresy', one of the 'sorcerers
 and deceivers' employed by the devil to win adherents from
 Christianity (The Ecclesiastical History, translated by K.
 Lake & J.E.L. Oulton, 2 vols (London & Cambridge, Mass., 1926,

(58.sn. 1932), I, 139, 313-315). He was also reported to have forged works professing to emanate from Christ and His disciples' (Smith and Fuller, A Dictionary of the Bible, III, 1321). George Whetstone repeats Irenius's description of him as 'the father of heresies':

Simon the Samaritan called the Magitian...
 that enuying the credite of the Apostles,
 sought by a venemous opinion, to kill the rootes
 of christian faith and religion, hee and his
 supporters which were called Simonaques,
 offered to sell the grace of the holy Ghost,
 he preached that our nature proceeded not of
 God, but of a high and supernaturall cause,
 with many monstrous and horrible propositions.
 (The English Myrror. A Regard Wherein all
 estates may behold the Conquests of Enuy (1586,
 STC 25336), D6^v-D7)

Lodge, in Wits Miserie, traces the pedigree of Hypocrisie to him: 'Oh how ancient a Gentleman would hee be! he claimes from SIMON MAGUS his petigree' (Complete Works, IV, 11). His celebrated confrontation with Peter when he tried to buy the Holy Ghost and the technique of laying on of hands is recounted in Acts VIII.18-24.

59.1 he suffered death for Christes sake] Eusebius states that 'at the end he came to Rome and was crucified head downwards, for so he had demanded to suffer' (Ecclesiastical History, I, 191).

59.2-3 I haue heard that he neuer came at Rome] A controversial issue, since it is not mentioned specifically in the Bible: Smith and Fuller, A Dictionary of the Bible, II, 805, discuss the point. Eusebius states that 'Prouidence... guided to Rome...the great and mighty Peter' (I, 143).

(59.2
-3) Philologus learnedly argues the point, citing Jeremy, Augustine and Ambrose in Nathaniel Woodes's The Conflict of Conscience (1581, STC 25966), E2^v.

59.4 put to death vnder Nero] according to Eusebius, I, 181

59.4-5 was Pope there] another controversial issue, attacked by Foxe, Acts and Monuments, I, 46-49

59.11 old wiues tales] Tilley W388; he does not cite Fulwell

59.19 as Saint Iohn fled from Cerinthius that wicked hereticke].

-20

As related in Eusebius, I, 265-267:

the apostle John once went into a bath-house to wash, but when he knew that Cerinthus [sic] was within leapt out of the place and fled from the door, for he did not endure to be even under the same roof with him, and enjoined on those who were with him to do the same, saying, 'Let us flee, lest the bath-house fall in, for Cerinthus, the enemy of the truth, is within.'

Eusebius repeats this story again, I, 337-339. He quotes

Dionysius, Bishop of Alexandria, on Cerinthus's heresy:

'Cerinthus..., who founded the Cerinthian heresy named after him, ... the doctrine of his teaching was this, that the kingdom of Christ would be on earth, and being fond of his body and very carnal he dreamt of a future according to his own desires, given up to the indulgence of the flesh, that is, eating and drinking and marrying, and to those things which seem a euphemism for these things, feasts and sacrifices and the slaughter of victims.'
(Ecclesiastical History, I, 265)

Lodge, Wits Miserie, mentions him as among the 'incarnate deuils' of Hypocrisie (Complete Works, IV, 11).

THE FOURTH DIALOGUE BETWEEN THE AUTHOR, AND FORTUNATUS

60.0.2 Fortunatus] Literally, son of Fortune; the hero of a widespread folk-tale (Katherine M. Briggs, A Dictionary of British Folk-Tales in the English Language, 2 vols (London, 1970), I, 245-249). The first known chapbook of the Fortunatus story was printed in Augsburg in 1509 (C.H. Herford, Studies in the Literary Relations of England and Germany in the Sixteenth Century (Cambridge, 1866; rptd. London, 1966), p.204); Herford includes an appendix of the English prose versions of Fortunatus (pp.405-407). In what Herford calls the 'first division' of the folk-tale, Fortunatus, the son of a spendthrift father, is left penniless to make his way in the world; he starts out as a courtier to the Earl of Flanders and becomes his favourite, arousing the jealousy of the other members of the court, who, by a trick, succeed in making him leave the court; he meets Lady Fortune in a wood and is given a purse which will never be empty (Briggs I, 245-246; Herford, p.204). Although the first surviving printed version in English is late seventeenth century (1676), the story was well known to English writers before this. Dekker's play Old Fortunatus was performed in the 1590s and first published in 1600 (Chambers, Elizabethan Stage, III, 291). There is also a character called Fortunatus in the anonymous play Wily Beguiled (printed 1606). Fortunatus is also the protagonist of the first three eclogues of Mantuan, or Baptista Spagnuoli, which

- (60.0. were popular as a school textbook; they were translated
2) into English by George Turberville in 1567, with a second edition in 1572. However the Fortunatus of Mantuan is not a scheming courtier but a simple shepherd.
- 60.1 happe] good luck
- 60.3 bathe in blis] A poetical cliché: e.g. Chaucer, 'His herte bathed in a bath of blisse' ('Wife of Bath's Tale', 1.1253); 'my fraile fancy fed with full delight, / doth bath in blisse' (Spenser, Amoretti, sonnet 72); 'Bathed in wanton blis and wicked ioy' (Faerie Queene, I.i.47.6).
- 60.4 erst] earlier (OED B.adv.4)
- 60.9 sithens] since
- 60.15 a slow speeder] Slow to succeed; 'speeder': one who prospers or succeeds, especially in a suit (OED sb.2; earliest example given 1580).
- 60.17 simplycitie] want of acuteness or sagacity; ignorance (OED sb.2)
- 60.19 euent] Outcome (OED sb.3); Shakespeare uses the same phrase in The Tempest, I.2.117: 'Mark his condition and the event.'
- 61.1 more ready] more direct, nearer (OED A.adj.II.11)
- 61.sn. Little thrift in simplicities] Little success in being
1-2 straightforward and guileless.
- 61.5 shiftes] tricks, dodges

- 61.5 rub out] get along; defined in note to 22.11
- 61.8 trade] course of action; mode of procedure (OED sb.I.3)
- 61.9 easily woone was lightly loste, and euill gotten was ill spent] Apperson, p.365, 'Lightly gained quickly lost', cites Fulwell as above; Tilley C533, 'Lightly come, lightly go', does not cite Fulwell; Tilley quotes Mabbe's Celestina (1631), 'Quickly be wonne, and quickly be lost'. A similar proverb is Tilley G91, 'Soon gotten soon spent'; Tilley quotes Bullein (1564), 'easie gotten Gooddes are sone spente', and Melbancke (1583), 'Quickly spent, thats easely gotten'.
- Tilley G90, 'Evil (ill) gotten evil (ill) spent', cites Fulwell as above. Similar proverbs are 'Ill won, ill ward' (ward = spent), Tilley W409; and 'So got so gone', Tilley G89.
- 61.15 effect] Accomplishment, fulfilment; OED lists the phrase 'to bring to effect', to accomplish, bring something to a successful issue, and quotes Knolles, History of the Turks (1603): 'What he tooke in hand, he...brought to good effect' (OED 'effect' sb.7).
- 61.15 prety sleights] discussed in note to 19.2
- 61.16 certen degrees ascending] Fortunatus's technique is that of the 'scaling ladder' to success recommended to the courtier by Lorenzo Ducci in Ars Aulica or the Courtiers Arte, translated by E. Blount (1607, STC 7274), in chapter

(61.16) 27, 'Of the helpe that may be drawen from the Princes seruants': 'the seruant in grace may greatly aide the new Courtier' to gain access to his master, but Ducci warns that the aspiring courtier must be careful not to let the favourite think that he intends to supplant him (pp.216, 218-219).

61.21 mynyon] Favourite, 'esp. opprobriously, one who owes everything to his patron's favour, and is ready to purchase its continuance by base compliances' (OED A.sb.¹, 1.c).

'The name of Minion, or Priuido' is given to those most ready in their prince's service, according to Ducci (p.44).

Gough identifies Lady Fortune's minion in the Third Dialogue as the Earl of Leicester;

Readers in 1576 would inevitably identify 'Lady Fortune's minion' with the Earl of Leicester, and his protégés, like Spenser, would regard the passage as highly offensive. ('Who was Spenser's Bon Font?', p.144)

Gough contends that in revenge for this slight on his patron, Spenser satirized Fulwell seventeen years later in Book V of The Faerie Queene, under the name of 'Malfont', i.e. 'foul-well', a pun on Fulwell (Canto ix, stanzas 25-26). Malfont's tongue is 'Nayld to a post' because he is 'a welhed / Of euill words, and wicked sclaunders', including a foul blasphemy on the Queen. Ray Hefner discusses Gough's hypothesis in the Variorum Spenser, but he concludes that the evidence 'does not seem sufficient to prove his case' (commentary to Faerie Queene Book V, p.239, and Appendix II, p.321).

61.21 which of his gentlemen wayters was greatest in his bookes]
-22

Phoebe Sheavyn notes that Elizabethan writers 'even descended to flattering and pandering to lackeys, in order to gain admission to the presence of an unwilling great man' (The Literary Profession in the Elizabethan Age, p.38).

Horace satirizes such behaviour in Satires I.ix, in which an impertinent poetaster pesters him to gain access to his rich patron Maecenas, and volunteers to be his 'understudy'.

'To be in one's books' is proverbial, Tilley B534; Tilley cites Fulwell as above.

61.23 these premyes] the aforesaid, the foregoing (OED sb.II.2)

61.23 framed] directed (OED v.5.c)

62.1 officious] eager to serve or please; attentive, obliging (OED a.1; from the Latin 'officios', obliging, dutiful)

62.5 crept euen into the verye bowels of his secretes]

Spenser in 'Colin Clouts Come Home Again' notes that one of the 'subtil shifts' that courtiers use is 'creeping close into his secrecie':

To which him needs a guilefull hollow hart,
Masked with faire dissembling curtesie,
A filed toung furnisht with tearmes of art,
No art of schoole, but Courtiers schoolery. (1.698)

62.6-8 Then began I to magnifie and extol...far aboue his deserts
magnifie] glorify (OED v.1)

Ducci advises that praise is always efficacious: the courtier should stick to 'this maxime and assured rule, that Commendations, or, in defect thereof as wanting matter

(62.6
-8) praise-worthy, an easie flatterie is necessarie to whomsoever serveth' (Ars Aulica, chapter 20, 'Of praise and flatterie', pp.154-155). He defines adulation:

Adulation generally is an honour, which either deseruedly or vnderdeseruedly is giuen by the inferior vnto the superior, to the end to please him for his owne benefit or interest. (pp.156-157)

62.9 least] lest

62.10 I compyled a pleasant pamphlet, and dedicated the same vnto
-11 him]

compyled] composed; discussed in note to Title-page 1.8 This passage, with 62.23-63.5, is quoted by E.H. Miller in The Professional Writer in Elizabethan England. Miller comments that

Although Ulpian Fulwell is satirizing flatterers in the...passage, there can be little doubt that the ruse described and the naiveté of the petitioner typify the conduct of many Elizabethan writers. (p.99)

D. Nichol Smith, in 'Authors and Patrons', gives several examples of writers dedicating books to influential patrons in hope of preferment: 'The early poems of Spenser were moves in the difficult game of preferment. They helped him to win the private-secretaryship to Lord Grey of Wilton' (Shakespeare's England, 2 vols (Oxford, 1917), II, 182-211 (p.185)). George Gascoigne sought 'for office by the method of gaining the Queen's favour with poems or other literary gifts' (p.186). Henry Peacham in The Truth of our Times (1638) quotes someone who, like Fortunatus, thinks that

(62.10
-11)

the Dedication will bee worth a great matter, either in present reward of money, or preferment by your Patrones Letter, or other meanes;

Peacham squashes such sanguine expectations (quoted by Miller, The Professional Writer, p.130). Sheavyn says that 'writers were known to pen a dedication, and then write the book as a mere appendage to it' (The Literary Profession in the Elizabethan Age, p.26), as Fortunatus seems to have done with his 'pleasant pamphlet'.

62.12
-13

in the preface wherof I fed his vaine glorious humor with magnificent titles and termes] Barnaby Rich, in The Adventures of Brusanus (1592), deplores the tendencies of writers 'to glorifie the parties whome they have chosen to be patrons of their workes, with manye strained wordes and far sought for phrases' (quoted by Miller, p.131); Samuel Rowlands satirizes such 'magnificent titles and termes' in The Knaves of Spades and Diamonds (1613);

I will not fawne with Matchles, valorous,
Rarely renown'd, divine Ingenious;
Admired wonder, map of clemency,
Applauded, lauded magnanimity,
The Mercury of perfect eloquence
True spheare of bounty and Magnificence....
(quoted by Miller, pp.97-98)

Eleanor Rosenberg comments on 'the extent to which flattery was obligatory' in dedications, and quotes William Fulwood's rules for a letter designed to 'obtaine some dignity or preferment' in The Enimie of Idlenesse: Teaching the maner and stile how to endite, compose and write all sorts of Epistles and Letters (1568);

(62.12
-13) The first way to get beneuolence is in praising
of him vnto whom we write, for his liberalities,
his bountifulnesse, his iustice, his vertue, etc.
(Leicester, Patron of Letters (New York, 1955), p.14n.)

62.sn. Flatteringe Epistels sum time finde fauour, but wise men smile
19-24 at the folly of such and geue them small thanks] 'Of al
coloured things flatery is sonest espied', wrote the anonymous
author of The Institution of a Gentleman commenting on the
evils of flattery in dedications (quoted by Miller, p.131,
from the 2nd edition of 1568). Many writers complained of
the 'small thanks' they received - Thomas Churchyard, for
example, in an 'Epistle Dedicatorie to Sir Walter Raleigh' in
A Sparke of Frenship and Warme Goodwill (1588):

And yet loe a matter to be mused at, I have
sixteene severall bookes printed presently to
bee bought (albeit they are but trifles)
dedicated...to severall men off good and great
credite, but to be plaine not one among them
all, from the first day of my labour and studies,
to this present yeere and hower, hath anie waye
preferred my sutes, amended my state, or given
mee anie countenance. (quoted by Nichol Smith,
Shakespeare's England, II, 207; also Miller, p.119)

63.14 listed] wished, chose (OED v.¹ 2.b)

63.18 Certes] certainly, assuredly

63.19 deprived them from their former dignities] Fortunatus's
treachery and ingratitude were not uncommon. Leicester, in
Thomas Rogers's poem, Leicester's Ghost (written 1605?
printed 1641), complains bitterly that those whom he has
advanced have turned against him:

To high preferment divers men I brought,
Which since haue sought my honors lampe to dimme,

(63.19)

Yea such as I before advanced of nought
Against my person trecheries haue wrought.

Thus Honors doe oftentimes good manners change,
And men growne rich, to aintient freinds grow strainge.
(Leicester's Ghost, edited by F.B. Williams
(Chicago, 1972), p.10, l.86)

Cicero in De Amicitia condemns the ungrateful and 'insufferable'
behaviour of 'fortune's fools':

we may observe that men, formerly affable in
their manners, become changed by military rank,
by power, and by prosperity, spurn their old-
time friends. (De Senectute, De Amicitia, De
Divinatione, translated by W.A. Falconer (London
& Cambridge, Mass., 1959), p.165; XV.54-55)

Barclay says that courtiers try

Them selues to bring in, and rub another out.
And then to climbe vp to office and renowme,
And while they ascende to thrust another downe.
(The Eclogues of Alexander Barclay, edited by
Beatrice White, EETS (London, 1928), Eclogue I,
p.36)

dignities] high official positions (OED sb.3)

63.20 thinkest thou that I would suffer any man...that might iustly
-64.1 vpbraide mee with these words? I was the causer of this thy
preferment] Raleigh makes the same point in his Instructions
to his Son (second edition, 1632):

And great men forget such as have done them
service when they have obtained what they would,
and will rather hate thee for saying thou hast
been a mean of their advancement than
acknowledge it. I could give thee a thousand
examples, and I myself know it and have tasted
it in all the course of my life. When thou
shalt read and observe the stories of all
nations, thou shalt find innumerable examples
of the like. (in Advice to a Son: Precepts of
Lord Burghley, Sir Walter Raleigh, and Francis
Osborne, edited by L.B. Wright (Ithaca, 1962),
p.20)

64.5 he would rather be a Prince to rule and reigne, yea though
 -7 he had no possessions, then to be a vassal, or subiect with
infinite wealth This seems to be an inversion of Homer,
Odyssey, XI.489:

I should choose, so I might live on earth [or,
 so I might live a serf], to serve as the
 hireling of another, of some portionless man
 whose livelihood was but small, rather than to
 be lord over all the dead that have perished.
 (translated by A.T. Murray, 2 vols (London &
 Cambridge, Mass., 1966), I, 421)

Julius Caesar is reported to have said something similar:
 'I...had lieffer to bee the firste, or the chief man here' -
 in a 'beggerie little toun' - 'then the seconde man in Rome'
 Erasmus, Apophtegmes, translated by N. Udall, p.297; the
 saying is derived from Plutarch's life of Caesar); also
 reminiscent of Paradise Lost, I.262: 'To reign is worth
 ambition though in hell: / Better to reign in hell, than
 serve in heaven.'

64.8 ashamed of ambicion] But Fortunatus's ambition is an
 unworthy one, rather than the 'sacred hunger of ambitious
 minds' (Faerie Queene V.xii.1). Spenser condemns ambition
 achieved by 'wrong wayes' at the expense of others, in a
 passage which parallels Fortunatus's climb:

Some thought to raise themselues to high degree,
 By riches and vnrighteous reward,
 Some by close shouldring, some by flatteree;
 Others through friends, others for base regard;
 And all by wrong wayes for themselues prepard.
 Those that were vp themselues, kept others low,
 Those that were low themselues, held others hard,
 Ne suffred them to rise or greater grow,
 But euery one did striue his fellow downe to throw.
 (II.vii.47)

- 64.8 sithens] since
- 64.8 to hit the top of dignytie is the marke wherat al men shoote]
-10
The aim for 'dignytie' is also noted in Spenser and Shakespeare: 'And his lookes loftie, as if he aspyr'd / To dignitie, and sdeign'd the low degree' ('Mother Hubberds Tale', 1.678); Shakespere 2 Henry VI, III.1.338, 'And not a thought but thinks on dignity', and Richard III, IV.4.243, 'to the dignity and height of honour, / The high imperial type of this earth's glory'.
- 64.16 condicion] moral nature, character (OED sb.II.11)
- 64.20 founders] supporters; 'founder': one who supports or maintains another (OED sb.² 4)
- 64.22 honesty before honor] Honour, according to Barclay and his source, Aeneas Sylvius's Miseriae Curialum, is the first of the five things that courtiers seek. Barclay distinguishes two different kinds of honour, 'honour by vertue', and honour (respect) paid to 'power, hye rowmes' (i.e. posts, offices) or riches; he denies that 'true honour' is found at court, or that a 'playne and simple soule' has ever been 'exalted' by a king 'For all his maners and vertuous liuing' (Eclogue I, Eclogues of Alexander Barclay, p.25).
- 65.1 experience teacheth] from the Latin proverb, 'experientia docet' (Riley, Dictionary of Latin Quotations, p.116)
- 65.1-3 honour vpholden with honestie, standeth when honor without honestie falleth to decay] 'Where great additions swell's,

(65.1 and virtue none, / It is a dropsied honour' (All's Well that
-3) Ends Well, II.3.134). Barclay also writes of the instability
of honour without honesty:

But this same honour is neither true nor stable,
Which groweth of roote so ill and detestable.
For very honour, a true or perfect glory
Commeth of actes of laudable memory;
In supportation of right and equitie.
(Eclogue I.769, p.26)

Fulwell is closer to Barclay's 'two honours', honour 'geuen
of men of honestie', and honour 'of a multitude'; Barclay
stresses that the second is 'vnstable and also vicious'
(Eclogue I.879ff., pp.30-31).

65.3-4 nothing is more fickle then fortunes fauour] Tilley F606,
'Fortune is fickle'; Apperson, p.231, has 'Fortune is variant'.

65.8 irrecuperable] That cannot be recovered from (OED a.2);
the Q2 variant, 'irrecurable', is an extremely rare word;
OED lists only two examples of its use, one of them being
Fulwell.

65.8 at whose ouerthrow, men rather reioyce then lament]
-9 Barclay makes the same point, Eclogue I.1055:

When they by fortune are on the grounde agayne,
Then laugh their foes and have at them disdayne.

65.10 mene estate] Discussed in note to 37.1 above; Spenser uses
the phrase in 'Mother Hubberds tale', l.909:

Who euer leaues sweete home, where meane estate
In safe assurance, without strife or hate,
Findes all things needfull for contentment meeke.

65.10 if he fal, falleth but in the plain] Discussed in note to
-11

(65.10
-11) 37.8 above; perhaps also derived from the Latin proverb, 'Qui jacet in terra non habet unde cadat', 'he who lies on the ground has no place from which to fall'; a proverb quoted by Charles I in prison (H.P. Jones, Dictionary of Foreign Phrases and Classical Quotations, p.101). Barclay's shepherds rejoice that

We nede not feare to fall from our degree.
Beggery is lowest, who that can fare withall
Needeth not to feare to lower state to fall.
(Eclogue I.1070, p.39)

65.13
-14 froward Fortune] Perverse Fortune; Spenser uses the phrase several times: 'But froward fortune still to follow mee' ('Mother Hubberds Tale', l.66); 'That froward fortune doth euer auaile' (Shepheardes Calender, 'September', l.251); 'But at the last to th'importunity / Of froward fortune shall be forst to yield' (Faerie Queene, III.iii.31).

65.15
-16 the Fox wyll eate no grapes because he cannot reach them] Tilley F642; Tilley quotes Fulwell as above, as does Apperson, p.268, 'The grapes are sour'. The fable is in Caxton's Aesop, p.122, and Babrius and Phaedrus, pp.31, 303-305.

65.16
-18 thou mislykest honor and dignytie, because thou canst not attayne vnto it] The 'application' of the fable, according to Phaedrus: 'Those who speak slightingly of things that they themselves cannot achieve will do right to put their own name on this' (Babrius and Phaedrus, p.305).

65.22 bald] napless (OED a.4.b; OED's earliest example of this

(65.22) usage is 1610)

65.24 castle of ragges] 'Rag-castle': a haunt of beggars; according to OED this is a nonce-word coined by Carlyle in his Critical and Miscellaneous Essays (1828) (OED sb.¹ II.9). Partridge, A Dictionary of the Underworld, 3rd edition (London, 1968), p.109, gives a slang use of the word 'castle' as 'a house that a tramp calls at, in the hope of a free meal' (American, 1902).

66.8 your brauerye...is maintained with double theeury]

-10

Fulwell is using the word 'theeury' in the more general sense of 'villainy' (OED 'thief' sb.2); a thief can be one 'who obtains goods by fraudulent means, over-reaching, deceit etc.' (OED sb.1.b). OED quotes Gau, Richt Vay (1533), who links thieves with exploiters and oppressors: 'The tirannis and oppressours and theyffis'. Fortunatus's 'brauery' is maintained by 'double theeury' in that a) he exploits his tenants 'the poore husbandmen' by extortionate fines and rents (66.18), which, as Fulwell points out, 'is almost as ill as vsurye' (66.10-11); b) he refuses to fulfil his obligation of 'house-keeping', that is, feeding the poor, because what he should spend on food for the poor he spends instead on 'brauery': 'your beefe is on your back' (66.22).

Extravagant expenditure on dress, to the detriment of social obligations, is often criticized by satrists and social commentators, including Fulwell himself in Like Will

(66.8
-10)

to Like, in which the Vice, Nichol Newfangle, is an agent of the devil. Nashe believed that the love of 'bravery' was the cause of other sins:

For the compasment of brauery, we haue them that will robbe, steale, cosen, cheate, betray theyr owne Fathers, sweare and for-sweare, or doe any thing. Take away brauerie, you kill the hart of lust and incontinencie. Wherefore doe men make themselues braue, but to riot and to reuell?
(Christs Tears Over Ierusalem, McKerrow's Nashe, II, 142-143)

Bishop Babington, in A very fruitfull exposition of the Commaundements (1583), condemned the effect of love of 'apparell' on, among other things, the landlord-tenant relationship:

apparell...is one of the wormes that wasteth at this day the common wealth, that decaieth hous-keeping, that maketh strait the hande of the master to his seruant, and the Lord to his tenant. (quoted in Stubbes, Anatomy of Abuses Part I, edited by F.J. Furnivall, p.76)

66.18 finer] Stubbes explains the system of fines in The Anatomy of Abuses, Part II, p.29:

though he [the tenant] pay neuer so great an annuall rent, yet must he pay at his entrance a fine, or (as they call it) an income of ten pound, twenty pound, forty pound, threescore pound, and hundred pound, whereas in truth the purchase thereof is hardly woorth so much. So that hereby the poore man, if hee haue scraped any little thing together, is forced to disburse it at the first dash, before he enter the doores of his poore farme, wherein, what through the excessiue fine, and the unreasonablen rent, he is scarce able to buy his dog alofe [a loaf?], liuing like a begger, or little better, all his life after.

Dives, roasting in hell, laments the time that he racked his tenants, and 'tooke such fines to impoverishe them'

(66.18) and (like Fortunatus) 'consumed the same in...proude and sumptuous apparell' (quoted in Stubbes, Anatomy of Abuses, Part I, edited by F.J. Furnivall, p.76, from Thomas Lupton, A dream of the Deuill and Diues (1584)). Greene, in A Quip for an Vpstart Courtier (1592), draws a picture of a true gentleman:

He raiseth no rent, racketh no lands, taketh no incomes, imposeth no mercilesse fines;...he regardeth hospitality and aimeth at honor with releuing the poore: you may see although his landes and reuenewes be great, and he able to maintain himself in great brauery, yet he is content with home spun cloth...: he holdeth not the worth of his Gentry to be and consist in veluet breeches. (The Life and Complete Works... of Robert Greene, edited by A.B. Grosart, 15 vols (London, 1881-1886; rptd. New York, 1964), XI, 267)

66.19 ingurgitate] guzzle; swallow greedily or immoderately
(OED v.1, 1.b)

66.22 your beefe is on your back] Reminiscent of the proverb, 'He wears a whole lordship on his back' (Apperson, p.672, 'wear' 3). Velvet Breeches in Greene's A Quip for an Vpstart Courtier explains that it is now fashionable to be expensively dressed rather than to eat 'chines of beef':

now mennes capacities are refined, time hath set a newe edge on gentlemens humors, and they shew them as they should be, not like gluttons as their fathers did, in chines of beef and almes to the poore, but in veluets, sattin, cloth of gold, pearle. (Complete Works, XI, 230)

Greene praises the good old days of King Stephen, when 'instead of broken meat...lusty chines of beef fel into the poore mans basket' (p.234). Fortunatus, instead of keeping hospitality

- (66.22) and spending part of his income on beef, the leftovers of which would be given to the poor, spends it selfishly on clothes; and his wife wears 'in her kirtle the poore mans oxe' (67.3).
- 67.3 kirtle] a woman's gown (OED sb.¹ 2)
- 67.4 bankroupts stock] Bankrupt's estate; popularly, a bankrupt was one who had brought himself into debt by reckless expenditure or riotous living (OED sb.2.b); a stock was 'an estate or property that produces income' (OED sb.V.49).
- 67.6 fressher] purer, less tainted (OED A.adj.I.6)
- 67.sn.7 Vincit veritas] Latin proverb (Riley, p.489)
- 67.8 trueth in the end shal preuaile] Tilley T579, 'Truth is mighty and will prevail', from the Apocrypha (1611), 1 Esdras IV.41; Tilley cites Fulwell as above; Whiting T513, 'Truth shall surmount'.
- 67.8-11 so shall god blesse your store and encrease...barne] Perhaps an echo of Deuteronomy VII.13: 'And he [God] will...bless thee, and multiply thee; he will also bless the fruit of thy womb, and the fruit of thy land' etc.; and XVI.15: 'the Lord thy God shall bless thee in all thine increase, and in all the works of thine hands.'
- 67.11 brauerye shall be turned to beggery] 'Yea, the fop must goe like a gallant for a while, although at last in his age hee begge' (Greene, A Quippe for an Vpstart Courtier, Complete Works, XI, 238).

67.13 poletick] in the sinister sense of scheming, crafty, cunning (OED A.adj.2.d)

67.15 Mydas eares] Midas found fault with Apollo's music; and Apollo punished him for his lack of discrimination

in the part that did offend for want of skill.
And so a slowe paaste Asses eares his heade did
after beare.

(Ovid, Metamorphoses, XI.200, translated by Arthur Golding (1567), edited by J.F. Nims (New York, 1965), p.278)

Brewer notes a different version of the origin of the phrase derived from Budaeus: Midas kept spies to tell him everything that transpired throughout his kingdom, and the proverb 'kings have long arms' was changed to 'Midas has long ears' (Brewer's Dictionary of Phrase and Fable, p.605). The sentence is therefore ambiguous: it may mean that those who love flattery should have long ears, to hear what is really being said about them behind their backs; or that they should be marked out in some way for ridicule, as Midas was.

