VOLUME II

TEXT AND COMMENTARY
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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THE FIRST

part of the eight li-
berall science:

Entituled, Ars adulandi, the
art of Flattery, with the con-
stitution thereof, both very
pleasant and profitable, disci-

ed and compiled by
Vipian Fulweill.

His diebus non peraetis,
Nulla sibi est in peac.
Vide te.

Mel in ore, verba laetis
Fel in corde, fraud in falsis
Cauta e.

Who reads a booke rashly,
at randone both runne,
He goest on his arant,
yet leaues it undone.

Imprinted at London,
by William Hoskins, and are
to be solde at his shopioying
to the mide Temple gate,
within Temple Barre.

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by William Hoskins, and are
to be solde at his shopioying
to the mide Temple gate,
within Temple Barre.

1576.
THE FIRST PART OF
The Euyight liberall Science:
Entituled, Ars adulandi,
The Arte of Flatterie,
with the confutation thereof, both very pleasaunt and profitabl, devised and compiled, by viplan sat well.
Newly corrected and augmented.

Hic diebus non peractis,
nulla seder est in pactis,
videto,
Mel in ore, verba laetis,
Et in corde, fraus in factis,
Causa.

Who reads a booke rashly,
at random both runne:
Hee goes on his errand,
Yet leaves it undone.

Imprinted at London, by
Richarde Jones, and are
to bee solde at his shoppe over
agaynst Saint Sepulchre Churche. 1579.
THE FIRST PARTE,

Of the Eyghth liberall
Science: Entituled,
Ars adulandi, the Arte of Flatterie, with
the confutation thereof, both very plea-
sant and profitable, devised and com-
piled, by Vpian Rutwell.

Newly corrected and augmented.

His diebus non peraeit,
Nulla sdes est impatitus.
Videte,
Meli in ore, verba laetis,
Fel in corde frus in factis.
Canete.

Who reads a booke rashly,
at random both runne:
Hee goes on his arrant,
yet leaves it undone.

Imprinted at London, by
Ricarde Jones, and are—
to becfolde at his shoppe over
against Sainte Sepul-
chers Church.

Plate 3: Title-page, Q2(e); British Library
A dialogue betwene the Author and his Muse,
as touching the dedication
of this booke.

Author. My friendly Muse leaue Parnas hill a while,
i craue thy ayde and counsaile now at neede:
I ende me thy laurell crowne to guyde my stile,
DRED driues my mind to doubt of lucky speede.

May I be bolde this rude booke to addresse,
To her who is a mirror of worthynesse.

Musa. B lush not at all (thou dastard) in this cace,
Y nto the best, best welcume is good will,
R efraine thy doubts, and hope for fauours grace,

Give 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:

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 descrie.

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.

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.

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) vskilfull 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.

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.

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
To the right noble and vertuous Lady, the Lady
Mildred Burgleigh, wife unto the right
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
saide) are the most pernicious of all tame beastes,
I was iustly moued, or rather urg'd 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.

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,
whose luring songs yeilded 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
avoyding of their sweete venemous enchantments. And

as it is well knowne that your Ladyship haue stopt your
eares against their magickall 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 invectiue against that illiberal
science, which though I haue (by a contrarie) termed it

15 the Eighth liberall Science, not that it contayneth in
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 
both see 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 almighty 
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 Pulwell.
To the friendly Reader, Vlpian Fulwell.

I doubt not at all (gentle reader) but that I, for my industry in detecting this eyght liberall science, shalbe reputed with many sapientum octauus, the eyght wise man: that is, as wise as Will Sommer, but I shall 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 naturde men are abused: andfooles, 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 Wasps will for this my labour do their Endeavour to 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 receit 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 detestable practice of flatterie, withdraw men from the studie of vertue. /
And this their execrable science hath so perverted 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, the verye sucking babes hath a kinde of adulation towards their Nurses for the dugg, which (in my judgement) 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 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 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 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 promises, 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 particulierlie descend from men of countenance, by degrees, euin vn- to the very begger, 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 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 vnio thy censure, wishing thee thy hearts desire in God. Vale.

Vlpian Fulwell.
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 scapte,
by letters wrongly plaste:
As some perhappes, wil seeme to taunte,
to haue the booke defaste.

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,

To mende them with thy pen:
By proverb olde a Palfrey good
May stumble now and then.

Omitted Qlb, Q2
A description of the seven liberal Sciences,
into whose company the eight hath intruded her selfe.

Grammer.
If learning may delight thy youthfull brest,
If tender yeares to skilfull lore be bent,
Approch to me, voutchsafe to be my guest:
My entertainement 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 approch 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,
Couched in few words fit for the learned sort.
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 pensiue poole,
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 thrive.
My armes and brest, my legs eke naked be,
To shew that trueth and plainenesse rests in me.

bred] Q1b; breed Q1a, bread Q2
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,
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 forfooles,
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.

Beholde the brags that Sisters seauen haue made,
    Surfiew their vaunts that seeme to shine so bright,
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.

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3    tempests] Q1a, Q1b; tempest Q2
12   then] Q1b; thou Q1a, Q2
12.0.1 Adulation ] Q1a, Q1b; Adulatior 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, eeh hart and eare is bent.
The well of wealth my Science doth contriue,
    Then learnt my lore all ye that meane to thrive.
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. /
The first Dialogue betweene the 
Author and the printer.

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.

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 
er her good gifts on you bestowed.

Author. In deede (my olde felowe and frinde 
W. Hoskins) I deeme you are guyded by this old prouerbial 
reason, Fortuna fauet fatuis, that is to say, Fortune 
faoureth fooles, ergo, Fortune faoureth Fulwell, but all 
olde prouerbes are not alwayes true, for then shoulde I 
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 curtesey at
your handes, so may I happelye learn the cause why she is my professed enemy also.

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

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

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.

By your very louing cosin,
Lady Hope.

Printer. Truely this was a verye louing letter,
and (in my judgement) you were happy to haue so
frindly a mastresse. I maruaile that vpon the
deliuery of this letter vnto Ladye 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
service.

Printer. What clause was it I pray you?

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

Printer. Why? then I perceiue that flattery
and dissimulation is the way to wyn Fortunes
fauour, and certes now I see playnly the cause
that I haue ben always alienated from her fauour,
and a continuall subject to her frowns. But I
pray you, had you a flat denial at the first, or else by some pretty sleight of circumstance? /

Author. I will disclose vnto thee the order of my comming to her court, and of my entertainement there. At my first entry into her court, I set aside 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 into the chamber of presence, my threedebare cloke was markt of many, and the rest of my attire agreeable 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 and malapert. And among the rest, one lusty courtyer (whose name as I understooode 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, doth encrease the beauty of yours. This gentleman was so pride of his Pecocks plewmes, that to ostent his brauery by my contrary, was
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 understoode that I had letters to dame Fortune from her cosin Lady Hope, hee welcomed mee very freundly, 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 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 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 before they fell to the ground, I stretched forth
my arme and opened my hande, but I coulde 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 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 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 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 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
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.

**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 worldly aduersaries haue practised against me.

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

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 worldly] Q1a, Q1b; worldly Q2

Truth a
poore
Ladye.

Truethes
communication.
in revenge of my quarrell, sent a universal
deluge over the face of the whole earth, to the
utter extinguishing of all worldly creatures
(except Noah and his familie, and those that by
God's appointment were with him preserved in the
Arke, by whome the worlde was again renued.)
Then as after storms and tempest faire weather doeth ensue, so were my troubles turned all to joye,
and my former aduersitie changed to present prosperity, until a most wicked wight and
abominable strumpet, called Lady Pleasure, began with many subtil sleightes and secret practises
to allure unto her filthie delites the affections of mortall men, who so greatly prevailed in her
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,
by which comfortable companions, I was preserued from the deepe dungeon of dispaire, into which

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1  a universal] Q1a; an ~ Q1b, Q2
3  extinguishing] Q1a, Q1b; exterminacion Q2
3  worldly] Q1b, Q2; worldly Q1a
11-12 Sidenote: Q1a, Q1b; omitted Q2
17  sauing a very fewe] Q1a, Q2; sauing a few Q1b
filthy cause, my Enemy Dame Pleasure would have cast me. Thus in this second age, in which time I was conversant among the holy prophets and men of God, I endured many sharp assaults, 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 only and belov’d son, in the shape of man, to aid me with his divine power against my enemies, who (for my sake) was 10 vehemently persecuted, and suffered many notable injuries, of whose birth, life, death, and ascending to his hevenly 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 joyned my selfe with his Apostles, and so consequently unto their successors, till at the last it was the good will and pleasure of God, to raise vp godly christian princes, to the maintainance of mee, against / 20 my great enemies. Then was I planted most florishingly as a goddesse on earth, and was enthronised in churches by publike consent, and
my hateful aduersarie Lady Pleasure for shame hid her face, yet ceased shee not by secret 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 annoye 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 florishing estate. For Dame Pleasure (lurking 15 in a corner like a cocatrice) perceiuing my retinue to wallowe in wealth, sent secretly amongst them (in disguised attyre) these three pernitious haggs 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,
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 diuine power so provided 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 determined to addres my iourney thither, 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 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 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

9-10 journey thither, as] Q1b; journey, as Q1a, Q2
14 this my wandring] Q1a, Q1b; this wandring Q2
22 coale prophet] Q1a, Q1b; coole Prophet Q2
vttered vnto him these wordes,

Frend Homer though you seeme to come,

    with gard of Muses nine,

Bring you nought els? nay then a dewe,

    go feede among the swine.

And full truely proued this prophesie, for while he was liuving, he was litle regarded in this court, but being ded, the great conqueror Alexander spake of him much worship. And so it fareth heare, 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 wisedom, nor scant so muche as shoulde serue thy turne, yet the experience that I haue in this court, and by the coniecture of thy nature, I dare assure thee, thou shalte haue a cold suit, if thou haue ought to doing with Lady Fortune.

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

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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 beshrew you for your prophesy against me in this my suite vnto 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 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.

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
saucely 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.

Author. Deare Lady Fortune, as I am sory for
that I haue so sodeinly offended you, euern so I am
right ioyous for your sodian depruation from your
blindnesse, trusting that your Ladyship wil the
rather vouchesafe to peruse these letters that I
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, ]
Although [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 sawcinines. But before I peruse this letter, tell mee what is thy name, and by what freindship thou were admitted 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 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, my threedebare garments had ben conveted 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 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.

Author. In deede, Madame, as somewhat hath
some savour, so nothing doth no harme, but I was present at your doale, and yet may carry awaye my gaines in my eye and not blemish my sight. I confesse your hand blessed me very often, but I feel 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, 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.

Fortune. Then arte thou utterlye 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 contained maketh me deeme thee very vnfit for my court.

Author. May it please your Ladyship to shew me wherein my vnabilitie consisteth.
Fortune. As thou saiest, thy name is Unfortunate Fulwell, so I perceyue thy destenyes agree thereunto, for except thou bee skilful in the Eight liberall science, thou canst not enjoy eyther wealth or any special fauour.

Author. Truely Madam, I haue ben a blockedly schollar all daies of my life, and not utterlye ignorant in some of the vii. liberal sciences, although cunning in none of them all, but certes of 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 understand somewhat of this science at your handes.

Fortune. For thy mastresse sake I will doe so suche for thee, it is called Ars adulandi, and well deserveth to be rekoned among the liberal sciences and may be called Scientia liberalissima because it hath more liberalitie contributed vnto it than is to anye other Arte, and of it selfe liberallye bestowed her skill on as many as are

All sauinge flatterers are unfit to serue in Fortunes court.
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 this science is studied? /

Fortune. It is both studied and practised throughout the worlde, and thou mayst haue enstructers in euery citie, towne, vilage, and hamlet, yea and almooste in euerye private house, 10 wherefore learne with speede, or els liue like a verie foole, and so farewell, for I can no longer attend thee.

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 tomble at thy heele.

My dreary date shall drue 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.

19    mouth] Q2; mouh [sic] Q1
A dew therefore thou doting dame,
   I do disdaine thy skill:
And wile I liue against thy lore,
   I will direct my quill.

5 Thy fruit with filthy tast is fraught,
   yet fair to view of eyes:
Where under private poison lurks,
   And secret venim lies.

The sap is sweete and pleasant bane,
10 yt feedes the foolish minde:
Such grafts so sett on rotten stockes,
    such fruites muste yeilde by kinde.

I rather chuse the homely dishe
   That holsom drinke doeth hold:
15 Then sugred wine with poison saust,
    In cup of glittring gold.

As thou hast alwayes scornd my state,
   So I do thee disdaine:
That pleasure is to dearely bought,
20 That purchasd is with paine.

10 yt] Q1; yet Q2
And glorious though thy gifts appear,
Yet tickle is the staye:
And hatefull hearts pursues with grudge,
Thy golden gifts alway.

5 And when thy wrinckled forhead 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:
Iyes 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 extremely plast
doeth ay full il agree.

So he that hath bene fynely fed
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 trebles 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.

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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.

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.

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
understand 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

Author.] Q2; omitted Q1
I know that you construe] Q1; I know you
consture [sic] Q2
pertend] Q1; protend Q2
berye with a full paunce: 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 so noble a doctor this morning at whose handes I haue alredy learned one lesson, and by whose company I hope to attayne more skyll: 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 businesse 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.

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 thrive for shame, howbeit (because thou seemest to be a good felow)

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
ignorant.

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

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

Author. It is lyke that you are verye well 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 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, glosyng, cogging, doublenes, dissimulation, iesting and rayling, with many other branches as in practise is verie easie to be learned. But every man that

6 my selfe of sufficiency] Q1; my selfe sufficiencie Q2
weeneth to win credit by this art, may not be rash in making his choice of these branches, least he be espied, and so discredit himself. 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 reveale vnto thee which of these branches I haue chosen, and how I vse it.

Author. My eares are prepared to heare your 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 aucthorised 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.

