THE WORKS OF THOMAS NASHE
EDITED FROM THE ORIGINAL TEXTS
BY RONALD B. MCKERROW NOTES

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NOTES

VOLUME II
CHRISTS TEARES OVER IERVALEMM

1. Date of Composition and Publication.

The work appears to contain no indication of the exact date of writing, for the allusions at 15. 3 and 157. 2-3 to the plague would have been to the point at any time between the autumn of 1592 and the date of publication, but it seems reasonable to suppose that Nashe was at work upon it during the summer months of 1593.

The first issue must have appeared at or immediately after the date of its entry in the Stationers' Register, Sept. 8, 1593, for Harvey's New Letter, dated on the 16th of the same month, contains numerous references to it.

The date of the second issue, with the new address to the reader and the cancel for X3, cannot, I think, be exactly determined, but it would be natural to place it early in 1594. Nashe is not likely to have waited long before replying to Harvey's attack in the New Letter.

2. General Plan of the Work.

Christ's Tears falls into two main divisions, the first dealing with the crimes of the Jews and their punishment by the destruction of Jerusalem, the second with the crimes of London, which may, if they continue unchecked, draw down a similar vengeance upon that city.

The first of these great divisions itself falls into minor sections, as follows: A brief prayer for inspiration (15-16)—An account of God's mercies to the Jews and their refusal to hear Christ (16-21)—An oration in the person of Christ reproaching the Jews for their treatment of the prophets (21-59)—The siege and fall of Jerusalem (60-80).

The second part, intended to show that London has, through pride, offended in a similar way, is divided into a number of sections dealing with the 'sons' and 'daughters' of Pride, namely Ambition (81-92), with its branch, Avarice (92-108)—Vainglory (108-14)—Atheism (114-29)—Discontent (129-32)—Contention (132-4)—The daughters of Pride, and first, Disdain (134-6)—Gorgeous Attire (136-44)—Delicacy (144-7) including the branches of Gluttony (147-8), Lust (148-55), Sloth, with Security, or Carelessness (155-73)—A prayer against the plague (173-5).

3. Sources.

The account of the siege and destruction of Jerusalem, for which alone we need look for a definite source, is taken from the work known as the Sefer Yosippon or more generally by the name under which it appeared in English, Joseph Ben Gorion's History of the Latter Times of the Jews' Commonweal. The authorship and date of this work cannot be accurately determined, but it is generally held that it was composed by a Jew living in southern Italy in the ninth or tenth century. Until the eighteenth century it was referred to as the smaller or Hebrew Josephus, and was, at least until the time of Scaliger, highly respected as an historical source. There are many versions of
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it, and these present considerable differences: the English translation by Peter Morvyn, published in 1558, is from an abstract made in 1161 by Abraham ibn Daud and published with Münster's Latin version at Worms in 1529 and at Basle in 1559. (From the Jewish Encyclopedia, vii. 260 b, which see for particulars.) The English translation, which Nashe seems to have used, though he occasionally, after his manner, inserts a scrap of Latin (as at 61. 28–9), was very popular and went through at least six editions before the end of the century. In a few cases, referred to in the notes, it seems as if Nashe had followed Josephus rather than Ben Gorion, and we may perhaps suppose that he was familiar with both accounts, but the similarity of many passages to Morvyn's translation is so striking that it seems impossible not to regard this as the principal source. A few extracts from Morvyn are given for comparison, but considerations of space have made it necessary to give references alone for the majority of Nashe's borrowings.

It is possible, or probable, that the general idea of the book was taken from A very fruitfull and necessarye Sermon of the moste lamentable (sic) destruction of Ierusalem, and the heavy judgementes of God, executed vppon that people for their sinne and disobedience: published at this time to the wakening and stirring up of all such, as bee luddled in the cradle of securitie or carelesmesse, that they maye at length repente them of their harde hartednes, and contempt of God his word, least they taste of the like plagues for their rebellion and unrepentance, not knowing with the wilfull inhabitants of Ierusalem, the daye of their visitation. By John Stockwood, Schoolemaister of Tunbridge. Luke 13.3 ...1584. In its general plan and the line of its arguments this sermon very closely resembles Christ's Tears. For example, Stockwood begins by quoting Luke 19. 41–4, 'And when he was come near, he beheld the city, and wept over it, Saying, If thou hadst known,' &c., and proceeds, 'Three things to be noted out of this text. Firste, of Christes weeping over Ierusalem, and what moued them (sic) thereunto. Secondlye, of the destruction thre[te]ned vnto Ierusalem, and the causes of the same. Thirdly, what wee may learen by this GOD his heauye judgemente shewed vppon Ierusalem.' He then discusses the cause of Christ's tears over the city, precisely as Nashe does, and proceeds to a description of its siege and fall similarly based on the account of Ben Gorion. The general resemblance between the two works is so strong that it can, I think, hardly be accidental, though Nashe's treatment is considerably fuller and the account of the siege takes much from Ben Gorion which Stockwood omits. I cannot, however, say that I have detected any such close parallels in language as to make it seem likely that Nashe actually had Stockwood's book before him when he wrote; but cf. notes on 57. 19; 61. 26–30. The last part, the application to London, is Nashe's own, Stockwood merely drawing a general moral.