67.16 Philodoxus] Lover of glory, perhaps in the sense of 'popular repute or estimate' or 'of external appearance, glory, splendour' (Liddell and Scott, Greek-English Lexicon, 9th edition (Oxford, 1966), 'δόξᾰ' III.4, IV). Lucian uses the word in 'The Passing of Peregrinus':

reflecting what a strange thing love of glory (φιλόδοξον) is; how this passion alone is unescapable even by those who are considered wholly admirable, let alone that man who in other respects had led a life that was insane and reckless, and not undeserving of the fire. (Loeb Lucian, V, 43)

67.17 motion] proposal, suggestion (OED sb.7); OED quotes the Translators' Preface to the 1611 Bible: 'To whom...a sealed booke was deliuered, with this motion, Reade this, I pray thee.'

67.sn.
16-17 All is well that endes well] Tilley A154; Tilley does not cite Fulwell. A popular proverb, given a misogynist twist by Heywood:

All is well that endeth well, a good saiynge (wyfe)
But I would see it proued, by thende of thy lyfe.
(300 Epigrams, no.171, in Works, p.176)

67.18 Respice finem] Latin proverb, 'Look to the end' (Riley, p.400); Tilley E125, 'Remember (mark) the end'; Tilley quotes Latimer's Sermons (1550): 'Respice finem, mark the end; look upon the end.' It was the first of the 'three maxims of especial wisdom and excellence' sold by a merchant to Domitian in Tale 103 of the Gesta Romanorum (translated by C. Swan (London, 1876; rptd. New York, 1959), p.177). Shakespeare used the proverb in The Comedy of Errors, IV.4.44: 'Mistress, "respice finem", respect your end', and George Chalmers conjectured that he derived it from Fulwell; as opposed to Warburton's assertion that it was from a 'lampoon of Buchanan':

I suspect, that Shakspeare may have seen the same expressions in The Eighth Liberal Science, or The Art of Flattery, which was published, in 1579, Respice finem; 'Alls well that ends well.' (A Supplemental Apology for the Believers in the Shakspeare-Papers, pp.279-280)

THE FIFTH DIALOGUE BETWEENE SYR SYMON THE PERSON OF POLLE IOBBAM,
AND THE AUTHOR

68.0.1 Syr Symon] The name is a play upon 'simony' as Fulwell makes clear 69.8-9. Sir David Lindsay mentions a 'Sir Symonie' in Ane Satyre of the Thrie Estaitis when discussing priests:

For throw thir playis [pleas] and thir promotioun,
Mair for denners [coins] nor for devotioun,
Sir Symonie hes maid with them ane band [bond,
covenant] . (p.140)

In classical satire, the name Simon was associated with the character of the flattering parasite in the dialogue attributed to Lucian, 'The Parasite, Parasitic an Art', which is discussed in the Literary Introduction.

Fulwell pointedly identifies Sir Simon as an archdeacon of Wells Cathedral (77.3-4): the problem is, which one? Ribner tentatively identifies him as Andrew Borrowe 'who succeeded John Ruge as Archdeacon of Wells probably in the year 1576' (Ribner II, p.270). However, Ribner's account of the archdeaconry of Wells contains several errors:

Sometime after 1554 the living went to Walter Cretynge, who held it until his death in 1558. For some fourteen years following his decease the living remained vacant, until John Ruge was appointed to it in 1572....He died in 1581. (Cf. DNB XLIX, 391). Of just when Ruge was succeeded by Andrew Borrowe there is no certain record, but since Ruge became a Canon of Westminster in 1576, it is reasonable to date the accession of Borrowe to the archdeaconry in that year. Of Andrew Borrowe's earlier career nothing has been recorded. We only know that

(68.0.1) he must have died before February 17, 1581/2, when his will was probated. (p.269)

The reference to DNB explicitly states that 'John Rugge... was created archdeacon of Wells in place of John Cotterell in 1572' (my italics). Le Neve gives the following sequence of archdeacons of Wells:

POLYDORE VERGIL was collated 6th Feb. 1507. He died at Urbino in Italy in 1555, and was there buried.

JOHN COTTEREL, LL.D., was collated in 1554, his predecessor being then living. His will, dated 21st Feb. 1571-2, was proved 25th May 1572.

JOHN RUGGE, A.M., was admitted in 1572. He died in 1581, and was buried in the cathedral. His will, dated 24th April 1580, was proved in Feb. 1581.

BARTH. CLERK held it in 1581.

ANDREW BOROW held it at his death. His will was proved 17th Feb. 1581-2.

(Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae, I, 161)

According to Le Neve, then, Borrowe did not become Archdeacon until 1581, so could not have been Fulwell's Sir Simon.

Ribner is also confused about Walter Cretynge. There were three archdeaconries in the diocese of Bath and Wells: Wells, Bath, and Taunton. According to Le Neve, Walter Cretynge was Archdeacon of Bath, not Wells, from 1536 to 1555, and was a prebendary of Wedmore (third stall) in 1537 (Le Neve, I, 165, 184). Rugge did indeed become a canon of Westminster in 1576 (Le Neve, III, 354), but he did not vacate his archdeaconry in Wells.

Rugge is a more likely candidate for Sir Simon; Fulwell states that he 'became a practitioner of the ciuill law' (76.18); Ribner overlooks this fact, even though the reference he gives to DNB states that Rugge 'was noted for

(68.0.1) his knowledge of civil law, which he studied in Germany' (DNB, XVII, 391). Anthony a Wood notes in the Fasti, or annals of Oxford University, that on 30 April 1566, Rugg

who for the space of six years had studied civil law in Upper Germany, did supplicate for the degree of batchelor of that faculty but whether he was admitted it appears not. (Athenae Oxonienses, edited by P. Bliss, II, 172)

Rugge, like Bishop Berkeley, was from the diocese of Norwich; he received his B.A. from Trinity College, Cambridge in 1552; was a fellow of Gonville Hall in 1554, and took minor orders in London in December of the same year (Venn, Alumni Cantabrigienses, Part I, III, 497). In 1555 he was in Venice, 'probably in the train of Francis, Earl of Bedford', and in 1556 'came to see Rome' (Garrett, Marian Exiles, p.275): perhaps this corresponds to his period as 'seruitour' (below 76.11). From 1557 to 1559 he was Rector of Smallburgh in Norfolk (Venn, III, 497). There is then a gap in what is known of his career until 1566, when he supplicated for a degree of bachelor of law, as above. Perhaps these were the six years - say, from 1560 to 1565 - which he spent in Upper Germany. In 1571, according to the Athenae Cantabrigienses,

he set up a claim to the archdeaconry of Norwich, under a grant thereof from one to whom it was alleged bishop Parkhurst had granted the next presentation. The bishop however collated Thomas Roberts, and a suit ensued between him and Rugg. (C.H. Cooper & T. Cooper, Athenae Cantabrigienses, 2 vols (Cambridge, 1858, 1861), II, 4)

He obtained his M.A. from Cambridge in 1572 (Venn, II, 4).

(68.0.1) In February or March 1572, the then Archdeacon of Wells, John Cotterel, died: he too was a civil lawyer, 'a great civilian in these times', as Strype calls him (Annals of the Reformation, II.i, 351; the date of his death is given in Le Neve, I, 230, II, 130). Perhaps Cotterel was a friend and patron of Rugge, or perhaps he somehow managed to obtain the reversion of his offices, for he not only became Archdeacon of Wells, but also Rector of Winford in Somerset, as Cotterel had been (F.W. Weaver, Somerset Incumbents (Bristol, 1889), p.302; Strype, Annals, II.i, 351; Cooper, Athenae Cantabrigienses, II, 4-5). In 1573, he became rector of Chedzoy in Somerset (Foster, Alumni Oxonienses 1500-1714, II, 1288). In 1576 he was appointed to the fifth stall in the prebend of St Peter's, Westminster, by a patent from the Queen (Le Neve, III, 354). He seems to have held this concurrently with his archdeaconry at Wells, for an inquiry into the residency of the prebendaries of St Peter's states that Rugge is 'most at Welles and sometimes here' (H.M.C. Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Marquis of Salisbury, Part XIII (London, 1915), p.145). He died in February 1581-2 and was buried in Wells Cathedral, next to John Cotterel (Venn, III, 497; Cooper, II, 5).

Rugge, by the standards of his day, was not an outrageous pluralist, as was his predecessor, John Cotterel. Cotterel had died by the time Fulwell published The Art of Flattery, but he would certainly have been a good target

(68.0.1) for any writer satirizing pluralism. As mentioned above, he too was a civil lawyer, obtaining his Bachelor of Civil Law in 1532 and his D.C.L. in 1542 (Register of the University of Oxford, I (Oxford, 1885), p.170). Cotterel was Rector of Winford from 1524 to 1572, and of Adderbury, Oxon. in 1542 (Foster, Alumni Oxonienses, I, 333); he was made a prebendary of Bristol in 1545 (Le Neve, I, 230); Rector of Everleigh, Wilts. in 1546, and of Burton Bradstock, Dorset in 1550 (Foster, I, 333); he was made Archdeacon of Dorset in the diocese in 1551 'and enjoyed it in 1571' according to Le Neve (I, 225). At the beginning of Mary's reign, in 1553, he was given a commission to exercise jurisdiction in the see of Wells, vacant by the resignation of Bishop Barlow (Strype, Memorials of T. Cranmer, new edition, 2 vols (Oxford, 1822), I, 459). By 1554 he was vicar general to the new Bishop of Bath and Wells, Gilbert Bourn, who gave him a commission to 'remove, deprive, reform, correct, and punish, &c.' priests who had married or who were not conforming to Roman Catholicism (Strype, Ecclesiastical Memorials, 3 vols (Oxford, 1822), III.i, 352). One of those deprived was 'John Faber, the prebend of Timbercomb' (ibid., p.353); in 1554 Cotterel himself became prebendary of Timberscomb, and was collated as Archdeacon of Wells, even though his predecessor Polydore Vergil was still living (Le Neve, I, 161, 181); in 1555 he was installed as prebendary of Lincoln, 'and held it in 1560' (Le Neve, II, 130).

(68.0.1) The change in the religious establishment did not deter Cotterel from his ecclesiastical career: he was the first subscriber to the oath of supremacy (Strype, The Life and Acts of Matthew Parker, 3 vols (Oxford, 1821), I, 154). He was soon in the good graces of Archbishop Parker, who gave him a commission to visit the cathedral of Sarum, not trusting the Bishop because of strife between him and the Dean and chapter (ibid., I, 152). He was one of the members of the Synod of 1562, although, as Strype comments, he was one of those who in Mary's reign 'complied with the popish religion, and were dignified in the church' (Annals of the Reformation, I.i, 488, 491) - a 'temporizing priest' as Strype calls such men elsewhere. Cotterel acquired another benefice, the rectory of Tidcombe (a portion of Tiverton) in 1562 (Foster, Alumni Oxonienses, I, 333). He seems to have retained the favour of Parker, who appointed him commissary for the diocese of Bristol in 1563 and again in 1571 (Strype, Annals, I.i, 420; Life of Parker, II, 50).

In total, then, Cotterel held five benefices (Winford, Adderbury, Everleigh, Burton Bradstock, Tidcombe), three prebends (Bristol, Timberscomb, Lincoln), and three archdeaconries (Dorset, Wells, Lincoln), and also two vicar generalships (Bristol; Bath and Wells)! Added to this, he had been a fellow of New College, Oxford, from 1524 to 1542; a fellow of Jesus College, and principal of St Laurence Hall (in 1543?) (Foster, Alumni Oxonienses,

(68.0.1) I, 133; Boase, Register of the University of Oxford, I, 170). He was successful in getting the plum pickings in both academic and ecclesiastical spheres. The machinations of Sir Simon would be second nature to him.

68.0.2 person] parson; as below 71.9; Fulwell is called 'clerck persone of Naunton' in the indictment issued against him in the Court of High Commission (Biography, p.98).

68.0.2 polle Iobbam] (Q2 sidenote, 68.14-15; poul Iobbam) Not traceable as a placename; 'poul' is an alternate form of 'poll', as in Henry Chettle's Kind-Hartes Dreame (1592), edited by G.B. Harrison (London, 1923), p.41:

thou knowst our rentes are so unreasonable,
that except wee cut and shaue, and poule,
and prig, we must return Non est inuentus at
the quarterday.

Probably Fulwell is making a satirical reference to the activities of Sir Simon: to poll can mean to fleece, or practise extortion (OED v.III.5, 5b), as in the phrase 'pilling and pollinge' above, 56.7). 'Iobbam' is unexplained; there is no such word recorded in OED or Wright. To 'job' at this period meant to jab (OED v.¹ 1); it was only in the eighteenth century that it acquired the meaning of 'to turn a public office or service, or a position of trust, improperly to private or party advantage; to practise jobbery' (OED v.² 7; first example given 1732).

(68.0.2) According to Stubbes, the word 'poll' was particularly applied to Protestants who made money out of preaching:

And if a man request them to preach at a burial, a wedding, or a christening, they will not doe it vnder an angell, or a noble at the lest. And therefore the papists and aduersaries to the Gospel call our Gospel, 'a polling Gospel,' our sermons 'roiall sermons, angell sermons, and noble sermons.' You call, say they, our blessed masse 'a polling masse;' but, say they, your preachings are more polling. (Anatomy of Abuses, Part II, pp.84-85)

- 68.1 Who liues to learne, and learnes to liue] . Tilley L379, 'Live and learn'; Gascoigne has 'We live to learne, for so Sainct Paule doth teach' (The Glasse of Governement (1575), in Complete Works, II, 88).
- 68.2 thrift] prosperity, success
- 68.4 shrift] revelation (of something private or secret) (OED sb.7)
- 68.5 shrift] with a play upon the usual meaning of the word, penance imposed by a priest after confession (OED sb.1), which normally has the 'virtue' of absolution
- 68.7 benedicitie] blessing, deliverance from evil (OED B. sb.3); usually the blessing given at table
- 68.9 ab omne frugalitate] from all frugality, thriftiness
- 68.10 auricular confession] Confession told privately in the ear (OED a.2.c); OED quotes Brinklow (1542), 'That auryculare confessyon, which is the preuy chamber of

(68.10) treason'.

68.15 vnthriftie] unprofitable, uneconomical

69.1-2 sold his benefice for a bole of new ale in corns]

Sir Simon's conduct in selling his benefice and accepting a bribe of a hundred ducats was strictly condemned by the episcopal visitation articles: for example, Sandys's articles for Worcester, 1569:

whether your parson or vicar came to his benefice by simony, or be thereof defamed or vehemently suspected. That is to say, whether by himself he made any bargain, promise or pact with the patron, or gave the patron any reward, or whether any other person be known, reputed or famed to have given any money or reward. (Frere, Visitation Articles and Injunctions, III, 224)

Also Parker's articles for Canterbury, 1560:

whether you know or suspect any of them to obtain his room or living by simony; that is, by money, unlawful covenant, gift or reward. (Frere, III, 76)

new ale in corns] ? Ale as drawn off the malt (OED 'corn' sb.¹ III.7); Skelton uses the phrase in The Tunning of Elinour Ruming: 'Elinour took her up / And blessed her with a cup / Of newe ale in cornes' (Complete Poems, edited by P. Henderson, p.122).

Bishop Latimer relates a similar story of the selling of a benefice, this time for a dish of thirty apples, in his 'Fifth Sermon Preached before King Edward, April 5', 1549: the patron of the benefice finds ten pieces of gold hidden in each apple and cynically

- (69.1-2) exclaims, 'Get you a graft of this tree, and I warrant you it will stand you in better stead than all St Paul's learning' (Sermons and Remains, edited by G.E. Corrie, 2 vols (Cambridge, 1844-1845), I, 186-187). 'Such a dish of apples as Master Latimer talketh of' is referred to by Stubbes when he is exposing the shifts and tricks of patrons of benefices 'to defeate the lawe' against simony (Anatomy of Abuses, Part II, pp.81-82).
- 69.4 ware of] aware of; as in As You Like It, II.4.58: 'Thou speakest wiser than thou art ware of.'
- 69.5 boule] obsolete form of 'bowl'
- 69.5 duckets] 'The ducat, immortalized by Antonio's negotiations with Shylock, was a Spanish coin, valued under Philip and Mary at 6s.8d.' (George Unwin, 'Commerce and Coinage', Shakespeare's England, I, 311-345 (p.342)). A hundred ducats at this valuation would work out to £ 33 6s 8d.. Considering that half the benefices in England in 1585 were worth less than £10 a year (Hill, Economic Problems of the Church, pp.202-203), this would be a considerable sum.
- 69.9 syr Simonye] because he trafficked in benefices
- 69.10 kepe hospytalytie] This was regarded as one of the obligations of a clergyman, and was inquired about at visitations: for example, in Articles to be enquired in the visitation, in the first yeere of...Elizabeth...1559

(69.10) (1589? STC 10129), A3, no.13:

Hospitalitie. Item, whether they be resident vpon their benefices, and keepe hospitalitie or no. And if they bee absent and keepe no hospitalitie, whether they do relieue their parishioners, and what they giue them;

also the visitation articles for the see of Winchester, 1570 (STC 10352), A3, no.12:

And whether in their absence, competent hospitalitie be kept, or the xl. part of the said Benefice distributed yearely amongst the poore.

Article 54 stipulates that a vicar should have sufficient to keep hospitality (B2^V).

69.12 vnfurnished] Deprived (OED v.3); OED's earliest example of the use of the word in this sense is 1611, and 1580 in any sense of the word.

69.13 plurality] The holding of two or more benefices or livings concurrently by one person (OED sb.2).

According to W.H. Frere:

The Act of Pluralities and non-residence, 21 Henry VIII, c.13, enacted that anyone holding a benefice of £8 or upwards vacated it by accepting another, that those already possessed of more than one benefice, could keep them up to four, but not above. The exceptions were - all clerical members of the King's Council might receive dispensations to hold three benefices; chaplains to the nobility, bishops and officers of the royal household might on the same terms hold two, as well as graduates in divinity and some others; King's chaplains might accept as many benefices as the King might give. (Visitation Articles and Injunctions of the Period of the Reformation, II, 84)

As Christopher Hill comments, 'the right to pluralism

(69.13) was first and foremost a social privilege':

it was notorious that in fact the bishops themselves, the cathedral clergy, heads and fellows of Oxford and Cambridge colleges, and what one may term 'court clergy' like John Donne were the worst pluralists. (Economic Problems of the Church, pp.228, 227)

This is particularly appropriate to Sir Simon, who, as an archdeacon, was one of the 'cathedral clergy'. The canons of 1571 'forbad ministers to hold more than two benefices, and insisted that they must be within 26 miles of each other' (Hill, p.226). Sir Simon, being a licensed preacher, would legally be allowed two benefices, as long as they were in the same district.

69.sn.
13-15

fisheth with a golden hooke] Tilley H591; derived from Erasmus, Adagia 468A, 'Aureo piscari hamo'; Tilley does not cite Fulwell. Draxe, Bibliotheca Scholastica (1611), quoted by Tilley, lists the proverb under the heading of 'bribery'. It was used elsewhere with particular reference to acquiring benefices, the implication being that a bribe is offered to the patron: e.g., in Erasmus's colloquy 'The Pursuit of Benefices', Cocles asks his friend if he has come back from Rome 'loaded with benefices', and Pamphagus replies:

I hunted diligently but had little luck. For, as the saying goes, many fish with a golden hook there. (Colloquies, p.9)

Also The Return from Parnassus: 'I see, we scholars fish for a living [i.e., benefice] in these shallow fords without a silver hook' (Hazlitt's Dodsley, IX, 143).

- (69.sn
13-15) Fulwell uses the proverb again below 77.8.
- 69.14 feate] knack or trick (OED sb.6)
- 69.16 cunninge] skilful, expert (OED a.2; the bad sense of the word - crafty - was not current until 1590 (a.5.b))
- 69.18 barely] poorly (OED adv.6)
- 70.1 sauour] relish; delight, satisfaction (OED sb.4)
- 70.5 stoicall studie] study of patient endurance, of indifference to pleasure and pain
- 70.sn.5 in respect] in comparison (OED sb.I.3.d); OED quotes Burton's Anatomy of Melancholy (1621): 'Rome a small Village in respect'
- 70.10 rip it vp] reveal it; discussed in note to 22.12 above
- 70.14 arrant] errand, as on title-page line 18
- 70.18-19 counted a saucye knaue amonge gentles] Archbishop Sandys also criticized the attitude of congregations to preachers who rebuked their vices:

The preacher is gladly heard of the people, that can carp the magistrates, cut up the ministers, cry out against all order, and set all at liberty. But if he shall reprove their insolency, pride, and vanity, their monstrous apparel, their excessive feasting, their greedy covetousness, their biting usury, their halting hearts, their muttering minds, their friendly words and malicious deeds, they will fall from him then. He is a railer, he doteth, he wanteth discretion. (The Sermons of Edwin Sandys, edited by J. Ayre (Cambridge, 1841), Sermon 14, p.274)

counted] considered (OED v.3.a)

(70.18 saucye knaue] impertinent fellow
-19)

gentles] gentlefolk

70.19-21 patrones of benefices, whose foule disorders, in making
marchandice of the church] A patron is one who holds
the right of presentation to an ecclesiastical benefice,
and is the holder of the advowson; he was originally so
called because he protected and defended its interests,
but, as OED comments, 'the protection has long disappeared,
but the right of presentation is retained as a marketable
"property"' (OED 'patron' II.4); 'advowee' 2).

making marchandice of] trafficking in (OED sb.1.c);
OED quotes Tindale (1531): 'They made marchaundise of
open penaunce.'

The covetousness of patrons was one of the
'inconveniencences to be cured' according to the 'General
notes of matters to be moved by the clergy in the next
parliament and synod' set down at the 1562 convention: they

ought by their names to be patroni [protectors],
and not praedones [plunderers], of their
churches. Remedies. And therefore strait
penalties are to be made against those patrons
which directly or indirectly take money, or
make or accept simoniacal pacts. And among
other penalties, a patron convicted hereof, to
lose his patronage during his life...; and the
wicked priest, which gave or promised, to be
deprived of all his livings and made for ever
unable to receive any more ecclesiastical livings.
(Cardwell, Synodalia, II, 508)

Stubbes complains that benefices 'are bought and sould
for simonie' by patrons, 'euen as an oxe or a cow is
bought and sold for mony', and he discusses the 'lawes

- (70.19
-21) for the restrainte of simonie'; he believed that patrons should be abolished, and that the 'gifture of the benefices' should be in the power of the church 'and not in anie other priuate man whatsouer' (Anatomy of Abuses, Part II, pp.81, 79).
- 70.21 heape vp wrath] Perhaps an echo of Job XXXVI.13: 'But the hypocrites in heart heap up wrath.'
- 71.2-3 the childrens bread was taken away and cast vnto dogges] Matthew XV.25: 'It is not meet to take the children's bread, and to cast it to dogs'; also Mark VII.27. Fulwell is referring to the parishioners, 'deprived from the foode of the soule' by not having an adequate pastor.
- 71.4 deprived from the foode of the soule] Robert Crowley makes the same accusation in Pleasure and Payne, Heauen and Hell (1551):
- Thus by your meanes my people haue
Ben destitute of sheperdis good;
They haue ben ledde by such as draue
Them from the fylde of gostly foode.
(Select Works of Robert Crowley, edited by
J.M. Cowper, EETS (London, 1872), p.119)
- 71.5 simple] in the sense of deficient in knowledge or learning (OED A.adj.II.9), as the context makes clear
- 71.5-6 syr Iohn, vtterly vnlearned] Sir John was 'a familiar or contemptuous appellation for a priest: from Sir as rendering Latin dominus at the Universities' (OED 'John' 3). The 'lewde' priest in Crowley's satire, 'The Lewde or Vnlerned Priestes Lesson' is called Sir John:

(71.5
-6)

Thou that art lewde wythoute learnynge,
Whom comunly men cal syr Iohn...
Thou art a man voide of knowledge,
And eke of all good qualities,
Only mete for to dyche and hedge. (The Voyce
of the laste trumpet (1550), Select Works, p.70)

Avarice, the Vice in Respublica (1553), explains why he will dispose of a benefice to an unlearned 'Sir John':

I have a good benefyce of an hunderd markes
yt is smale policie to give suche to greate clerkes
they will take no benefice but thei muste have all,
A bare clerke canne bee content with a lyving smale.
Therefore sir Iohn lacke latten my frende shall have myne
And of hym maie I ferme yt for eyght powndes or nyne
The reste maie I reserve to myselfe for myne owne share.
(edited by W.W. Greg, p.33, 1.955)

71.6-7 the patron must haue the swetest sop of the tithe

swetest sop] Choicest part; a sop is a piece of bread
or the like dipped or steeped in wine (OED sb.¹ 1);
Fulwell repeats the phrase below 79.14.

tithe] The tenth part of the parishioners' annual produce
which was paid to the minister and was an important part of
his income; the greedy patron is appropriating the best
part of this, which is legally not his due.

William Harrison, a pluralist himself and a defender of
pluralism, attacked the covetousness of patrons and exposed
their extortions in The Description of England, p.38:

But if it were known to all that I know to have
been performed of late in Essex - where a minister
taking a benefice (of less that £20 in the Queen's
books...) was enforced to pay to his patron twenty...
quarters of wheat, and sixteen yearly of barley,
which he called 'hawk's meat,' and another let the
like in farm to his patron for £10 by the year,
which is well worth forty at the least - the cause
of our threadbare gowns would easily appear, for
such patrons do scrape the wool from our cloaks.

(71.6
-7) Stubbes makes a similar point: 'the most patrones keepe the fattest morsels to themselues, and giue scarcely the crums to their pastors' (Anatomy of Abuses, Part II, p.80). He denounces this practice as sacrilege and fraud.

71.16
-17 claw the ytching eares of vain gloryous men] Compare Barnaby Rich in Faultes Faults and Nothing Else but Faultes: 'In Court the itching eares of the Vaine-glorious must be scratched by Sycophants' (facsimile, edited by M.H. Wolf (Gainesville, 1965), fo.55).

claw] flatter, fawn upon (OED v.5), derived from the sense of 'to scratch gently, to soothe' (v.3); OED also lists the phrase 'to claw the ears', meaning to flatter, tickle, gratify (v.4.b). The word 'claw' is used in several proverbs about flattery: 'Claw me and I will claw thee', Tilley C405; 'Scratch my breech and I will claw your elbow', Tilley B643; 'To claw one by the back', Tilley B17; and 'Claw my back, and I will claw thy toe', Stevenson 361.3).

'Itching ears' (also used above, 34.14) is a Biblical phrase, from II Timothy IV.3-4:

For the time will come when they will not endure sound doctrine; but after their own lusts shall they heape to themselves teachers, having itching ears. And they shall turn away their ears from the truth, and shall be turned to fables.

71.17
-18 like Protheus conuert them selues vnto sundry shapes]

The many shapes of Proteus are recounted in Ovid's Metamorphoses, Book VIII. Proverbial, Tilley S285, 'As many shapes as Proteus'; Tilley does not cite Fulwell,

(71.17 and his first quotation is dated 1589, T. Cooper's Admonition
-18)

to the People of England: 'Such a subtile Proteus he is,
that he can turne himselfe into all maner of shapes.'

Proteus is associated with hypocrisy and villainy in the
play The Life of Sir John Oldcastle (1600), by Anthony
Munday et al., in which the priest, Sir John, parson of
Wrotham, boasts:

I haue as many shapes as Proteus had,
That still when any villany is done,
There may be none suspect it was sir Iohn.
(edited by P. Simpson, Malone Society Reprint
(Oxford, 1908), B3^v, I.2.312)

71.19 lyuings] benefices

71.21 plausible] acceptable, pleasing; winning public approval,
popular (OED a.2)

71.22 bone (Q2: boone) companion] Literally a 'good-fellow',
from the Old French bon, bone; 'used in a jovial,
bacchanalian sense' (OED 'boon' A.adj.4).

72.1 bowles] The playing of bowls was disapproved of as unfit
behaviour for the clergy, and was inquired into at the
episcopal visitations: e.g. Horne's Injunctions for
Winchester Cathedral, 1571:

to the end they be not diffamed or suspected of
evil or dissolute conversation or living they
shall refrain common resort to taverns or alehouses
and from ranging about from place to place idly
in the town, from bowling or playing at unlawful
games. (Frere, Visitation Articles and Injunctions,
III, 321; also III, 138: 'the petit canons shall
not be common bowlers')

Bowls was one of the games outlawed in favour of archery in
1511; in a statute of 1541, the lower classes were permitted

(72.1) to play bowls only at Christmas; the game was made the prerogative of those possessed of lands worth £100 a year, who could obtain a license to bowl in their own dominions (Joseph Strutt, The Sports and Pastimes of the People of England, edited by J.C. Cox (London, 1903; rptd. Bath, 1969), pp.216-219).

72.1-2 I shut vp my studye, and sought out the ale house] The Royal Articles of Queen Elizabeth, 1559, inquired

whether any parsons, vicars, curates, and other ministers, be common haunters and resorters to taverns or ale-houses, giving themselves to drinking, rioting and playing at unlawful games, and do not occupy themselves in the reading or hearing of some part of Holy Scripture, or in some other godly exercise. (Frere, Visitation Articles and Injunctions, III,2)

The Royal Injunctions of 1559 repeat this, and stress that

at all times, as they shall have leisure, they shall hear or read somewhat of Holy Scripture, or shall occupy themselves with some other honest study or exercise. (Frere, III, 11; also Parker's Diocesan Articles for Canterbury, 1560, III, 83)

72.3-4 with the papist I was a papist: with the protestant an earnest gospeller] A similar religious hypocrisy is described in Thomas Rogers's Leicester's Ghost, in which Leicester is made to confess:

Of sound Religion I did make a showe,
Yet could I strayne my conscience for a neede,
For though I seemd an earnest protestant,
For gaine I favoured Papists...
To serue my tourne, I could turne Puritant.
(edited by F.B. Williams, ll.149, 155)

gospeller] One who claims for himself and his party the exclusive possession of gospel truth, often applied

(72.3 -4) derisively to Protestants, Puritans and sectaries (OED sb.5).