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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 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 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 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 in the forenoone, thou repaire to thy good benefactor Jane Gibbes and will her stedfastly beleeeue, that what soeuer thou shalt say vnto her,
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
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 servantes 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
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
should come in and take you so suspiciouelye
together?

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
are authorised to shriue secretly both men and
women.

Author. Latet anguis in Herba, I doubte least
under your cloke of simplicitye lurketh a huge
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 filthynesesse, deouere 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 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 lucri gratia. There are many disobedient and vaine talkers, and deceiuers of mindes, which subuerte whole houses, teachinge things 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 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 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 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 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)
bee of great estimacion in this countrey.

This newes so rauisht the harte of my Dame, that shee thought her selfe immediatelye halfe way to Heauen, supposinge that I had ben the Angell Gabriell.

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 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, 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 expected, so that I forged this matter but to serue for my lyfe time.

Author. But was she not inquisitiue to know by
what means this thing should come to passe?

_Frier._ Yes, and I had a proper invention in a readiness. I tolde her, that when this childe cummeth to the age of xxii. yeeres, there should be greate warres betwene the Emperour, and the Turke, and it should fall to his lot to atchiue many notable stratagems, against the machometicall Emperour, by means whereof his glorie should be aduanced throwout all christian Regions, and especially within this nation. But to see 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 invited 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 as a horse, and no more) I looked on her hand and 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

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 hardly 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 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 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 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 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, therfore to please her minde by telling of good newes, I sayde that as she had suffered care and sorowe by the frowardnesse of an vnlovinge 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 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 Doctor of Phisick, or Counsaylour of the Lawes, and especially of women.

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

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

16 especially] Q1; specially Q2
Their children saying, that as they are of amiable countinance, and of faire feature, so there are manyfest tokens in their faces of wisdome, towardlynes, grace and good fortune, and what /

Parente will not delight to heare this of their children, and for the parents themselfes, I haue a thousand plesing inuencions in this head of mine.

Author. But will not the foolish parents perceiue thy grosse flatterie if they se no such 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 fairest, and in this respect parentes for the more parte are blinde, and specially mothers. And it is as fit a point of flattery to close 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 pleasure to whom it is offered. As I read once in a profane story that at what time verteous Deborah the prophetesse judged Israel, in the city of Babell was dwellinge a ritch Lieutenant whose name was Ishewa who being presented by a souldier which

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15 as fit a point of flattery] 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 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.

Author. I am sure thou aboundest in such good 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 trauelle to /Babel for them. For ye are all of one predicament, both hee of whom thou spakest and 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 ashamed to heare any more. And that inuentinge head of thine, lacketh nothing but a halter, in
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 members of a common wealth, comparinge them in many poyntes vnto Christe?

Frier. No verely, it was not I, but certes I know him and commend him, for hee was a wise felow and made a learned and profitable sermon. He preached not for six shillinges and eight pence, the ordaryne 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 not to be ruled, yea and are worthy to be canonised among the Saintes, when the yeare of Jubile commeth.

Author. First I haue noted thy apostacy, in falling from thy profession to the filthye trade of Flattery for thy bellyes sake, wherby I condemne thee for a belly god: and before I proceeide any further, I wyl compare thee to that wicked Iulian / Apostata, whose end may be a mirrour to the terrible
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
with his forged inspiracions vnto this daye
beguileth the Turkes. So that thou hast denied
Christ our sauiour, who in the generall judgment
wil also deny thee, except (by his special grace)
 thou repent. Secondly, I condemne thy impudent
arrogancy in arrogatinge to thy selfe cunninge
skill in Palmestrie, thou hauing no more judgement
then an Asse, wherein thou art one of the deceiuers
of the worlde foreprophesied by Saint Paule, to
abuse the later age. And also, whereas thou art
vetterlye 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
thou art, haue bene the ruin and overthrow of many
goodly houses, to the great annoiance of pouertie,
and of such bussards as thou art are to many in

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 sauiour to wicked and 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 promotions sake, but reproved 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 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 advanced, to be taken for the Messias of the worlde, but hee put it from him, vnto him who of right ought to haue it. 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 setting foorth of gods glory. When the Pharasies and head rulers came to his baptisme, hee called

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Sidenote: A] Q1b, Q2; I Q1a
them not gracious Lordes, but generation of vipers, and bid them bring forth fruietes of repentance, 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 diviniteit. 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 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 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 coloure of true service to their Prince, nor wrongfully to accuse any man, which two faults they

7 pilling and pollinge] Q1; polling and pillinge Q2
12 scripture] Q1; Scriptrues Q2
16 nor their valientnesse] Q1; not ~ ~ Q2
18 violence] Q2; vioelce [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 haue done, no doubt but he might haue bin (if he listed) Princps 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 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 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 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 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 see his maisters delyueraunce out of the handes of his malicious enemies through the entrye 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 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 touchinge his flattery, let the whole course of his doctrine witnesse, wherein I thinke thee to be ignorant. Of timorousnesse of death, his end
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 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 proove wherof he must condempne sum good Authors) yet will he not say 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, 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 Iohn fled from Cerinthius that wicked hereticke. /

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.

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)
ocasioned to honor her, may I bee so bolde as to
learne at your handes, what waies and meanes you
vsed 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
a slow speeder.

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

2 worldlings] Q2; worldlings Q1
2 it] it[sic] Q1
more ready and perfect way to win her fauour by dylygent imitation.

When I fyrste came to the Courte, I lyued a bare and bogglerlye lyfe, vsing sundry simple 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 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 obtained Fortunes speciall fauour, but before I could bring this matter to perfect effect, I was constrained to vse pretty 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 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
my selfe to be very officious and serviceable 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 renowne 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 compiled 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
advice of my yonge maister and new found friend,
whom I knew to haue perfect experience of his
masters and my patrons inclinacion. This my
industrye ioyned with fayned fidelitie liked him
20 so wel, that (to further my wished successe) he
gawe 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 commendations is no flattery,
but above measure is folly.
specially to be regarded of all suiters) it pleased him so well to read his own commendations, that he vouchsafed to peruse the rest, and gave me his reward and good countenance which was the thing for which I wished, and finished, and within short space I grew into greater favour than was my first master, his man before specified: so that I was not Lady Fortunes my own's man, but Lady Fortunes minions fellow. And not long after that, by my daily access unto Lady Fortunes presence, and my cunning skill in Adulation, wherein I was an absolute scholar, I had the charge of her whirlyng wheele in my own hand, to aduaunce whom I liked, and throw downe whom I listed.

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

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

5 which I wished, and finished] Q1; which I finished 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 sayde, he would rather be a Prince to rule and reigne, yea though he had no possessions, then to be a vassal, or subject with infinite wealth. What neede I be ashamed of ambicion, sithens to hit the top of dignytie is the marke wherat al men 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?

Author. Yea sir, but (vnder your correction) I deme that these desire of excellency, proceede 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 your first founders.

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

Sidenote: Q1; omitted Q2
9-10 al men shoote] Q1; all shoote Q2
Author. But experience teacheth, that honour upheld with honestie, standeth when honor without honestie falleth to decay, and as nothing is more fickle then fortunes fauour, so nothing may be 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.

Wherefore 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.

Fortunatus. I see full well, the Fox wyll eate no grapes because he cannot reatch 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 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.

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 with double theeuery, which is almost as ill as vsurye, for I may wel ioyne them both together. I heard one say of late that all / wore in the Court is not paid in the citie, but let the Marchant looke to that, and as for the poore 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 kitchin, by surfeiture, now he is moderated, and may returne from thence with a good appetite, for your beepe is on your back, and the rest of your wonted victualles convereted by strange
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 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): Vincit veritas. for trueth in the end shal preuaile, and so shall god blesse your store and encrease, both in the 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 many as loue flatterers tales had Mydas eares. Wherefore (gentle master Philodoxus) I byd you adue, with this motion, or caueat:

Respice finem. /
The fifth dialogue betwenee 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 benedicitie, who neuer as yet could finde
the way to thrive, I think it be for want of
absolution ab omne frugalitate.

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

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

Sidenote: Q2; omitted Q1.

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

Sir Simon. Better thrift then you are ware of, 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 converted from syr Symon to syr Simonye, but haue you any other benefice left to liue vpon, and kepe hospytalytie withall?

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

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.

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: wherein I found

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2, 5 bole...boule] Q1; boale Q2
13-15 Sidenote: Q2; omitted Q1
21 directed] Q1; directe Q2
such savour, that I set aside all other studies, and dedicate by selfe wholy to that, in which art I am now an absolut schoolemaster, and if thou once tastedst the sweetnesse thereof, thou woldest reject thy stoicall studie, and become a philosopher of our sect.

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

Sir Symon. I wil rip it vp vnto thee euene 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 abroade, my onely arrant was to preach, in which my sermons I coulde not cease to invey against the abuses of these daies, not sparing Lorde or Lady or any degree, in reprouing of sin and wickednesse, so far forth, that I was counted a saucye knaue amonge gentles. And specially of patrones of benefices, whose foule disorders, in making marchandice of the church being Gods part, wold heape vp wrath upon them.

Honest studies rejected in respect.

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2 dedicate] sic Q1, Q2
4-6 Sidenote: placed by lines 7-9 in Q2
11 not vnknown] Q1; not known 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 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

5 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,

10 I sawe how some other Preachers that were my neere neighbours, could cunningly claw the ytching eares of vain gloryous men, and like Protheus convert them selues vnto sundry shapes, by meanes whereof lyuings were powred into their lapps. I

15 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 newfound Famely of Loue, I was a louing com-panion: among graue men, Ancient: with wild ottes, youthfull: amonge gamesters, a good fellow: and finally, a man at all assayes. Then began my credite to encrease, and those that before spake euell of mee, now gaue mee good reporte, and in shorte space I had more lyuingle heaped on me, then law would permit mee to receive, but I would refuse none: for I inuented a proper policie both for fauour and profit. When so euer any lyuinge 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 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, that who so great a man as I among Lordes 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 in. And on mee attendeth simple syr Iohn, who is made a dolt and dogbolt of every seruinge man, because of his simplicitie, but for all that, I with my subtiltie, and he with his simplicitie, and my lords men with their policye, keepe in our handes / many good benefices in the countrie, if this be not thriftie now judge you.

Author. If such shiftinge thrift, ende with good thruiuing, I much maruel, but this meane while, how do you discharge your conscience in 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 insaciable couetousnes 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

An vnfit thing for a priest to be a iester.

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

Sir Simon preacheth for profit.
worldlye affairs, omitting first to seeke the
kingdome of god, and the righteousnes 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.

Author. But I pray you syr Simon, is your life
so confourmed to your doctrine that it cannot
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 any notorious crime, I can so hide my wouluish carkas vnder a cloke of lamskin, that my deserved 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 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 sepulture of thy secreates, 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 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

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 active 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 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 all more then the .4. at which time I traded: many things, and cheefely in mineralles. But it is a

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 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 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 olde was so crakt and worme eaten rotten, that it was nought worth.

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 so farre past as you haue described.
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 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, they shalbe welcome, and for this cause I am a companion among estates.

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 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 hereby?

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, I wyll vtter it vnto thee, as foloweth.

There is a verye honest man dwellinge neare vnito 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 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 enjoyed) out of my dishe, 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 begin, I wroot vnto him a letter in effect

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

My olde freind M. the sundrye good
turnes that I haue receiued at your
handes enforceth mee to studie how I may
 requite the same. And sith Fortune
hath now advanced mee to be your
landlorde, I assure you, (if your
lyuinge were not already on you
bestowed) I wold endew you therewith
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
make prooфе 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
hundred powndes of money, towards
the charges that hath growne vnto
mee by my late purchased promocions.

15  you wyll] Q1b, Q2; yon ~ [sic] Q1a
22  by my late] Q1a, Q1b; by late Q2
Thus with hartie commendations I
wysh you well, from my house at
Slew, etc.

By your etc.

5 Author. Truely syr, your letter portendeth much
Adulation, and yet peraduenture you perfourmed
your promise vnto him, and in so doyng 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, stoode 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
only 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

A man of
God prouideth
for plain
meaning men.
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
catcht in the snare of shameful obloqui. For
when I supposed that he had forfeited his said
lease for want of tendering the rent, whereas (in
very deede) he (vnknownen to me) had leafully
tendered the same, I came vnto his house as Iudas
did vnto his master and friend Christ with a
trecherous kisse of egregious dissimulation, and
brought with mee a troup 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
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 knownen, all the
countrey cryed against mee crucifige. And yet he
(by his aboue specified wisedome) pre- / uented
my pestilent wilinesse. And this is the scarre
that I feare me I shal neuer cure.

Author. Certes of all knaueries, coggings and
dissimulations, I never heard the like, but I pray you have you applyed no plaister vnto this so foule a wound, which I thinke stinketh so that it offendeth the senses of as many as knowe you 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 that thereby he might perceiue how well I loued him, but all this cannot stoppe the mouthes of the people, and therfore (as I tolde thee before) I cleue fast vnto the companye of worshipfull, trusting that in tyme, it wil be a scarfe to shadowe the scarre of my knauery.

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.

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
reader, and then thou shalt both knowe the order, and enjoy the fruits thereof.

Author. Verely Syr Symon, I do so / much detest and abhorre the studye and practice of 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, 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 earth, and to be enstalled the Archdeacon, or rather Archdeuill of Plutos infernall court. 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, 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 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 / vnto Timothe, as touching the framing of his lyfe to his doctrine, and his workes 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, that I might boldly and truely haue sayde with our Sauiour 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 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

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 hast acknowledged thy insinuation towards them, by means whereof they commit credit unto 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, 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 cloke these forenamed vices. / First, couetousnes is thrift: extortion, good husbandrie: pryde is clenlynesse: lecherie, a spurt of youth: and swearing is lustinesse. etc.

And as for simonye, it is but honest consideration, whereby thou, and simple sir Iohn, with sir William the weauer, and sir Thomas (but lately a Tinker)
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
providence of our noble Queene and her honorable
counsaile, with the Bishops and fathers of the
Church: and then shal Syr Symon be shaked 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
execrable practise in the province 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
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
corners, nor searcheth for coulorable shiftes.