Thomas Wilson uses the phrase 'earnest gospeller' in The Arte of Rhetorique (1560): 'an earnest Gospeller, that for words spoken against an Ecclesiasticall lawe, suffered death in Smithfielde' (p.138).

72.5 newfound Famely of Loue] A sect 'without formal organization' which stressed

Charity, a love for all...as the creed for christian action and fellowship....They considered the outward forms of religion nonessential and when necessary attended worship in the parish churches. (I.B. Horst, The Radical Brethren: Anabaptism and the English Reformation to 1558 (Nieuwkoop, Holland, 1972), p.152)

The sect emerged in Holland in the 1540s, under the leadership of a merchant Henry Nicholas or Henrick Niclaes, alias H.N. or Homo Novus, who may have visited England in 1552 or 1553. By 1574 it had a large following in England, and its members presented to parliament an 'Apology for the Service of Love, and the People that own it' (DNB, 'Henry Nicholas', XIV, 427-431 (p.428)). In 1574, five members of the Family were forced to recant at Paul's Cross, and to declare that they 'utterly detested H.N. his errors and heresies' (DNB, XIV, 428). Nicholas's religious treatises were translated into English by an 'illuminate Elder' of the sect, Christopher Vitel, a joiner, and were published ca.1574-1575, just before the appearance of The Art of Flattery (STC 18549-18564). The Familists were therefore topical in the 1570s. References to them in later

- (72.5) sixteenth-century literature are usually derogatory: Nashe called them 'adulterous Familists' in Pierce Penilesse (McKerrow's Nashe, I, 172); and a scurrilous picture is painted of them in Middleton's play, The Family of Love (1608).
- 72.6 Ancient] venerable (OED A.adj.II.7)
- 72.6 wild otes] Dissipated or dissolute young fellows (OED 'oat' 4.b); OED and Tilley (06) quote Becon's Nosegay (1542): 'the foolish desire of certain light brains and wild oats, which are altogether given to new fangleness'.
- 72.8 at all assayes] for all occasions (OED sb.V.21)
- 72.9 credite] reputation; favourable estimation (OED sb.5.b)
- 72.sn. Scoggins dole is to geue wher as is neither neede nor desert]
11-14
John Scoggin, or Scogan, was court fool to Edward IV; according to OED 'Scoggin' came to be used as a word for a coarse jester or buffoon. There is a proverb 'To deal fool's dole' (Tilley F524), which Ray explains as 'To deal all to others and leave nothing to himself' (quoted by Tilley). Fulwell probably had in mind Scoggin's remarks in two of the jests attributed to him: in the first, 'How Scogin greased a fat sow on the arse', Scoggin kills a fat sow beside the king's gate, roasts her over a fire, ladling twenty pounds of melted butter over her buttocks; when he is asked why, he replies:

I doe as Kings and Lords, and euery man else
doth; for hee that hath enough, shall haue more,

(72.sn.
11-14)

and he that hath nothing shall go without,
and this sow needeth no basting nor greasing,
for she is fat enough, yet shall shee haue
more then enough. (The first and best part of
Scoggins jests (1626, STC 21852), p.47; Scoggin's
jest were entered in the Stationers' Register in
1565-6, but no early editions survive.)

In the following jest, the King asks Scoggin why he greased
the fat sow, and Scoggin repeats his criticism:

I doe as your Grace doth, and all your Lords
as well spirituall as temporall and as all rich
men doe, which doe giue to them that haue
enough, more then enough, and hee which hath
nothing, except he bee an importunate crauer,
shall goe without, and vnlesse that hee haue
some man to speake for him, hee may goe pipe in
an Iuy leafe. (pp.47-48)

- 72.12 then law would permit] The number of benefices legally
permitted is discussed in the note to 69.13 above.
- 72.13 proper] suitable (OED a.III.9)
- 72.14 policie] crafty device, stratagem, trick (OED sb.¹ I.4.b)
- 72.16 capable of] legally qualified to hold (OED a.7)
- 72.17 make ouer my entangled lyuinge] Perhaps by farming it
out; the visitation articles for the diocese of Winchester,
1570, inquire into this practice:
- Item whether any incumbent of any spiritual
promotion haue demysed or let the same...or
any part therof to ferme, without the consent
in writing of the Bishop. (STC 10352, A3, no.22)
- 72.19 promoter] One whose business was to prosecute or denounce
offenders against the law; originally an officer appointed
by the crown; later, one who prosecuted in his own name
and that of the sovereign, and received part of the fines

- (72.19) as his fee; a professional accuser, an informer (OED sb.II.3); Fulwell refers to a 'Pierce the promoter' below, 89.20-21.
- 72.20 buckler] protection, protector (OED sb.² 2)
- 72.23 states] persons of high rank; the magnates, dignitaries or authorities of a town or district (OED 'state' sb.24, 25)
- 73.2 deuses] witty expressions? (OED 'device' sb.10)
- 73.2 humors] inclinations, whims (OED sb.II.6)
- 73.3-4 mery greeke] Merry fellow; boon companion (OED 'Greek' sb.I.5); proverbial, Tilley M901; Matthew Merrygreek is the boon companion of her hero in Udall's Ralph Roister Doister (c.1553). The origin of the term is discussed in a note by C. Talbut Onions, Modern Language Review, 1 (1906), 231-232.
- 73.sn. A chaplain more meet to serue a thatcher then in the church]
5-7
Harrison complains about patrons who
- do bestow advowsons of benefices upon their
bakers, butlers, cooks, good archers, falconers,
and horsekeepers, instead of other recompence
for their long and faithful service.
(Description of England, p.32)
- In 'The Lewde or Vnlerned Priestes Lesson' Crowley
criticizes clergy who are
- Only mete for to dych and hedge,
Or else to plant and graffe mens trees.
(Select Works, p.70)

- (73.sn.5-7) The vicar of Liddington, Rutlandshire, actually was a thatcher, and for many years 'busied himself in sordid employments, and served a thatcher with straw, and helped the thatcher to sow his house, and thereby acquired good skill in that faculty...to the...disgrace of his priestly function' (Christopher Hill, Economic Problems of the Church, p.217).
- 73.6 dolt] fool
- 73.6 dogbolt] Applied to a person as a term of contempt: contemptible fellow, mean wretch (OED sb.2); OED quotes Fulwell as above. Skeat conjectures that 'the original sense was (probably) a crossbow-bolt, only fit for shooting at a dog' (Glossary of Tudor and Stuart Words, p.119). In The Apophthegmes of Erasmus, translated by Udall, Aristippus is described as 'no mannes dogbolte, ne in any mannes bondage' (p.48); the editor, Edwin Johnson, glosses 'dogbolt' as 'a low class of serving men, who were as dependent as dogs, and as ready to be sent any errand as "bolts"' (p.424).
- 73.7 simplicitie] rusticity, ignorance (OED sb.2)
- 73.9 policye] in the sense of 'crafty device, stratagem', as above, 72.14, and note
- 73.10 keepe in our handes many good benefices] Stubbes describes the devices used to get around the law against pluralism: they purchase a dispensation, a licence, a commission, a pluralitie, a qualification, and

- (73.10) I cannot tell what else, by vertue whereof they may hold totquots so manie, how manie soeuer....Or if this way will not serue, then get they to be chaplines to honorable and noble personages, by prerogatiue whereof they may holde I cannot tell how manie benefices, yea, as manie as they can get. (Part II, pp.78-79)
- 73.12 shiftinge] using tricks, deceitful (OED ppl.a.2)
- 73.12 thrift] labour, industry (OED sb.¹ 1.b)
- 73.15 function] office, calling (OED sb.4)
- 73.sn. preacheth for profit] This is roundly condemned by Stubbes:
18-19 when Theodorus asks, 'May a pastor...preach in other places for monie?', Amphilogus replies that 'he ought to doe it gratis', taking only something voluntarily offered 'to the supplie of his necessities, in respect of his painstaking'. He especially condemns making money out of 'funerall sermons, marriage sermons, christening sermons, and the like, as many do' (The Anatomy of Abuses, Part II, p.84).
- 73.19 insaciabile couetousnes of the cuntry man, with the subtyltie
-21 that is in them harbored] Gascoigne makes a similar criticism of crafty country men in The Steele Glas: he accuses them of hoarding grain 'when it is cheape'; they are 'The guilefulst men, that ever God yet made':
- they...crie out on landelordes lowde,
And say they racke, their rents an ace to high,
When they themselves, do sel their landlords lambe
For greater price, then ewe was wont be worth.
(Complete Works, II, 170)
- insaciabile couetousnes A cliché of 'complaint' writing:
'O unquenchable Fyer, and unsatiabile covetousnesse....The

- (73.19 eye of a covetous man is unsatiab^{le}' (Gascoigne, The
-21) Droomme of Doomes Day (1576) in Complete Works, II, 240);
also in Thomas Becon's The Jewel of Joy (1553):

Do not these ryche worldlynges defraude the
pore man of his bread,...which through their
insaciab^{le} covetousnes set al things at so
hie price. (quoted in H.C. White, Social Criticism
in Popular Religious Literature of the Sixteenth
Century, p.93)

- 73.22 beat their braines] proverbial; used above and discussed
in note to 41.14
- 74.1-2 omitting first to seeke the kingdome of god, and the
rightuousnes therof] Referring to the Sermon on the Mount,
especially Matthew VI.33: 'But seek ye first the kingdom
of God, and his righteousness; and all these things shall
be added unto you.'
- 74.4-6 Lawyers that vnconsionably take fees, by whom contrauersies
are rather mayntayned, then ended] Robert Crowley in
'The Lawiars Lesson' castigates lawyers for being 'so
passing gredy' and tells them to 'make shorte sute':
- If thou be a mans atturney,
In any court where so it be,
Let him not waite and spende money,
If his dispatch do lie in the[e]. (Select Works, p.83)
- vnconsionably without regard for consience;
unreasonably (OED adv.1); OED's first example is 1583
- contrauersies obsolete form of 'controversies';
disputes as to rights, claims and the like (OED sb.1.a)
- 74.9 vnconcionable] unreasonably grasping, extortionate
(OED adj.1)

74.15 the disguised attire of men and women, maketh them seeme
 -17 more lyke monsters then humaine creatures] Stubbes makes
 the same point in The Anatomy of Abuses, Part I, p.30:

most of our nouell Inuentions and new fangled
 fashions rather deforme vs then adorne vs,
 disguise vs then become vs, makyng vs rather
 to resemble sauadge Beastes and stearne Monsters,
 then continent, sober, and chaste Christians.

74.17 in all my sermons, I haue one pleasant dogtricke or other
 -19 to delight my auditorye]

dogtricke Fulwell's use of the word does not fit the
 definition in OED: 'a low or "scurvy" trick; a treacherous
 or spiteful act; an ill turn'. Nares gives a different
 definition: 'A practical joke. The word is explained as
 meaning sometimes a fool's bauble.' Nares quotes Taylor's
Workes (1630):

I could have soyled a greater volume than this
 with a deale of emptie and triviall stuffe; as
 puling sonets, whining elegies, the dog-tricks
 of love, toyes to mocke apes, and transforme
 men into asses. (Nares, p.248)

Perhaps Fulwell is using the word 'trick' in the sense
 derived from the late Latin 'tricae', trifles, toys (OED,
 derivations of 'trick' sb.). 'Dogtricke' is in pointed
 contrast to 'doctrine', which should be the concern of
 Sir Simon's sermons; Nares's definition suggests something
 frivolous and amusing.

Wyclif in Two Short treatises, against the orders of
the Begging Friars, D3^V, complains that friars and Masters
 of Divinity 'senden out Idiots ful of couetise, to preach

(74.17 not the Gospel; but Chronicles, Fables, and Leesings, to
-19)
please the people, and to rob them'. Fulwell, like Wyclif, was probably attacking a certain style of preaching developed by the friars which recommended 'opportuna jocatio', opportune jesting, as one of the 'ornaments' of a sermon (Charles Smyth, The Art of Preaching: a Practical Survey of Preaching in the Church of England 747-1939 (London, 1940), pp.35, 88).

Thomas Cartwright, in A Second Admonition to the Parliament (1572), also attacks the tricks of fashionable and flattering preachers like Sir Simon:

prophane and heathenische Oratoures, that thincke all the grace of preaching lieth in affected eloquence, in fonde fables to make their hearers laughe....But if they carye away the praise of the people for their learning,...or for some mery tales they have tolde, or such like pageants to please itching eares withall, suche a fellowe muste have the benefices, the prebendes, the Archdeaconries, and suche like loiterers preferments, especially if he can make lowe curtesie to my Lordes, and know his manners to every degree of them, or can creepe into some noble mannes favoure to beare the name of his chapleine, this is he that shall beare the preferments awaye from all other, and to flaunte it out in his long large gowne, and his tippet, and his little fine square cappe, with his Tawnie coates after him, fisking all over the citie to shewe him selfe. (in Puritan Manifestoes, edited by Frere and Douglas, pp.109-110)

74.19 conseight] conceit: a fanciful, ingenious, or witty notion or expression (OED sb.III.8)

75.1 medice cura te ipsum] From Luke IV.23: 'And he said unto them, Ye will surely say unto me this proverb, Physician, heal thyself'; Tilley P267; Erasmus, Adagia

(75.1) 1032B. Fulwell's use of the proverb is particularly scathing if one is aware of its context in Luke IV. Christ in the synagogue at Nazareth has just read out a passage from Isaiah on preaching:

The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he hath anointed me to preach the gospel to the poor; he hath sent me to heal the broken-hearted, to preach deliverance to the captives, and recovering of sight to the blind, to set at liberty them that are bruised. (Luke IV.18)

This is an ironic contrast to Sir Simon's method of preaching: 'dogtriks in steede of doctrine'.

75.4 brasen face] Proverbial, Tilley F8: 'He has a face of brass'; Tilley quotes Gascoigne's Supposes (1573), IV.5: 'What a brasen face he setteth on it.'

75.5-6 hide my wouluish carkas vnder a cloke of lamskin] Tilley W614, 'A wolf in a lamb's skin'; derived from Matthew VII. 15, 'Beware of false prophets, which come to you in sheep's clothing, but inwardly they are ravening wolves'.

75.10 taking of sum notable foile] OED lists the phrase 'to take a foil', meaning to have a repulse, to be defeated in an enterprise (sb.² 2); as in Thomas Wilson's The Rule of Reason (1551), I1:

Dilemma,...called a horned Argument, is when the reason consisteth of repugnaunt membres, so that what so euer you graunt, you fall into the snare, and take the foile.

75.16 sinester practises] underhand machinations

75.16 put in vre] put into performance (OED sb.¹ 2)

- 75.17 fame] reputation (OED sb.¹ 2)
- 75.17 greeuous wounde of my good reporte, which skarre lyeth so
-18 open] Good report: good reputation; probably a Biblical echo, especially of Philippians IV.8, 'whatsoever things are of good report...think on these things'. The wound/scar metaphor may be an echo of the proverbs, 'An ill wound is cured, not an ill name', Tilley W928; and 'Though the wound be healed yet the scar remains', Tilley W929.
- 75.21 plaster] figuratively, a healing or soothing means or measure (OED sb.I.1.b)
- 76.2 couet] desire eagerly (OED v.1.b, c)
- 76.4 chirurgicall] surgical
- 76.4 polecie] stratagem
- 76.5 when I was in the flower of my youth...seruitour
-11 erroneously taken as applying to Fulwell himself, as discussed in Biography, pp.4-5
- 76.8 tauntinge] making a smart or effective rejoinder; exchanging banter (OED v.¹ 1)
- 76.sn. lubber] A big, clumsy, stupid fellow, especially one who
9 lives in idleness; often applied to monks - 'abbey-lubber'; 'lubber-wort' was an imaginary herb that produces laziness (OED sb.1). The word seems to have been applied particularly to the clergy: e.g., 'Cathedrall churches, the dennes aforsaide of all loytering lubbers' (An Admonition to the Parliament, in Puritan Manifestoes,

(76. sn.9) edited by Frere and Douglas, p.32); and Edward Hake, A Touchestone for this time Present (1574, STC 12609), B7^v:

Would God (I saye) that the holye house were not pestered at this daye with such hipocrites and damnable sort of lurkish loytering Lubbers, who...doo keepe within their clammes the liuelyhood of true pastors, and painful laborers.

76.11 seruitour] Personal attendant (OED sb.1); if one accepts the identification of Sir Simon as John Rugge, he was one of the eight men who attended Francis Russell, Earl of Bedford, on his trip to Europe in 1555 to 1557, as discussed above in note to 68.0.1, p.265.

76.13 coule] cowl: a garment with a hood worn by friars (OED sb.¹1)

76.13 painefull preacher] Painful: painstaking, diligent (OED a.4); OED quotes Thomas Stapleton's translation of Beda's History of the Church in England (1565): 'In consideration of their vertuous sermons and painefull preaching.' Thomas Fuller uses the phrase several times when describing clergymen: e.g., 'About this time deceased William Alley, bishop of Exeter, a painful preacher'; 'The same year concluded the life of Edward Deering, an eminent divine,... a pious man and painful preacher' (The Church History of Britain, 3rd edition, edited by J. Nichols, 3 vols (London, 1842), II, 502, 514).

76.17 square cap] Theodorus asks in Stubbes's Anatomy of Abuses, 'why a forked cappe rather than a round one?' Amphilogus replies:

The cornered cappe, say these misterious

(76.17) fellows [i.e., the Papists] , doth signifie, and represent the whole monarchy of the world, East, West, North, and South, the gouernment whereof standeth vpon them, as the cappe doth vpon their heades. (Part II, 114, 115)

The square cap was an issue in the vestiarian controversy, and was abhorred by the puritans, for example, William Turner, dean of Wells 1550-1553 and 1560-1568:

The use of the square cap was particularly obnoxious to him, and he is said to have ordered an adulterer to wear one while doing his open penance, and to have so trained his dog that at one word from him it plucked off the square cap of a bishop who was dining with him. (DNB, XIX, 1291)

76.17 tippet] A band of silk or other material worn round the neck, with the two ends pendant from the shoulders in front (OED sb.1.c). The description of Sir Simon, that he 'shakt of [his] ...tippet' is an oblique reference to the proverb 'to turn one's tippet' (Tilley T353), meaning to be a turncoat, to change one's course or behaviour completely (OED 'tippet' 1.e). Tilley quotes E.P.'s translation of A Confutation of Vnwritten Verities...Made by Thomas Cranmer (1558): 'The priests, for the most part, were double-faced, turn tippets and flatterers.'

Tippets, like square caps, were frowned upon by extreme Protestants such as John Bale:

Only reigneth the true christian church by the word of God,...and neither by superstitions nor ceremonies,...mitres nor rochets, by tippets nor hoods, by shaven crowns nor side gowns, by crosses nor copes. (The Image of Both Churches (1548?), chapter 12, in Select Works of John Bale, edited by H. Christmas (Cambridge, 1849), p.405)

(76.17) Turner scornfully 'used to call the bishop "white coats" and "tippet gentlemen" in ridicule of their robes' (DNB, XIX, 1291).

76.18 ciuill law] i.e., as distinguished from canon (ecclesiastical) law

76.19 temporal] lay as distinguished from clerical; of law: civil or common as distinguished from canon (OED A.adj.3)

76.19 as though I had taken no orders at all more then the .4.]
-20

I am at a loss to explain the text's twenty-four orders. There are three major orders (priesthood, diaconate and subdiaconate), and four minor orders (porter, reader, exorcist, acolyth), according to Rev. J.H. Blunt's Dictionary of Doctrinal and Historical Theology (London, 1870), p.526. Walter Hook, A Church Dictionary (London, 1842), p.417, explains that, besides bishops, priests and deacons,

there were...other ecclesiastical persons of inferior rank, who were allowed to take part in the ministrations of religion. These constituted what are called the inferior orders, and in some of the ancient canons, they have the name of 'Clergy'.

Among these 'inferior orders' are Readers, Sub-deacons, Exorcists, Acolyths, Singers, and Ostiaries; they were

never suspected to be of Divine appointment, or of necessary use in the Church, and were never entrusted with any charge approaching to a pastoral or sacramental character. (p.417)

Presumably Fulwell is criticizing Sir Simon for behaving like a layman, as if he had taken only 'inferior orders', and ignoring the fact that by his consecration as a priest,

(76.19 he had become someone 'of Divine appointment', in Hook's
-20)
words.

76.sn. Syr simon a sercher for al kinde of mettals] This activity
20-21
was strongly disapproved of as being associated with
Mammon and materialism, as is shown in Book II, canto vii
of the Faerie Queene, and Milton's warning in Paradise Lost,
I.690-692. A more contemporary illustration is in
Cornelius Agrippa's Of the Vanitie and vncertaintie of
Artes and Sciences, chapter 29, 'Of the Arte of findinge
Mettals'. Agrippa confesses that he 'had charge ouer
certaine of the Emperours maiesties minerals' and is
writing a book on 'the finding of Mettalles' (p.91).
Nevertheless he condemns this occupation because

By this Arte, all worldly wealth is maintained,
for the greedinesse whereof suche a fantasie
came in mennes braines, that they go euen
vnto hel alieue, and with greate decaie of
nature do search riches where damned soules
doo dwel. (p.91)

He quotes Ovid on digging up 'glitteringe golde from hell';
according to Ovid, 'wicked wealth' is the cause of all
evil: virtue, shame, truth and faith are put to flight,
and fraud, deceit, fell force and wiles take their place.
Agrippa concludes that 'he that firste founde out golde
mines, and others [sic] veins of Mettal, inuented a
vengeable, mischeifous deede to our liue' (p.92). This
casts a more sinister light on Sir Simon's career, since
it links him with a devilish activity which has led to
the fall and corruption of mankind.

(76.sn.
20-21)

Ironically, Sir Simon leaves mining to re-join the church and become Archdeacon, as being a more profitable line of business. Perhaps he was in Wells because Somerset was a rich area for minerals: lead, silver, zinc, iron and coal were mined there; the bishops of Bath and Wells worked or leased mines in their manors, and there was a reputed silver mine in Wells itself (Victoria County History of Somerset, II, 353, 362-365). Part of the income of the bishop came from 'lot lead', royalties from the produce of the lead mines (Hembry, The Bishops of Bath and Wells, p.45).

76.21
-77.1

it is a worlde to see] Proverbial: Tilley W878 (he does not cite Fulwell); 'world' is used in the sense of 'a great thing, a marvel' (OED sb.IV.19.c). Robert Recorde discusses the meaning of the word 'world' in The Castle of Knowledge (1556):

Also this name [world] doth signify sometimes a great wonder, as when we say: 'It is a world to see the craft that some men use under color of simplicity.' (in Tudor Poetry and Prose, edited by J.W. Hebel et al. (New York, 1953), p.665)

Shakespeare uses the proverb in The Taming of the Shrew, II.1.313: ''tis a world to see, / How tame, when men and women are alone, / A meacock wretch can make the curstest shrew.' Fulwell uses the proverb again 123.10.

77.3 Archdeacon] An official in the church next in importance to the bishop; he is appointed by, and gives assistance

(77.3) to, the bishop, superintending the rural deans, and holding the lowest ecclesiastical court, with the power of spiritual censure (OED). A detailed study of the function of the archdeacon in this period is Robert Peters, Oculus Episcopi: Administration in the Archdeaconry of St. Albans 1580-1625 (Manchester, 1963). The archdeacon has the responsibility for 'inspecting and reforming irregularities and abuses among the clergy' (R. Burns, Ecclesiastical Law (1767), quoted Peters, p.6), so it is particularly ironic that Sir Simon, with his simoniacal proclivities, should be in this position.

77.4 Tesremos...Slew] Somerset and Wel(1)s spelt backwards. Stubbes uses the same device in his Anatomy of Abuses, in which he refers to Nodnol (London), Dnalgne (England) and Ailgna (Anglia).

77.5 after whose death I toke new orders, and became a new olde
-7 priest againe] This would more or less fit in with John Ruge's curriculum vitae: he received minor orders in 1554, was Rector of Smallburgh from 1557-1559, then seems to have gone abroad for six years to study civil law in Germany; he returned to England before 1556, when he supplicated for a degree of bachelor of law at Oxford. In 1571, he tried to get the archdeaconry of Norwich, but failed; then succeeded in becoming Archdeacon of Wells after Cotterel died in 1572, so he must have returned to the priesthood.

- 77.8 fisshed...with my golden hooke] Proverbial; discussed in note to 69.sn.13-15
- 77.9 glosing] flattering
- 77.11 fat benefices] William Prynne, in Lord Bishops none of the Lords Bishops (1640), criticized the acquisition of fat benefices by means of the golden hook, the 'ecclesiastical careerists' who
- heap up by hook or crook three or four fat livings, they seldom preach at any of them, nor keep residence or hospitality, but hoard up full bags, skulk at the court, ingratiate themselves with those in greatest grace, and when the chair is void, they bring out their bags, and so are the only qualified men for such a dignity. (quoted in C. Hill, Economic Problems of the Church, p.229)
- 77.13 brasen face] proverbial, as above note to 75.4
- 77.14 win newe credite, for the olde was so crakt] Credit: the quality or reputation of being worthy of belief or trust; trustworthiness, credibility (OED sb.2). 'To crack credit' was a popular phrase (OED 'crack' v.II.20.b); Apperson records the proverb 'He that has cracked his credit is half hanged' (p.122, 'credit' 3); and 'He that has lost his credit is dead to the world (Apperson 'credit' 4; Tilley C817). Middleton uses the phrase in The Family of Love, III.2.90: 'O boy, I am abused, gulled, disgraced! my credit's cracked' (Works of Thomas Middleton, edited by A.H. Bullen, 8 vols (London, 1885), III, 55).
- 77.15 worme eaten rotten] The same metaphor is used by Henry

(77.15) Porter in The Two Angry Women of Abington (1599), Scene 6, line 122: 'But her ill speeches seekes to rot my credit, / And eate it with the worme of hate and mallice' (Representative English Comedies, edited by C.M. Gayley, p.578).

78.3 countenance] estimation; credit or repute in the world (OED sb.III.9)

78.4 good cheere] Hospitable entertainment; good food (OED 'cheer' sb.5, 6); Apperson lists 'good cheer' as a proverbial phrase (p.257).

78.5 knaue...rascal] Not necessarily pejorative; knave originally had the sense of 'a boy or lad employed as a servant; hence, a male servant or menial in general; one of low condition. (Frequently opposed to knight.)' (OED sb.2); a rascal was 'one belonging to the rabble or common herd; a man of low birth or station' (OED A.sb.2); according to OED, the earliest use of 'rascal' in the sense of a dishonest fellow, a rogue, was in 1586 (sb.3). In this passage, then, Fulwell is contrasting the poor, uninfluential lower class with the rich and powerful upper class: Sir Simon cultivates the latter, thus ignoring the pastor's Christian duty of 'keeping hospitality' and succouring the poor and needy.

78.6 impotent] Physically weak, helpless; but also 'having no power or ability to accomplish anything; powerless, helpless, ineffective' (OED a.1, 2). Robert Crowley in

(76.6) Pleasure and Payne, Heauen and Hell, writes of the 'sycke, sore, and impotent' (Select Works, p.113). The poor are uninfluential and cannot help Sir Simon in his career; therefore he ignores them.

78.7 esquiers] men belonging to the higher order of English gentry, ranking immediately below a knight (OED sb.¹ 2)

78.8 list] wish (OED v.¹ 2.b)

78.9 Rug, Rig, and Risbie] Rug: '?A shaggy breed of dog' (OED sb.² 4; first example, 1792); OED also has 'water-rug', but gives only one example of the use of the word:

As hounds and greyhounds, mongrels, spaniels, curs,
Shoughs, water-rugs and demi-wolves are clept
All by the name of dogs. (Macbeth (1605), III.1.93)

Alexander Schmidt defines water-rug as 'a kind of poodle' (Shakespeare-Lexicon, 3rd edition, 2 vols (Berlin, 1902), II, 1339). Adrian Junius, under 'The names of Dogs' gives as the translation of 'Lachne...Rug, shaghaire or ruffen' (The Nomenclator, or Remembrancer (1585, STC 14860), p.46). However, Fulwell may be insultingly punning on the name of Archdeacon Ruge.

Rig is not mentioned as a word for a dog in OED, although the word is used for a half-castrated animal, or a male animal with imperfectly developed organs (Wright, English Dialect Dictionary, sb.¹; OED sb.³); however it is the name of a spaniel in two early plays: in Respublica (1553), edited by W.W. Greg, I.3.338:

Adulacion: Doe but whistle for me, and I come foorth
with all.

(78.9) Avarice: That is well spoken. I love suche atowarde
twygg.
(he whistleth.

Adulacion: I come fownder.

Avarice: that is myne owne good spaignell Rigg.

Also Ralph Roister Doister (1552?), II.3.46: 'ye shall see
 hir glide and swimme, / Not lumperdee clumperdee like our
 spaniel Rig' (edited by E. Flügel in Representative
 English Comedies, p.135).

Risbie I have not come across in canine nomenclature;
 there is a word 'rigsby' meaning 'a wanton, a romping lad
 or lass' (OED) which might be an appropriate name for a
 playful pet.

78.9 cut and longtaile] Literally, horses or dogs with cut
 tails and with long tails; hence, figuratively, all sorts
 of people (OED ppl.a.9); OED quotes Fulwell as above.
 Tilley has the proverb 'Come cut and longtail' (C938), but
 his first quotation is dated 1605; there is another
 proverb, 'Tag and rag, cut and longtail' (Tilley T9).

78.11 estates] men of rank, nobles (Skeat, Glossary, p.136)

78.sn. Sir Simon is a seruisable spaniell] Spaniel in the
 13-14 sense of 'a submissive, cringing or fawning person' (OED
 sb.¹ 2.b); also as in the proverb 'As flattering (fawning)
 as a spaniel' (Tilley S704).

78.15 commodities] advantages, benefits, 'often in the sense
 of private or selfish interest' (OED sb.2.c)

78.17 spit in your mouth] 'It was an old idea that to spit in

(78.17) a dog's mouth gave him pleasure' (Apperson, p.596, 'spit' 1); both Apperson and Tilley have the proverb 'Spit in his mouth and make him a mastiff' (Tilley M1259; Tilley's earliest quotation is Fulwell as above). Middleton's The Roaring Girl has a hunting scene, II.1, in which several people enter 'with water-spaniels and a duck'; a stage direction reads 'Spits in the dog's mouth' (The Works of Thomas Middleton, IV, 48). Tilley quotes Henry More's Divine Dialogues (1668):

To spit into the mouth of a Dog and clap him on the back for encouragement, is not indecorous for the man, and gratefull also to the Dog.

This seems to have been done also to pacify a fierce dog, according to William Fennor, The Compters Common-wealth (1617, STC 10781), p.73:

when a poore man comes nigh a churlish mastiffe he must not spurne at him if he meane to goe quietly by him, but flatter and stroake him on the backe, and spit in his mouth.

The reference to flattery is interesting: the 'men of honour and worship' who are entertained by Sir Simon condescendingly flatter him but treat him like a dog, and really despise him.

78.18 mocking stock] Laughing-stock; OED notes that this phrase was very common in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries ('mocking' vbl.sb. b). Lady Anne Bacon uses it several times in her translation of Bishop Jewel's Apology of the Church of England, edited by J.E. Booty: 'for a very scorn and mocking-stock' (p.10); 'princes'

- (78.18) ambassadors be but used as mockingstocks' (p.113); 'God will not suffer himself to be made a mockingstock' (p.138).
- 78.23 practises] schemes, tricks
- 79.1 sticketh...in my stomack] 'Said of something that makes a lasting (especially painful) impression on the mind' (OED 'stomach' sb.6.c); 'stomach' is used 'to designate the inward seat of passion, emotion, secret thoughts,...or feelings' (OED sb.6).
- 79.4 chorasie] Not listed in this form in OED, although 'corasie' is listed as an obsolete form of 'corrosive'; the English Dialect Dictionary, I, 736, has 'corrosy (corrasy, corrac)', an annoyance; Wright comments that 'Coresie is a popular form of the learned corrosive, something that "corrodes" or causes annoyance', corresponding perhaps to OED 'corrosive' B.sb.3.a, 'something that "frets" or causes care or annoyance; a grief, annoyance'. Skeat, Glossary, defines 'coresie' as a 'vexation, a corroding, gnawing annoyance'. (p.91).
- 79.7 Dropmall] unidentified; perhaps another reversed name (Lampart?)
- 79.11 sumetimes] Formerly (OED 'sometimes' adv.2.b), as in Gascoigne's The Complaynt of Phylomene (1576): 'In Athens reignde somtimes, / A king of worthy fame, /... Pandyon was his name' (Complete Works, II, 182).
- 79.sn. eye sore] cause of annoyance or vexation (OED sb.3);

(79.sn. proverbial, Tilley E273
14)

79.14 sop] defined in note on 71.6-7 above

79.15 wits and wiles] Spenser uses a similar phrase in The
-16 Faerie Queene, IV.xi.2: 'Vnlouely Proteus, missing to
his mind / That Virgins loue to win by wit or wile.'

80.5 sith] since

80.9 endew] endow

81.3 Slew] Wells, as above 77.4

81.5 portendeth] indicates (OED v.¹ 3)

81.6 peradventure] perhaps

81.10 enow] enough

81.15 tendering] A legal term: to offer money 'in exact
fulfilment of the requirements of the law and of the
obligation' (OED v.¹ 1).

81.16 limited] appointed (OED ppl.a.1)

81.17 very friend] true friend

82.1 vnconscionable dealers] unscrupulous operators

82.4 obloqui] evil fame, disgrace (OED sb.1.b)

82.8 Iudas] Judas's betrayal of Christ with a kiss is in the
gospels, Matthew XXVI.47-50; Mark XIV.43-46; Luke XXII.
47-48. 'To give one a Judas kiss' became proverbial
(Tilley J92).

82.10 egregious] outrageous (OED a.3)

82.12 albeit] although

- 82.13 cheare] kindly welcome or reception (OED sb.6)
- 82.16 trayne] trick, stratagem (OED sb.² 1.b)
- 82.18 crucifige] From the Latin New Testament, Mark XV.13:
'At illi iterum clamaverunt: Crucifige eum'; also
Luke XXIII.21, and John XIX.6, 15.
- 82.22 Certes] assuredly
- 82.22 coggings] underhand dealings (OED vbl. sb.¹ b)
- 83.6 molified] allayed the anger or indignation of (OED v.2)
- 83.sn. blear the eyes] discussed in note to 48.23 above
7
- 83.11 stoppe the mouthes] A Biblical phrase: e.g. Romans III.
19, 'that every mouth may be stopped'; Titus I.10-11,
'For there are many unruly and vain talkers and deceivers
...Whose mouths must be stopped'.
- 83.13 worshipfull] reputable, respectable
- 83.14 scarfe] Used in a medical sense in the verb 'scarf',
'To bind up (wounds) with, or as with a scarf' (OED v.¹ 3);
the earliest example given is 1601. OED quotes Anthony
Wotton, An Answere to a popish pamphlet (1605): 'Let them
shift themselues, as they list, and skarfe their soares,
according to their fancies.'
- 83.17 the price of a good benefice] The selling of benefices
is discussed earlier in the note to 69.1-2. Christopher
Hill gives examples of the price of benefices: in 1639,
Wigan '(one of the wealthiest parsonages in England)...

(83.17) had recently changed hands for £1,010. The Bishop estimated Wigan as worth £ 570 a year clear'; Sir Thomas Temple invested £1,200 for the purchase of the advowson of Bourton-on-the-Water for his younger son (Economic Problems of the Church, pp.64-66). Fulwell's father, Thomas, acquired the advowson of the vicarage of Wedmore from George Payne, gentleman, although there is no evidence that he bought it (Bishops' Registers 1518-1559, Somerset Record Society, 55, p.145; Biography p.18).

83.19 factor] Agent; one who buys and sells for another person (OED sb.I.4); Hill lists among 'evasive devices adopted by ministers and patrons' to avoid the laws against simony 'dealing through a factor or servant, or by ostensible purchase of some other commodity' (Economic Problems of the Church, p.68).

83.19 chapmen] Dealers, traders; a word often used in connection with trafficking in benefices: e.g.,

Patrons nowadays search not the universities for a most fit pastor, but they post up and down the country for a most gainful chapman. He that hath the biggest purse to pay largely, not he that hath the best gift to preach learnedly, is presented. (The Decades of Henry Bullinger (1584), quoted in Hill, p.65; other quotations using the word in this context are on pp.50 (Burton, A Censure of Simonie) and 67)

83.21 list not] do not wish

83.21 for doubt] for fear; OED quotes Caxton's Sonnes of Aymon (c.1489): 'For doubte to be blamed he spored his horse' (OED sb.¹ 3)

- 83.21 shent] blamed, reprov'd (OED v.¹ 2)
- 84.1 reader] teacher, lecturer (OED sb.4)
- 84.8 particularly] minutely, circumstantially, in detail
(OED adv.2)
- 84.14 baffolde] subjected to public disgrace or infamy (OED v.I.1)
- 84.16 Plutos infernall court] A polite way of saying hell; Pluto, son of Saturn and Ops, 'received as his lot the kingdom of hell, and whatever lies under the earth' (Lemprière, Classical Dictionary, p.488). According to Cornelius Agrippa, Pluto is another name for Satan: the Romans
- invented Gods in hell, whiche they woorshipped, honouringe the Prince of hell Satane him selfe the vilest and most miserable of all other, vnder the names of Dis, Pluto, and Neptune. (Of the Vanitie, p.175)
- 84.22 factes] Evil deeds, crimes (OED sb.1.c); 'thereto she did annexe / False crimes and facts' (Faerie queene, IV. viii.35); 'a fouler fact / Did never traitor in the land commit' (2 Henry VI, I.3.176); 'To kill their gracious father? damned fact!' (Macbeth, III.6.10).
- 85.4 And vnto the vngodly...adulterers] Psalm L.16-18;
-8 Fulwell is using the Coverdale translation, which was the most popular version of the psalms and was used in the Book of Common Prayer; but he seems to be quoting from memory and condensing, for there are some variations in the Prayer Book version:

(85.4
-8)

But unto the ungodly said God: Why dost thou preach my laws, and takest my covenant in thy mouth; Whereas thou hatest to be reformed; and hast cast my words behind thee? When thou sawest a thief, thou consentedst unto him; and hast been partaker with the adulterers. (Our Prayer Book Psalter, containing Coverdale's Version from his 1535 Bible and the Prayer Book Version by Coverdale from the Great Bible 1539-41, edited by E. Clapton (London, 1934), p.117; variants italicized)

The context of the quotation is interesting; the psalmist continues: 'Thou hast let thy mouth speak wickedness; and with thy tongue thou hast set forth deceit' (verse 19) - very applicable to Sir Simon with his cultivation of flattery; he goes on to threaten the delinquent: 'I will reprove thee, and set before thee the things that thou hast done' (verse 21). Calvin in his commentary on this psalm applies this passage particularly to hypocrites, 'naughtypacks' whose words are divorced from their deeds (The Psalmes of David and others. With J. Caluins commentaries, translated by A. Golding (1571, STC 4395), fo.199-199^v).

85.9 Saint Paules rules vnto Timothe] I Timothy III, and passim.
-10

85.15 quis ex vobis potest me arguere de peccato?] John VIII.46;
-16

the Vulgate text and Erasmus's and Delaine's Latin New Testaments read 'Quis ex vobis arguet me de peccato?' (Biblia Sacra Latina ex Biblia Sacra Vulgatae Editionis (London, n.d.); The newe Testament in Englyshe and Latyn (Tyndale/Erasmus, 1538, STC 2815), P3^v; Nouum testamentum latinum, edited by Walter Delaine (1540, STC 2799), fo.87).

- (85.15 But Tyndale's translation reads 'Which of you can rebuke
-16) me of syn?' (my italics); as does the Geneva Bible (1560), so Fulwell's text must be based on another Latin version.
- 85.21 scrutator cordis] Perhaps from Jeremiah XVII.10: 'Ego Dominus scrutans cor' - 'I the Lord search the heart...even to give every man according to his ways, and according to the fruit of his doings'; or from I Chronicles XXVIII.9: 'omnia enim corda scrutatur Dominus' (Vulgate); - 'for the Lord searcheth all hearts, and understandeth all the imaginations of the thoughts.'
- 85.23 glosing] flattering
- 86.1 practised] schemed (OED v.8.b)
- 86.1 bolstred vp] upheld in an illegal action (OED v.3.b)
- 86.2 countenance] patronage; appearance of favour; moral support (OED sb.II.8)
- 86.2 worshipfull] reputable, as in 83.3 above
- 86.5 insinuation] Ingratiation; Thomas Wilson, The Art of Rhetoric (1553), defines it as 'A privie twinyng, or close crepyng in, to win favours with muche circumstance' (quoted OED sb.3).
- 86.6 commit credit vnto] put trust in
- 86.7 whether they bee enclyned to vertue or to vice, all is
-8 one to thee] William Vaughan makes a similar accusation

(86.7 in his 'character' of a Flatterer in The Golden-groue:
-8)

a flatterer is accustomed to prayse a man
before his face, and yeeldeth his consent
with him in all matters, as well bad as good.
(1600, STC 24610, L1)

86.9 if they be couetouse, extortioners, proude, voluptuous or
-10 blasphemers] Perhaps echoing St Paul's admonition to the
Corinthians not to keep company with 'a fornicatour, or
covetous, or a worshipper of idols, or a railer, or a
drunkard, or an extortioner' (I Corinthians V.11); also
II Timothy III.1-5.

86.11 they are not by thee rebuked, but such shall dye in their
-13 owne sinne, and their blood shall be required at thy hands]
Ezekiel XXXIII.8; Stubbes makes a similar denunciation of
corrupt pastors in The Anatomy of Abuses, Part II, p.76:

for the blood of al those within their cures,
or charges, that die ghostlie for want of the
truth of Gods word preached vnto them, shall
be powred vpon their heads, at the day of
iudgement, and be required at their hands.

86.14 thou hast honest termes to cloke these forenamed vices.
-18

First, couetousnes is thrift...swearing is lustinesse.]

This accusation is a commonplace in satiric literature:
for example, Plutarch's 'How to tell a Flatterer from a
Friend' condemns those

investing vice with the names that belong
to virtue....And so in attempts at flattery
we should be observant and on our guard against
prodigality being called 'liberality,' cowardice
'self-preservation,' impulsiveness 'quickness,'
stinginess 'frugality,' the amorous man
'companionable and amiable'.... (Moralia,

(86.14
-18)

translated by F.C. Babbitt, 15 vols (London & Cambridge, Mass., 1960), I, 301-303)

The idea is dramatised in the play Respublica (1553), in which Avarice, Adulation, Oppression and Insolence take on 'cleanly' names of Policy, Honesty, Reformation and Authority. The deception is revealed by Verity in V.3, who points out that they 'have been ravynyng wouolves in the clothing of sheepe' and 'Cloked eche of these vices, with a vertuous name (Greg's edition, p.47, ll.1366, 1378). The same device is used in another interlude, New Custom (1573), in which Ignorance, a Popish priest, takes on the name of Simplicity, and Perverse Doctrine is renamed Sound Doctrine. In a long speech New Custom complains:

Sin now no sin, faults no fault a whit...
Adultery no vice,...
For what is that but dalliance?...
Whoso will be so drunken, that he scarcely knoweth
his way,
O, he is a good fellow, so now-a-days they say....
Theft is but policy, perjury but a face,
Such is now the world, so far men be from grace.
(Hazlitt's Dodsley, III, 16-17)

Also Antonio de Guevara, A looking glasse for the court:

O dissembling heart that...maketh men to iudge
that hypocrisy is deuocion, ambicion nobilitie,
auarice husbandry, crueltie zeale of iustice,
much babling eloquence, folishnes grauitie,
and dissolucion diligence. (translated by Sir
Fraunces Briant (1575, STC 12448), C8^v; another
list is on F1^v by the sidenote 'Vice is called
vertue')

And William Wrednot, Palladis palatium: wisdoms pallace:

Flattery applaudeth all men, saluteth all men;
the prodigall it calleth liberall: the couetous
sparing and wise: the wanton Court-like, and
so attributeth vnto euey vice the name of his

(86.14 opposite vertue. ((1604, STC 26014), E4^v)
-18)

Similar passages are found in Castiglione's The Courtier, Book I; Lodge's A fig for Momus, Satyre 1.

couetousnes is thrift 'The miser is openly commended for his thrift' (Juvenal, Satire XIV.111; Loeb Juvenal and Persius, p.273).

extortion, good husbandrie] Good husbandry: profitable management of resources, good economy (OED sb.4.a); 'Covetousness they call / Good husbandry, when one man would fain have all. / And eke alike to that is unmerciful extortion' (New Custom, Hazlitt's Dodsley, III, 16),

clenlynesse i.e., purity (OED 'clean' a.II.4); 'For pride, that is now a grace' (New Custom, p.16).

spurt] short spell (OED sb.¹ 1.a)

lustinesse] vigour, robustness (OED sb.2)

86.sn. Clenly] pure or innocent (OED a.1)
16

86.19 consideration] A legal term meaning 'anything regarded as recompense or equivalent for what one does or undertakes for another's benefit' (OED sb.6).

86.20 simple sir Iohn] discussed above in note to 71.5-6

86.20 sir William the weauer, and sir Thomas (but lately a Tinker)] 'Sir' was often placed before the Christian name of ordinary priests (OED 'sir' sb.B.I.4); OED quotes Bale, The Image of Both Churches (1550): 'The most ragged ronnagate, and idle idiote among theym, is no lesse then

(86.20 a syr, whiche is a Lord in the Latin, as syr John, syr
-21) Thomas, syr Wylliam.'

The admission of men of 'mechanical' occupation into the church was one of the controversies of the day, as discussed in Strype, Annals of the Reformation, I.i, 265-266. Every clergyman had to sign a Protestation on admission to a cure promising that he would not

openlye intermeddle with any artificers occupations, as covetously to seke a gayne thereby, havinge in ecclesiastical lyvinge to the somme of 20. nobles or above by yere. (i.e., £6 3s. 4d.; Cardwell, Documentary Annals, I, 296-297)

The qualifying clause indicates the inadequate incomes of the lower clergy. Hill comments that in spite of the Protestation,

We have it on Burghley's authority (1585) that the Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry made seventy ministers in one day, for money: tailors, shoemakers, and other craftsmen. Such men almost certainly continued to exercise their craft: entering the ministry for them was rather like purchasing an annuity. (Economic Problems of the Church, p.217)

Harrison points out that patrons found such tradesmen easier to exploit:

The very cause why weavers, peddlers, and glovers have been made ministers, for the learned refuse such matches, ... a glover or a tailor will be glad of an augmentation of £ 8 or £10 by the year, and well contented that his patron shall have all the rest, so he may be sure of this pension. (The Description of England, passage added to 1577 edition, p.31n.)

87.1 Saunce the seruing man] Harrison complains that patrons of benefices

- (87.1) do bestow advowsons of benefices upon their bakers, butlers, cooks, good archers, falconers, and horsekeepers, instead of other recompense for their long and faithful service. (p.32)

Crowley makes a similar complaint in Pleasure and Payne, Heauen and Hell (1551):

Theyr owne chyldren they dyd present,
Theyr seruauntis, and theyr wicked kynne,
And put by such as I had sent
To tell my people of th^ere synne. (Select Works, p.119)

Henry Peacham exposes the practices of gentlemen who 'procure some poore Batcheler of Art' at a pittance as a tutor to their children, on the promise of the next advowson; but when it falls vacant they claim that they

had before made a promise of it to my Butler or Bailiffe, for his true and extraordinary service; when the truth is, he hath bestowed it upon himselfe, for fourescore or an hundred peeces, which indeed his man two dayes before had fast^{ed} of, but could not keepe. (Compleat Gentleman (1634), edited by G.S. Gordon (Oxford, 1906), p.31)

According to Christopher Hill,

Bishop Cooper did not deny Martin Marprelate's charge that Aylmer gave his porter the living of Paddington; he only said that many other Elizabethan bishops had made similar presentations and that the porter was a God-fearing man. (Economic Problems of the Church, p.214)

87.sn. Vnmeet] unsuitable; incompetent (OED a.5)

2

87.3 these disorders are lyke to be reformed by the prouidence of our noble Queene and her honorable counsaile...and trewe preachers placed in his rome] A pious hope which was not to be fulfilled; in 1577 Elizabeth wrote to the bishops 'against conventicles, and for the suppressing the

-9

(87.3
-9) exercise called prophesying': that is, against the exercises which were designed to train ministers in study and expounding of the scriptures. The Queen 'signified her pleasure...that preachers should be reduced to a smaller number, and that homilies should be read instead of sermons' (Cardwell, Documentary Annals, I, 373n.). In a letter to the Queen dated 20 December 1576, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Grindal, opposed her wishes as a matter of conscience, and refused to send out injunctions for the suppression of the exercises; he was placed under house arrest by the court of Star Chamber, and sequestered from his jurisdiction for six months (Cardwell, I, 373n.). Bacon later tried to persuade James I to re-institute the exercises, arguing that 'it was the best way to frame and train up preachers, to handle the word of God as it ought to be handled, that had been practised' (quoted by Cardwell, I, 374n.). Attempts to restrict simony and pluralism are discussed in the notes to 69.1-2 and 69.13.

87.9 sinister] underhand (OED a.3)

87.10 practise] trickery (OED sb.I.6)

87.10 Tesremos] Somerset, as above 77.4

87.12 premisses] what has just been said; what has been mentioned previously

87.19 veritas non quaerit angulos] Latin proverb? It is also quoted by Lindsay in 'Ane Supplicatioun...in Contemptioun

(87.19) of Syde Taillis':

The suith suld nocht be holden clos,
Veritas non quaerit angulos. (The Poetical
 Works of Sir David Lyndsay, edited by David
 Laing, 2 vols (Edinburgh, 1871), I, 135)

87.19 Truth seeketh out no corners, nor searcheth for
 -20 coulorable shiftes] Tilley T587, 'Truth seeks no corners';
 Tilley quotes Fulwell as above; also Tilley T585,
 'Truth needs no colours', and 'Truth fears no colours',
 Apperson p.649, 'truth' 5. Erasmus's Adagia in Latine
 and English (Aberdeen, 1622, STC 10442), C2^v, has
 'Simplex veritatis oratio. Trueth seeketh no By-wayes'.
coulorable 'having an appearance of truth or right;
 specious, plausible, fair-seeming (OED a.2)
shiftes evasions, subterfuges (OED sb.III.4)

John Rogers uses the proverb to refute the 'horrible
 secte' of the Family of Love: 'This is a true saying,
Truth loueth no corners, if the doctrine of H.N. be a
 trueth, why is it taught in corners?' (The displaying
 of an horrible secte of heretiques, naming themselues
 the Familie of Loue (1579, STC 21181), A5).

THE SIXT DIALOGUE BETWEENE PIERCE PIKETHANK, DROWEN DICKON,
DAME ANNAT THE ALEWIFE, AND THE AUTHOR

88.0.1 Pierce Pikethank] Pierce Pickthank is mentioned in the First Dialogue, and discussed in the note to 21.7. The pickthank's quality of being flattering and treacherous at the same time is stressed in Heywood's Dialogue of Proverbs, edited by R.E. Habenicht, line 563:

And whan the meale mouth hath won the bottome
Of your stomake, than will the pikethanke it tell
To your moste enmies, you to bie and sell.

Folly in Skelton's Magnificence mentions 'Pierce Pykthank' as among those 'that haunteth my schools' (Complete Poems, edited by P. Henderson, p.204).

88.1 liquor of life] Stubbes mentions 'nectar of life' among other strong liquors, quoted in the note to 88.14 below.

88.3 Faire words makes fooles faine] Tilley W794; used above, and discussed in note to 50.sn.13-15.

88.6 rackt and crackt our credit] Antonio in The Merchant of Venice, I.1.180, says:

Try what my credit can in Venice do:
That shall be rack'd, even to the uttermost.

OED lists the phrase 'to crack credit', meaning to ruin one's credit ('crack' v.II.20.b); Fulwell uses the proverbial phrase of cracking credit above, discussed in note to 77.14-15.

88.8-9 my throte is so dry, that a man may grate ginger on my tong] This sounds proverbial, but is not in Tilley or the other proverb dictionaries.

88.sn.13 alie knights] An ale-knight is a votary of the ale-house, a tippler (OED). William Harrison, in his Description of England, uses the word to describe a heavy drinker:

I know some aleknights so much addicted thereunto [to ale] that they will not cease from morrow until even to visit the same, cleansing house after house, till they defile themselves and either fall quite under the board, or else, not daring to stir from their stools, sit still pinking with their narrow eyes as half-sleeping till the fume of their adversary be digested, that he may go to it afresh.

(The Description of England, p.139)

In A Wonderfull Strange and Miraculous Astrologically Prognostication (1591), attributed to Nashe, it is prognosticated that in the coming year brewers will water their beer 'to the ouerthrowe of certaine crased Ale knights, whose morning draughtes of strong Beere is a great staye to their stomacks' (McKerrow's Nashe, III, 382).

88.13 nippitatum] Good ale or other liquor of prime quality and strength (OED 'nippitate'); OED comments that the word is of obscure origin, and that 'the Latin and Italian endings are probably only fanciful'; it cites this passage from Fulwell as the earliest example of the form 'nippitatum'. Robert Laneham, in A Letter: whearin, part of the

(88.13) entertainment vntoo the Queenz Maiesty, at
Killingworth Castl...iz signified, writes of a
man who

haz been chozen Alecunner many a yeere...:
and euer quited himself with such
estimation, az yet too the tast of a
cup of Nippitate, hiz iudgement will be
taken aboue the best in the parish, be
hiz noze near so red.

{STC 15191 [1575]; Scholar facsimile
(Menston, Yorkshire, 1968), C3^v)

Nashe uses the form 'nipitaty' in Strange Newes
and Summers Last Will: 'one Cuppe of nipitaty
puls on another'; 'Neuer a cup of Nipitaty in
London come neere thy niggardly habitation'
(McKerrow's Nashe, I, 255; III, 268). Beaumont
mentions 'a drinke / In England found, and Nipitato
cal'd / Which driveth all the sorrow from your
hearts' (Knight of the Burning Pestle, IV.2.25,
edited by A. Gurr (Berkeley, 1968), p.73).

88.14 hufcap] Strong and heady ale, 'that huffs or
raises the cap' (OED B.sb.1); 'a cant term for
strong ale; from inducing people to set their caps
in a bold and huffing style' (Nares, p.436; Nares
quotes Fulwell as above). OED's earliest quotation
is from Harrison's Description of England (1577):

there is such heady ale and beer...
as for the mightiness thereof among
such as seek it out is commonly called
huffcap, the mad-dog, father-whoreson,
angels'-food, dragons'-milk, go-by-the-wall,
stride-wide, and lift-leg, etc....Neither
did Romulus and Remus suck their she-wolf...
with such eager and sharp devotion as

(88.14)

these men hale at huffcap, till they be
red as cocks and little wiser than their
combs. (p.247)

Gabriel Harvey remarks that 'where is huffcap there
is huff, and where is revell there is rowte'

(Letter-Book...1573-1580, edited by E.J.L. Scott,
Camden Society, New Series No.33 (London 1884;
reprinted New York, 1965), p.ix).

Stubbes in his Anatomy of Abuses (1583) also
associates liquor of life (88.1), nippitatum and
huffcap: 'Then when the Nippitatum, this Huf-cap
(as they call it) and this nectar of lyfe, is set
abroche, wel is he that can get the soonest to it'
(facsimile edition, with preface by Arthur Freeman
(New York and London, 1973), M4^v).

Fulwell's description of 'hufcap', that 'it
wil make a man looke as though he had seene the
deuill' is borne out by Samuel Harsnet, who lists
'Lustie huffe-cap' as the name of one of the devils
supposedly possessing a woman: he 'seemes some
swaggering punie deuill, dropt out of a Tinkers
budget' (A declaration of egregious popish impostures
(1603, STC 12880), p.47).

88.15-16 moue him to call his owne father hooreson]

'father-whoreson' was the nickname of a strong ale, as
quoted above in note to 88.14

89.1 dagger ale] A particularly strong brew of ale.

The Dagger was a celebrated public-house in Holborn,

(89.1) famous for the strength of its ale; Nares quotes Fulwell, as above, and also Ale against Sack in Witts Recreation:

Whilst dagger-ale barrels
Bear off many quarrels,
And often turn chiding to laughing. (Nares, p.222)

Gascoigne also refers to dagger ale among other strong drinks in A delicate Diet for daintiemouthde Droonkardes (1576):

The Almaines with their smal Renish wine
are contented: or rather then faile a
cup of Beere may entreate them to stoupe:
But we must have March beere, dooble
dooble Beere, Dagger ale....(Works, II, 467)

- 89.5 ieobard] obsolete form of 'jeopard'
- 89.6 colde suite] cold reception
- 89.12 condicions] character, disposition (OED sb.II.11)
- 89.15-16 glasse of dissembling water] The meaning of this passage is obscure; water is associated with deceitfulness in the proverb 'As false as ever water wet' (Tilley W86). Chettle uses the phrase 'the deceiuers glasse' in an anecdote about a man who bought a mixture from a wise woman, only to find that it was merely fountain water (Kind-Hartes Dreame, edited by G.B. Harrison, p.26).
- 89.21 promoter] defined in note to 72.19
- Crispin the counterfait] He is also mentioned above, 21.8; a counterfeit is a pretender or impostor (OED C.sb.2).