Vnmeet Ministers in the Church of Christ.
God grant this may bee done with spede.
The sixth dialogue betwene Pierce Pikethank, dronken Dickon, dame Annat the alewife, and the Author.

Dickon.

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

Annat.

Faire words makes fooles faine, the old prouerb doth say: Such guestes 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 he had seene the deuill, and quickly moue him to call his owne father hooreson.

0.1 sixth] Q1; fifth Q2
13-14 Sidenote: Q1; omitted Q2
Pierce. This thy description of dagger ale, augmenteth my thirst untill I taste thereof, wherefore I pray thee make haste to flatter my Ostesse in the best maner thou canst, and yet I 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, and hath holpen many a one in her dayes, that otherwise would haue don ful yll. I would all weomen were of her nature and condicions, for shee is both honest and liberall with great discretion.

Annet. Go to you drunken knaue, that flatering 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 keepe in store your dissembling water for Pierce the promoter, and Crispin the counterfeit, with

5 ieobard] Q1; ieopard Q2
17 Sidenote: Q2; omitted Q1
20-21 Pierce the promoter] Q1; P. the Promoter Q2
21 Crispin the counterfeit] Q1; C. the Counterfeit Q2
Milo the makeshift, and other of your daintye guestes, for I poore Dickon wil thanke you more for one pot of ale of the ryght stampe, then for twentye your glasses of water.

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 Ostes, for I rather supposed you to haue bene one of the maydens of the house, you looke so yong and smoth.

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

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

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

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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 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 Artizan in Europe cannot depaint thee in thy ryght kinde better then I my selfe can, but I wil omit the description of thy lyncaments, and display thy conditions.

And to begin withall, thou art an egregious 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 Magus, two tongs in one head like Iudas, and
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 qualities. Wherefore to requite thy curtesie, I wil fulfil the old proverb, 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,

which is so comely knaebald 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 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, indented with motheaten maladies, which bewtiful member of thine is circumuented with a flusshing

A description of a proper man.
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 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 lyrcumpanch like a mare with fole, a bounsing buttock 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 companion, and wilt not blush to place thy selfe in every mans companye, and taste of every 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 saucinesse, then thou hast this subtile shift, with olde drunken latine, which I haue often times hard thee pronounce,
Potus lusorum meretrices presbiterorum

Panis perfusus, cunctorum spectat ad usus.

Also thou canst prate lyke a pardoner, and for thy faciltytie in lying, thou art worthy to weare a 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 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.

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 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
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
their bibbings, I will play the painter's 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
drunkardes) is a saucy and malapert varlet, who
vseth verie broad iestinge, as well with men of
honour, as with meaner sorte, whom they term me
a mad mery knave. He taketh all floutes and bobs
in good part, by means whereof he bobbeth manie
others. Amonge the company of lustye swearers
hee wyll out sweare them all. And sumtimes hee
will put on the habite of a foole, in which
garmente hee is received in, when wiser, and
honester men are put backe, and be- / cause hee
noteth that wise men take sport to see fooles in a
radge, hee wyll counterfeit himselfe to be in a mad
moode when he is nothing at al angrye, hee is a

Such impudent counterfaites are to well
used at manye mens Tables.
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 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 iminent ouer the place of their abode, and threatneth vengance both vpon them and 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 no more sincerytie then in an ape. Hee wyll come sumtimes vnto a Bysshop, and sumtimes 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 in the Scriptures, vnder which pretext hee beguileth both the wise and the learned. Hee will in their

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7-10 profit, for...Now] Q1; profite. Now Q2
10 Sidenote: Q2; omitted Q1
20 in the Scriptures] Q2; on ～～ Q1
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
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 preserre such good men as they
are, vnto whom he talketh, as by whom Gods true
relygion is advancd and errour suppressed, etc.
With these and the like practises hee winneth
faucur and beneuolence among the protestants.

Then he hath an old portas, or some such
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
for the setlynge and satisfaction of the same at
your handes, or sume such godlye learned man, as I
know to be of vpright judgement in the scriptures,
the true interpretation whereof hath beene

1-3 Sidenote: Q2; omitted Q1
knowen] ed.; hnowe [sic] Q2
wrested and perverted by the professors of this neweligion. 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
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
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
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 peruereted the
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.  

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 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?  

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 whom friendship driues to doubt: Least thou be causer of thy woe by seeking Fortune out, Whose coy conseights I saw full well

0.1 seauenth] Q1; sixth Q2
while I in court abode
Wherby my old delight renewd
to liue in fields abroade.

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 every 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.

Diogenes
was an olde Courtier.
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
with well contented mynde
Which lesson was a lore to mee
from courtlyke state to wynde.

10 Then to my tub I turne agayne
where I am Lorde and King,
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.

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:
The more experience geues me drink
the more I styll desire.

How oft hast thou with scornfull tong,
dame Fortunes name exprest:
Which made me long to see the wight
whom thou dost so detest.
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,
    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:

Such buildings braue, such costly robes,
such plate of glittring gold:
Such gems and iewels of great price,
such fashions of attire:
Such flaunting dames whose beautie braue,
would kindle cupides fyre.
Such iustling to beare swing and sway,
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
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,
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:

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,

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.

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,

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.

7-9 Sidenote: Q1a, Q2; omitted Q1b
I sawe the snare and scapte 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. 
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 worn,  
growes dayly out of vre:
The taylor that can make new guise,  
of currant coyne is sure.

But this I chiefly did observe,  
Frenchemen haue framde such tooles:  
That now french nets are cast on neckes  
to catch vp Englishfooles.  
But let it passe, I spurne it not,

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:

But first to honest courtiers I  
wil frame my iust excuse.  
Whome I do not in any poyn
t meane to offend at all:  
Though galbackt Bayard winch when he

is rubd vpon the gall. /  
I sawe where Aristippus stoode,  
fast by a lordings syde:

---

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 to shewe a friendly face.
10 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? that thou the court hast sought.
20 If any thing in mee doth rest, that may thy fansie feede:

12 oft] Q1; of Q2
19 driues] Q1; drieue Q2
19-20 Sidenote: Q2; omitted Q1

Some men call this, holy water of the Court.
Expresse thy mynde, aske and receive,
But speake and thou shalt speede.
I gaue him thanks, but yet I thought
these goodly golden wordes

5 Would prowe but winde of slender weight,
    and bushes voide of burdes.
I calde to mynde an olde sayd sawe,
    which I haue not forgot:
Tis wisedome to take time in time,
    and strike whyle thyron is whot./

When Pig is proferd, ope the poke,
    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 serves my turn,
    so it be ought at all:
Poore men are pleasde with potage ay
    til better vittailes fall.
And you that earst was as I am
    sit now in Fortunes lap:

13 by an by] Q1; ~ and ~ Q2
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 laughs 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.

---

1-2 Sidenote: Q2; omitted Q1
8 winde] Q2; wine Q1

Fortunes giftes eb and flow.
So thou that yet hast not shak't 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 course 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.
Diogenes. Ah sir, and sawest thou Aristip, 
that spaniell of currs kinde?
Who hunts eche haunt where gaine doth grow,
and turneth with the winde?

5 A smelle feast Gnato for his gut 
to vouch eche Thrasos bragge:
Whose wordes are free to promise much,
but bound vp is his bagg.

His filthy foule philosophy /
more frindship hath obtaynde,
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,
at last he framde this wile.

O noble birde whose heauenly hue,
with joyful eyes I see:

---

8 is] Q1; in Q2
14 had] Q1; hath Q2
And muse that fame hath forg'd such tales,
   And foule 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.
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 prayses to augment:
Began to syng, The pray fel downe, /
   The Fox had his intent,
And laught to scorne the foolish birde,
   that thought her selfe so braue:
Euen so playes flatterers when they catch
the thing that they would haue.
But now procede, 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,
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
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.

Vlpiianus. Yes verely one friend I had
to whome I am much bound.

Diogenes. But was he of habilitie
21 by Fortunes fawning grace?
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,
    if I should write his fame.

Diogenes. Truth may be blamde but neuer shamde,
    Truth needes not feare her foe:
    In truthfull praise a man may speake,
    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. /
    But why shouldest thou refraine to speake
    the truth that thou hast tryde.
    Wherefore thou maist impart to mee
    his name and worthinesse:

Vlpianus. Then marke my wordes, and couertly
    the same I wil expresse.
Ernest he is in zeal of sacred truth,
D ebonaire eke, and friend to every wight:
M odest and meeke, a father unto youth,
V ertue to further is his whole delight.

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 patron of defence:
R ight louingly doth learned wightes embrace,

10 M akes small aocoumpt 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.

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

Author.
Such welcome I lyke not that bought is too deere.

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 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 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 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 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.

Wat Wyly. Thou art a gentlemanlike tapster.

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.

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

7-8 Sidenote: Q2; omitted Q1
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, 

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.

_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.

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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 great and familiar aquaintance, by means wherof, we conferre together sumtimes at noone, as wel as at midnight, and being this last night past in a devout dreame, he led me vp by the hand into a pleasant paradise, where I might behold wonderful visions: first I saw how Jupiter 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 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 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
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 wier / for the which, this noble craftesman was had in great admiration among the Gods and wel commended to Iupiter him selve. And when Vulcan had playde this pleasant pageant, in came Appollo (as it were vpon the stage) to solace Ioue with some kinde of adulation, therby 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 prudence and his learned laurel crowne vnto Ioue, whereby to discharge him selve 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 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

1 harneis] Q1; harnesse Q2
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 stoode a farre of, a simple sot named U.F.
15 and when he saw how Mercurie was fauoured 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.

Sidenote: Q2; omitted Q1
.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 Fowles 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 Jupiter doth raigne and rule,
   within a stately Port.
Eche one deuisde which way were best
   In favours 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 favours 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 gnaw] 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 laughs some robes to scorne.
She smiles at tyrants that turmoile
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 loue, are these things hid from thee,
    nay, nay, thou seest them all:
But winking wisdome is not blind
to turne the tossed ball.
Thou seest that sundry sorts of men,
    by flatterye do aspire:
To guerdon great, when trusty trueth,
    hath hatred for her hyre.
Thou seest (I know) the subtile sleights
  that worldly wights devise:
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 erreours 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 decres

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:

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 every day,
such deepe dissemblers stand:

As well deserue by rightfull doome,
to be exild thy land:
Loe thus I haue exprest my mind,
and shewd foorth my intent:
My part is playd, and I am pleasde
so that I be not shent.

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

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
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

3-6 Euen...land] omitted Q2
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 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 Jupiter's court, not sparinge any state or degree. And he would oft times 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 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.

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

9-12 And...scienciarum.] omitted Q2
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 brute abroade:
So bounden duety by deserts
bids me my minde vnloade.
Thy hauty port, thy heavenly gifts,
yth line of noble race:
10 Thy passing praise, thy happy state,
makes all men ioy thy case.
As one who for his cunterys wealth,
by fate was first ordaynd:
Oh happy soyle whose lucky lot
15 so rare a gem hath gaine.
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,
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 seruill 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 troup,
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

15 the ende] Q2; thy ~ Q1
and by your purse mainta infield:
Leaue of my Lord, as good as you
that pomp hath now refraynd.
Imploy the Court with dillygence
in presence of the prince:
Whence profit growes, and fauour springs
though mumbling lobcock wince.
Break vp houskeeping and your troupe,
geue pasports to your traine:
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
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,
Your tenaunts are good hansome hines,
when badged blew cotes on,
So may you muster lustely
with Simkin, Hob and Iohn.

---
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
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,
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 fraught 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 fright] 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
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,
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

10 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
what gaine doth thence redound.

15 Why should the butcher gaine the hide,
in bying of a beefe:
This knowledg now in noble men
doth cause the farmers grieffe.

24 cause] Q1; chuse Q2
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 shepheheard 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 madness 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:

5-6 Sidenote: Q2; omitted Q1
11 glebe] Q1; globe Q2

The Tapster hath a flinge
  at Cotsol men.
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 pleas'd,
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 Homer, verely /
maister Tapster you are profoundly learned in this noble science of Adulation.

Wat Wilye. I haue heard many publique readers in sundry faculties, but the lyke to him 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, short, and yet substanciall. Finally, his wordes, his countinaunce, his sweete pronunciation, his comlye gesture, with all his other accions, shew forth a grace (in my iudgment) incomparable, and therfore worthy of admiration. How think you friend Fulwel, let vs heare your iudgment.

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 degree of poetry at the uniuersity 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 of this lecture. First that this felow is to be
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 persuacions 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

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 further displaying and iust detestation of that wicked science, wherof sathan hymselfe was the first scoolemaister. Wherby I infer that the studientes, and practisioners thereof, are fit schlers for such a master.

It appeareth that by the subtiltie of this art doctor deuill deluded our first parentes in Paradice, with his flatteringe promises of much / more then he could perfourme, the effect wherof, the world feeleth, and shal do vntil the 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.

**Herod** with flatteringe words of dissembled intent, perswaded the Magians to bring him news where he might finde Christ, and how his words agreed with his meaninge, the text doth teach

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4 site] Q1; set Q2
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 multitude were many parasites and smelfeastes, that for their bellies sake, would haue proclaimed Christ to be their King, flatteryng him also with these words. This is of a trueth, that Prophet that should come into the world.

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 nothinge lesse then trueth, came vnto Christ with these glosinge wordes. Maister wee knowe that thou art true, and teachest the way of God truely. etc. But their wicked intent was to entrap hym with wordes of treason, wherby to condempe him, of whose pharaseicall condicions are our maisters of flattery, and thus let these fewe pla- for my fyrst note. Secondly I haue noted by

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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 venom of flattery, whereby many do dishonor, disworship, and dishonest them selues, by putting in vre such wicked attempes 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 well.