- 90.1 Milo the makeshift] A makeshift is 'one who is given to making shifts; a shifty person, a rogue' (OED sb.1); or 'one that by lyes and deceits getteth gaine, and by ill meanes raketh money together' (Adrian Junius, The Nomenclator or remembrancer, p.523). Miles Makeshift reappears as a character in the Eighth Dialogue.
- 90.3 stampe] kind (OED sb.³ III.13e)
- 90.6-7 I cannot pay the brewer with faire wordes] Perhaps reminiscent of the proverb, 'Thanks will buy nothing in the market' (Tilley T97). A similar point is made by the innkeeper in Erasmus's dialogue, 'The Well-to-Do Beggars', in which one of the friars promises the innkeeper:
- God will reward you abundantly if you do us a kindness.
Innkeeper: I don't keep my family on these words.
 (Colloquies, p.206)
- 90.23-91.1 commendations of their...bewtie] 'The way to make a woman a fool is to commend her beauty' (Tilley, W153).
- 91.8 paterne] typical, model or representative instance (OED sb.6)
- 91.10 Artizan] artist (OED sb.1)
- 91.10 depaint] depict (OED v.1); Cornelius Agrippa uses the word in this sense:
- Chorographie, the whiche seuerally searchinge out certaine particular places doth depainte them with a more perfecte, and as it were a full finished similitude. (Of the Vanitie and vncertaintie of Artes and Sciences, p.85)

- 91.sn.17-18 blazoning] describing fitly (OED v.II.4)
- 91.sn.17-18 knaue in grain] thorough knave; 'in grain' means fast dyed (OED 'grain' sb.¹ III.10.c); proverbial (Tilley K128)
- 91.16 archerakehell] Out and out scoundrel; not in OED in this form; Cotgrave gives 'crack-rope, gallow-clapper' as similes for 'rake-hell' (quoted in Skeat, Glossary of Tudor and Stuart Words, p.322); Fulwell uses the word rakehell below 95.9.
- 91.18 passing] surpassing (OED ppl.a.3); used again in this sense below, 130.10
- 91.18 pikethanke] defined in notes to 21.7 and 88.0.1
- 91.18-19 two faces vnder one hood lyke Ianus] An amalgam of two proverbs: 'Like Janus, two-faced' (Tilley J37; first example 1587, from Erasmus's Adagia 1007a, 'Jano bifronte'; also Smith, Spenser's Proverb Lore, no.424); and 'He carries two faces under one hood' (Tilley F20). Tilley quotes Giovanni Torriano's explanation in Italian Proverbes (1666): 'Spoken of Hypocrites, who Janus like carry two faces, looking different waies.' Hake also combines the two proverbs in Newes out of Powles Churchyarde (1579, STC 12606), A6^v:
- Thy hooded head that doth two faces beare,
I see how closely vnderhand it nods,
And triple tongue that byds me ware this geare,
Least change should come. But twene vs .ij. be ods.

(91.18-19)

And therefore (Ianus) once againe I say,
Go charme your tongue, least I take hood away.

Hake also refers to Papists as 'O Ianus Iacks / and double faced Dogs' (F4^V). Janus is depicted with his two faces (but without hood) in Whitney's Emblemes (1586), Scolar Press facsimile, p.108. Janus was the god of doorways (januae), and the double head was connected with the gate that opened both ways.

91.19-20

two hearts in one body like Magus] John Barker's ballad 'The Plagues of Northomberland' has a similar phrase:

And many a man more, as I heare,
That with these rebelles did take part,
Which can not thinke themselues now cleare,
That in brest beares a doble hart.
(STC 1421 [1570]; reprinted in A Collection of Seventy-Nine Black-Letter Ballads and Broadsides, edited by Joseph Lilly (London, 1867), p.59)

Magus is Simon Magus, referred to above, 58.17, and note. Fulwell may be recalling Saint Peter's remark about the 'two substances' in Simon Magus, that: 'like as in Christ be two substances that is of God and man, so are in this magician two substances, that is of man and of the devil' ('The Life of S. Peter the Apostle', Jacobus de Varagine, The Golden Legend or Lives of the Saints, translated by William Caxton, edited by F.S. Ellis, 7 vols (London, 1928-1939), IV, 17).

92.2

imblazure] emblazoning, 'blazing abroad' (OED

- (92.2) 'emblazon' v.2); related to the verb 'blaze', meaning to describe fitly in words (OED v.² 4)
- 92.3 Certes] assuredly
- 92.6 muli mutuum scabunt] The text's 'scabiunt' is an error and has been amended. The proverb is in Erasmus's Adagia 300A; the English version is given in Tilley, M1306, 'One mule does scrub (scratch) another.' Tilley quotes Cooper's explanation in Bibliotheca Eliotae (1545); 'A proverbe applyed to persons yll and defamed, when one of them commendeth the other.'
- 92.7ff. I wil shewe thee as in a glasse] This kind of grotesque description, as in a 'steele Glasse', is praised by Thomas Wilson in his Arte of Rhetorique as a humorous device:

Oftentimes the deformitie of a mans bodie, giueth matter enough to bee right merie, or els a Picture in shape like an other man, will make some to laugh right hartely. One being griued with an other man, saied in his anger, I will set thee out in thy colours, I will shewe what thou art. The other being therewith much chafed, shewe quoth he, what thou canst: with that hee shewed him, pointing with his finger, a man with a bottle Nose, blobbe cheeked, and as red as a Butchers bowle, euen as like the other man, as any one in al the world could be. I neede not to say that he was angrie. An other good fellowe being merily disposed, called his acquaintaunce vnto him and saied: Come hether I saie, and I will shewe thee as very a loute, as euer thou sawest in all thy life before: with that he offered him at his comming, a steele Glasse to looke in. (pp.145-146)

- 92.8 proportion] configuration, form, shape (OED sb.I.7)
- 92.10 knauebald] not listed in OED
- 92.13 Oxe fethers] With a suggestion of the 'horn' or symbol of cuckoldry (OED 'ox' sb.6). OED's only example is from Swetnam's The araignment of lewde, idle, froward and unconstant women (1615): 'She will make the weare an Oxe feather in thy cap'; but the phrase is used earlier in the Skeltonic Image of Hypocrisy (ca.1529): 'Lyke cokold foles together.../ And yet do not consydre / We wer an oxes fether' (Skelton, Poetical Works, edited by A. Dyce, 2 vols (London, 1843), II, 421). Probably proverbial: Tilley B717, 'He wears the bull's feather'.
- 92.14 stampe] kind, as above note to 90.3
- 92.15 estate] state (OED sb.4.c)
- 92.16 precious and glorious nose] William Fennor in The Compters Common-wealth (1617, STC 10781, B2) has a similar description: 'his nose was precious, richly rubified, and shined brighter then any Sumners snout in Lancashire'.
- 92.17 brazile] Red dye; according to OED, originally the name of the hard brownish-red wood of an East Indian tree, 'producing various tints of red, orange, and peach colour'; Chaucer used the word in the Nun's Priest's Tale. (OED sb.¹ I.1).
- 92.17-18 Rubies, Saphires] 'Grog blossoms' in modern parlance;

(92.17-18) Erasmus describes 'little pimples or pushes, soche as of cholere and false flegme, budden out in the noses and faces of many persons, and are called the Saphires and Rubies of the Tauerne' (Apophthegmes, translated by Udall, p.79). Cotgrave defines 'Saphir' as meaning 'a bud, or blew pimple on any part of the face' (A Dictionarie of the French and English Tongues (1611), 'Saphir'); this meaning of the word is not included in the OED.

92.18 crincums] A slang name for venereal disease, perhaps derived from 'crinks', furrows ('crink' OED sb.1). The English Dialect Dictionary lists the word 'crinkams', meaning twists and turns. William Hornby in The scourge of drunkennes (second edition, 1619, STC 13816), B3, also applies the word to a description of a drunkard's nose:

And some will haue his nose most rich bespread
With Pearles and Crinkoms mixt with crimson red.

92.20 idented] notched, jagged (OED v.¹ 1)

92.21 circumvented] surrounded; the earliest usage in this sense recorded in OED is 1824 (v.4)

93.5 tartarian] From Tartary: according to Sugden this was used somewhat vaguely by the Elizabethans as a geographical term for the part of Asia north of the Caucasus and the Himalayas. Heylyn attributes to the Tartarians sluttishness, which would fit in with Dickon's lice-infested beard: he says that they are 'swarthy, not so much by the heat of the

- (93.5) sun as their own sluttishness; ill-favoured, thick-lipped, slit-nosed' (quoted in Sugden, pp.501-502).
- 93.7 whole chested] OED lists the combinative form 'whole-chested', meaning 'having a sound chest or breast' ('whole' D.2.d), which seems to be the opposite of the sense in which Fulwell is using the phrase: 'whole chested in the brest like an owle, an excellent back to cary my lords ape' suggests a deformity of the spine such as is found in Pott's disease (TB of the spine).
- 93.9 lyrycumpanch] A fleshy paunch? Not in OED; OED lists the adjective 'liry', meaning fleshy (under 'lire' sb.¹). There is a dialect word 'lire', also spelt 'lyre', meaning the fleshy or muscular parts of any animal as distinguished from the bones (English Dialect Dictionary, 'lire' sb.1); the dialect word 'lure', the udder of a cow or some other animal, may also be applicable to the hanging paunch (ibid., 'lure' sb.²), and fits in with the simile 'like a mare with fole'.
- 93.10 cart lode] Associated with obesity in the proverb 'To fall away from a horseload to a cartload'; Torriano explains it as 'to be grown main fat' (Tilley H720).

- 93.11 paire of left legges with the thighes downwarde]
perhaps suggesting clumsiness and awkwardness, and obesity
- 93.13 slouaines last] Perhaps on the analogy of Sloven's Hall, sloven's press, and Sloven's Inn (OED A.sb.3.b); the two former are mentioned by Nashe (McKerrow's Nashe, III, 253; I, 371).
- 93.16-17 taste of euery mans pot] Thomas Adams's character of the 'Busie-body'
- busieth himselfe in other mens common wealths: as if he were Towne-taster: hee scalds his lips in euery neighbours pottage. (Diseases of the soule: a discourse (1616, STC 109), p.65)
- 93.sn.17 condicions] behaviour (OED sb.II.11.b)
- 93.19 ruff] 'The highest pitch of some exalted or excited condition' (Skeat, Glossary, p.342); OED notes that 'in his ruff' was a common phrase from about 1570 to 1675 (sb.⁶ 2).
- 94.1-2 Potus lusorum meretrices presbiterorum / Panis perfusus, cunctorum spectat ad vsus] 'The drink of gamesters, whore of priests, food which has been spewed, it belongs to the use of all.'
- 94.3 prate lyke a pardoner] This sounds like a proverb, but is not listed in Tilley. Tilley has 'To prate like a parrot' (P60), and Stevenson 'He prates like a poticary. He prates like a parrot' (2276.7).
- 94.4-5 thou art worthy to weare a whetstone] Tilley W298:

(94.13-14) A new merry newes listed in STC is the above, dated 1606, it may have been published earlier. Hyder E. Rollins in an article on Elderton asserts that: 'The "Merry News" first appeared about 1576, was reprinted in 1606, 1616, 1626, and 1660, so that for a century it was familiar to readers' ('William Elderton: Elizabethan Actor and Ballad-Writer', Studies in Philology, 17 (1920), 199-245 (pp.219-20)). Unfortunately Rollins gives no documentation for this statement; STC records only one entry in the Stationers' Register, and that is dated 1616. An even earlier reference to jolly Jenkin is in Skelton's Magnificence, in which Fancy cries out on seeing Courtly Abusion, 'What, whom have we here - Jenkin Jolly?' (Complete Poems, edited by P. Henderson, p.194).

Thomas Corser, in his notes on The Art of Flattery in Collectanea Anglo-Poetica, C, 393, misleadingly states that:

With respect to the song of 'Hay iolye Jenkin,' the reader will find both the words and music to this catch in Pammelia (4to, 1609), called there 'Jinkin the Jester.'

But 'Jinkin the Jester' has a totally different refrain:

Iinkin the iester was wont to make glee
with Iaruis the Iugler till angry was he,
then Wilkin the Wiseman did wisely foresee,
that Iugler and Iester should gently agree,
hey down, d.d. down derie d.d.d.d. down, d.
(Thomas Ravenscroft, Pammelia, Musicks
Miscellanie (1609, STC 20759), no. 84, p.40)

(94.13-14) It is this catch that Nashe was probably referring to when he called Gabriel Harvey 'Ienkin Heyderry derry' in Have With You to Saffron-Walden (McKerrow's Nashe, III, 32; F.P. Wilson's supplementary note refers the reader to Elderton and Fulwell: V, Supplement, 45).

Corser also notes that 'a curious notice' of the song is given in Samuel Harsnet's A Declaration of egregious popish impostures; 'Lustie Iolly Ienkin' is the name of one of the devils which possess Sara Williams, and Harsnet specifically associates him with catches or rounds sung by tinkers:

Lustie Iollie Ienkin, (an other of Saras Captaine deuils names) by his name should seeme to be foreman of the motly morrice [i.e. of devils]: hee had vnder him, saith himselfe, forty assistants, or rather (if I misse not) he had beene by some old Exorcist allowed for the Master setter of Catches, or roundes, vsed to be sung by Tinkers, as they sit by the fire with pot of good Ale betweene theyr legges: Hey iolly Ienkin, I see a knaue a drinking, et caet. (p.49; Lusty Jolly Jenkin is also mentioned on pp.141, 144, and 181)

94.20-22 who vsed to place pleasant pamphletes in the midst of serious and graue matters] Presumably Fulwell is referring to Erasmus's satirical works, such as the Enconium Moriae and his Colloquies; or he may be referring to the Adagia, 'full of apt and recondite learning, and now and again relieved by telling comments or lively anecdotes' (Encyclopaedia Britannica, IX, 728).

- 95.9 Roisters] Swaggering or blustering bullies; rude revellers (OED sb.¹ 1); Cotgrave gives as similes for 'royster' 'A ruffin,...hackster, swaggerer; sawcie, paultrie, scuruie fellow' (A Dictionarie of the French and English Tongues, 'rustre').
- 95.9 rakehelles] Thorough scoundrels; vile debauchees (OED sb.1); Junius in the Nomenclator or Remembrancer defines a 'rakehel' as 'a rascal that wil be hangd: one for whom the gallowes grones' (p.525, misnumbered '425').
- 95.10 malapert] impudent
- 95.13 floutes]. Jeers (OED sb.¹ 1); in Henry Porter's Two Angry Women of Abington, scene 8, line 26, Philip remarks of his sister, 'Aye me, how full of floutes and mockes she is!' (Representative English Comedies, edited by C.M. Gayley (New York & London, 1903) p.586).
- 95.13 bobs] taunts, scoffs (OED sb.³ 2)
- 95.14 bobbeth] makes a fool of, deceives (OED v.¹ 1)
- 96.1 cosoner] cheat
- 96.1 shifter] trickster (OED sb.3)
- 96.3 seconde parte] discussed in note on title-page, ll.1-2
- 96.10 fautors] supporters; patrons (OED sb.1,2); also used above, 33.19

96.11ff. Pierce pickthanke] This description, or 'character', of Pierce Pickthank is quoted by Benjamin Boyce in The Theophrastan Character in England to 1642, p.125, as an example of a 'character' of the hypocrite belonging 'to the homiletic tradition'. Boyce also refers to Pierce Pickthank as an example of 'how moralistic writers...also tried to reveal character through depiction of a man's habitual conduct' (p.66).

96.15 no more sincerytie then in an ape] Apes were linked particularly with religious hypocrisy in Erasmus's Prouerbes or Adagies, translated by R. Taverner (1569, STC 10441), C5^v:

It is to be feared lest at this day, there be in Christendome manye Apes (that is to say) counterfaiers which by a Greake worde wee commonlie cal hipocrites)...whiche beare outwarde signes and badges of great holines as though they were lambes, but inwardly they be rauenous Woulues.

97.2-3 rapt vp into the thyerde Heauen] Proverbial: 'To be in the third heaven' (Tilley H351). Tilley's earliest example of 'third heaven' is from The Merry Devil of Edmonton, 1608, but the Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs, p.365, gives earlier examples contemporaneous with Fulwell: for example, G. Fenton, Monophylo (1572), 'I seemed translated and rapt aboue the thirde heauen'; Jacques Yver, A courtlie controversie of Cupids Cantles, translated by H. Wotton (1578), 'He felt himselfe rapte into

- (97.2-3) the thirde heauen, where loue lodgeth.'
- 97.3-4 a Sainct outwardlye and a Deuyll inwardlye]
 Tilley S30: 'He looks like a Saint but the devil he is'; Tilley's earliest example is 1639, but the Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs, p.693, gives earlier ones.
- 97.8 straitly] severely (OED adv. 5)
- 97.14 portas] A portable breviary, abolished by an act of Edward VI in 1549 (OED sb.1); referred to in An Admonition to the Parliament (1572) as 'that popish dunghil, the Portuise and Masse boke full of all abhominations' (in Puritan Manifestoes, edited by Frere and Douglas, p.21)
- 97.16 olde stamp] old kind, i.e. Roman Catholics
- 98.3-4 the ouerthrow of Abbais] The 'greater' religious houses were dissolved by act of parliament in 1539.
- 98.4-5 to the great impouerishment of this relme] A view held by, for example, Henry Brinkelow, who lamented the rack-renting of the new secular landlords: although he disapproved of the nuns and monks as 'impys of Antichrist', he felt that
 it had bene more profytable, no dowte,
 for the common welth, that thei [the
 abbey lands] had remayned styll in
 their handys. For why? thei neuer
 inhansed their landys, nor toke so
 cruel fynes as doo our temporal
 tyrannys. For thei cannot be content
 to late them at the old price, but

(98.4-5)

rayse them vp dayly, euyne to the cloudys,
 eyther in the rent or in the fyne, or
 els both; so that the pore man that
 laboryth and toyleth vpon it, and is
 hys slaue, is not able to lyue.

(The Complaynt of Roderick Mors (ca.
 1548?) edited by J.M. Cowper, E E T S,
 (London, 1874), p.9)

However, to modern historians the 'impoverishment of
 the realm' resulting from the dissolution of the
 monasteries is a debatable point. Philip Hughes
 paints a picture of

social disaster: more State plunder of
 private property; rapidly increasing
 social misery; general misgovernment;...
 crisis in the national finances amounting
 almost to national bankruptcy....

(The Reformation in England, 3 vols (London,
 1952-1954), II, 150)

A.G. Dickens, however, attacks this kind of
 "'catastrophic" view of the Dissolution' (The English
 Reformation, second revised edition (London, 1967),
 p.213); he discusses the place of the Dissolution
 in the general context of the social and economic
 history of England, and especially the effects
 of inflation, pp.212-217.

98.5 skipiackes] pert shallow-brained fellows

(OED A.sb.1)

98.12 pike thanks] curry favour; OED's earliest example
 is 1621

98.13 frame] direct (OED v.5.c)

98.13-14 feede al mens humors] Cater to all men's moods;
 to feed someone's humour was a common phrase according
 to Jonson, Every Man in his Humour, edited by Percy

(98.13-14) Simpson (Oxford, 1921), III.4.24: 'Oh I, humour is nothing, if it bee not fed. Didst thou neuer heare that? it's a common phrase, Feed my humour.'

THE SEAUENTH DIALOGUE BETWEENE DIOGENES, AND VLPIANUS

99.0.1 between Diogenes, and Vlpianus] Fulwell may have been influenced by Lucian's dialogue which was also between the author and Diogenes. It was translated into English by Sir Thomas Elyot: A dialogue betwene Lucian and Diogines of the life harde and sharpe, and of the lyfe tendre and delicate (n.d., STC 16894). Diogenes is also one of the interlocutors in one of Lucian's Dialogues of the Dead, between Diogenes and Pollux; also in 'Philosophies for Sale' and 'The Fisherman'. There are dialogues between Diogenes and Mausolus and Diogenes and Crates in Thomas Heywood's Pleasant Dialogues and Drammas, selected out of Lucian, Erasmus, Textor, Ovid, &c. (1637); and between Alexander and Diogenes in William Goddard's A Satiryall Dialogue...betweene Allexander the Great and that truely woman-hater Diogynes (Dort? 1616?).

The popularity of Diogenes in the literature of this period is discussed by J.L. Lievsay, 'Some Renaissance Views of Diogenes the Cynic', in Joseph Quincy Adams Memorial Studies, edited by G. McManaway et al. (Washington, 1948), pp.447-455. Lievsay comments on Fulwell's presentation of Diogenes in this dialogue as

a corrector of manners and morals, a kind

- (99.0.1) of Greek Cato - the commonest Renaissance mode of conceiving him. Here the characteristic pattern is a lament over the decay of the times, with Diogenes either summoned to deliver the invective or called as a witness to the sad demise of virtue and the exalting of vice. So the Sixth Dialogue of Fulwell's Art of Flatterie brings Diogenes and the author face to face for the purpose of informing the philosopher that flattery is nowadays the only means of thriving at court. (p.452)
- 99.0.3 simplicitie] want of acuteness or sagacity
(OED sb.2)
- 99.0.4 preferre] advance, promote (OED v.I.1)
- 99.0.8 grosse] Rude, ignorant (OED a.A.IV.14.a);
OED quotes T. Norton's translation of Calvin's The Institution of Christian Religion (1561):
'grosse vnlearned men'.
- 99.2 tumbling tub] Mentioned earlier in the Second Dialogue, and in note to 34.16. In seventeenth-century illustrations Diogenes's tub is cosily furnished with a cushioned seat and bookshelves, as well as the candlestick with which in some versions of the story he searched for an honest man by daylight: for example, the title-page to Samuel Rowlands's Diogines Lanthorne (1607; in Complete Works, edited by E.W. Gosse, 3 vols (Glasgow, 1880; rptd. New York, 1966), I, 1); and the frontispiece to Anthony Stafford's Staffords heauenly dogge: or the life of Diogenes (1615; STC 23128).

- 99.5 carefull] full of care or trouble (OED a.2)
- 99.5 ackoy] soothe (OED v.)
- 99.7 fieldish] Inhabiting the fields (OED adj. a);
Wyatt uses the word in his satire of the town and
country mouse: 'They sing a songe made of the
fieldishe mowse' (Collected Poems, edited by
K. Muir and P. Thomson (Liverpool, 1969), p.91).
- 99.8 whilom] formerly (OED A.adv. 2.b)
- 99.13 coy conseights] Fulwell uses this phrase above,
3.13, and it is discussed in the notes to that line.
- 100.sn.1-2 Diogenes was an olde Courtier] There is no
evidence for this assertion in Diogenes Laertius.
- 100.4-7 When Alexander mighty king / in Macedon did raine /
He won me to dame Fortunes court / by lure of
pleasant traine] traine: stratagem, wile (OED
sb.² 1.b)

Alexander reigned from 336 to 323 B.C.

In his life of Diogenes, Diogenes Laertius relates
several encounters between him and Alexander
(Lives of Eminent Philosophers, II, 35, 41, 63,
69); Plutarch also gives a version of their
meeting in his life of Alexander (The Age of Alexander:
Nine Greek Lives by Plutarch, translated by Ian
Scott-Kilvert (Harmondsworth, 1973), p.266). The
story of Alexander's admiration for Diogenes is
retold by Erasmus in his Apophthegmes, translated

(100.4-7) by N. Udall (1542; STC 10443), 13^v:

to his familiare frendes takyng high disdeigne and indignacion, that beeyng a kyng, he had dooen so muche honoure to suche a doggue as Diogenes, who would not vouchesalue so muche as ones to aryse vp from his taille to dooe his duetie of humble obeysaunce to so greate a prince, he sayed: wel, yet for al that, wer I not Alexander, I would with all my hert bee Diogenes.

Anthony Stafford in Staffords heauenly dogge: or the life of Diogenes (1615, STC 23128), p.44, feels that 'Much conference for certaine there was betwext them; for one bare sentence could neuer haue got such wonder in the mind of Alexander'; but he is forced to make up an 'Oration of Diogenes to Alexander' for lack of any historical evidence.

Neither Diogenes Laertius nor Plutarch suggests that Diogenes was ever asked to become part of Alexander's court. Plutarch, however, says that Alexander was susceptible to flattery, and when he was drinking was 'led on by his flatterers' (Life of Alexander, p.278); also that he was interested in philosophy and had philosophers at his court, and was surrounded by 'sophists and flatterers' (p.310); he also mentions that a pupil of Diogenes, Onesicritus, was part of his entourage (pp.322-323).

In the usual accounts, Diogenes always refuses to go to Alexander's court. Erasmus relates that 'Beeyng spoken to, and inuited to come vnto Alexander, he refused so to dooe' (Apophthegmes

(100.4-7) (STC 10443), n7^v); also that:

Alexander spake vnto hym after this sort:
 I am come hither Diogenes to succour and
 to relieue thee, because I see thee to bee
 in greate penurie and neede of many thynges.
 To whom Diogenes aunswered thus again.
 Whether of vs twoo is in more penurie, I,
 that besides my scryp and my cope, dooe
 mysse, ne desire nothyng at all, orels
 thou, whiche not beeyng contented with
 the inheritaunce of thy fathers kyngdom
 dooest putte thyself in auenture, and
 hasarde of so many perilles and daungers,
 to enlarge the limites of thyn empier, in
 so muche, that vneth all the whole world
 semeth hable to satisfie thy couetous
 desire? (m6)

Samuel Rowlands in Diogines Lanthorne (1607) also
 describes Alexander inviting Diogenes to his court:

With this he [Alexander] stept aside from me,
 And smiling did entreat:
 That I would be a Courtier,
 For he liked my conceit.
 Ile haue thy house brought nie my Court,
 I like thy vaine so well:
 A neighbour very neere to me,
 I meane to haue thee dwell.
 If thou bestow that paine (quoth I)
 Pray when the worke is don:
 Remoue thy Court, and carry that,
 A good way from my Tun. (Complete Works, I, 38-39)

Another account is in William Goddard's A Satirycall
 Dialogue...betweene Allexander the Great and...

Diogynes (Dort? 1616? STC 11930, B1): a disguised
 Alexander invites him to the court; Diogenes asks
 him what he would do there, and Alexander replies:

As others doe; in spending of smale pelfe,
 Thou maiste in tyme to honour raise thy selfe.

Diogenes again refuses.

100.10-11 gapte / for gayne of golden pray] gapte for: gaped for; were eager to obtain (OED v.4); a similar sentiment is expressed in Wily Beguiled (Hazlitt's Dodsley, IX, 264):

This greedy humour fits my father's vein,
Who gapes for nothing but for golden gain.

100.12-13 a harmefull hooke, / with pleasant poysoned bayte] Tilley B50, 'The bait hides the hook'; Dekker expresses a similar idea in Old Fortunatus, I.2.49:

I am not enamoured of this painted Idoll,
This strumpet world; for her most beautiful looks
Are poysned baits, hung vpon golden hookes.
(Dramatic Works, I, 127)

The baited hook in the context of this dialogue is also reminiscent of Lucian's 'The Fisherman' (or 'Fishing for Phonies' as Paul Turner translates it in the Penguin edition), in which Lucian baits a hook with gold in order to catch the false greedy philosophers who are more concerned with money than truth; one of them is a phoney cynic who is renounced by Diogenes.

100.14 beeing had spight spurnd a pace] Having swallowed the bait, the spiteful (courtiers) were soon contemptuous of him; the 'him' I think refers to the courtier rather than Alexander.

100.18 with cap and knee] 'From the custom of uncovering the head...in sign of reverence, respect, or courtesy'; this is one of the many expressions

(100.18) meaning 'bareheaded and bowing or kneeling' (OED 'cap' sb.¹ 4.g). Fulwell uses the phrase again below 125.7.

100.sn.
18-19

Enuy pursueth promotion] 'Summa petit livor': what is highest is envy's mark (Ovid, Remediorum Amoris, 1.369; Stevenson 703.4); 'Envy shoots at the fairest mark', Tilley E175.

100.22

kept a coyle] Kept up a disturbance, made a fuss; Tilley C505, 'To keep a foul coil'; Cotgrave: 'Grabuger. To keepe a foule coyle; to make a great stirre, or monstrous hurlyburly.'

100.23

moode] anger (OED sb.¹ 2.b)

101.6

a sely mouse I saw] selv: harmless (OED 'seely' a.5)

Erasmus gives his version of the story:

When he by chaunce sawe a mous rennyng and whippyng about from place to place in a certain greene with in the citee of Athenes called Megaricum, whiche mous neither sought any hole, nor was afeard with the stiering of folkes, nor had any lust to eate meate: A ioyly gaye exaample of libertee, saied Diogenes. And euen forthwithall, renouncyng and forsakyng the worlde, he begonne to take vp his dwellyng in a tubbe. (Apophthegmes, translated by N. Udall (1542; STC 10443), i5-i5^v; also Lives of Eminent Philosophers, II, 25)

The prologue to The Trial of Treasure also mentions the mouse:

Diogenes, which used a barrel for his house,... Comforted himself much in beholding the mouse,

- (101.6) Which desired neither castle nor hold for her defence;
Concerning sustentation she made no difference,
But ate whatsoever to her did befall.
(Early English Dramatists: Anonymous Plays, 3rd Series, edited by J.S. Farmer (London, 1906), p.205)
- 101.8 maw] stomach (OED sb.¹ 1)
- 101.11 lore] a piece of instruction (OED sb.¹ 1)
- 101.12 wynde] go (OED v.¹ 2)
- 101.13-14 to my tub I turne agayne / where I am Lorde and King] Alexander in William Goddard's A Satyricall Dialogue (1616? STC 11930, F1) exhorts Diogenes
Come Cynick burne this tubbe and followe me
And vnto noble titles, Ile raise thee;
but Diogenes replies: 'I'me in my tubb as greate a Kinge as thee.'
- 101.17 eye sore] A cause of annoyance or offence (OED 'eyesore' 3); Tilley E273; used above, 79.sn.13-15 and discussed in note.
- 101.20 I hang not by the brier] I am not in trouble; 'To be in the briers' (Tilley B673) means to be in troubles, difficulties.
- 102.3 gad] The action of gadding or rambling about (OED sb.³); however, OED's earliest example of this usage in the form of a noun is 1815.
- 102.5-6 No lyfe is lyke a quiet hart / lodgd in contented brest] Perhaps proverbial: 'Content is all' (Tilley C623a); 'Content is happiness' (Tilley C624).