_Fallere te nullus vult, qui tibi dura minatur_  
_Sed potius vt caueas, turbidus ille monet,_  
_Fallimur a placidis verbis, vultuque sereno,_  
_Cum sapido capimus, saepe venena cibo._

_FINIS._
A short Dialogue, betwenee the Authour and his booke, wherin is shewed sundry opinions that were yttered of the first Impression of this booke, which the Authour him selfe hearde in 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?

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,
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,
    Pickte 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 disdaind:
And now thou takst as weapon stronge,
    Thy pen for to auenge that wrong.

And thus as I haue raunged abrode,
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.

15 Then reuerently thy selfe submit,
   Unto 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 Counterfeit] Q2; counterfeit 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
rest. And] Q1b; ~~, and Q1a, Q2
Cain,] Q1b, Q2; ~^ Q1a
earth,] Q1b, Q2; ~^ Q1a
renued.] Q1b, Q2; ~^ Q1a
aduersitie.] Q2; ~, Q1a, Q1b
wight.^] Q2; ~, Q1a, Q1b
Lady Pleasure] Q2; lady pleasure Q1a,
Lady pleasure Q1b
Dame Pleasure ed.; Dame pleasure Q1a, Q1b, Q2
Lady Pleasure ed.; Lady pleasure Q1a, Q1b, Q2
Dame Pleasure] Q2; dame pleasure Q1a, Q1b
Fleshly Appetite] Q2; fleshly appetite Q1a, Q1b
Pride...Ambition] ed.; pride...ambition Q1a,
Q1b, Q2
throwne downe. Then] Q1b; ~ ~, then Q1a, Q2
Vertue,] Q2; vertue^ Q1a, Q1b
nation. And] Q1b, Q2; ~, and Q1a
parcialitie:] Q1b; ~, Q1a, Q2
thereat. Among] Q1b, Q2; ~, among Q1a
worship. And] Q1b, Q2; ~, and Q1a
(Lady Trueth):] ed.; (Lady trueth)^ Q1,
(Lady Trueth)^ Q2
U...Fulwell...Unfortunate Fulwell] Q2 italics
Bayarde),] ~^, Q2; ~)^ Q1
hold:] Q2; ~, Q1
bower:] Q2; ~^ Q1
chaunge,] Q2; ~^ Q1
estate,...contemnes,] Q2; ~^...~^ Q1
row:] Q2; ~, Q1
part,] Q2; ~^ Q1
sustayne:] Q2; ~, Q1
ryght,] Q2; ~, Q1
go:] Q2; ~, Q1
thee,] Q2; ~^ Q1
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
41.13 it, is] Q2; ~, ~ Q1
41.18 adulandi,] Q2; ~. Q1
41.18-19 The art of Flatterie] Q2; The art of flatterie Q1
42.20 dissimulation,] Q2; ~, Q1
42.14 credite. And] Q2; ~, and Q1
43.13 heers, etc.] ed.; ~., Q1; ~., ~. Q2
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
48.20-21 linea vite...linea nuptialis] ed.; linea vite...
linea nuptialis Q1; Lineaute...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

57.3 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, Bygth Liberall Science Q2
59.18 Flattery\] Q2; flattery Q1
61.3 When\] N.P. Q2
61.12 Eight liberall Science\] eight liberall Science Q1, Bygth 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 Wherfore\] 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 felow\] ] Q1b, Q2; ~, Q1a
72.25 that\] ] Q1b, Q2; ~, Q1a
74.5 vnconsionably\] Q1b, Q2; vnconsionably [sic] Q1a
74.9 vnconcionable\] Q1b, Q2; vnconcionable 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
Adulation] Q2; adulation Q1
First] N.P. Q1
And] N.P. Q2
man,] Q2; ~A Q1
countrey. But] Q2; ~, but Q1
Arte of Flattery] Q2; arte of flatterye Q1
Eyghth liberall Science] Q2; eyghth liberall science Q1
pikethanke. Thou] Q2; ~, thou Q1
knaue. He] Q2; ~, he Q1
Adulation] Q2; adulation Q1
learned. Hee] Q2; ~, hee Q1
Heauen. Hee] Q2; ~, hee Q1
Then] N.P. Q2
A good syr] N.P. Q2
(saith he)] Q2; ~A~A, Q1
Art of Flatterie] Q2; art of flatterie Q1
others,] Q2; ~A Q1
grace,] Q2; ~A Q1
Lady Truth] Q2; lady truth Q1
shun:] ed.; ~A Q1, Q2
out,] ed.; ~A Q1, ~. Q2
broode,] Q2; ~A Q1
vewd:] ed.; ~A Q1, Q2
King,] Q2; ~A Q1
is,] Q2; ~. Q1
desire,] ed.; ~A Q1, Q2
hell,] Q2; ~A Q1
braue,] Q2; ~A Q1
againe,] ed.; ~. Q1, Q2
delyght,] ed.; ~A Q1, Q2
may,] Q2; ~A Q1
Aristip,] Q2; ~? Q1
kinde?] Q2; ~:Q1
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
135.19  husbandry] Q2; hubsandry [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
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.1.3); 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.'
Mel in ore, verba lactis / Fel in corde fraus in factis] A well-known rhymed sententia, listed under 'Falshood, or Falsnesse' in Thomas Draxe, Bibliothec Scholastica Instructissima. Or a Treasury of Ancient Adages 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 mouth, and poyson in the heart' (my italics).

at randone] At great speed; hence 'at haphazard, without aim, purpose or fixed principle; needlessly, carelessly' (OED sb.1.3, 3.a); 'randone' is an obsolete form of 'random' (OED); used again 40.11.

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

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 iiii 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
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: 'xvij 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 Northamptons[hire] 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).

Hoskins later moved to Fetter Lane: the colophon of Gyer's *English Phlebotomy* (1592) has 'Printed by William Hoskins and John 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

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 printing 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
gallories 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 lettinge 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:

(3 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 Labirlnth 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)
(4 November 1583) Receaued of him for printinge a thinge beinge A monster which he undertaketh to print of his own perill. (Arber II, 428)

(22 March 1587) Receaued of him for a ballad begynnynge 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.

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
Worke, Concerning Britaine (1605, STC 4521), Part 2, d1v). They are found in Nicholas Breton, Britons 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-C4v); 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' (A1v-A2). Perhaps the ultimate in panegyrical acrostics was reached by Sir John Davies in Nosce Teipsum - twenty-six 'Hymnes of Astraea, 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 wroth 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), P1V). 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 Unto the best, best welcome 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. 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 the 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 'BURGLEY' 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-A5V, as a

famous Religious and learned Ladie (flower
of her familie,) prouident mother, blessed in her posteritie,...besides her knowledge in the Latine letters, (wherein of a subject she excelled) such were her studies, exercises, and continuall Meditation in the Greeke Doctors of the Church, (especially Basil, Ciriil, Chrisostome and Nagianzene, [Gregory of Nazianzus] as a chiefe reader in that tonge (Laurence by name) hath ere now confessed vnto me, that in his judgement 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 (a1v). Drant's book also contained 'The Wailyngs 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
His dedication says that she is a 'most vertuous Lady, indued with all kinde of good Literature, excellent, both in the Greek, and Latine tongue,' and praises her as one of the 'English Ladies...Which florish at this day' who not only read, but write, Greek and Latin poetry:

Who ioyne, like learned men, the Greekish toong, with Latine phrase.
Yea which is more, like skilfull Poets, in dulcet verse they floe,
Wherewith Homerus fraught his bookes, or Mantuan Maro.
If cause require, ex tempore, their meeters framing fine.

He selects Mildred as 'the chiefest' of the 'noble Sisters foure' (the Cooke sisters), and appeals to her 'like an other Pallas' to be his protectress with her 'shining lookes' so that

The Enuious, and Malicious crue, dare not me once to rend.
So, as in sanctuary shut, I shall no daunger feere.

(Sharrock's translation, A3)

There is also a poem 'In praise of my L. Cecil of Bourlegih [sic]' in George Whetstone's The Rocke of Regard (1576, STC 25348, I2v).

A brief character-sketch of Mildred is given in Muriel St Clare Byrne, 'The First Lady Burghley', National Review, 103 (1934), 356-363.

5.4-5 flatterie, the practitioners whereof...are the most pernicious of all tame beastes] Tilley B158: 'The
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 Apophthegmes, 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 Palantium: Wisedoms Pallace (1604, STC 26014), F4).

5.fn. inuention] 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 reasonablie set forth a matter, and make it appeare probable'.
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 Idlenesse, conteininge certeyne matters moued betwen Walter Wedlock and Bawdin Bacheler. Translated out of the Troyane or Cornyshe tounge into Englyshe, by Olyuer Oldwanston, 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, B8V). 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' (¶2V).

Moralists of the time were concerned about the
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 every shop to sell?
With wanton sound, and filthie sense, me thinke it greeves 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 known of all Housholders (1572, STC 6679), A3°, 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, pamphletes, Poësies, 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

6.5, 7-8

the example of Vlisses...your Ladyship haue stopt your eares against their magickall 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), AaaiiiiV); the word was often applied to 'biting' satires: e.g., Cornelius Agrippa, De incertitudine et vanitate scientiarum declamatio inuectiua (1531); Richard Rice, An Invecticue against vices, taken for Vertue (ca.1575); Lambert Daneau, True and Christian Friend.shippe contains 'a right excellent Invecticue...
against the wicked exercise of Diceplay, and other prophane Gaming' (1586, STC 6230, title-page). The word is used again below, 139.23.

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)


captiously] fallaciously, sophistically

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)

def 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), l.578)
8.3-4 sapientum octauus, 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,
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'-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, B1). 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)

8.12-13 like the waspe that liueth vppon the labour of the
payful Bee]

payful] 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),
Scolar 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 receit] 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 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);
Tilley 0932, 'Custom (Use) is another (a second) nature'.

difficile] the opposite of facile, difficult (OED)

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 souketh 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.

flattery and the branches thereof] also itemized below,

a man may buy as much loue at Belingsgate 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).

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
performs dirty dales'; and M1217, 'To promise golden mountains'.

10.2-3 howe easie to have 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]
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

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Thou, then, art aged, lame, and blind,
And canst nor path, nor persons find.
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(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 Praestinction' [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 adventures of Don Simonides* (1581, STC 21002), A4v: '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 SEVEN LIBERAL 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 Sapience, 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 college...

(quoted in John Brand, Popular Antiquities, revised and enlarged by Sir Henry Ellis, 3 vols (London, 1849), II, 337)
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), ll.580, 529). In art, Grammar is depicted surrounded by children: e.g. Hawes, p.25.

Grammar 'is the grounde / the gate / the entrynge To all the noble artes lyberall' (Lydgate, The Courte of Savyence ([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').

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).

as in Thomas Wilson's The Rule of Reason, conteinyng the Arte of Logique (1551)

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 answere by Demonstration of his Hands, 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), B3v)

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 (f1v).

13.9  \textit{clog}] A heavy piece of wood often attached to the neck of a man or beast (\textit{OED} sb.2); this would account for his 'drouping' head in line 7.

13.9  \textit{soking sorowes}] draining, exhausting; \textit{OED} ppl.a.1 cites \textit{Churchyard's Chippes} (1575): 'For soaking soores, a souaigne salue could finde.'

13.12  \textit{drawes eche blisse, and driues eche foule mishap}] Hawes also stresses the power of music

\begin{quote}
To rejoyce the yeres [ears] / and confort the brayne...
Deuoydynge bad thoughtes / whiche dyde remayne
It gladdeth the herte.
\textit{(The Pastime of Pleasure, lines 1577-1580)}
\end{quote}

13.13  \textit{sciphering}] using Arabic numerals in the process of arithmetic; working the elementary rules of arithmetic (\textit{OED} vb.1)


14.7,  \textit{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
Compasse rule / plumbe / and many instrument
With fygures queynte and all to her entent
Of euyer thynge to geue the true mesure.
(\textit{The Courte of Sapvence, f2v})

Geometry holds a compass in the \textit{Margarita Philosophica};
a large compass and a rule in a miniature of 'Philosophy
and the Liberal Arts' (Fig. 9, Clagett, *Twelfth-Century Europe*); and a compass in Caxton's *Mirror 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. 15), 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 before 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 muche sweetenesse, yet the common opinion is, and also every one maie see it by experience, that it is the exercise of base men....For this cause *Musicke* hath euer bene wandringe here
and there for price and pence, and is the seruaunte of bawdrie.
(Of the Vanitie and Uncertaintie 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.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 'tooles' 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 BETWEEENE THE AUTHOR AND THE PRINTER

16.0.2 the printer] William Hoskins, as line 11 makes clear.


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);
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 fauoreth fatuis] Latin proverb (Alfred Henderson, Latin Proverbs anl 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

16.13 Fortune fauoreth Fulwell] with a pun on 'fool-well'
17.1  **happely**e] 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)


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 devise.

19.10-11  **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';
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).

malapert] presumptuous, impudent

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),
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.

iussell] jostle

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

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
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,

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 muffer 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 vale, as hauing thine eyes not couered with
a lawne, but darkened with despight.
(Greenes farewell to folly (1591, STC 12241), D3v)

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
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

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).

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).

Fortune (men say) doth give too much to many:
But yet she never gave enough to any.
(Epigrams both pleasant and serious (1615, STC 12775), no. 63, D2v)

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 till 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)
it rayned pottage, but I wanted a dish] Tilley P510; Tilley's earliest example is 1583.

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.

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 undermine the grounde, wheron wee goe.

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).
Frances the Flatterer] The flattering friar in the Third Dialogue is also called Francis.

Dauy Dissembler] 'Divison 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), F4V.

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).

in verve 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).

simplicitie] freedom from artifice, deceit or duplicity (OED 3)

simple] innocent (OED A.adj.I.1)
22.7 abject] 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. I 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.2)

22.19 subuertion] overthrow, ruin

22.20 worldly] 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 worldly profite. (A5)
22.21 *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.


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 Estaits*; 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

23.16 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 primitive 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 st.3.a). Sir David Lindsay also links the Doctors with Truth:
Devoit Doctours and Clarkis of renoun
Now in the Kirk sall haue dominioun:
And Gude-counsall with Ladie Veritie.