- 102.9 sugred bane] Sugared poison; perhaps reminiscent of the proverb 'For fair sugar fair ratsbane' (Tilley S958), or Whiting S871: 'Sugar and poison'. The phrase 'plesant bane' is used above, 35.9.
- 102.21 wight] being; according to OED, originally applied to supernatural or unearthly beings (sb.1.b)
- 103.2 eke] also
- 103.3 vading] obsolete form of fading, transitory (OED)
- 103.7-8 To know the dusty chafe from corne / and good from yll discerne] Perhaps from Matthew III.12; also Whiting C428; Whiting quotes Lydgate, Reson and Sensuallyte: 'That wel ys him that kan biforn / The chaffe dessever fro the corn.'
- 103.11-12 They think there is no other heauen, / that ay hath bene in hell] Tilley H410: 'They that be in hell ween there is no other heaven.'
- 103.13 whelmed] turned upside down (OED v.2); OED's earliest example of the use of the ppl. adjective is 1819
- 103.14 couert] shelter (OED sb.2)
- 103.17 rootes] Diogenes's repast of roots is referred to above, 34.17, and discussed in the note to that passage. Rowlands refers to them in Diogines Lanthorne (1607) (Complete Works, I, 40):

Doest see these rootes that grow about,
The place of my abode?
These are the dainties which I eate.

- 103.18 iunkets] delicacies; dainty sweetmeats (OED sb.3)
- 103.19 hunger is a noble sauce] 'Hunger and thirst, the beste sauce for al meates'; 'Socrates said, the best sauce in the world for meates, is to bee houngrie' (Erasmus, Apogthegmes, translated by N. Udall, edited by E. Johnson pp.14, 2). 'Hunger is the best sauce' is proverbial, Tilley H819, and is in Erasmus's Adagia (630D 'Optimum condimentum fames'). Fulwell repeats the proverb below, 115.10.
- 103.20 thirst makes water wine] Rowlands in Diogines Lanthorne (Complete Works, I, 40) refers to the water-drinking of Diogenes:
- Doest see yon water? tis the Wine
Doth keepe me sound in health.
- 103.21 A wodden dish is worthy plate] Diogenes in Diogines Lanthorne asks:
- Doest see my poore plaine woodden dish?
It is my siluer plate.
(ibid., I, 40)
- 104.1-2 In steede of goblet, nature gaue / vs handes] From a story about Diogenes in Diogenes Laertius (Lives of Eminent Philosophers, II, 39):
- One day, observing a child drinking out of his hands, he cast away the cup from his wallet with the words, 'A child has beaten me in plainness of living.'
- 104.3 traine] retinue, suite (OED sb.¹ III.9)
- 104.11 iustling] jostling

104.11 beare swing and sway] The phrase is used above, and discussed in the note to 50.9-10.

104.13-14 some...did reape the corne, / that neuer sowde the crop] John IV.37: 'And herein is that saying true, One soweth, and another reapeth'; Tilley S691; Tilley's earliest example is 1577.

104.17 lend thy eares a while] Tilley E18; Tilley's earliest example is 1604, and that in the Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs (p.455) is 1581.

105.2 clownish] rustic (OED a.1)

105.3-4 As kinde forbids the Larke to swim / and fishe to flye in ayre]

This sounds like a proverb but is not in Tilley or the Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs; Whiting has 'When fish fly in the air' (F239), and quotes Caxton's History of Jason: 'Certes that shal not be unto the tyme that the fysshes flee in the ayer. And that the byrdes swymme in the water.'

kinde] native constitution (OED sb.3)

105.9 Tantalus] The son of Zeus and the nymph Pluto (Wealth), punished for divulging to mortals the secrets of the gods. Homer describes his punishment in the Odyssey, XI.582ff. Bosola in Webster's The Duchess of Malfi also refers to Tantalus in the context of court preferment:

Who wold relie upon these miserable dependances, in expectation to be

(105.9)

advanc'd to-morrow? What creature
 ever fed worse, then hoping Tantalus?
 (I.1.56; The Complete Works of John
 Webster, edited by F.L. Lucas; 4 vols
 (London, 1927), II, 38)

105.16

garde and dent] Ornamental trimmings; Linthicum
 in Costume in the Drama of Shakespeare and his
 Contemporaries (Oxford, 1936; rptd. New York, 1963),
 p.150, says that 'A guard was a band or border placed
 on a garment for ornament.' She does not mention
 'dents', and OED gives no examples in which the word
 is applied to clothing, but defines it generally as
 'an indentation in the edge of anything' (sb.² 1).
 However, the word 'garde' was often associated with
 jagged trimmings; for example, in 'The Maner of the
 World Now a Dayes' the poet castigates extravagance
 in dress: 'So many gardes worn, / Jagged and all
 to-torn' (Complete Poems of John Skelton, edited by
 P. Henderson, p.133); A Discourse of the common weal
 of this realm of England (c.1550): 'When oure gentlemen
 went simply and oure servinge-men plainly, with out
 cut or garde' (quoted OED 'guard' sb.11); and
 Breton, A Floorish vpon Fancy (1582): 'Wherof good
 stoare of cloathe...in fashions may be spent: In
 gardes, in weltes, and iagges' (quoted OED 'welt'
 sb.¹ 2). There is also a proverb, 'Without welt
 or guard' (Tilley W274), meaning without ornamentation
 or trimming, implying someone who is plain and honest
 (OED 'welt' sb.¹ 2.b).

- 105.21-22 a ragged colte / may serue a scabbed squire] 'A scald (scabbed) horse is good enough for a scabbed squire' (Tilley H690); Tilley quotes Fulwell as above. 'Ragged' means shaggy (OED a.¹ I.1); 'as ragged as a colt' is proverbial (Tilley C521). A scabbed squire is one who is 'scurvy', mean or contemptible (OED.a.2).
- 106.1 traine] trap (OED sb.² 2)
- 106.3 compieres] compeers, companions (OED sb.2)
- 106.10 swerue] waver, vacillate (OED v.3)
- 107.2 out of vre] out of use; obsolete (OED sb.¹ II.3); OED quotes Jewel (1567): 'Al these thinges are woorne nowe out of vre, and nighe deade.'
- 107.3 guise] style, fashion (OED sb.4)
- 107.7 french nets] I have not come across any other reference to French nets. The French were a by-word for fashion: William Harrison says that 'such cuts and garish colors as are worn in these days' were 'never brought in but by the consent of the French, who think themselves the gayest men when they have most diversities of jags and change of colors about them' (Description of England, p.148). According to OED, 'French' was an adjective often applied to fashionable items of dress (A.adj.3.b).

Perhaps Fulwell is referring to the 'Cawles made Netwyse' described by Stubbes, which were transparent

- (107.7) in order to reveal the 'gewgawes' with which women trimmed their heads (The Anatomie of Abuses (1583), facsimile with preface by Arthur Freeman (New York, 1973), F3^v).
- 107.10 vse their vaine] follow their inclination or disposition (OED sb.III.13.b, 14)
- 107.15-16 But first to honest courtiers I / wil frame my iust excuse] This is a conventional disclaimer in satire, where the 'good' are excepted from the general denunciation; for example, Skelton in 'Ware the Hawk' states that he intends 'No good priest to offend' (Complete Poems, edited by Philip Henderson p.101); William Rankins excepts true soldiers in 'Satyr Secundus. Contra Martialistam': 'Yet doe I not true Martiallists resist' (Seauen Satyres Applied to the Weeke (1598), edited by A. Davenport (Liverpool, 1948), p.8.
- 107.19-20 Though galbackt Bayard winch when he / is rubd vpon the gall] galbackt: a back affected with galls or painful swellings; sore from chafing (OED ppl.a.².1). OED lists the form 'galled-backed' but its earliest example is 1612, Drayton's Poly-Olbion, VII, 298: 'there now doth onely graze / The gall'd backe carrion Jade' (The Works of Michael Drayton, edited by J.W. Hebel, 5 vols (Oxford, 1961), IV, 134-135). Heywood however uses 'galde backe' earlier in his Dialogue of Proverbs (1546), edited by R.E. Habenicht, line 1359:

- (107.21) in Gower's Confessio Amantis; Gower refers to his 'flaterie and wordes softe' (Book VII, line 2251; The Works of John Gower, edited by G.C. Macaulay, 4 vols (Oxford, 1901), III, 294).
- 107.22 lordings] A contemptuous diminutive of lord's (OED sb.2), as in Puttenham, Arte of English Poesie (1589): 'Such termes are vsed to be giuen...for a kind of contempt, as when we say Lording for Lord' (quoted OED).
- 108.2 jolly] Overweeningly self-confident; arrogant; full of presumptuous pride (OED a.II.6); the phrase 'jolly pride' is used by Archbishop Sancroft in a sermon called Lex ignea (1666): 'Our Mountain which we said in our jolly pride should never be removed' (quoted in OED).
- 108.3 fyled] Smoothed, polished (OED v.¹ 1.b); Gascoigne uses the phrase 'filed speach' in The Princely Pleasures at Kenelworth Castle: 'Perswading the Queenes Majestie that she be not caryed away with Mercuries filed speach, nor Dyanaes faire words' (Complete Works, II, 107). Fulwell uses the same metaphor in The Flower of Fame: 'if thou list bestow anye fying upon the roughness of my phrase, I shall be beholding unto thee' (p.340).
- 108.5 Smoth wordes I see doth beare great sway] Stevenson 2609.5; Chaucer in the 'Tale of Melibeus' quotes Solomon: 'sweete wordes multiplien and encreescen

- (108.5) freendes, and maken shrewes to be debonaire and meeke' (Robinson's Chaucer, p.185).
- 108.6 mickle] great (OED a.1)
- 108.9 Words are good cheape] Tilley W804; Tilley's first example is 1639; not in Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs; Stevenson 2609.4; Stevenson quotes Wyatt's 'Of Dissembling Words' (Collected Poems, p.252):
- Through out the world, if it wer sought,
Faire wordes ynough a man shall finde:
They be good chepe, they cost right nought;
Their substance is but onely winde.
- 108.9-10 tis small cost / to shewe a friendly face] Like the modern proverb, 'Politeness costs nothing' (Stevenson 1827.3), or Tilley W808, 'Good words cost nought'.
- 108.13 Aristippians] 'Aristippus' altered to fit the metre
- 108.14 beare the bell] Tilley B275; Erasmus applies this proverb to the rivalry between Aristippus and Diogenes: 'whether of them should win the spurres, and beare the bell' (Apophtegmes, edited by E. Johnson, p.45). Fulwell uses this proverb several times in The Flower of Fame: for example, 'Whose noble nature doth deserve / for prayse to beare the bell' (p.361); 'Her noble Mother bare the bell / for vertue in those dayes' (p.368).
- 108.19 What winde driues thee?] Tilley W441: 'What wind blew you hither?'; Apperson 'wind' (b) 7, p.690.

108.sn.
19-20

holy water of the Court] 'A proverbial phrase for flattery, and fine words without deeds; borrowed from the French, who have their eau benite de la cour, in the same sense' (Nares, I, 198). Tilley (H532) quotes Florio's definition in A World of Words (1611): 'To giue Court-holy water, to cog and foist and flatter.' Shakespeare uses the phrase in King Lear, III.2.10: 'O nuncle, court holy-water in a dry house is better than this rain-water out o'door.' Thomas Adams in Diseases of the soule: a discourse (1616; STC 109), p.67, uses it in his character of a flatterer, 'Stinking breath and Flattery. Disease 18':

He is after the nature of a Barber;
and first trimmes the head of his
masters humour, and then sprinkles
it with Court-water. He scrapes
out his diet in curtsies; and
cringeth to his glorious obiect,
as a little Curre to a Mastiff:
licking his hand, not with a healing,
but poysoning tongue.

109.1-2

aske and receiue, / But speake and thou shalt speede] 'Ask and have', Tilley A343; and 'Speak and speed, ask and have', Tilley S719; Tilley's earliest example is 1639; the Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs (p.760) gives earlier examples.

109.4-5

these goodly golden wordes / Would proue but winde] Tilley W833, 'Words are but wind'; Tilley derives the proverb from Job VI.26: 'Do ye imagine to reprove words...which are as wind?'

109.9-10

Tis wisedome to take time in time, / and strike
whyle thyron is whot] Tilley T312, 'Take time when
time comes', and I94. Heywood's 285th epigram in
300 Epigrams contains a series of variations on the
first (Works, pp.195-196). Heywood also links the
two proverbs together in his Dialogue of Proverbs,
edited by R.E. Habenicht, p.101:

Take tyme whan tyme comth, lest tyme stele awaie.
And one good lesson to this purpose I pyke
From the smiths forge, whan thyron is hote stryke.

The second proverb is in Erasmus's Adagia: 'Nunc
tuum ferrum in igni est. Stryke when as the yron is
hote' (Adagia in Latine and English (Aberdeen, 1622,
STC 10442), B3^v). Fulwell uses the first proverb in
Like Will to Like:

Time tarrieth no man, but passeth still away;
Take time while time is, for time doth flee. (1.1000)

109.11

When Pig is proferd, ope the poke] Tilley P308;
Tilley cites Fulwell as above.

poke] bag or small sack (OED sb.¹ 1)

OED ('pig' sb.¹ III.10.a) explains that the proverb
means 'to seize upon one's opportunities'.

109.20

ought] i.e., aught, anything whatever (OED sb.¹;
'aught' A.sb.)

109.21

Poore men are pleasde with potage] Tilley F423, 'Poor
folks are glad of pottage'; Tilley quotes Fulwell as
above.

109.23

earst] erst; once, formerly (OED B.adv.5.a)

- 110.1 Make frinds of fortune while you may] Similar to Tilley F615: 'When Fortune smiles upon thee take the advantage of it', or Apperson p.231: 'When Fortune smiles, embrace her.'
- 110.2 trap] Fortune's trap is referred to in A Mirror for Magistrates:
 For whyles that Fortune lulde me in her lap,
 And gaue me gyftes mo then I dyd requyre,
 The subtyll quean behynde me set a trap,
 Whereby to dashe and laye all in the myre. (p.87)
- 110.4 frowning cheere] ? Unwelcoming reception; perhaps by analogy with 'whipping cheer' (Tilley W308; OED 'cheer' sb.5).
- 110.5 First point of hawking is holde fast] Tilley P453
- 110.6 he laughes they say that winnes] Tilley L93;
 the proverb is listed in Erasmus's Adagia in Latine and English (Aberdeen, 1622), B6: 'Quid nisi victis dolor. Hee laugheth, that winneth.'
- 110.7 wight] person
- 110.8 thou spendest winde in waste] Tilley B642: 'You but spend your breath (wind) in vain'; Tilley's earliest example is 1578.
- 110.11 Diogenes that doting drudge] The rivalry between Aristippus and Diogenes has been referred to above in the note to 34.15; it was also used as an exemplum of flattery versus non-flattery in Gower's Confessio Amantis, VII, 2217-2334.

- (110.11) doting drudge] foolish hack; William Goddard uses the phrase 'dreaming drudge' in A Satirycall Dialogue...betweene Allexander the Great and... Diogynes (1616? STC 11930), A3^v.
- 110.12 his scoole] I.e. of Cynic philosophers, a sect founded by Antisthenes; Diogenes was its most famous proponent.
- 110.15 Dionisius dogg] As in the anecdote from Diogenes Laertius: 'Diogenes called him [Aristippus] the king's poodle' (Lives of Eminent Philosophers, I, 195); Erasmus says in the Apophtegmes (1542, STC 10443), f1^v:
- Diogenes called Aristippus the kynges hounde, because he was a dayly waiter, and gaue contynuall attendaunce in the Courte of Dionysius the Tyranne of Sicilie.
- 110.17 he like dog doth snar and grinne] snar: snarl
- Erasmus explains in the Apophtegmes (i4^v) that Diogenes belonged to a sect called Cynici from the Greek word for dog:
- Because thei wer euer moste importunely barkyng and railynge against the vices of menne, or els because in wordes of rebaudrie and shamelesse speakyng, thei did with their foule mouthes represente the curryshenesse of doggues.
- Lodge comments in Catharos: Diogenes in his Singularitie (Works, II, 4):
- That Diogenes is a Dog, the worst doubt not: his reprehensions dogged, the most denie not: for what foole blinded

(110.17) with earths vanitie, accounts not reproofe bitter, and the iust reproouer a byter.

Anthony Stafford explains in Staffords Heauenly Dogge: or the life, and death of that great Cynicke Diogenes (1615; STC 23128), B6^v-B7, that:

a Cynicke is so called...from the property of a Dogge, who is gentle to the good, and barks at theeues. Such a dog was Diogenes, who did not onely barke at, but bite the vicious; and therefore by Laertius is stiled Caelestis Canis: the heauenly Dogge.

110.19 taunts] Erasmus says of Diogenes in the Apophthegmes, K4: 'From no sorte of menne in the worlde did he refrein or chaumbre the tauntyng of his tongue.' The sidenote emphasises this: 'Diogenes spared tauntyng no manne lyuyng.'

110.20 pleasant mery iest] Aristippus himself, according to Erasmus, Apophthegmes, f1,

among all the philosophers, there hath not been any one either of a more apte or readie and prompte witte in conueighaunce or castyng of thynges, and more agreable to all maner states, sortes or facions of liuyng, or els in his saynges more merie conceipted,...or more pleasaunt.

111.2 sottish] foolish, doltish (OED a.1)

111.3 smooth thy tonge] Diogenes condemned 'smoothe' speaking, according to Erasmus, Apophthegmes, P6^v-P7:

Fair and smoothe speakyng, not procedyng from the botome of the herte, but altogether framed to please the hearer, Diogenes customably vsed to call an hony brake, or a snare of honey. Because thesame vnder the pretense of loue, embracyng a manne as though the speaker wer ready euen to crepe into the bosome of the hearer, cutteth the throte of thesame.

- 111.3 oyle thy wordes] William Goddard in A Satyricall Dialogue...betweene Allexander...and...Diogynes, B3^v, speaks of 'oyld tongu'd flatterers'; Thomas Randolph in Aristippus, or the Jovial Philosopher (Poetical and Dramatic Works, I, 3), uses the phrase 'speeches steep'd in oil'.
- 111.9 All promises are not performde] Perhaps from the proverb 'All promises are either broken or kept', Stevenson 1895.8; Tilley P604.
- 111.10 All glistering is not golde] Tilley A146; Smith, Spenser's Proverb Lore, no.336. Stubbes, in Part II of The Anatomie of Abuses, edited by F.J. Furnivall, p.34, gives a Latin source: 'Omne quod gliscit non est aurum. Euerie faire thing is not the best.'
- 111.11 wordes of course haue coorse effect] Ordinary words have an unrefined, unpleasing effect; plain speech does not get you anywhere, you have to have 'golden words'.
- of course] Belonging to the ordinary procedure or way of the world; customary (OED sb.VII.36). OED gives some later examples of the use of the phrase 'words of course': 'Their Congratulations and Condoleances are equally Words of Course' (Steele, Tatler, No. 109, 1709); 'You profess a wish to oblige me, said Rosina; if only words of course, I beg you will spare my ear' (Jemima, 1795) [my italics].

- 111.12 Experience teacheth] 'Experientia docet,' Stevenson 724.5, from Tacitus, Histories, V.vi.
- 111.13-14 Deedes sink,... / while golden words doo flo] An inversion of the norm, for 'A man ought nat to be demed by his wordes, but by his workis', Dictes and Sayenges of the Philosophirs, translated by Earl Rivers, Stevenson 2617.1.
- 111.15 sith] since
- 111.17 list not] do not choose to (OED v.¹ 2.b)
- 111.17-18 a pleasant rose, / among so many thorns] 'Sweet is the rose, but growes vpon a brere' (Spenser, Amoretti, xxvi); Tilley R182; Smith, Spenser's Proverb Lore no.768.
- 111.sn.
17-19 As good is a foe that hurteth not, as a frend that helpeth not] Tilley F409; Tilley's earliest example is 1578.
- 111.19-20 As good such frends were lost as found / That helpeth not at neede] 'A friend in need is a friend in deed', Tilley F693; 'A friend is never known till a man have need', Tilley F694.
- 112.1 Aristip] Again, as above, 108.13, Fulwell alters the name to fit the metre.
- 112.4 turneth with the winde] Tilley W439; a symbol for inconstancy: Lodge in Catharos: Diogines in his Singularitie (1591), Works, II, 12, describes flatterers:

- (112.4) these shall carrie Ostridge plumes in their partie colored hats to waue with euerie winde, and aspen leaues in their mouthes in stead of roses, by reason of their incertaintie in wordes.
[my italics]
- 112.5 smelfeast] parasitic, sponging (OED 1.b); discussed below in note to 141.5
- 112.5 Gnato] Discussed above in note to 34.11; there is also Gnathonides the toady in Lucian's 'Timon' (Loeb Lucian, II, 377-379). Junius in The Nomenclator, or Remembrancer, p.529, defines 'Parasitus' as 'gnatho (Cicero, Terence)...A parasite: a smellfeast: a flatterer: a trencher-friend.' Lodge asks, 'Wyl you seke the abuse of courtly flatterers? behold Gnato' (Reply to Gosson [1579-80], Complete Works, I, 39).
- 112.6 Thrasos bragge] Thraso was the braggart captain, 'miles gloriosus', in Terence's Eunuchus.
- 112.7-8 Whose wordes are free to promise much, / but bound vp is his bagg] Perhaps a variation of the proverb 'Great promise small performance' (Tilley P602), or 'A long tongue is a sign of a short hand' (T397).
- 112.12 distainde] distained; dishonoured (OED v.2); Shakespeare uses the word in Richard III, V.3.321:
You, having lands, and blest with beauteous wives,
They would restrain the one, destain the other.
- 112.13 false and wylve Fox] In Lucian's dialogue, 'The Dead Come to Life, or the Fisherman', the fox is used as

- (112.13) an emblem of the phoney philosopher, and Truth suggests that all philosophers found to be false should be branded on the forehead with a fox (Loeb Lucian, III, 69).
- 112.14 whilome] once upon a time (OED A.adv.2)
- 112.15 Rauen] The fable of the fox and the raven (as opposed to the more familiar crow) is in Caxton's Aesop, edited by R.T. Lenaghan, pp.83-84; the fox and crow fable is in Phaedrus, no.13, and Babrius, no.77 (Babrius and Phaedrus, translated and edited by B.E. Perry, pp.97, 207-208).
- Thomas Adams, describing the 'disease' of flattery in Diseases of the Soule (1616, STC 109), p.68, also uses the fable with reference to the flatterer, as does Lodge's Diogenes in Catharos: Diogenes in his Singularitie (Complete Works, II, 28).
- 112.15 praye] 'Cheese' in Babrius, Phaedrus, and Caxton's Aesop; 'morsell' and 'meat' in Adams; 'a peece of flesh' in Lodge.
- 112.16 enuide] begrudged; 'to envy at' means to begrudge something (OED v.¹ 3, 4)
- 113.2 fowle] perhaps with a pun on foul / fowl
- 113.5 corpes] i.e. (living) body (OED sb.1); as below, 113.17
- 113.8 haughty] High, lofty (in literal sense) (OED a.3); OED quotes Barnaby Googe (1570), 'From the toppes of hawtie towres'.

- 113.10 fleggie] Feathery? (OED 'fledgy' a.2); a very rare word: OED gives only four examples, the earliest being 1583, and the earliest in sense 2 is Keats (1818).
- 113.11 port] bearing (OED sb.⁴ I.1); used again below, 130.8
- 113.11 Eagles lookes] According to the proverb, only an eagle can gaze at the sun (Tilley E3; Smith, Spenser's Proverb Lore, no. 199).
- 114.4 cast] contrivance, trick (OED sb.VII.24)
- 114.5-6 Tis common now for fooles to feede, / when wiser men do fast] Perhaps an inversion of the proverb 'Fools make feasts and wise men eat them' (Tilley F540).
- 114.13 three horseloues hygh] Tilley H721: 'As high as three horse loaves'; Tilley quotes Fulwell as above. The phrase was often used derisively to describe dwarfs or short people: for example, Heywood, in his Dialogue of Proverbs, edited by R.E. Habenicht, line 582: 'As high as two horseloues hir persone is.' Horse-bread was made of beans, bran etc. as food for horses (OED 'horse-bread').
- 115.3 mast] a collective name for the fruit of the beech, oak, chestnut, and other forest trees, especially as food for swine (OED sb.² 1)
- 115.6 Nothing at all no sauour hath] Tilley N290: 'Nothing has no savour.' The opposite proverb, 'Somewhat hath some savour', is used above on 30.23-31.1. Heywood

(115.6) wrote an epigram on this proverb:

Nothyng hath no sauer, which sauerles showe:
Shewth nothing better, then sum thyng that we
knowe.

Otherwyse.

Nothing hath no sauer, as yl is this othing:
Ill sauerd sumthing, as vnsauerd nothyng.
(300 Epigrams, no.76, in Works, edited by
B.A. Milligan, p.158)

115.10-11 Sharp hunger is a noble sauce / for rootes] 'His
drinke being water, his food roots, his house a
tubbe. Nature was his Cooke, and prouided him no
sauce but hunger' (Anthony Stafford, Staffords
heauenly dogge: or the life of Diogenes (1615;
STC 23128), C2-C2^v). The proverb 'Hunger is a
noble sauce' is discussed above in the note to
103.19.

115.14 hap] luck (OED sb.¹ 1)

115.16-17 Ill is his chaunce, worse is that place / where
friendship none is found] Possibly derived from
Cicero's De Amicitia: 'Without friendship life is
nothing' (Stevenson 913.4).

115.20 habilitie] Early spelling of 'ability'; OED
quotes Baret (1580): 'To be of abilitie: to
liue like a gentleman. What abilitie or liuing is
he of? or what may he dispende a yeere?' (OED sb.4).

116.3 wight] person

116.7 Truth may be blamde but neuer shamde] Tilley T584;
it is listed as a Somerset proverb by C.H. Poole in

- (116.7) The Customs, Superstitions, and Legends of the County of Somerset (1877; second edition, St Peter Port, Guernsey, 1970), p.136. Vives, in An Introduction to Wisedome, (1540, STC 24847), L4, says that 'The truth may wel be peined, it wil not be oppressed. It may be blamed, it wil not be shamed.'
- 116.8 Truth needes not feare her foe] 'Truth fears no trial' (Tilley T583; Tilley's first example is 1639); or 'Truth fears no colours', i.e., fears no enemy (Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs, p.843; Tilley C520): the first example of this proverb is in Ray's A Collection of English Proverbs (1678).
- 116.10 Truth needes no glosing sho] 'Truth needs no colors' (Tilley T585); 'Truth has no need of rhetoric' (T575); 'Truth's tale is simple' (T593): Tilley quotes Taverner, Proverbes or Adagies. Gathered out of Erasmus (1539):
- Trouthes tale is simple, he that meaneth
good fayth, goeth not aboute to glose
hys comunicacion wyth painted wordes.
- 117.2 Debonaire] gracious, courteous
- 117.1-12 Acrostic on Edmund Harman: This kind of portrait of an ideal man, done in the form of acrostic verse, was popular in the Elizabethan period. For example, J. Charlton's translation of Cornelius Valerius's The casket of jewels: a playne description of morall philosophie (1571; STC 24583), A8^v, has one in the form of an exhortation, but emphasizing similar moral

(117.1-12) virtues:

G eue almes to the poore dayly.
 E ndure affliction quietly.
 R emember thy end stedfastly.
 V tter Gods word manfully.
 I n all thinges worke rightfully.
 S erue God and thy Prince duely.

C all for grace howerly.
 L oue thy neighbours freendly.
 Y eld to the truth meekely.
 F auour learning earnestly.
 T rust in Christs mercy faithfully.
 O btaine thou friendship perfectly.
 N o man oppresse Wrongfully.

Other examples can be found in Thomas Heywood's Pleasant Dialogues and Drammas, . . . As also certaine . . . Anagrams and Acrosticks (1637; in Bang's Materialen, Series I, Band 3, pp.263, 265), especially his anagrams and acrostics on Sir Thomas Coventry, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, and Sir Ranoulphe Crewe, once Lord Chief Justice of England.

117.12 Not rendring yll againe] 1 Peter III.9: 'be pitiful, be courteous: not rendering evil for evil, or railing for railing'.

117.13 Ful wel] Another of Fulwell's sly puns on his own name.

THE EYGHTH DIALOGUE BETWEENE TOM TAPSTER, MILES MAKESHIFT, WAT WYLY,
AND THE AUTHOR

- 118.0.1 Tom Tapster] He is also referred to in Greene's Quip for an Upstart Courtier (1592), in Works, edited by A.B. Grosart, XI, 275:
- Last to you Tom tapster, that tap your
smale cannes of beere to the poore, and
yet fil them half ful of froth, that
carde your beere (if you see your guests
begin to be drunke) halfe smal and halfe
strong;
- also in Stephen Gosson's Pleasant Quippes for Upstart Gentlewomen (1595), in Hazlitt's Remains of the Early Popular Poetry of England, IV, 257: 'They well might serve Tom Tapsters turne.'
- 118.0.2 Miles makeshift] 'Milo the makeshift' is referred to above in the Sixth Dialogue and discussed in the note to 90.1. A 'Sir Iohn Makeshift (whose last acre lyes morgaged to the mercie of Sise Sincke)' is referred to in I.M. (Jervase Markham?), A Health to the Gentlemanly Profession of Serving-Men (1598), introduction by A.V. Judges, Shakespeare Association Facsimiles No. 3 (London, 1931), D4^v.
- 118.11 feeble] of inferior quality, poor, mean; often said of food etc. (OED A.adj.5)
- 118.15 horsemeat] provender for horses (OED sb.)
- 119.3 cleane] proper, fine (OED a.III.9)
- 119.11 reader] teacher, lecturer (OED sb.4)

- 119.13 emblaze] set forth by means of heraldic devices
(OED v.² 1.b)
- 119.22 cretensis cum cretense] Literally: a Cretan with a Cretan; Fulwell's version of a well-known proverb. The Cretans were considered to be notorious liars, as Saint Paul points out in his Epistle to Titus I.12: 'One of themselves, even a prophet of their own, said, The Cretians [sic] are alway liars, evil beasts, slow bellies.' Tilley, C822, lists an English version: 'Cretans are liars (Use craft against Cretans)', and he quotes Erasmus's Adagia, 81F: 'Cretiza cum Cretense... id est, adversus mendacem mendaciis utere.' It also appears in a form nearer to that of Fulwell's in Draxe's Bibliotheca Scholastica (third edition, 1654; Wing D2143), E5: 'Cretensis Cretensem fallere conatur' (A Cretan tries to deceive a Cretan). Taverner's translation of Erasmus's Prouerbes or adagies... gathered out of the Chiliades (1569; STC 10441), B1-B1^v, gives two Latin versions of the proverb:

Cretenis [sic] Cretensem. One false merchaunte deceiueth an other. The men of Crete were in olde time much reprovod for their falshode and deceite.

Cretiza cum Cretensi. Practise craft with the crafty. Of the vanite and dissimulacion of the Cretisans, the Apostle Paule also speaketh. This Prouerbe biddethe vs otherwiles to dissemble with dissemblers, namelie where singlenes wil take no place. The English Prouerbe saith: He had neede to haue a longe spone, that shoulde eate with the deuil, meaninge, that he whiche must haue to do with craftie persons ought him selfe to know crafte.

(119.22) Fulwell appears to be confusing or conflating the two forms. Riley's Dictionary of Latin and Greek Quotations, p.61, gives yet another form: 'Cretizandum cum Crete...A man must be a Cretan with the Cretans.'

119.22-23 a cogging knaue with a foysting varlet wel met]
Tilley K148: 'Two knaves well met'; Tilley's earliest example is 1611.

cogging] cheating; flattering

foysting] cheating (OED v.¹ 2; first example in this sense 1584)

Cogging and foisting are both words used to describe cheating at dice, and they are often used together: for example, in Whetstone's Rocke of Regard (1576, STC 25348), ¶3: 'the Dicer will sweare to heare his cogging and foysting aduantages discovered;' Sir John Oldcastle (1610), F4^V: 'Sirra, dost thou not cogge, nor foist, nor slurre'; Junius, The Nomenclator, or Remembrancer, p.522: 'A cogging, foysting, or cousening gamster at dice'; William Terilo, Friar Bacons Prophecie (1604), in Hazlitt's Remains of Early Popular Poetry of England, IV, 284: 'Now cogge and foist that list, / Who will that wit gaine say?'

varlet] rascal (OED sb.2)

120.1 herhaltrie...hemphaltrie] With an obvious pun on the halter which is the final destination of knaves and varlets; however 'herehaultry' is an old spelling of 'heraldry': Thomas Blount in his Glossographia (1656;

- (120.1) facsimile reprint, Menston, 1969), T2^v, says that the word 'Heralt comes from the ancient Teutonick Herehealt'. In 'hemphaltrie' Fulwell is making one of those 'course hempen quippes' scorned by the author of An Almond for a Parrat (1589?), 'such as our brokerly wits doe filsh out of Bull the Hangmans budget' (McKerrow's Nashe, III, 374). Another 'hempen quip' is a feature of the plot of Fulwell's play, Like Will to Like.
- 120.2 medley] combination (OED A.sb.2)
- 120.3 fond] foolish, silly (OED A.a.2)
- 120.5-6 fallere fallentem non est fraus to deceiue a deceiuer is no disceit] Tilley D182; Tilley quotes Fulwell as above. A similar Latin tag occurs in The flores of Ovide de arte amandi with theyr englysshe afore them (1513; STC 18934), A3^v: 'Begyle the begylers... Fallite fallentes.'
- 120.8-9 mated with his matches] Tilley M745: 'He has met with his match;' Erasmus, Adagia in Latine and English, A5^v: 'He meeteth with his Match. Or, Hee is fallen with such as he is himselfe.'
- mated] checkmated, defeated (OED v.¹ 1, 2)
- 120.14 No hast but good] Tilley H199; Tilley quotes Fulwell as above.
- 120.14-15 better is a litle tariance then a raw dinner] This sounds like a proverb, but is not in Tilley or the

(120.14-15) Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs. However the form is proverbial: for example, 'Better are small fish than an empty dish' (Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs, p.51, Tilley F303); 'Better a louse in the pot than no flesh at all' (Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs, p.50, Tilley L468); 'Better some of a pudding than none of a pie' (Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs, p.55, Tilley P621).

The OED quotes Fulwell as above under 'tarriance' 1.

120.sn.
16-17

Tapsters are maisters of newes] Cornelius Agrippa in Of the Vanitie of Artes and Sciences, edited by C.M. Dunn, p.229, makes the same point: that innholders are among the 'infamous' trades and 'be reputed infamouse for the vice of vnmeasurable talkinge, because they delite in fables and spreade newes.'

120.18

taphouse] alehouse; the tap-room of an inn (OED)

120.18-19,
21-22

stale and fresh newes...new newes] Tattle in Jonson's The Staple of News says,

Looke your Newes be new, and fresh,
Mr. Prologue, and vntainted, I shall find
them else, if they be stale, or flye-
blowne, quickly!
(Induction, l.24; Herford & Simpson, VI, 280;
also I.5.79)

120.20

stamp] Perhaps a die for 'forging news' as in The Staple of News, I.5.133; the metaphor of a mint for coining lies is used by John Earle in his Microcosmography (1628), no. 61, 'Paul's Walk',

(120.20)

which

is the general Mint of all famous lies,
 which are here like the legends of Popery,
 first coined and stamped in the Church.
 (Microcosmography, or a Piece of the
 World Discovered in Essays and Characters,
 edited by Harold Osborne (London, 1933),
 p.84)

120.20

quoyne] Coin; the idea of coining news is also in
 Jonson's Staple of News, I.5.62:

But all shall come from the Mint...
 Fresh and new stamp'd,...
 With the Office-Seale, Staple Commoditie.
 (ibid., VI, 295)

121.1

Sithens] since

121.3

weete] know

121.4

Morpheus] Ovid's name for the god of dreams, the son
 of Sleep (Metamorphoses, XI.635)

121.10

Iupiter] 'the king and father of gods and men'
 (Lemprière, p.304)

121.12

accompt] account

121.12

ministeries] ministries: functions, offices (OED sb.2)

121.14

curry fauour] Whiting F85; Smith, Spenser's Proverb
 Lore, no. 144; Tilley gives an expanded version of
 the proverb: 'Whoso will dwell in court must needs
 curry favel' (C724); the Oxford Dictionary of
 English Proverbs, p.210, gives an historical sketch
 of the evolution of the proverb from 'favel' to
 'favour'. Fulwell uses the phrase again below 127.3.

121.15

sleights] cunning tricks (OED sb.¹ 6)

- 121.16 wreckful] Revengeful (OED a.²); OED quotes North's translation of Guevara's Diall of Princes (1577), which also has the phrase 'wreckfull gods'.
- 121.16 Mars] the god of war
- 121.17 whylom] some time before (OED A.adv.2)
- 121.18 infest] hostile (OED a.1)
- 121.20 Ioue] poetical equivalent of Jupiter (OED)
- 122.1 harneis (Q2: harnesse)] the defensive or body armour of a man-at-arms or foot-soldier (OED sb.2)
- 122.3 Vulcan] Son of Jupiter and Juno, and husband of Venus, he was the patron of all artists who worked metal. The story of Vulcan (Hephaestus) trapping Venus and Mars in a net is told in Homer's Odyssey, VIII.266-369, and Lucian's 'Dialogues of the Gods', nos. 17 and 21 (Loeb Lucian, VII, 323, 335-337).
- 122.8 pageant] It would be interesting to know whether Fulwell is recalling an actual pageant he had seen. There is a record of a pageant featuring Vulcan in Wells, but it is later, 1613:

The Hammer-men furnished the Building of the Ark, Vulcan, Venus, and Cupid, and part of St George.
(E.K. Chambers, The Elizabethan Stage, 4 vols (Oxford, 1923), I, 126)

Vulcan appears in several of Jonson's masques, but since they were often written to celebrate marriages his cuckolding by Venus is not usually mentioned. Mars and Venus appear in a Twelfth Night 'triumph of venus and mars with their paiauntes maskes and other

(122.8) furniture' in 1553 (A. Feuillerat, Documents Relating to the Revels at Court in the Time of Edward VI and Queen Mary (Louvain, 1914; rptd. Vaduz, 1963), p.125; Sydney Anglo, Spectable, Pageantry, and Early Tudor Policy (Oxford, 1969), p.314; the pageant is described on pp.312-314).

Robert Withington, in English Pageantry, 2 vols 1918, 1926; rptd. New York, 1963), mentions several pageants in which Vulcan figures: Dublin, 1528 (I, 179); Dublin, 1665 (I, 251); Dekker's London Tempe, 1629 (II, 71-72); another Dublin procession of trades and occupations (I, 23 n.3); Vulcan addressed the Lord Mayor, an ironmonger, in Matthew Taubman's pageant of 1685 (II, 62-63).

122.8 Appollo] the god of music, poetry and eloquence

122.12 carpet knight] Tilley C98; Tilley's earliest example is 1580, but the Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs, p. 103, has earlier ones, including Fulwell as above. OED defines it as 'a contemptuous term for a knight whose achievements belong to "the carpet" (i.e. the lady's boudoir, or carpeted chamber) instead of to the field of battle; a stay-at-home soldier'; it also quotes Cotgrave's definition: 'a Carpet-Knight, one that euer loues to be in womens chambers'. Nares, I, 138, notes that 'carpet-trade' is flattery.

122.18 fond] foolish

- 122.19 eftsones] eftsoons: soon afterwards (OED adv.3)
- 123.2-3 daunced after his pype] Tilley M488: 'Ready to dance to every man's pipe'; the Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs, p.166, derives the proverb from Matthew XI.17: 'We piped unto you, and ye did not dance.'
- 123.3-4 Mercurius in the habite of a trauayler] Mercury was 'the patron of travellers..., and not only presided over orators, merchants, declaimers, but he was also the god of thieves, pickpockets, and all dishonest persons' (Lemprière, p.364). He seems to have been particularly associated with lying, because his votaries 'entreated him to be favourable to them, and to forgive whatever artful measures, false oaths, or falsehoods they had used or uttered in the pursuit of gain' (Lemprière, p.365).

Offerings of milk and honey were made because he was the god of eloquence, whose powers were sweet and persuasive. The Greeks and Romans offered tongues to him by throwing them into the fire, as he was the patron of speaking.
(Lemprière, p.365)

Lucian mentions his 'glib and fluent tongue' in his 'Dialogues of the Gods', Loeb Lucian, VII, 295.

Mercury is associated with hypocrisy by the character Hypocrisie in Nathaniel Woodes's The Conflict of Conscience (1581), edited by Herbert Davis, Malone Society Reprints (Oxford, 1952), II.1; line 318:

We Mercurialists I meane Hypocrits cannot long
endure
In one condicion, but doo alter our mynde,
To theirs that talke with vs, thereby friendship to
fynde.

- 123.sn.3-5 He that hath trauayled so far...may lye by authority] Tilley T476, 'A traveller may lie with authority'; M567, 'Old men and far travellers may lie by authority'. It seems to have been the expected thing that travellers should lie: in Erasmus's colloquy 'Rash Vows', Cornelius, who has just returned from Jerusalem, looks forward to 'telling lies about my travelsAnd I'll take equal pleasure in hearing other men lie about things they never heard or saw' (Colloquies, translated by C.R. Thompson, p.5).
- 123.7 Polonian] Polish
- 123.9 colours] semblances serving to conceal or cloak the truth (OED sb.III.11); or perhaps in sense 13: 'rhetorical words or figures; ornaments of style or diction; embellishments'
- 123.10 it is a world to see] Tilley W878; discussed in note to 76.21-77.1 above
- 123.12 fables] foolish or ridiculous stories; idle talk, nonsense (OED sb.1.c); also fabrications, falsehoods (1.d)
- 123.13 forged] fabricated, invented (OED v.¹ 4)
- 123.14 sot] fool
- 123.14 U.F.] i.e., Ulpian Fulwell
- 123.16 cogging] flattering (OED v.³ 5)
- 123.19 .q.(Q2: quill)] 'Q' is an obsolete form of 'cue'; John Minsheu defines it as:

(123.19)

A Qu, a terme vsed among Stage-plaiers,
 & Lat. Qualis, i. at what manner of
 word the Actors are to beginne to
 speake one after another hath done his
 speech.

(Minshaei emendatio, vel a mendis
 expurgatio sui Ductoris in linguas.
In nine languages, second edition (1625,
 STC 17945), p.592; he also uses the
 word in defining 'Antiloquie' on p.33)

Charles Butler, in The English grammar. Whereunto is
 annexed an index of words (Oxford, 1633, STC 4190),

Index, c1^v, defines 'q' as:

a note of entrance for Actors, (because
 it is the first letter of quando, when)
 shewing when to enter and speak.
 [phonetic spelling modernised]

OED comments on these two definitions that 'no evidence
 confirming this has been found' (OED 'cue' sb.²).

McKerrow quotes this passage from Fulwell when
 discussing Elizabethan punctuation in his Introduction
 to Bibliography for Literary Students, p.316.

Q2's variant reading, 'quill', is puzzling; if
 it is a misprint, it is a strange one.

123.20

malepart] impudent

124.5-6

Fooles bolts...are soonest shot / yet oft they

hit the marke] Two proverbs: 'A fool's bolt is soon
 shot' (Tilley F515), and 'A fool's bolt may sometimes
 hit the mark' (F516; Tilley cites Fulwell as above).

Heywood contradicts this in his epigram of 'The fooles
 bolte': 'A fooles bolte is soone shot, and fleeth
 oftymes fer, / But the fooles bolte and the marke, cum
 few tymes ner' (300 Epigrams, no. 185, in Works, edited

(124.5-6) by B.A. Milligan, p.179). Taverner comments on Erasmus:

Stultus stulta loquitur. A foolè speaketh foolish thinges. And as our Englishe Prouerbe saithe: A fooles bolt is soone shotte, whereas the wise man speaketh seldom and wittelie. (Erasmus, Prouerbes or Adagies, translated by R. Taverner (1569, STC 10441), A4v)

124.7 Blind Bayard] Blind Bayard is discussed above in the note to 30.11-12.

124.8 Palfrey] A saddle-horse for ordinary riding, as distinguished from a war-horse (OED); presumably it would be slower and more sure-footed.

124.16 scaffolde] platform or stage (OED sb.4)

124.18 patcht pyde cote] This was the conventional costume of the fool, as in the description of the 'folysshe dwarfe' Godfrey Gobylue in Stephen Hawes, The Pastime of Pleasure (1517), edited by W.E. Mead, ed. cit., 1.3490:

With a hood / a bell / a foxtayle / and a bagge
In a pyed cote he rode brygge a bragge.

It is also referred to in The Tempest, III.2.71:

'What a pied ninny's this! Thou scurvy patch!';

and metaphorically in William Rankins's Seven Satires (1598), edited by A. Davenport (Liverpool, 1948),

p.9:

Another Artelesse mome bewicht with praise,
Thrusts forth a patched Pamphlet into print,
When fooles on it, as on a pide coat gaze.

(124.18) The fool's dress is discussed by Enid Welsford in The Fool: his Social and Literary History, pp. 121-124, 334.

124.19 erst] once upon a time, formerly (OED B.adv.5.a)

124.20 cocklorels bote] The title of an anonymous satirical poem printed by Wynkyn de Worde ca. 1510, in which Cock Lorel was the captain of the boat containing 'jovial reprobates of all trades' (OED 'lorel' A.sb.b); a 'lorel' is a rogue or blackguard (OED A.sb.)

In his 'barge' of flatterers and exploiters Fulwell may have been influenced more by Skelton's 'Bowge of Courte' or Alexander Barclay's translation of Brant's Ship of Fools than by Cock Lorelles Bote itself, although Cock Lorell does have 'fabyane flaterer' and 'Flaterers and two face berers' on his boat (Cocke Lorelles Bote (1510? STC 5456), B2^v, C1). The owner of Skelton's ship 'Bowge of Courte' is the lady Favour, and Skelton's ship is full of 'subtyll persones': Favell, Dissimmler and Subtilty. The passengers on Fulwell's barge are similarly obsessed with currying favour (125.3-4, 15). The literary tradition of Cocke Lorelles Bote is discussed in Paul R. Baumgartner's article, 'From Medieval Fool to Renaissance Rogue: Cocke Lorelles Bote and the Literary Tradition', Annuaire Medievale, 4 (1963), 57-91.

124.21 Barge] Cock Lorell's 'barge' is referred to in

The Trial of Treasure:

Most like I have ridden on the flying Pegasus,
Or in Cock Lorel's barge I have been a vent'ring.
(Anonymous Plays, 3rd Series, edited by John
S. Farmer (London, 1906), p.207)

The fragment of Cocke Lorelles Bote does not actually mention a barge, but 'The vnyuersall shyp and generall Barke or barge' of fools is described in Barclay's translation of Brant's Ship of Fools, edited by T.H. Jamieson, ed. cit. (II, 306; also I, 13).

124.23-24 euery foole / in his degree is plaste] The fools are also placed in their degree in Barclay's translation of The Ship of Fools (ed. cit., I, 179):

Soft folys soft, a lytell slacke your pace
Tyll I haue space you to order by degre.

124.25 gaole] i.e., gale

125.1 Iupiter] Although the name carries on the allegory of Tom Tapster's dream, he stands for the ruler of any court, with its attendant self-seekers and flatterers.

125.5 crake] Boast, brag, talk big; a variant of 'crack' (OED 'crake' v.²; 'crack' v.6); Hoby advises the courtier 'Not to crake and boast of his acts and good qualities' (translation of Castiglione's The Courtier (1561), 'A brief rehearsal of the chief conditions and qualities in a Courtier', in Tudor Poetry and Prose, edited by J.W. Hebel et al., ed. cit., p.711); Barclay has a similar line to Fulwell's in his First Eclogue:

- (125.1) 'They crake, they boste, and vaunt as they were wood'
(I.367; The Eclogues of Alexander Barclay, ed. cit., p.11); Vives advises in An Introduction to Wisedome, translated by R. Morysine (1563; STC 24850.7), N7: 'Those thynges that thou purposest to doo, crake not of before, if thou canst not bring them to passe, thou shalt be laughed to scorne.'
- 125.5 flaunt it out] obtrude themselves boastfully, impudently or defiantly on the public view (OED v.2.a)
- 125.6 Some crouch and creepe ful low] Spenser gives a similar list of the courtier's activities in 'Mother Hubberd's Tale', l.905: 'To fawne, to crowche, to waite, to ride, to ronne....'
- 125.7 With cap and knee] discussed in note to 100.18 above
- 125.8 gape for] long for (OED v.4)
- 125.10 some gnawe on tastlesse shalles] Rowlands in Diogines Lanthorne (1607) tells the story of a blind beggar and a cripple who find an oyster and quarrel over who is to have it; a passer-by takes the oyster and eats it, 'Giuing them each a shell'; in his 'Morall' to the story, Rowlands comments:
- Perhaps some Lawyer takes the Fish,
And leaues his clyent shels.
(Complete Works, I, 31-33)
- 125.11 Some fish and catch a Frog at last] Tilley F767: 'You fish fair and catch a frog'; also F333: 'He is a fond fisher that angles for a frog.'

- 125.12 feede on better hope] Not in Tilley, but Spenser has the phrase, also applied to courtiers, in 'Mother Hubberd's Tale', line 899:
- To speed to day, to be put back to morrow;
To feed on hope, to pine with feare and sorrow.
- 125.13-14 Some sting their hands with nettles keene, / whyle they for flowers grope] This sounds proverbial but is not in Tilley of the Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs. Shakespeare uses the metaphor in I Henry IV, II.3.9: 'Out of this nettle, danger, we pluck this flower, safety.'
- 125.15 Some sing, some daunce, some pype, some play] Spenser also attacks such 'fine feates and Courtly complement' in 'Mother Hubberd's Tale', l.693:
- For he could play, and daunce, and vaute, and spring,
And all that els pertaines to reueling,...
The which in Court him serued to good stead.
- 125.20 yonker] Younker: a young man, especially a gay or fashionable young man (OED sb.2). Fulwell uses the word in The Flower of Fame, p.339 : 'to feed the daintie eares of delicate yonkers'. Taverner's translation of Erasmus's Prouerbes or adagies, ed. cit., D6^v, condemns
- the common sorte of prodigal yongkers,
which whan theyr landes and goods be
ones fallen into theyr hands, thinke
there is no botome of theyr fathers
bagges and cofers.
- 126.5 wight] a living being, originally applied to supernatural beings (OED sb.1.b)

- 126.6 to torne] torn in pieces (OED 'to-' prefix² 1)
- 126.14 hunting Mammons chace] pursuing material riches
- 126.15 A fig] Tilley F210; discussed in note to 38.8 above
- 126.19-20 But winking wisdom is not blind / to turne the tossed ball] These lines are rather obscure; perhaps they mean that although a wise man (like Jove) might temporarily shut his eyes, this does not mean that he is blind to what is going on around him: Jove can deflect the darts of flattery aimed at him, - 'turne the tossed ball'.

- 126.21-24 Thou seest that sundry sorts of men, / by flatterye do aspire: / To guerdon great, when trusty trueth, / hath hatred for her hyre] guerdon] reward

Based on the proverb 'Obsequium amicos, veritas odium parit' (Erasmus, Adagia, 675a), 'As truth gets hatred so flattery wins friends' (Tilley T562). The proverb is quoted by Hypocrisie in Nathaniel Woodes's interlude, The Conflict of Conscience (1581), ed. cit., II.1; line 335:

Which Tirannie with flatterie is easely pacified,
 Wheras Tom tell troth shall feele of his Sword,
 So that with such men is fully verified,
 That olde said saw, and common by word:
Obsequium amicos, by flateries friends are prepared:
But veritas odium parit, as commonly is seene,
 For speaking the trueth, many hated haue beene.

The unpopularity of truth is also asserted in the proverb 'Truth has a scratched face' (Tilley T572).

- 127.2 wordly (Q2: worldly)] discussed in note to 22.20

- 127.2 wights] people
- 127.3 Who currieth fauour] Tilley C724; discussed in note to 121.14 above
- 127.12 shift] manner of livelihood (OED sb.III.3.e)
- 127.13 ransack] subject to close scrutiny; investigate in detail (OED v.3)
- 127.14 vaunt] proclaim (OED v.4)
- 127.15 flanting (Q2: flauntinge)] Flanting is an obsolete form of flaunting, as in Jonson's Staple of News, II.4. 195: 'The flourishing, and flanting Peny-boy'. It means 'showy, gaudy' (OED ppl.a.2); as applied to plants, it means 'waving so as to display their beauty' (OED v.1).
- 127.19 force] Attach force or importance to; care for, regard (OED v.¹ II.14); OED quotes Barclay's Ship of Fools (1509): 'They forse no thyng so they may money wyn.'
- 127.19 no whit] not at all
- 128.1-2 The touchstone tries, all is not gold, / that glistereth faire and bright] Touchstone is a variety of quartz or jasper used for testing the quality of gold and silver alloys by the colour of the streak produced by rubbing them upon it (OED sb.1). Wither, in his Emblemes (1635), Scholar Facsimile, ed. cit., p.233, has an emblem of a gold coin on a piece of touchstone

(128.1-2) with the verse:

All is not Gold, which makes a show;
But, what the Touchstone findeth so.

There is also the proverb, 'As the touchstone tries gold, so gold tries men' (Tilley T448). 'All is not gold that glisters' is proverbial: Tilley A146, Smith, Spenser's Proverb Lore, no.336. Smith quotes Gascoigne, Grief of Joye, Works, ed. cit., II, 524: 'All is not golde, which glistereth faire and bright.'

128.5 doome] judgement, sentence (OED sb.2)

128.10 shent] Blamed, reproached (OED v.¹ 2); Fulwell may have had in mind the proverb, 'He that will say the truth he shall be shent' (OED loc. cit.); Whiting S492: 'Whoso says the sooth shall be shent.'

128.13 preasing] pressing

128.18 suborne] Assist (OED v.5); the sense of the sentence seems to be that it is madness to allow people to speak freely, but even more so to encourage them to do so.

128.20 shoote their doltish boltes] An echo of the proverb 'A fool's bolt is soon shot', used above 124.5.

128.22 cokscomes] conceited fools (OED sb.4)

129.1 infest] hostile; Fulwell uses the phrase 'infestemie' above, 121.18

129.10-12 Cornelius Agrippa, for his displaynge of courtiers in his booke de vanitate scienciarum] Henry Cornelius

(129.10-12) Agrippa von Nettesheim (1486-1535), courtier, physician, and student of the occult, published De incertitudine et vanitate scientiarum et artium at Antwerp in 1530. It is a slashing and amusing satire which attacks all known branches of knowledge of the day, as well as abuses of society. It was translated into English by James Sanford in 1569. Courtiers and the court are attacked in chapters 68-71; for example:

euery honeste man is there oppressed, and euery ribaulde is auanced, the simple menne be laughed to skorne, and the iuste are persecuted, presumptuouse and shamelesse parsons be faoured. None but flatterers doo prosper there, and whisperers, sclauderers, talebearers, false accusers, complainers, abusers, venemous tongues, supplanters, inuentours of mischiefes, and other pestilent people. (Of the Vanitie and Vncertaintie of Artes and Sciences, translated by James Sanford, edited by Catherine M. Dunn (Northridge, California, 1974), p.235)

Agrippa's 'scathing denunciation of courtiers...angered the French court', according to Catherine M. Dunn (introduction, p.xx); as Henry Morley comments in his biography of Agrippa, such passages were 'too well remembered by the great men with whom lay the building or destroying of his worldly fortune' (Life of Henry Cornelius Agrippa von Nettesheim, 2 vols (London, 1856), II, 178); Agrippa's salary from the French Queen Mother was cut off. Agrippa ironically vowed to become 'a proper courtier'; he wrote to his friend Chapelain:

Hear what rules I have prescribed for myself, if ever I am tempted to return to court service: to make myself a

(129.10-12)

proper courtier, I will flatter
 egregiously, be sparing of faith,
 profuse of speech, ambiguous in
 counsel, like the oracles of old;
 but I will pursue gain, and prefer
 my own advantage above all things....
 the Prince only I will watch and
 worship, but him will I flatter,
 I will agree with, I will infest,
 only through fear or greed of my
 own gain. (Morley, II, 216-217)

displaynge] exposure (OED vbl.sb.); OED quotes two
 titles which use the word: Huggarde's The Displaying
of the Protestantes, and sondry their Practices (1556),
 and Webster's The Displaying of Supposed Witchcraft
 (1677).

129.14

daw] noodle, fool (OED sb.2.a)

129.15

doctrine] preaching (OED sb.1.b)

129.16

sithens] since

130.4

trompe] trump, trumpet

130.5

brute] obsolete form of 'bruit': fame, renown
 (OED sb.3)

130.8

hauty port] couragious bearing; 'haughty' in the
 sense of 'of exalted character;...of exalted courage
 or bravery' (OED a.2)

130.10

passing] surpassing (OED ppl.a.3)

130.11

ioy thy cace] rejoice in your circumstances (OED 'joy'
 v.2.d; 'case' sb.¹ 5)

130.17

wight] person

130.18 sisters three] the Fates or Parcae; Clotho, Lachesis and Atropos, who preside over the destiny of man

131.7-8 with princely pomp / thy table doest maintaine] The decline in keeping a good table, the leftovers from which the serving-men and the poor would get, is lamented by I.M., A Health to the Gentlemanly Profession of Serving-Men, ed. cit., G4^v, H1:

Where are the great Chines of staulled Beefe? the great blacke lackes of doble Beere? the long Haul tables fully furnished with good victuals? and the multitude of good fellowes assembling to the houses of Potentates and men of worth?...These Potentates and Gentlemen... haue begun in this maner to lessen their charge....Now, yf they haue but two or three dyshes, What should they neede so many Attendants?...this affoordes them a doble benefite, it cuts off the charge of Men, and many Dyshes.

131.17 Take time, in time] proverbial; discussed in note to 109.9 above

131.18 spit in Fortunes face] 'To spit in heaven's face', Tilley H355; Tilley's first example is 1583.