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 An Satyre of the Thrie Estaits 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 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:
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.  

(26.7)  

(26.12) Queen 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 wandering 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  

A variation on Tilley B740, used above 8.18-19; compare Tilley M605, 'Wise men propose and fools dispose'.

A variation of Tilley K19, 'He that will eat the kernel let him crack the nut'.

Fulwell's account of Homer coming to the court, 'accompanied with the ix. Muses' but being 'little 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):


It tells how Homer visited Cuma, at the instigation of the Muses, but left after being harshly treated.

'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).

A free translation of Ovid,
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.


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,
27.10-11  *wise men are not wanted, till they are lodged in their graves*] 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  *beshrewe*] 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.


29.2 You lift vp a foole, and a wise man downe cast] as above, 16.3-4

29.3 jack] 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.
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).

somehat hath some sauour] Tilley S620; Tilley's earliest example is 1585.

may carry 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, 1.1077:

At ende I myght put my wynnyng in myne iye,
And see neuer the wors. for ought I wan theim by.

vertue] 'the power or operative influence inherent in a supernatural or divine being' (OED sb.1.1)

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' (1.176), and boasts:

This bag have I kepte of other sectorships whole, whiche the madde knaves woulde have scattered by penie dole.
This is of Churche goodes scraped vpp withoute alawe,
For which was a quicke scambling 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 receit'
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
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
not howe to close and flatter, knoweth not howe to behave himselfe in companie.' Also used by Palingenius, The firste syxe bokes of the zodiake of life, translated by Barnabé Googe (1561, STC 19149), K7V-K8:

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

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 de bonaire, now froward to do grace' (Lydgate, Fall of Princes, edited by H. Bergen, 4 vols, BETS (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).

fautor] protector, patron (OED 2)

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

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).

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.1.3*)

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, 1957. 2 vols, Loeb Classical Library (London & Cambridge, Mass.)
(34.11) I, 257-259).

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

> And rammes his panch, that bottomlesse abysse,
> As if to glut were legall, promised bliss.

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.


He became the type of the flatterer.

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, Apophthegmes, 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 Metrodn [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 selife 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]
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), Scolar 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 poysone saust, / In cup of glitttring gold] Tilley P458, 'Poison is hidden in golden cups'; Tilley quotes Norton & Sackville, Corboduc
\textit{(35.13 -16) (1565), II.2: 'Loe, thus it is, poyson in golde to take, }\\And horsome drinke in homely cuppe forsake.'

\textit{35.19 -20 That pleasure is to deerely bought, / That purchased is with paine] \textit{Compare Tilley P420, 'There is no pleasure without pain', and P412, 'He that will have the pleasure must endure the pain'}.}

\textit{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)}

\textit{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 \textit{Consolation of Philosophy} that however much she gives, people are always dissatisfied:}

\textit{And woulde neuer wythdrawe her hands, but powre downe and geue ryches continuallye: yet for al that mankynde would not cesse wepynge and complayning. (translated by George Colville (1556), edited by E.B. Bax (London, 1897), p.33)}

\textit{36.7 sot] fool, dolt}

\textit{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.'


tastes of the sower] Compare Tilley S1035, 'He deserves not the sweet that will not taste of the sour'.

mene 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).


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 aloffe,
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.
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 2558?) had particularly dwelt on their use of flattery (e.g. Cap.14, 'Great flatterers of the people nether reproving nor removing there sinnes from among them' (M4)); in Lindsay's *Ane Satyre of the Thrie Estates* the character Flatterie disguises himself as friar Devotion. He too cultivates the 'giudowyfis': 'The giudowyfis 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);
this year [1538] in June the Kinge gave a commandement 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 punishiment. (A Chronicle of England during the Reigns of the Tudors... 1485 to 1559, edited by W.D. Hamilton, 2 vols (London, 1875; rptd. New York, 1965), I, 32)

Basherville 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 wch booke it hath bin gathered that I shold write and meane vnreverentlie and sclaunderouslie of your right reverend father in god my L. bishop 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, trusting 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 sometimes 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 carryd it all away, that neither church nor the poore were the better for it. (Hugae Antiquae, selected by Henry Harington, edited by Thomas Park, 2 vols (London, 1964; rptd. New York, 1966), II, 150)

Garrett also judges him with severity. 'Strype's praise of him as a man of "singular integrity of life" is hardly borne out by his licentious venal administration of his diocese (Provinz Exiles, p. 67).

39.1

-2

A Fox or a Friar, who festing doth reste; / Presageth ill fortune to lye at his feete] Despite Fulwell's description of this as an 'olde proverb' 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 kete with the I have no lust,
For he that meteth a friere, or a fox, in the morning,
To spede ill that day he standeth in jeopardy;
Therefore I had lever kete with the devil of hell - - -.
(37.1-2) Then nate with a friar, or a fox,
In a morne or an I dryne.
(Chief Pre-Shakespearean Dramus, edited by

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,

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 worene too long, the Foxes skinne be known.
(Dramatic Works, edited by F. Bowers, II, 533)

39.15 pertend ] (Q2, pretend); 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 faylyne [ without fail (OED vbl.sb)
40.5 doctor ] teacher, instructor (OED sb.1)
at random] aimlessly; used on title-page line 17

make loytring pinnes] A 'loiter-pin' is a stick or piece 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')

estate] condition with respect to worldly prosperity (OED sb.2)

auncient practicioner] old hand

sufficiency] ability, competency (OED sb.4)

well seene] skilled, versed, proficient in (OED ppl.a.2 'well(-)seen')

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)

very] true, full

glosyng] talking smoothly and speciously; using fair
words or flattering language; fawning (OED vb. 1 3)

doublenes] duplicity, deceitfulness, treachery (OED sb.2)

rayling] jesting, rallying (OED vb. 4 2)

weeneth] thinks, believes (OED vb.1)

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)

 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.

check] reprimand; as note to 29.4 above
the children, ye and their mothers also, wold shut their
doors 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

Hazlitt's source was A Hundred Merry Tales:

There was a certayn limytour which went a
limytinge to a certyen vyllage wherein dwelled
a certayn ryche man of whome he neuer cowde
gethe the valew 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 perceyuynge him commynge a farre of
thought that he wolde come thyder and by and
by ran in and bad her chyldren standing 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.

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

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
Langland's Friar Flattery calls himself 'sire Penetrans-domos' ('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):


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.sn. counterfeict reueilation] Like the friar in the 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 have 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 whosoever 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), ¶ ¶1v:

> Take heede of the Serpent that grouel in grasse, Th'experience is common, the Prouerbe not straunde.

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


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

these sectes of Friers, Monkes, and other wandringe prowlers,...that vnnder false shewe of religion...or els vnnder false hypocrisie, shewinge outwarde holinesse, with many inuention 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
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.


Titus 1.10-11. Fulwell has left out a portion of the text between 'Vaniloqui' and 'qui titas': 'mētium quà 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).

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
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 wordlie Frihendship,
favour, or winning; and thus for the monie they
sellen mens soules to Sathanas. (Two Short
Treatises, against the...Begging Friars, D4-D4v)

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 use charmes, sorceries, inchaunments,
inuocations, circles, witchcrafts, soothsaings,
or any like crafts or imaginations invented by
the Deuill, and especially in the time of womens
truaille. (Church of England, Articles to be
enquired in the visitation of the firste yeere
of Elizabeth...1559 ([1589?], STC 10129), B7,
article 37; my italics)

46.18 Souerantie (the thinge that Women cheifly deasire.)]
As in Chaucer, Wife of Bath's Tale, 1.1038:

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)
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'.

blinde] false, deceitful (OED a.II.5)

conueiance] cunning management or contrivance; underhand dealing (OED sb.11.b)

proper] suitable, apt, appropriate (OED a.III.9)

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).

machometicall] Mohammedan, from the Medieval Latin
(48.7) 'Machometus' (Mohammed) (OED 'Mahometical')

48.10 to see] 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 palmistry] 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)

Cornellius Agrippa attacked the use of palmistry to subvert marriages:
with theire craftie deuises, and deceites of subtill slinesse do promisse 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).

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, Y7V). Joannis Ab Indagine's Briefe Introductions vnto the art of Chiromancy (1575, STC 14076, A5V) 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' (B6V-B7), or he may simply be satirising the jargon of palmistry.

According to Indagine, it is possible to tell the number of mariages, both past and future, by lines on
the finger of Mercury (the little finger or 'ear finger'); 'the pale lines signify marriages past, the long and well coloured them to come' (F8). It is also possible to tell the kind of marriages (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 reverence and made riche by hir husbands' (F7).

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).

shadow] delusive semblance (OED sb.6.a)

bleare her eyes] hoodwink, throw dust in the eyes; a common phrase in the sixteenth century (OED v. 1 3)

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 therefore sayde thus to the silent cumpany: what my maysters is every man at once in a browne study' (Campbell edition, p.119).

had hardly 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, neyther drownyng 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 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, Scolar facsimile (Menston, 1972), A1V); it is associated with 'falsehood in fellowship' in Lyly's Euphues.
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
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 fairest 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-A3v:

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 at what time verteous Deborah the prophetesse judged
Israel Judges IV.4: 'And Deborah, a prophetess,...she
judged Israel at that time.' Deborah was 'a heroine who,
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 city of Babell ] a city as well as a tower; Genesis XI.

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 worke which hee had framed in Minerusas 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
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)


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).
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 unreasonable rewardes or stipendes of the poore Pastors or vicars, comming to their Cures to preache.
(Visitation Articles of Winchester, 1570, STC 10352, A35)

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,
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).

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
yeare of Jubile] 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).

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 muccke and lusts of there own bellie.

(Two short treatises, against the...Begging Friars, F2v)

belly god] Glutton, epicure (OED; Nares, p.73); a favourite epithet of satirists:

0 Labirinths of lothsome lust,
0 hellish humane harts,
0 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).
Julian 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 luliane 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)

whose end may be a mirror to the terrible example of all runnagates]

runnagates (q2 Renegates) apostates = renegades (OED sb.1); OED quotes Martin Marprelate (1589), 'Julian the runnagate'; also W. Wilkinson, Confutation of the Family of Love (1579), 'Lyke a runnagate Apostata...ye betray his Saints to Sathan'.

Nashe in Christ's Tears Over Jerusalem gives a Christian version of Julian's death:

In the very hour of death, to Atheisticall Julian (whomockingly 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, 8 man of Galilee, yet would it not for-beare him or giue him ouer, till it had stript his soule forth of his fleshie rinde, and tooke it away with him. (McKerrow's Nashe, II, 115)

thou hast denied Christ our saviour, who in the general judgment will 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.

one of the deceivers of the world foreprophesied by Saint Paul] probably referring to 2 Thessalonians II

whipt out] referring to Christ's purge of the temple at Jerusalem, John II.15

to the great annoyance of poverty] Wyclif charged that the friars did not use their money for the relief of the poor:

they deceaven men in there almes to make costlie houses, not to harbour poore men but Lords, and mightie men;

and they allow those 'that beeene poore men, to perish for default'; they are 'manquellers of poore men' (Two short treatises, against...the Begging Friars, Dlv, E4).

bussards] Buzzard: a worthless, stupid or ignorant person (OED sb. 2). Langland uses the phrase 'blynde bosarde' in attacking the clergy (Piers the Plowman, B Passus X, line 266; I, 306).

subversion] overthrow, ruin (OED sb.4); Fulwell probably had unconsciously in mind a second submersion, i.e. flood

the Kings chaplaine, namly King Herodes] Fulwell is surely mistaken here; John the Baptist was imprisoned by
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 reposed his sin to his face] Mark VI.18
55.12 with locustes, and wyld hony in the desert ] 'His meat was 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 ] 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 appercled, and live delicately, are in kings' courts.

55.14 Hee desired with the Psalmist, rather to bee a dore keeper 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.'

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).

When the Pharisees and head rulers came to his baptisme, hee called them not gracious Lordes, but generation of vipers, and bid them bring forth fruities 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.

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 depredations 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 Shakspere Society Series VI, No.12 (London, 1882), pp.30, 31)
wrestinge the scripture cleane out of ioynt] Possibly 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).

when the roystinge soldiours came vnto him...stipende] 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)

Princeps Sacerdotum High Priest; Vulgate Act.IV.6, 'Et Annos princeps sacerdotum....'

rehered] spoken (OED v.14c)


Simon Magus Grandfather to dissemblers] According to Eusebius, 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,
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 enuing the credite of the Apostles, sought by a venomous opinion, to kill the roots of christian faith and religion, hee and his supporters which were called Simonauces, 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), D6v-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*.

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).

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).
Philologus learnedly argues the point, citing Jeremy, Augustine and Ambrose in Nathaniel Woodes's *The Conflict of Conscience* (1581, STC 25966), E2V.

Put to death under Nero] according to Eusebius, I, 181


Old wives tales] Tilley W388; he does not cite Fulwell

As Saint John fled from Cerinthius that wicked hereticke]

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)

THE FOURTH DIALOGUE BETWENE 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 cliche: e.g. Chaucer, 'His herte bathed in a bath of blisse' ('Wife of Bath's Tale', l.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 event] 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. Litle thrift in simplicitie] Little success in being straightforward and guileless.

61.5 shiftes] tricks, dodges
rub out] get along; defined in note to 22.11

trade] course of action; mode of procedure (OED sb.1.3)

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.

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).

prety sleights] discussed in note to 19.2

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
'Of the helpe that may be drawen from the Princes seruants': the servant 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).

Favourite, 'esp. opprobriously, one who owes everything to his patron's favour, and is ready to purchase its continuance by base compliances' (OED A.s.b.1, 1.c).

'The name of Minion, or Priuado' 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 sclauders', 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).
which of his gentlemen wayters was greatest in his bookes ]

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.

these premyses ] the aforesaid, the foregoing (OED sb.II.2)

framed] directed (OED v.5.c)

officious ] eager to serve or please; attentive, obliging (OED a.1; from the Latin 'officios', obliging, dutiful)

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)

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
praise-worthy, an easie flatterie is necessarie to whomsoever serveth' (Ars iulica, chapter 20, 'Of praise and flatterie', pp.154-155). He defines adulation:

Adulation generally is an honour, which either deservedly or undeservedly is given by the inferior unto the superior, to the end to please him for his own benefit or interest. (pp.156-157)

least] lest

I compyled a pleasant pamflet, and dedicated the same vnto 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
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 pamflet'.

... 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 sphare 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 'obtain some dignity or preferment' in The Enemie of Idlenesse: Teaching the maner and stile how to endite, compose and write all sorts of Epistles and Letters (1568):
The first way to get benevolence is in praising of him unto 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 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 Ralegh' in A Sparke of Frendship 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 depriued them from their former dignities] Fortunatus's treachery and ingratititude 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,
Yea such as I before advanced of nought
Against my person trecheries have wrought.
Thus Honors do oftimes good manners change,
And men grown rich, to ancient friends grow strange.

(Leicester's Ghost, edited by F.B. Williams
(Chicago, 1972), p.10, 1.86)

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

Barclay says that courtiers try

Them selues to bring in, and rub another out.
And then to clime vp to office and renowne,
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)

thinnest thou that I would suffer any man...that might iustly
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)
he would rather be a Prince to rule and reign, yea though he had no possessions, then to be a vassal, or subject 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 'beggarie little toun' - 'then the seconde man in Rome'

Erasmus, *Apophthegmes*, 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.'

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 themselves to high degree,
By riches and unrighteous reward,
Some by close shouldring, some by flatteree;
Others through friends, others for base regard;
And all by wrong wayes for themselves prepar'd.
Those that were vp themselves, kept others low,
Those that were low themselves, held others hard,
Ne suffred them to rise or greater grow,
But every one did striue his fellow downe to throw. (*II.vii.47*)
to hit the top of dignytie is the marke wherat al men shoote

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); Shakespeare 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'.

condicion] moral nature, character (OED sb.II.11)

founders ] supporters; 'founder': one who supports or maintains another (OED sb.2 4)

honesty before honor] Honour, according to Barclay and his source, Aeneas Sylvius's Miserae 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).

experience teacheth] from the Latin proverb, 'experientia docet' (Riley, Dictionary of Latin Quotations, p.116)

honour uphelden with honestie, standeth when honor without honestie falleth to decay] 'Where great additions swell's,
and virtue none, / It is a dropsied honour' (All's Well that 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 growtheth 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 irreperable] That cannot be recovered from (OED a.2); the Q2 variant, 'irreperable', 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]
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', 1.909:

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
(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', 1.66); 'That froward fortune doth euer auail'e (Shepheardes Calender, 'September', 1.251); '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 reatch 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
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).

Fulwell is using the word 'theeuery' 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 theeuery' 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. Nash 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 Jerusalem, McKerrow's Nashe, II, 142-143)

Bishop Babington, in *A very fruitfull exposition of the Commandements* (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 servaut, and the Lord to his tenant. (quoted in Stubbes, Anatomy of Abuses Part I, edited by F.J. Furnivall, p.76)

66.18 fines] Stubbes explains the system of fines in *The Anatomy of Abuses*, Part II, p.29:

though he [the tenant] pay neuer so great an annual 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 togethier, 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 unreasonable 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'
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 relieving 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 veluets 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
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. 2)

67.4 bankrupt's 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 shall prevaile] 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 Upstart Courtier, Complete Works, XI, 238).
poletick]  in the sinister sense of scheming, crafty, cunning (OED A.adj.2.d)

Midas 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 past Aesse eares his heade did after beare.


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 Pable, 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.

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), 'δόξα' III.4, IV). Lucian uses the word in 'The Passing of Peregrinus':

reflecting what a strange thing love of glory (φιλόδοξος ) 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)
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.'

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)

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)
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 Rugge 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 Rugge was appointed to it in 1572....He died in 1581. (Cf. DNB XLIX, 391). Of just when Rugge was succeeded by Andrew Borrowe there is no certain record, but since Rugge 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
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 practicioner of the ciuill law' (76.18); Ribner overlooks this fact, even though the reference he gives to DNB states that Rugge 'was noted for
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, Rugge 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).
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).
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 'temperizing 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*, 
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.

Fulwell is called 'clerk persone of Naunton' in the indictment issued against him in the Court of High Commission (Biography, p.98).

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 knowest 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).
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 do it under an angel, or a noble at the least. And therefore the papists and adversaries to the Gospel call our Gospel, 'a polling Gospel,' our sermons 'royal sermons, angel 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)

Who lives to learn, and learns to live] Till=c=y L379, 'Live and learn'; Gascoigne has 'We live to learn, for so Saint Paul doth teach' (The Glass of Government (1575), in Complete Works, II, 88).

thrift] prosperity, success

shrift] revelation (of something private or secret) (OED sb.7)

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

benedicitie] blessing, deliverance from evil (OED B. sb.3); usually the blessing given at table

ab omne frugalitate] from all frugality, thriftiness

auricular confession] Confession told privately in the ear (OED a.2.c); OED quotes Brinklow (1542), 'That auricular confession, which is the preuy chamber of
treason'.

vnthriftie] unprofitable, uneconomical

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 Rumming: '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 hospytalitye] 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
Hospitalitie. Item, whether they be resident upon 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 (B2v).

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.

pluralytie] 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
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.

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.1.3.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)
sauce knaue] impertinent fellow
gentles] gentlefolk

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 marchaudise of open penaunce.'

The covetousness of patrons was one of the 'inconveniences 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 simoniacl 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 soulde for simonie' by patrons, 'euen as an oxe or a cow is bought and sold for mony', and he discusses the 'lawes
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).

heape vp wrath] Perhaps an echo of Job XXXVI.13: 'But the hypocrites in heart heap up wrath.'

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, 'depriued from the foode of the soule' by not having an adequate pastor.

depriued 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 fyld of gostly foode. (Select Works of Robert Crowley, edited by J.M. Cowper, EETS (London, 1872), p.119)

simple] in the sense of deficient in knowledge or learning (OED A.adj.II.9), as the context makes clear

syr John, ytterly 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 Vnlearned Priestes Lesson' is called Sir John;
Thou that art lewde wythoute learnynge,
Whom communly men cal syr Iohn...
Thou art a man voide of knowledge,
And eke of all good qualities,
Only mete for to dysh and hedges. (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 hundred 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 laten 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...
quaters 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.
Stubbes makes a similar point: 'the most patrones keepe the fattest morsels to themselves, and give scarcely the crumbs to their pastors' (Anatomy of Abuses, Part II, p.80). He denounces this practice as sacrilege and fraud.

71.16 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-glorous 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 heap to themselves teachers, having itching ears. And they shall turn away their ears from the truth, and shall be turned to fables.

71.17 like Protheus convert 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,
and his first quotation is dated 1589, T. Cooper's *Admonition to the People of England*: 'Such a subtile Protheus 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), B3v, I.2.312)

71.19 *lyuings*] benefices

71.21 *plausible*] acceptable, pleasing; winning public approval, popular (*OED* a.2)

71.22 *bone (a2: boon) 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 favourd Papists... To serue my tourne, I could turne Puritant. (edited by F.B. Williams, 11.149, 155)

gospeller] One who claims for himself and his party the exclusive possession of gospel truth, often applied
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 Love] 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
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).

Ancient] venerable (OED A.adj.II.7)

wild otes] Dissipated or dissolute young fellows (OED
'oat' 4.b); OED and Tilley (C6) quote Becon's Nosegay
(1542): 'the foolish desire of certain light brains and
wild oats, which are altogether given to new fangleness'.

at all assayes] for all occasions (OED sb.V.21)

credite] reputation; favourable estimation (OED sb.5.b)

John Scoggin, or Scogan, was court fool to Edward IV;
according to OED 'Scoggin' came to be used as a word for a
course 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 every man else
doeth; for hee that hath enough, shall haue more,
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, inquiere 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 deuises] witty expressions? (OED 'device' sb.10)

73.2 humors] inclinations, whims (OED sb.II.6)

73.3-4 merry greeke] Merry fellow; boon companion (OED 'Greek' sb.I.5); proverbial, Tilley K901; 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 serve a thatcher then in the church ]

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 Vnlermed 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)
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 mennes dogbolte, ne in any mannnes 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 *kepe 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
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;

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 insaciable couetousnes of the cuntry man, with the subtiltie 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 Iowde,
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)

insaciable couetousnes A cliché of 'complaint' writing:

'0 unquenchable Fyer, and unsatiable covetousnesse....The
(73.19) eye of a covetous man is unsatiable' (Gascoigne, The 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 insaciable 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 righteousnes thereof ] 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 attourney,
In any court where so it be,
Let him not waite and spende money,
If his dispatch do lie in the\[. (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)
the disguised attire of men and women, maketh them seeme
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.

in all my sermons, I haue one pleasant dogtricke or other
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, D3v, complains that friars and Masters
of Divinity 'senden out Idiots ful of couetise, to preach
not the Gospel; but Chronicles, Fables, and Leesings, to 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 1247-1939 (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 heathenishe Oratoures, that thincke all the grace of preaching lieth in affected eloquence, in fonde fables to make their hearers laughe....But if they care away the praise of the people for their learning,...or for some mery tales they have told, 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 mannnes 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
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 P8: '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 under 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); as in Thomas Wilson's The Rule of Reason (1551), I:

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)
fame] reputation (OED sb.2)

sreeuous wundes of my good reporte, which skarre lyeth so 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.

plaster] Figuratively, a healing or soothing means or measure (OED sb.I.1.b)

couet] desire eagerly (OED v.1.b, c)

chirurgicall] surgical

polecie ] stratagem

when I was in the flower of my youth... seruitour] erroneously taken as applying to Fulwell himself, as discussed in Biography, pp.4-5

tauntinge] making a smart or effective rejoinder; exchanging banter (OED v.1.1)

lubber] A big, clumsy, stupid fellow, especially one who 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 lойtering lubbers' (An Admonition to the Parliament, in Puritan Manifestoes,
edited by Frere and Douglas, p. 32); and Edward Hake, A Touchstone for this time present (1574, STC 12609), B7v: Would God (I saye) that the holye house were not pestered at this daye with such hypocrites and damnable sort of lurkish loytering Lubbers, who...doo keepe within their clammes the livelyhood 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.1)

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
fellows [i.e., the Papists], doth signify, and represent the whole monarchy of the world, East, West, North, and South, the government whereof standeth upon them, as the cappe doth upon their heads. (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' l.e). Tilley quotes E.P.'s translation of A Confutation of Unwritten 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 rochetts, 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 civil 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.] 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 words.

76.sn. Syr simon a sercher for al kinde of mettals] This activity 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 uncertaintie 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 even vnto hel alius, and with cleare 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.
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).

**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.

**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 (QED). 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.

Tesremos...Slew] Somerset and Wel(l) is spelt backwards. Stubbes uses the same device in his *Anatomy of Abuses*, in which he refers to Nodnol (London), Dnalgne (England) and Ailgna (Anglia).

after whose death I toke new orders, and became a new olde priest againe] This would more or less fit in with John Rugge'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.
fisshed...with my golden hook] Proverbial; discussed in note to 69.sn.13-15

flattering

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)

brasen face] proverbial, as above note to 75.4

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: '0 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).

worme eaten rotten] The same metaphor is used by Henry
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
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.

esquiers) men belonging to the higher order of English gentry, ranking immediately below a knight (OED sb. 1 2)

list] wish (OED v. 1 2.b)

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 cleft 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 Rugge.

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 forth with all.
(78.9) Avarice: That is well spoken. I love suche atowarde twygg.

(he whistleth. 

Adulacion: I come fawnder.

Avarice: that is myne owne good spaignell Rig.

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 servisable spaniell] Spaniel in the 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 (1663):

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 'corosy (corrasy, corracy)', 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 (Lamport?)

79.11 sometimes] 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);
sop] defined in note on 71.6-7 above

wits and wiles] Spenser uses a similar phrase in The Faerie Queene, IV.xi.2: 'Vnlouely Proteus, missing to his mind / That Virgins loue to win by wit or wile.'

sith] since

endew] endow

Slew] Wells, as above 77.4

portendeth] indicates (OED v. 3)

peraduenture] perhaps

enow] enough

tendering] A legal term: to offer money 'in exact fulfilment of the requirements of the law and of the obligation' (OED v. 11).

limited] appointed (OED ppl.a.1)

very friend] true friend

vnconscionable dealers] unscrupulous operators

obloqui] evil fame, disgrace (OED sb.1.b)

Judas] 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).

egregious] outrageous (OED a.3)

albeit] although
82.13 cheare ] kindly welcome or reception (OED sb.6)
82.16 trayne ] trick, stratagem (OED sb.2 1.b)
82.18 crucifie ] From the Latin New Testament, Mark XV.13:
     'At illi iter jum clamaverunt: Crucifie 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
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)
blamed, reproved (OED v.1 2)

teacher, lecturer (OED sb.4)

minutely, circumstantially, in detail (OED adv.2)

subjected to public disgrace or infamy (OED v.I.1)

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)

Evil deeds, crimes (OED sb.1.c); 'thereto she did annexe / False crimes and facts' (Faerie yueene, 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).

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:
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 Psalms of Dauid and others. With J. Caluins commentaries, translated by A. Golding (1571, STC 4395), fo.199-199v).