131.19-20 first cut thy troupe, / and traine of seruing men] One of the causes of unemployment and beggary put forward in Book I of More's Utopia is the dismissal of serving men for reasons of economy, which causes

men to keep as little houses and as small hospitality as they possible may, and to put away their servants: whither, I pray you, but a begging? (Utopia, translated by Ralph Robinson, edited by H.B. Cotterill (London, 1908), p.30)

Like More, I.M. in A Health to the Gentlemanly Profession

(131.19-20) of Serving-Men, ed. cit., I3^v, laments that the turned-off serving man 'can not earne salt to his pottage, for he hath not been trayned to any bodyly laboure'. William Harrison, however, would have agreed with Tom Tapster; he condemns 'our great swarms of idle servingmen':

These men are profitable to none....It were very good therefore that the superfluous heaps of them were in part diminished. And sith necessity enforceth to have some, yet let wisdom moderate their numbers; so shall their masters be rid of unnecessary charge.
(The Description of England, ed. cit., p.119)

Inflation caused the landed gentry to cut down their households, as explained by the Knight in W.S.'s A Discourse of the Commonweal of this Realm of England (1581), as quoted below in the note to 132.10-11.

132.7 lobcok] blundering fool; heavy dull creature (OED sb.)

132.8 houkeeping] the keeping of a good table; hospitality; here, the keeping of a household of servants and retainers

132.9 geue pasports] i.e., dismiss (OED 'passport' sb.¹ 5); OED quotes Celestina (1631): 'I will give him his passeport, I warrant you, unlesse hee betake him to his heeles, and runne away from me.'

132.10-11 In court two wayters and a page / will serue
wayters] attendants, servants (OED sb.III.7)

The Knight in W.S.'s A Discourse of the Commonweal

(132.10-11) of this Realm of England (1581; written earlier in 1549), edited by Mary Dewar (Charlottesville, 1969), pp.21-22, complains that economic circumstances oblige him

to wait on the Court..., with a man and a lackey after him where he was wont to keep half a score clean men in his house, and twenty or twenty-four other persons besides, every day in the week.

The point is repeated later (p.81):

Some other seeing the charges of household increase so much as by no provision they can make it can be helped, give over their households and get them chambers in London or about the Court and there spend their time; some of them with a servant or two, where he was wont to keep thirty or forty persons daily in his house.

132.12-13 in Court such cheats do chance / as causeth gaine to grow] Cornelius Agrippa gives an account of such tricks in chapter 70, 'Of the common or meane Courtiers', who 'ledde with couetousnes doo turne all thinges to the praye, and sounde of gayne' (Of the Vanitie and Vncertaintie of Artes and Sciences, edited by C.M. Dunn, p.243).

132.15 sith] since

132.20 Your tenaunts are good hansome hines] hines: hinds; farm-labourers; 'fellows' (OED sb.² 2, 4)

I.M. in The Gentlemanly Profession of Serving-Men draws a distinction between serving-men, who were paid wages, and retainers, who were not. I.M. resents the

(132.20) sons of the lower classes becoming serving-men, instead of sons of the gentry, 'aspyring from the Plough to the Parlor' as he puts it (E3).

132.21 badged blew cotes] I.e., liveries: a blue coat was formerly the dress of servants and the lower orders (OED 'blue coat'); OED's first example is ca.1600, but Linthicum gives earlier examples (Costume in the Drama of Shakespeare and his Contemporaries, pp.27-28). Mistress Barnes asks in The Two Angry Women of Abington, 'Wher's your blew coat, your sword and buckler, sir? / Get you such like habite for a servingman' (Representative English Comedies, edited by C.M. Gayley, ed. cit., p.563; Scene 3, l.220). Chettle in Kind-Hartes Dreame (1592), edited by G.B. Harrison, ed. cit., p.56, mentions 'a Gentlemans abilitie, with his two men in blue coates, that serued for shares not wages'. Tilley lists the proverbs 'Honor without maintenance is like a blue coat without a badge' (H574), and 'A blue coat without a badge' (C471).

I.M. in The Gentlemanly Profession of Serving-Men states that formerly the blue coat was worn with pride by members of the gentry, whereas now it is being usurped by the lower classes, in effect Fulwell's 'Simkin, Hob and Iohn':

Gentlemen younger brothers, that weares their elder brothers Blew coate and Badge, attending him with as reuerend regard and

- (132.21) duetifull obedience, as if he were their Prince or Soueraigne. Where was then, in the prime of this profession, goodman Tomsons Iacke, or Robin Roushe my gaffer russetcoats seconde sonne? the one holding the Plough, the other whipping the Carthorse.
(B3)
- 132.22 muster] make a good appearance (OED v.¹ 1.c)
- 132.22 lustely] willingly, with pleasure, gladly (OED adv.1)
- 132.23 Simkin] diminutive form of the personal name Simon; a fool, simpleton (OED sb.1)
- 132.23 Hob] a generic name for a rustic or clown; a familiar or rustic variation on the Christian name Robert or Robin (OED sb.¹ 1)
- 133.1 swad] a country bumpkin; a clodhopper: a common term of abuse (OED sb.² 1); Fulwell refers to 'Sim Swad the clowne' below 134.4
- 133.1-2 wil willingly / on cote bestow the cost] Harrison writes of servingmen 'whose wages cannot suffice so much as to find them breeches' (Description of England, p.193); using tenants as attendants would eliminate the payment of even a small wage.
- 133.4 in post] in the manner or capacity of a courier or bearer of despatch; hence, at express speed, in haste (OED sb.² III.8.d)
- 133.5-6 And were not these things better saued, / then prodigally spent] The flatterer-parasite in I.M.'s The Gentlemanly Profession of Serving-Men, ed. cit., G1^v, makes the

(133.5-6)

same point:

Then he beginneth, like a Politician, to enter into consideration of his Maisters humor:...yf couetous and worldly, then he turneth his copie, and prattles of sparing, he telles him he keepes too many idle fellowes, his Butterie is too open, and his fare too costly, lesse would serue and as well satisfie.

133.7

clownish] peasant-like, rustic

133.11

Haukes and Spaniels] 'Persons of high rank rarely appeared without their dogs and their hawks' (Strutt, Sports and Pastimes of the People of England (ed. cit., p.21; the spaniel was used in hawking for partridges or water birds 'to rouse (the game) after the hawk had driven it into the water or into some covert' (Gerald Lascelles, 'Falconry', Shakespeare's England, II, 351-366 (p.360)).

133.17

Masparson] Master parson: 'Mas' is 'a vulgar or jocular shortening of "master"' (OED).

133.19

Pinch on the parsons side] Tilley P67; the Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs, p.626, quotes Fulwell as above. The proverb means to reduce one's almsgiving or tithes to the parson, 'or Sharp him of his Tythes' (B.E., A New Dictionary of the Terms Ancient and Modern of the Canting Crew (ca.1700), quoted by Tilley). This would be one way to reduce one's expenditures, although not one that would appeal to Fulwell, a parson himself.

134.2 go to some proper towne] Several writers mention this as an expedient for the gentleman to evade his responsibilities of keeping up a large household - the expense of 'house-keeping'. A.V. Judges in his introduction to I.M.'s Gentlemanly Profession of Serving-Men comments:

The gentleman of estates, no longer able with the rise in prices to feed and keep in livery the staffs of his great country houses, retreats to town to save the expense. (ed. cit., p.ix; Judges's italics)

134.4 clowne] rustic

134.7 fraight (Q2: fraught)] supplied, furnished (OED 'fraught' pple.2)

134.11 coppis (Q2: coppies)] In English law, copy is the transcript of the manorial court-roll, containing entries of the admissions of tenants, to land held by them in tenure, hence called copyhold (OED 'copy' sb.5). OED quotes the lawyer Coke (1628):

These tenants are called tenants by Copie of Court Rolle, because they haue no other euidence concerning their tenements, but onely the Copies of Court Rolles.

134.12 the lease is loose] Fulwell speaks from bitter experience here of his own family's difficulty with leases, as discussed in the Biography. Stubbes, in the Anatomy of Abuses, Part II, ed. cit., p.32 (E7), warns tenants that:

if their leases be not warely and

(134.12)

circumspectly made (all quirks and quiddities of the lawe obserued), they will finde such meanes (or else it shal go verie hard) that the poore man shall forfait his lease, before his lease be expired: which thing if it happen, out goes the poore man, come on it what will.

134.16

markets now be deare] Agricultural prices had risen sharply in the sixteenth century, so tenants were making a good profit. It was felt by the landowners that 'the long lease or inflexible copyhold...prevented the landlord from getting his fair share of rising values' (Alan Simpson, The Wealth of the Gentry, 1540-1660 (Cambridge, 1961), p.179). Simpson discusses the view of the impoverished 'mere landlord' in his chapter of that title. The Knight in the Second Dialogue of W.S.'s A Discourse of the Commonweal of this Realm of England complains to the Husbandman of the rise in prices of agricultural produce, by reason of which 'we (the gentry) are forced to raise our rents' (edition of Mary Dewar (Charlottesville, 1969), p.39; A Discourse has been attributed to Sir Thomas Smith).

135.7-8

Who knowes of land to make the most, / is wisest now a dayes] The pressures of inflation led the landed gentry to study farming:

And therefore, gentlemen do study so much the increase of their lands and the enhancing of their rents and to take farms and pastures into their own hands, as you see they do, and all to seek to maintain their countenance as their

(134.7-8)

predecessors did; and yet they come short of that which makes best shift therein. (W.S., A Discourse of the Commonweal of England, p.81)

135.13

hine] defined in note to 132.20 above

135.17

grasier] Graziers, who fattened cattle for market, were notorious for their profiteering. Stubbes called them 'a sort of insaciable cormorants, greedie grasiers' (Anatomy of Abuses, Part II, edited by F.J. Furnivall, ed. cit., p.26 (E2)).

W.S., in A Discourse of the Commonweal of this Realm of England, points out that grazing, that is, using land for pasture, was more profitable than growing crops. The 'lord' that Tom Tapster is addressing has turned over his lands to sheep and cattle, which were also less labour-intensive:

For gentlemen having much lands in their hands, not being able to weld all and see it mannered in husbandry which requires the industry, labor, and governance of a great many of persons, do convert most part of that land to pastures wherein is required both less charges of persons and of the which nevertheless comes more clear gains.

(A Discourse of the Commonweal of this Realm of England, p.98)

The Merchantman and the Capper in the Discourse wistfully exclaim that 'it was never merry with poor craftsmen since gentlemen became graziers' (ibid., p.20); the Doctor says that the covetousness of men is excited by the profits of grazing;

There is more lucre by grazing of ten acres to the occupier alone than is in the tillage of twenty. (p.118)

136.5-8

Your shepeheard is a subtil knaue, / and breeds
himselpe a stock: / By keping many sheepe of his /
among your lordships flock] This was a perfectly
legitimate practice according to Alan Simpson,
The Wealth of the Gentry, p.181: the shepherd had
'a few score (sheep) which he was allowed to feed
for nothing as part of his perquisites' - 'his
"covenanted sheep"' and was allowed to keep eighty
in the lord's flock (p.186), as well as receiving
his wages, a tenement, and his livery.

136.sn.6

Cotsol] Cotswold: the Cotswolds were particularly
famed for their sheep, humorously called 'Cotswold
lions' (Tilley L323). According to Sugden (p.132),
'The soil is poor, but produces good feed for sheep,
which are largely bred there. But Cotswold sheep are
big in the carcass and coarse in the wool.' Fulwell
himself had a parish in the Cotswolds (Naunton), and
is speaking from first hand knowledge of his practices
of Cotswold shepherds; a portion of his income came
from tithes on wool (Biography, p.80).

136.11

glebe lands] Lands assigned to a clergyman as part of
his benefice (OED sb.2.b). The alienation of the glebe
and tithes was illegal; Christopher Hill comments:

The Lambeth Articles of 1561 threatened
with deprivation any parson who made a
secret compact for alienation of the
glebe, to forgive the patron's tithes,
or other simoniacal agreement.
(Economic Problems of the Church, p.66)

(136.11)

Even so,

The glebe was often swallowed up, either at enclosure or as part of a simoniacal bargain with a patron.
(ibid., p.200)

This passage more or less duplicates the accusations in the Fifth Dialogue about simony.

136.13-14

bestow on prating priestes, / for telling of a tale]

The Doctor in A Discourse of the Commonweal of this Realm of England, p.129, although a clergyman himself, feels that tithes are alienated from the clergy because of their laziness and failure to fulfil their spiritual duties:

How can men be content to pay the tenth of their goods which they get with their sore labor and sweat of their brows when they cannot have for it again neither ghostly comfort nor bodily? What layman will be anything scrupulous to keep those tithes in his own hands when he sees us do nothing more than he for it?

136.17

Sir Simon] the simonist of the Fifth Dialogue

136.22

fine] Entrance fee; Christopher Hill in Economic Problems of the Church, p.68, lists among simoniacal abuses the practices of 'giving a lease, fine, or rent to the patron, or releasing him from tithes'. The payment of a fine by a tenant on entering a piece of land is discussed in the note to 66.18 above.

137.1

sot] fool

137.3

at all assaies] At every juncture (OED sb.V.21), used above, 72.8; Udall uses the phrase in his translation

- (137.3) of Erasmus's Apophtegmes (1542, STC 10443), H7, in describing Aristippus:
- A witte like prompte and readye at all
assayes, aswell to dooe, asalso to excuse
any thyng whatsoeuer it wer.
- 137.4 feede among the swine] used above and discussed in note to 27.5
- 137.5-6 Who will be glad with portion small / although the fruits be much] 'A bare clerke canne bee content with a lyving smale' (Respublica; the passage is quoted in the note to 71.5-6 above).
- 137.7 Poore men with potadge are wel pleasd] Tilley F423; used above 109.21
- 137.8 grutch] grudge, complain
- 137.12 plat] plot
- 137.14 in vre] into practice (OED sb.¹1.a); used above 75.16
- 137.16 stoup vnto your lure] Be at your command, under your control; a lure is 'an apparatus used by falconers, to recall their hawks, constructed of a bunch of feathers, to which is attached a long cord or thong, and from the interstices of which, during its training, the hawk is fed' (OED sb.² 1). Gerald Lascelles, in his article on falconry in Shakespeare's England, II, p.358, defines the lure as 'either a dead bird, or a weight covered over with wings of game birds or fowls to resemble a bird'; he quotes The Taming of the Shrew,

- (137.16) IV.1.193:
 My falcon now is sharp and passing empty;
 And till she stoop she must not be full-gorged,
 For then she never looks upon her lure.
- 137.19 bath in blisse] used above and discussed in note to 60.3
- 138.sn.1 Muli mutuum scabunt] Q1's 'scabiunt' is an error and has been amended; the same mistake was made on 92.6 above. Q2's 'scaciunt' must be a misprint. The proverb is discussed in the note to 92.6.
- 138.sn.8 varlets] rascals; used above 119.23
- 138.19 hemp] the hangman's rope
- 138.20 vniuersity of Tiburn] Tiburn was the famous place of execution in London; in Jonson's The New Inn, I.3.85, the Host predicts that if Frank becomes a page, 'He may, perhaps, take a degree at Tiburne' (Herford and Simpson, VI, 412).
- 139.5 grafs] twigs, shoots (OED sb.¹ 2)
- 139.8-11 Diogenes noting two of the most noysome beastes of the worlde, tearmeth a sclanderer the worste of wilde beastes, and of tame beastes a flatterer] Diogenes Laertius, life of Diogenes, quoted in the note to 5.4-5 above; this became a commonplace in any discussion of flattery. For example, Thomas Adams's character of a flatterer in Diseases of the Soule: a discourse (1616; STC 109), p.69; Disease 18: 'Stinking breath

(139.8-11) and Flattery':

One being asked, which was the worst of beasts, answered; of wild beasts the Tyrant, of tame beasts the Flatterer.

The Flatterer, according to Adams, 'tickles a man to death'. Jonson in Sejanus also has this variant: 'Of all wilde beasts, preserue me from a tyranne; / And of all tame, a flatterer' (Act I, line 437; Herford and Simpson, IV, 369). The saying is quoted in Erasmus's Flores Aliquot Sentiarum, translated by Richard Taverner (1540; STC 10443), A8^v:

Perniciosissime mordent, ex feris bestijs obtrectator, ex cicuribus adulator. There be two whiche byte most deadly, of wylde beastes, the backbyter, and the tame the flatterer.

139.11-12 Plato accoumpteth him a friend in presence, and a foe in absence] I have not been able to trace this.

139.18 bewray] Expose someone by divulging his secrets (OED v.2); Heywood uses the word in his Dialogue of Proverbs, edited by R.E. Habenicht, ed. cit., l.1685:

To talke with me, in secret counsell (she sayed)
Of thyngs, whiche in no wyse myght be bewrayed.

140.2 canonicall bookes of the Bible] The books of the Bible accepted by the Christian Church as genuine and inspired (OED 'canon' sb.¹ 4); a list 'Of the names and number of the Canonicall Bookes' is given in the Articles of the Church of England of 1562 (STC 10045, 1593, A3).

140.5 displaying] defined in note to 129.10-12 above

140.sn.10 Genesis .3.] The temptation of Eve by the serpent in the Garden of Eden: he promises he 'ye shall be as gods' (III.5).

140.15 consummation] End (OED sb.2.c); OED quotes Bacon, News out of Heaven (1541): 'He will be with you even to the very consummation and end of the world.'

140.17 pretermit] omit, not mention (OED v.1)

141.5 smelfeastes] Erasmus explains in his Apophtegmes, translated by N. Udall, edited by E. Johnson, p.224:

Parasites, were called soche smellefeastes as would seeke to be free geastes at richemens tables. Who to the ende that they might at all times be welcome, should speake altogether for to please and to delite the ryche folkes, flattering them, and holding vp their yea, and naye, whatseuer they saied, were it neuer so contrarie to reason, truthe, or likelyhood.

Erasmus relates that Diogenes exclaimed when he saw the mice eating up his leftover crumbs: 'thou kepeste a table for smelfeastes too, that are gladde, to seeke their dyner with the' (ibid., p.109). Vives admonishes in An Introduction to Wisedome (1563; STC 24850.7),

E4:

Suffer not suche as bee scoffers, smell feastes, foolishe and filthy talkers, triflers, bibbers, filthy and shamelesse lurkers, bealy guttes, and suche other, apte either by their woordes or deedes, to cause leude laughter, to sit at thy table.

141.sn.6 Iohn .6.] John VI relates the miracle of the loaves and fishes; Fulwell is partly quoting from and partly paraphrasing John VI.14-15.

- 141.10 varlets] rogues
- 141.14 glosinge] flattering, wheedling (OED v.¹ 4)
- 141.15-16 Maister...truely] quoting Matthew XXII.16
- 141.19 pharaseicall] Resembling the Pharisees in laying great stress upon the external observances of religion and outward show of morality; hypocritical (OED 'Pharasaic' a.2).
- 141.19 condicions] behaviour (OED sb.II.11.b)
- 142.1 fonde] mad, idiotic (OED A.a.3)
- 142.1 affections] Mental tendencies (OED sb.II.4); Udall defines the word in his translation of Erasmus's Apophtegmes (1542, STC 10443), f5^v:
- affeccions, that is to saye: with the corrupt mocions and sodain pangues or passions of the mynde.
- 142.2 sugred venim] Whiting S871, 'Sugar and venom'; Fulwell uses the phrase 'sugred bane' above, 102.9.
- 142.3 disworship] the reverse of worship; dishonour (OED v.)
- 142.4 dishonest] bring disgrace upon; stain with ignominy (OED v.1)
- 142.4 in vre] into practice (OED sb.¹ 1.a)
- 142.7 cogging] cheating (OED ppl.a)
- 142.sn.11 Mancinus] Domenico Mancini, born in Italy ca. 1434, and died before 1514; he is mainly remembered now for his book on Richard III, De Occupatione Regni Anglie

(142.sn.11) per Riccardum Tercium Libellus, translated by C.A.J. Armstrong (second edition, Oxford, 1969). He also wrote a devotional work De Passione Domini, printed probably in Paris in the 1480s, and De Quatuor Virtutibus (Paris, 1434). The known facts about his life are stated in Armstrong's introduction, pp.1-26.

142.11-14 Fallere...cibo] From Mancinus, De Quatuor Virtutibus, 'De Prudentia'; the Latin text reads 'magis' for 'potius' in line 12. Fulwell's 'sepe' and 'scibo' (Q2: 'scipo') in line 14 appear to be misprints and have been emended.

De Quatuor Virtutibus was a popular book in the sixteenth century, and was used as a school textbook (Foster Watson, The English Grammar Schools to 1660: their Curriculum and Practice, pp. 120-121, 403-406). It was translated into English three times in the sixteenth century: an anonymous translation designed as a school textbook and printed in about 1520 (STC 17241); Alexander Barclay's translation, The Mirrour of good Manners. Conteining the foure Cardinal Vertues, first published by Pynson in about 1523 (STC 17242), and then added to his version of Brant's Ship of Fools in 1570 (STC 3546); thirdly George Turberville's translation, A plaine path to perfect virtue (1568; STC 17244).

The literal translation of the passage is:

Nobody wishes to deceive you, who threatens

(142.11-14)

you with harsh (words), but rather that
vehemence warns you to beware; we are
deceived by smooth words, and a serene
expression; we often take poisons with
delicious food.

Barclay translates it:

He will not disceaue thee which is of that nature
With harde craking wordes to threaten openly,
But rather he warneth thee to beware therby:
Fayre wordes vs disceaue with smiling countenaunce,
Suche seke after season and time of vengeaunce.

A counterfayted frende with paynted speche ornate,
By false fayned fauour disceyueth worst of all,
As man taketh poyson with meates delicate,
And with drinke delicious some venim and mortall.
(STC 3546, C1v)

Turberville's translation is more literal:

None mindes to trap thee in the snare
that vseth threatning stile,
But by his churlish checks doth make
thee heedfull more the while.
The cheerefull looke and freindly face,
the eye with wanton winke
Beguiles vs most: with syrops sweete
we poison oft do drinke.
(STC 17244, B8)

A SHORT DIALOGUE, BETWEENE THE AUTHOUR AND HIS BOOKE

- 143.0.1-2 A short Dialogue, betweene the Authour and his booke]
A similar short verse dialogue between the Author and his Book is in the preliminary matter of Stubbes's Anatomy of Abuses, Part I, edited by F.J. Furnivall, ed. cit., pp.xix-xx. In this, the book has not yet been distributed, and the Author is reluctant to publish it, 'lest thou impaire my name', but the Book urges his 'Maister' to let him go, for 'all Godly Men / will loue and like mee well' (p.xix).
- 143.0.2 sundry opinions] Henry Parrot in The Mastive, or Young Whelpe of the Olde-Dogge (1615) also gives an account of the reception of his book by various types of people who see it on the stationer's stall: he reports the comments of a statesman, a dicer, a 'mending Poet', a lawyer, a farmer, and a puritan (quoted in R.M. Alden, The Rise of Formal Satire in England, pp.190-191).
- 143.0.3 first Impression] the 1576 edition; this dialogue was added in the second edition, 1579
- 143.0.5 Paules Church yeard] In the Elizabethan period, St. Paul's Churchyard was the head-quarters of the book trade, and vaults in old St. Paul's were used as storeplaces for the booksellers' stocks...The prominent position of the Churchyard as the headquarters of the bookselling business is seen from the fact that more than half of the plays of Shakespeare were issued from this place. (Henry B. Wheatley, 'London and the Life of the Town', Shakespeare's England, II, 153-181 (pp.176-177))

(143.0.5)

Dekker advises the fashionable 'gull', after he has displayed himself in the aisle of St Paul's, Paul's Walk, to visit the shops nearby, particularly

the booksellers where, if you cannot read, exercise your smoke and enquire who has writ against 'this divine weed', etc.

(The Gull's Hornbook, in Thomas Dekker: Selected Prose Writings, edited by E.D. Pendry (London, 1967), p.89)

Apart from new books, Paul's was the centre of gossip and news; Edward Hake opens his satire Newes out of Powles Churchyarde (1579, STC 12606), B1, with a description of the author walking around Paul's and listening to the conversation around him:

As late I walked vp and doune,
in Powles for my repast,
And there (as many woont to doo)
about the Church and traste
Long tyme alone to view the rowte,
and great confused noyse,
With pleasaunt chat (a world to see)....

- 143.1 let] stoppage, obstruction (OED sb.¹), as in Tilley D194: 'After a delay comes a let.'
- 143.5 full well] another pun on the author's name
- 143.8 vneth] Scarcely (OED 'uneath', adv.1); 'This also goeth in a tale, albeit uneth beleuable' (Erasmus, Apophthegmes, translated by N. Udall, edited by E. Johnson, p.110).
- 143.9 If talke may make mennes eares to glow] Tilley E14, 'When your ear burns people are talking about you'; Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs, p.212, 'If your ears glow, someone is talking of you'.

- 143.12 framed] composed (OED v.8)
- 144.10 eke] also
- 144.15 cast] skill (OED sb.VII.24.b)
- 144.21 lay on lode] Deal heavy blows (OED 'load' sb.7);
the phrase is used in Jewel's Apology of the Church of England, translated by Lady Anne Bacon, ed. cit., p.137:
- The Pope himself maketh great complaint
at this present that charity in people
is waxen cold. And why so, trow ye?
Forsooth, because his profits decay
more and more. And for this cause
doth he hale us into hatred all that
ever he may, laying load upon us with
despiteful railings and condemning us
for heretics.
- 144.22 rubde on the gall] Tilley G12; discussed in note
to 10.10 above
- 145.2 coy] disdainful? (OED a.3); OED's first example of
the word in this sense is 1581
- 145.3 sily booke] Silly in the sense of plain, homely
(OED A.adj.3.c); the phrase is also used by Stubbes
in his verses to 'The Author and his Booke', op. cit.,
p.xix: 'Now hauing made thee, seelie booke.'
- 145.5-6 What writer euer found the cast, / To please all men?]
cast: art, skill; as above, 144.15
Tilley P88: 'It is hard to please all men.'
- 145.8 So many heads, so many wittes] Tilley H279; Smith,
Spenser's Proverb Lore, no.371; Erasmus, Prouerbes or Adagies, translated by R. Taverner, ed. cit., B5:

- (145.8) 'Quot homines, tot sententie. So many men, so many wittes.'
- 145.9 Sith] since
- 145.10 shoote their sentence] Utter their judgement' (OED 'shoot' v.II.16.b); as in Marston's Antonio and Mellida, edited by G.K. Hunter (London, 1965), II.1.206: 'I would shoot some speech forth to strike the time / With pleasing touch of amorous compliment.'
- 145.11-12 I despise, / The scoffes that taunting tongues do frame] Stubbes expresses a similar defiance in 'The Author and his Booke' in The Anatomy of Abuses, Part I, ed. cit., p.xx:
- Though Momus rage and Zoilus carpe,
I feare them not at all;
The Lord my GOD, in whom I trust,
shall soone cause them to fall.
- 145.14 patronesse] Lady Mildred Burghley, to whom the book is dedicated
- 145.16 learned trayne] Robert Record appeals to 'the beste sorte' in 'The bookes Verdict' prefixed to The Grounde of Artes (1575, STC 20801), A1^v:
- To please or displease sure I am,
But not of one sorte to euery man:
To please the beste sorte would I fayne,
The frowarde displease shall I certayne.
- 145.17 As for fooles boltes, that would thee hitte] Tilley F516; Fulwell also uses this proverb above, 124.5-6.
- 146.4 Yll tongues good matters, ofte hath marde] 'The tongue has ruined many men', Smith, Spenser's Proverb Lore,

- (146.4) no.780; 'His vile tongue...many had defamed, /
And many causelesse caused to be blamed' (Faerie
Queene, VI.xxi.38).
- 146.5 A fault is sooner found, then mended] Tilley F103;
Tilley cites Fulwell as above.
- 146.6 finde faulte] I.e. find-fault: a fault-finder, a
ensorious person; OED's earliest example is 1577,
John Northbrooke's A treatise wherein dicing, dauncing,
etc. are reproved: 'Frantike findefaults, dispraying
and condemning euery good endeauour.' There is also
a Somerset and Lancashire proverb: 'One mend-fault is
better than nine find-faults' (OED, English Dialect
Dictionary); this is not in Tilley, but the Oxford
Dictionary of English Proverbs, p.526, has the variant
'One mend-fault is worth twenty spy-faults'.
- 146.11 Waredrope] obsolete form of 'wardrobe'
- 146.11 filed phrase] Polished phrase; Fulwell uses this
also in The Flower of Fame, p.341:
 Prepare your pennes, ye Poets fyne,
 Your wittes and curious heddes now showe;
 In fyled phraes of flowing ryme,
 Your stately styles do ye bestow....
- Shakespeare in Sonnet 85 writes of 'precious phrase
by all the Muses filed'.

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The Bibliography contains the books and manuscripts referred to in the Biography, Literary Introduction and Textual Introduction, but is selective for the Commentary: only works frequently cited are included. The fuller reference form required by the MLA Handbook (Modern Language Association, 1977) is used, although I have followed the MHRA Style Book, edited by A.S. Maney and R.L. Smallwood (Modern Humanities Research Association, 1971) in the rest of the thesis. In quotations from contemporary sources in the Commentary, contractions have been silently expanded and minor misprints (such as turned letters) silently corrected.

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- EETS Early English Text Society
- Encyclopaedia Britannica: 11th edn. 28 vols. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1921-1922.
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