Saint Paules rules vnto Timothe] I Timothy III, and passim. 85.9-10

Quis ex vobis potest me arguere de peccato?] John VIII.46; 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), P3v; Nouum testamentum latinum, edited by Walter Delaine (1540, STC 2799), fo.87).
(85.15) But Tyndale's translation reads 'Which of you can rebuke 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 yp] 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 circumstaunce' (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 one to thee] William Vaughan makes a similar accusation
in his 'character' of a Flatterer in The Golden-groue:
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)

if they be couetous, extortioners, proude, voluptuous or
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.

they are not by thee rebuked, but such shall dye in their
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.

thou hast honest termes to cloke these forenamed vices.
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,
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 woulves in the clothing of sheepe' and 'Cloked eche of these vices, with a vertuous name (Greg's edition, p.47, 11.1366, 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,
0, 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:

0 dissembling heart that...maketh men to iudge that hypocrisy is deuocation, ambicion nobilitie, auarice husbandry, crueltie zeale of iustice, much babling eloquence, foolishnes grauitie, and dissolution diligence. (translated by Sir Fraunces Briant (1575, STC 12448), C8; another list is on F1V by the sidenote 'Vice is called vertue')

And William Wrednot, Palladis palatium; wisedoms pallacie;

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 every vice the name of his
(86.14) opposite vertue.((1604, STC 26014), E4v)

(86.18) 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.I.1.a)

lustinesse] vigour, robustness (OED sb.2)

86.sn. Clenly] pure or innocent (OED a.1)

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 John] 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 William)

Thomas, syr William.

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

openly intermeddle with any artificers occupations, as covetously to seke a gayme 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
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 thyre 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 pieces, which indeed his man two dayes before had fast^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
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.1.6)
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
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)

Truth seeketh out no corners, nor searcheth for 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), C2v, has 'Simpelx veritatis oratio. Trueth seeketh no By-ways'.

coulorable having an appearance of truth or right;
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 themselves the Familie of Loue (1579, STC 21181), A5).
THE SIXT DIALOGUE BETWEEN PIERCE PIKETHANK, DROGHN 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.
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.

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 Astrologicall Prognostication (1591), attributed to Nashe, it is prognosticated that in the coming year brewers will water their beer 'to the overthrowe of certaine erased Ale knights, whose morning draughtes of strong Beere is a great staye to their stomacks'

(McKerrow's Nashe, III, 382).

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
entertainment vntoo the Queenz Majesty, at Killingworth Castl...iz signified, writes of a man who

haz been chozen Alecunner many a yeere...:
and euer quitied himself with such estimation, az yet too the tast of a cup of Nippitate, hiz judgemennt will be taken aboue the best in the parish, be hiz noze near so red.  
(STC 15191 [1575]; Scolar facsimile (Menston, Yorkshire, 1968), C3')

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).

hufcap] Strong and heady ale, 'that huffs or raises the cap' (OED B.ssb.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):

clearly, 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
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'


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'


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,
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 entreat 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 deceiver's 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 counterfeit] He is also mentioned above, 21.8; a counterfeit is a pretender or impostor (OED C.sb.2).
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 gettet 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.

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)

 commendations of their...bewtie] 'The way to make a woman a fool is to commend her beauty' (Tilley, W153).

paterne] typical, model or representative instance (OED sb.6)

Artizan] artist (OED sb.1)

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 uncertaintie 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 lanus] 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 P20). Tilley quotes Giovanni Torriano's explanation in Italian Proverbs (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:

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 chaunge should come. But twene vs .ij. be ods.

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 chaunge should come. But twene vs .ij. be ods.
And therefore (Ianus) once again I say,
Go charme your tongue, least I take hood away.

Hake also refers to Papists as 'O Ianus Iacke /
and double faced Dogs' (F₄). 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.

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,

Imblazure] emblazoning, 'blazing abroad' (OED
'emblazon' v.2); related to the verb 'blaze', meaning to describe fitly in words (OED v.2 4)

Certes] assuredly

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.'

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 grieued 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, even 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 acquintaunce 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.1.7)
92.10 knaeubald] 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 araignement 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'
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;
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 circumuented] 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
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** lyrynecumpanch] 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 folle'.

**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).
paire of left legges with the thighes downewarde] perhaps suggesting clumsiness and awkwardness, and obesity

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).

taste of every 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 every neighbours pottage. (Diseases of the soule: a discourse (1616, STC 109), p.65)

condicions] behaviour (OED sb.II.11.b)

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).

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'

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).

thou art worthy to weare a whetstone] Tilley W298:
'He deserves the whetstone'; Tilley explains that a liar was punished by having a whetstone hung around his neck. Nares says that the whetstone was given as a prize for lying: 'This was a standing jest among our ancestors, as a satirical premium to him who told the greatest lie' (Nares, p. 954). The whetstone was also associated with flattery, as is shown by an emblem in Johann Flitner's Nebulo Nebulonum (Frankfurt, 1620, p. 120) of a hypocritical courtier-poet polishing his tongue on a whetstone.

94.13 can] William Elderton in A New merry newes (1606, STC 7558), A6, exhorts the drinker:

Ye shall sweare to be true to the kan and the cup, and if it be a full pot ye shall drinke it vp.

94.13-14 with hay iolye Lenkin I see a knaue a drinkyng. etc.] This appears as the refrain of a drinking song in Elderton's A New merry newes, A7:

God be with Alsinadon,  
That made the Tankards long agone,  
For sure he was a merry man,  
And liued many a day:  
And Lenkin was his journey man,  
A verie good companion,  
For he would drinke with euery man,  
And thus was woont to say:  
To whome drinke you, Sir knaue to you,  
with hey ioly Lenkin, I see a knaue a drinkin[g]  
And trole the bole to me.

The song has five more stanzas, which stress the luminous noses of Jenkin and 'Copper-nose his wife', and Jenkin dies a toper's death 'drowned in a malmzey tunne'. Although the only edition of
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:

Linkin the iester was wont to make glee with laruis the lugler till angry was he, then Wilkin the Wiseman did wisely foresee, that lugler 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 Pulwell: 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 Jolly Jenkin' 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 Jollie Jenkin*, (an other of Sara's 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 bee 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 theynr legges: Hey jolly Jenkin, 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).
Roisters] Swaggering or blustering bullies; rude revellers (OED sb.1); Cotgrave gives as similes for 'royster' 'A ruffin,...hackster, swaggerer; sawcie, paultrie, scuruie fellow' (A Dictionarie of the French and English Tongues, 'rustre').

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').

Malapert] impudent

floutes] Jeers (OED sb.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).

bobs] taunts, scoffs (OED sb.3)

bobbeth] makes a fool of, deceives (OED v.1)

cosoner] cheat

shifter] trickster (OED sb.3)

seconde parte] discussed in note on title-page, ll.1-2

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), O5v:

It is to be feared lest at this day, there be in Christendome manye Apes (that is to say) counterfaiteers which by a Greake worde wee commonlie cal hipocrites)...wiche 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 thyrde 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
the thirde heauen, where loue lodgeth.'

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.

straitly] severely (OED adv. 5)

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)

olde stamp] old kind, i.e. Roman Catholics

the ouerthrow of Abbais] The 'greater' religious houses were dissolved by act of parliament in 1539.

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, euyn 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 Roderyck Mors (ca. 1548) edited by J. M. Cowper, 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.'
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 Satyrical 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
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

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 vnlerned 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 heavenly dogge: or the life of Diogenes (1615; STC 23128).
carefull] full of care or trouble (OED a.2)

ackoy] soothe (OED v.)

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

whilom] formerly (OED A.adv. 2.b)

coy conseights] Fulwell uses this phrase above,
3.13, and it is discussed in the notes to that line.

Diogenes was an olde Courtier] There is no
evidence for this assertion in Diogenes Laertius.

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
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 dutie 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 heavenly 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*
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, which be not beeyng contented with
the inheritaunce of thy fathers kyngdom
dooest putte thyself in auenture, and
hasarde of so many perilles and daungers,
to enlage the limits of thy 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 smilling 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.

vaded] passed away, vanished (OED v.1 3)
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.

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 beautious lookes 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.

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.

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
meaning 'bareheaded and bowing or kneeling' (OED 'cap' sb. 1 4.g). Fulwell uses the phrase again below 125.7.

Envy 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.

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 humlyburly.'

moode] anger (OED sb. 1 2.b)

a sely mouse I saw] sely: 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 stieryng of folkes, nor had any lust to eate meate: A joyly gaye example of libertee, saied Diogenes. And even forthwithall, renouncying and forsaking the worlde, he begoonne to take vp his dwellyng in a tubbe. (Apophthegmes, translated by N. Udall (1542, STC 10443), i5-i5v; 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,
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)
101.11 lore] a piece of instruction (OED sb. 1)
101.12 wynde] go (OED v. 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 / lodged in contented brest] Perhaps proverbial: 'Content is all' (Tilley C623a); 'Content is happiness' (Tilley C624).
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.

wight] being; according to OED, originally applied to supernatural or unearthly beings (sb.1.b)

eke] also

vading] obsolete form of fading, transitory (OED)

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.'

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.'

whelmed] turned upside down (OED v.2); OED's earliest example of the use of the ppl. adjective is 1819

couert] shelter (OED sb.2)

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 junkets] 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, Apopthegmes, 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 woorden 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
bear swing and sway] The phrase is used above, and discussed in the note to 50.9-10.

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.

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.

clownish] rustic (OED a.1)

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)

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 compires] 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 things 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
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), F3V).

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 just 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 Martialisists resist' (Seauen Satyres Applyed 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:
'Gup with a galde backe gill, come vp to souper'.

Bayard] defined in the note to 30.11-12 above

vainch] of a horse: to kick restlessly or impatiently (OED v. 1 2)

The phrase is proverbial: 'Rub a galled horse on the back and he will wince' (Tilley H700); Fulwell used the related proverb 'rubbed on the gall' above, 10.10. The proverb was a popular one in satirical writings: for example, 'the bishops and prelates of this realm (much like to galled horses, that cannot abide to be rubbed)', Exhortation to the Bishops (1572), in Puritan Manifestoes, edited by W.H. Frere and C.E. Douglas, p.61; in Lodge's Catharos: Diogenes in his Singularitie (Works, II, 14), Diogenes says:

I wil play the worldling a little to please thee, and leaue to rub thee on the gall, since thou art loath thy imperfections should bee discovered.

Heywood has an epigram 'Of a galde horse':

Rub a galde horse on the backe and he wyll kycke:

But the galde asse wyll stande styll, rub, spur or pricke.

(300 Epigrams, no.140, in Works, ed. cit., p.171)

Aristippus] Discussed in note to 34.13 above; Thomas Randolph wrote an amusing play about him, Aristippus, or, the Jovial Philosopher (1630), in which he is represented as instructing his students in the art of drinking sack. He was used as an exemplum of flattery

107.22 *lordings* A contemptuous diminutive of lord's (*OED* sb.2), as in Puttenham, *Arte of English Poesie* (1589): 'Such termes are used 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 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 fyling 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
freendes, and maken shrewes to be debonaire and meeke' (Robinson's Chaucer, p.185).

mickle] great (OED a.1)

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.

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'.

Aristippians] 'Aristippos' altered to fit the metre

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' (Apophthegmes, 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).

What winde drivies thee?] Tilley W441: 'What wind blew you hither?'; Apperson 'wind' (b) 7, p.690.
holy water of the Court] 'A proverbial phrase for flattery, and fine words without deeds; borrowed from the French, who have their *eau bénite 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.

*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.

Tilley W833, 'Words are but wind'; Tilley derives the proverb from Job VI.26: 'Do ye imagine to reprove words...which are as wind?'
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), B3v). 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. (l.1000)

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'.

ought] i.e., aught, anything whatever (OED sb.1;
'aught' A.sb.)

Poore men are pleasde with potage] Tilley F423, 'Poor
folks are glad of pottage'; Tilley quotes Fulwell as
above.

earst] erst; once, formerly (OED B.adv.5.a)
110.1 Make friends 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 laughs 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.
doting drudge] foolish hack; William Goddard uses the phrase 'dreaming drudge' in *A Satirical Dialogue... betweene Allexander the Great and... Diogynes* (1616? STC 11930), A3\(^{v}\).

his scoole] I.e. of Cynic philosophers, a sect founded by Antisthenes; Diogenes was its most famous proponent.

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 *Apophthegmes* (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.

he like dog doth snar and grinne] snar: snarl

Erasmus explains in the *Apophthegmes* (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, orels because in wordes of rebaudrie and shamelesse speakynge, 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
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), B6V-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 therfore 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 philosophiers, 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 facios of liuyng, orels in his saiynges more merie conceipted,...or more pleaunt.

111.2 sottish] foolish, doltish (OED a.1)

111.3 smooth thy tonge] Diogenes condemned 'smoothe' speaking, according to Erasmus, Apophthegmes, P6V-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, embraying a manne as though the speaker wer ready euuen to crepe into the bosome of the hearer, cutteth the throte of thesame.
111.3 oyle thy wordes] William Goddard in *A Satyrical Dialogue...betweene Allexander...and...Diogynes*, B3V, 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].
Experience teacheth] 'Experientia docet,' Stevenson 724.5, from Tacitus, Histories, V.vi.

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.

sith] since

list not] do not choose to (OED v. 1 2.b)

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.

As good is a foe that hurteth not, as a frend that helpeth not] Tilley F409; Tilley's earliest example is 1578.

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.

Aristip] Again, as above, 108.13, Fulwell alters the name to fit the metre.

turneth with the winde] Tilley W439; a symbol for inconstancy: Lodge in Catharos: Diogines in his Singularitie (1591), Works, II, 12, describes flatterers:
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.

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 wylye Fox] In Lucian's dialogue, 'The Dead Come to Life, or the Fisherman', the fox is used as
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).

whilome] once upon a time (OED A.adv.2)

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).

praye] 'Cheese' in Babrius, Phaedrus, and Caxton's Aesop; 'morsell' and 'meat' in Adams; 'a piece of flesh' in Lodge.

enuide] begrudged; 'to envy at' means to begrudge something (OED v.1 3, 4)

fowle] perhaps with a pun on foul / fowl

corpes] i.e. (living) body (OED sb.1); as below, 113.17

haughty] High, lofty (in literal sense) (OED a.3); OED quotes Barnaby Googe (1570), 'From the toppes of hawtie towres'.
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).

port] bearing (OED sb.4 I.1); used again below, 130.8

Eagles lookes] According to the proverb, only an eagle can gaze at the sun (Tilley E3; Smith, Spenser's Proverb Lore, no. 199).

cast] contrivance, trick (OED sb.VII.24)

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).

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').

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)

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
wrote an epigram on this proverb:

Nothyng hath no sauer, which sauerles shoue:
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 prouded him no
sauce but hunger' (Anthony Stafford, Staffords
heavenly dogge: or the life of Diogenes (1615;
STC 23128), C2-C2\textsuperscript{v}). The proverb 'Hunger is a
noble sauce' is discussed above in the note to
103.19.

115.14 hap] luck (OED sb.\textsuperscript{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
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.'

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).

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 communicacion wyth painted wordes.

Debonaire] gracious, courteous

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), ABV, 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 things worke rightfully.
S erue God and thy Prince duely.

C all for grace howerly.
L ove thy neighbours freendly.
Y eld to the truth meekely.
F auour learning earnestly.
T rust in Chrits 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 vll 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 EIGHTH 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 fill them half ful of froth, that cande 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 Tapster's 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), D4V.

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)
emblaze] set forth by means of heraldic devices

(ODD v.2 1.b)

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-B1V, gives two Latin versions of the proverb:

*Cretensis [sic] Cretensem. One false merchaunte deceiuth an other. The men of Crete were in olde time much reproued for their falshide 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.
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.'

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), F3: 'the Dicer will sweare to heare his cogging and foysting advantages discouered;' *Sir John Oldcastle* (1610), F4V: '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 Prophesie* (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)

*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;
facsimile reprint, Menston, 1969), T2, says that the word 'Heralt comes from the ancient Teutonick Here-healt'. 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.s.b.2)

120.3 fond] foolish, silly (OED A.a.2)

120.5-6 fallere fallentem non est fraus to deceive 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: '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: '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 little tariance then a raw dinner] This sounds like a proverb, but is not in Tilley or the

The OED quotes Fulwell as above under 'tarriance'.

Tapsters are masters 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'.

taphouse] alehouse; the tap-room of an inn (OED)

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, 1.24; Herford & Simpson, VI, 280; also I.5.79)

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',
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)

guoyne] 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)

Sithens] since

weete] know

Morpheus] Ovid's name for the god of dreams, the son of Sleep (Metamorphoses, XI.635)

Iupiter] 'the king and father of gods and men'
    (Lemprière, p.304)

accompt] account

ministeries] ministries: functions, offices (OED sb.2)

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
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    of the evolution of the proverb from 'favel' to
    'favour'. Fulwell uses the phrase again below 127.3.
wreckful] Revengeful (OED a.²); OED quotes North's translation of Guevara's Diall of Princes (1577), which also has the phrase 'wreckfull gods'.

Mars] the god of war

whyloom] some time before (OED A.adv.2)

infest] hostile (OED a.1)

Ioue] poetical equivalent of Jupiter (OED)

harneis (Q2: harnesse)] the defensive or body armour of a man-at-arms or foot-soldier (OED sb.2)

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).

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

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).

Appollo] the god of music, poetry and eloquence

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 ever loves to be in womens chambers'. Nares, I, 138, notes that 'carpet-trade' is flattery.

fond] foolish
eftsones] eftsoons: soon afterwards (CED adv.3)

daunced after his pipe] 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.'

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.
He that hath travayled 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 travels ....And 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).

Polonian] Polish

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'

it is a world to see] Tilley W878; discussed in note to 76.21-77.1 above

fables] foolish or ridiculous stories; idle talk, nonsense (OED sb.1.c); also fabrications, falsehoods (1.d)

forged] fabricated, invented (OED v. 4)

sot] fool

U.F.] i.e., Ulpian Fulwell

cogging] flattering (OED v. 3 5)

Q. (Q2: quill)] 'Q' is an obsolete form of 'cue'; John Minsheu defines it as:
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 Dactoris in lingua* 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, c⅖, 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
by B.A. Milligan, p.179). Taverner comments on Erasmus:

\[
\textit{Stultus stulta loquitur. A fool speaks foolish things. And as our English Proverbe saith: A fool's bolt is soon shotte, whereas the wise man speaketh seldom and wittelie. (Erasmus, Proverbes or Adagies, translated by R. Taverner (1569, STC 10441), A4v)}
\]

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:

\[
\text{With a hood / a bell / a foxtayle / and a bagge}
\]
\[
\text{In a pyed cote he rode brygge a bragge.}
\]

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:

\[
\text{Another Artelesse mome bewitcht with praise,}
\]
\[
\text{Thrusts forth a patched Pamphlet into print,}
\]
\[
\text{When fooles on it, as on a pide coat gaze.}
\]
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), B2V, 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.
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.  

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).

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.

gale] i.e., gale

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.

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:
'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.'

flaunt it out] obtrude themselves boastfully, impudently or defiantly on the public view (OED v.2.a)

Some crouch and creepe ful low] Spenser gives a similar list of the courtier's activities in 'Mother Hubberd's Tale', 1.905: 'To fawne, to crowche, to waite, to ride, to ronne....'

With cap and knee] discussed in note to 100.18 above

gape for] long for (OED v.4)

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, 'Giving 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)

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.'
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.

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.'

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.

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., D6V, 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.

wight] a living being, originally applied to supernatural beings (OED sb.1.b)
126.6 to torne] torn in pieces (OED 'to-' prefix 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 wisdome 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 flattrye do aspire: / To guerdon great, when trusty trueth, / hath hatred for her hyn] 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 feel of his Sword,
So that with such men is fully verifiyed,
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 worldly (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*)] Planting 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 thynge so they may money wyn'.

127.19  
*no whit*] not at all

128.1-2  
*The touchstone tries, all is not gold, / that glisteth 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), Scolar Facsimile, ed. cit., p.233, has an emblem of a gold coin on a piece of touchstone
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 'infest enemie' above, 121.18

129.10-12 Cornelius Agrippa, for his displaynge of courtiers in his booke de vanitate scienciarum] Henry Cornelius
Agrippa von Nettesheim (1486-1535), courtier, physician, and student of the occult, published De incertitudine et vanitate scientiarium 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:

every honeste man is there oppressed, and every ribaulde is auaunced, the simple menne be laughed to skorne, and the iuste are persecuted, presumptuouse and shamelesse Parsons be favoured. None but flatterers doo prosper there, and whisperers, sclaunnderers, talebearers, false accusers, complainers, abusers, venemous tongues, supplanter, inuentours of mischies, 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*] courageous 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 *joy thy case*] rejoice in your circumstances (*OED* 'joy' v.2.d; 'case' sb.1 5)

130.17 *wight*] person
sisters three] the Fates or Parcae: Clotho, Lachesis and Atropos, who preside over the destiny of man

with princely pomp / thy table doest maintain] 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., G4v, H1:

Where are the great Chines of staulled Beefe? the great blacke Iackes of doble Beere? the long Haull 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 Attendantes?...this affoordes them a doble benefite, it cuts off the charge of Men, and many Dyshes.

Take time, in time] proverbial; discussed in note to 109.9 above

spit in Fortunes face] 'To spit in heaven's face', Tilley H355; Tilley's first example is 1583.

first cut thy troup, / 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 houskeeping] 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
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.

Cornelius Agrippa gives an account of such tricks in chapter 70, 'Of the common or meane Courtiers', who 'ledde with couetousnes doo turne all things to the praye, and sounde of gayne' (Of the Vanitie and Uncertaintie of Artes and Sciences, edited by C.M. Dunn, p.243).

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
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.565; 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 John':

'Gentlemen younger brothers, that weares their elder brothers Blew coate and Badge, attending him with as reuerend regard and
duetifull obedience, as if he were their Prince or Soueraigne. Where was then, in the prime of this profession, goodman Tomsons loache, or Robin Roushe my gaffer russetcoats seconde sonne? the one holding the Plough, the other whipping the Carthorse. (B3)

muster] make a good appearance (OED v. 1.c)

lustely] willingly, with pleasure, gladly (OED adv.1)

Simkin] diminutive form of the personal name Simon; a fool, simpleton (OED sb.1)

Hob] a generic name for a rustic or clown; a familiar or rustic variation on the Christian name Robert or Robin (OED sb.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

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.

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)

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., G1V, makes the
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 freight (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 evidence 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
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.

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).

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
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)
Your shepherd is a subtil knaue, / and breeds himselfe a stock: / By keeping 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.

Cotsol] Cotswold: the Cotswolds were particularly famed for their sheep, humorously called 'Cotswold lions' (Tilley I323). 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).

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)
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 fulfill 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

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 got] fool

137.3 at all assaies] At every juncture (OED sb.V.21), used above, 72.8; Udall uses the phrase in his translation
of Erasmus's *Apophthegmes* (1542, STC 10443), H7, in describing Aristippus:

A witte like prompte and readye at all assayes, aswell to dooe, as also 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. 1.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*,


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.

bath in blisse] used above and discussed in note to 60.3

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.

varlets] rascals; used above 119.23

hemp] the hangman's rope

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).

grafs] twigs, shoots (OED sb.1 2)

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
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, preserve 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), A3:\n
Perniciosisime mordent, ex feris bestijs obrectator, ex cicuribus adulator. There be two whiche byte most deadly, of wylde beastes, the backbyter, and the tame the flatterer.

139.11-12 Plato accounteth 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 booke 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
The temptation of Eve by the serpent in the Garden of Eden: he promises he 'ye shall be as gods' (III.5).

End (OED sb.2.c); OED quotes Becon, News out of Heaven (1541): 'He will be with you even to the very consummation and end of the world.'

omit, not mention (OED v.1)

Erasmus explains in his Apophthegmes, 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 rych folkes, flattering theim, 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 smellefeastes 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.

John VI relates the miracle of the loaves and fishes; Fulwell is partly quoting from and partly paraphrasing John VI.14-15.
varlets] rogues

glosinge] flattering, wheedling (OED v. 14)

Maister...truly] quoting Matthew XXII.16

pharaseicall] Resembling the Pharisees in laying great stress upon the external observances of religion and outward show of morality; hypocritical (OED 'Pharasaic' a.2).

condicions] behaviour (OED sb.II.11.b)

fonde] mad, idiotic (OED A.a.3)

affections] Mental tendencies (OED sb.II.4); Udall defines the word in his translation of Erasmus's Apophthegmes (1542, STC 10443), f5v:

affeccions, that is to saye: with the corrupt mocions and sodain pangues or passions of the mynde.

sugred venom] Whiting S871, 'Sugar and venom'; Fulwell uses the phrase 'sugred bane' above, 102.9.

disworship] the reverse of worship; dishonour (OED v.)

dishonest] bring disgrace upon; stain with ignominy (OED v.1)

in vre] into practice (OED sb. 1.a)

cogging] cheating (OED ppl.a)

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

142.11-14 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. Containing 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 Turbervile'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
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 disceau thee which is of that nature
With harde craking wordes to threaten openly,
But rather he warneth thee to beware therby:
Fayre wordes vs disceau 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 poysone with meates delicate,
And with drinke delicious some venom and mortall.

(STG 3546, C1v)

Turbervile's translation is more literal:

None mindes to trap thee in the snare
that vseth threatening stile,
But by his churlish checks doth make
thee heedefull more the while.
The cheerefull looke and freindly face,
the eye with wanton winke
Beguilis vs most: with syrops sweete
we poison oft do drinke.

(STC 17244, B3)
A SHORT DIALOGUE, BETWEEN THE AUTHOUR AND HIS BOOK

143.0.1-2  A short Dialogue, betwene 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)
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 pleasautn chat (a world to see)....

let] stoppage, obstruction (OED sb.¹), as in Tilley D194: 'After a delay comes a let.'

full well] another pun on the author's name

vneth] Scarcely (OED 'uneath', adv.1); 'This also goeth in a tale, albeit uneth beleuuable' (Erasmus, Apophthegmes, translated by N. Udall, edited by E. Johnson, p.110).

If talke may make mennes eares to glow] Tilley B14, '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'.
framed] composed (OED v.8)

144.10 eke] also

cast] skill (OED sb.VII.24.b)

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.

rubde on the gall] Tilley G12; discussed in note to 10.10 above

coy] disdainful? (OED a.3); OED's first example of the word in this sense is 1581

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.'

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.'

So many heads, so many wittes] Tilley H279; Smith, Spenser's Proverb Lore, no.371; Erasmus, Prouerbes or Adagies, translated by R. Tavner, ed. cit., B5:
'Quot homines, tot sententie. So many men, so many wittes.'

Sith] since

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.'

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.

patronesse] Lady Mildred Burghley, to whom the book is dedicated

learned trayne] Robert Record appeals to 'the beste sorte' in 'The bookes Verdict' prefixed to The Grounde of Artes (1575, STC 20801), A1v:

To please or displease sure I am,
But not of one sorte to every man:
To please the beste sorte would I fayne,
The frowarde displease shall I certayne.

As for fooles boltes, that would thee hitte] Tilley F516; Fulwell also uses this proverb above, 124.5-6.

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 censorious person; OED's earliest example is 1577, John Northbrooke's A treatise wherein dicing, dauncing, etc. are reproved: 'Frantike findefaults, dispraysing and condemning every good endeavour.' 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.

Abbreviations


EETS  Early English Text Society


GDR  Gloucester Diocesan Registry

Hazlitt's Dodsley: A Select Collection of Old English Plays, Originally Published by Robert Dodsley in... 1744. 4th edn., revised and enlarged by W. Carew Hazlitt. 15 vols. London: Reeves, 1874-1876.

Lempière

McKerrow's Nashe

Nares

OED


PRO
Public Record Office

Ribner I
Irving Ribner. 'Ulpian Fulwell and his Family', Notes and Queries, 195 (1950), 444-448.

Ribner II
Irving Ribner. 'Ulpian Fulwell and the Court of High Commission', Notes and Queries, 196 (1951), 268-270.

Skeat

STC

Stevenson

Sugden
Tilley


Whiting


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GDR 40. Register of Presentments and Detection Causes, 1576-1577.

GDR 29. Episcopal Visitation. 1572.


GDR 54. Episcopal Visitation. May 1584.


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