4. After History.

The work does not seem to have attracted any great amount of notice at the time of its publication, and references to it are by no means numerous. Mr. W. W. Greg has, however, pointed out to me an interesting allusion in A most straunge and true Discourse of the wonderfull Judgment of God, of a monstrous deformed Infant, 1600,
by one J. R., who, praising certain moral works, says 'Read, I pray you, Thomas Nashe's book, entitled, "The Tears of Christ over Jerusalem": which book, if you have any grace in you, will make you to shed tears for your sins.' (See Harl. Misc., ed. Park, 1808–13, x. 417, from which I quote.) Attention is called in the notes to several borrowings from Christ's Tears in Vaughan's Golden Grove.

The poem called Canaan's Calamity, published in 1598 and attributed to Thomas Dekker, contains certain passages which strongly suggest borrowing from the present work (cp. especially 76. 3–4 and Dekker, Wks., ed. Grosart, i. 42. 23–43. 2), but this, I think, due merely to the use of the same source.

P. 3. Modern Editions] It should have been stated that Collier printed the Epistle of 1594 in the introduction to his reprint of Harvey's New Letter, in Miscellaneous Tracts Temp. Eliz. & Jac. 1.

P. 4. 12. dated Sept. 16, 1592] The reader is requested at once to correct the date to Sept. 16, 1593.

16. a cancel] The existence of this cancel was, I believe, first noticed by J. P. Earwaker, who called attention to it in a letter dated Dec. 1889, offering a copy of the 1594 edition to the Bodleian Library for £3 3s. The letter has been preserved in the copy in question (now 1. b. 190). The cancel was afterwards independently noticed in the British Museum copies by Mr. H. R. Plomer, who very obligingly communicated his discovery to me, and by myself.

Note 1] The first paragraph is not as clear as it might be. I mean that the cancel leaf is joined to (on the same piece of paper as) a 1, forming with it a double leaf.

P. 9. 3–4. the Ladie Elisabeth Carey] She was the second daughter of Sir John Spencer of Althorpe and wife of Sir George Carey. Nashe refers to her in the dedication to The Terrors of the Night, i. 342. 12–28, which work was dedicated to her daughter of the same name.

13. mummianised] The word, which appears to have provoked criticism, is explained at ii. 185. 2–4, as equivalent to 'earth manured with mans flesh'.

18. Text-penne] See note on i. 99. 27.


22. Ospray eyes] Pliny treats the 'ossifraga' as a variety of the 'haliaetus' of which he says that the sight is especially good, H. N. x. 3. The only one of the hawk family which, according to him, has not good sight seems to be the night-hawk 'cymindis', which cannot see well in the day-time (x. 10). Greene also speaks of 'the blind Osyphragae', Wks., ed. Grosart ix. 33. 6.

P. 10. 10–11] I hardly understand these lines. Presumably 'dead' in the second is equivalent to 'sly', as 'deaded' at ii. 275. 17.

19–21. Divers wel-deserving Poets ... praise] Excepting Spencer, I cannot find any poet who had dedicated works to Lady Carey at this date.

21. Maister Spencer] His Muiopotmos is dedicated to her, and there is a sonnet to her among those prefixed to the Faery Queen.

22. To the eternising of the heroycall familie of the Careys ... tasked] This at first suggests that Nashe had written some history of the Carey family or some work especially devoted to their praise.
Nothing of the kind, however, is known, and perhaps Nashe means no more than that Christ's Tears represents his 'choicest studies'.

24. *high allied* Alluding to the fact that Lord Hunsdon, Sir George Carev's father, was cousin to Elizabeth; see note on i. 375. 34.

P. 11, 1-2. *Doves ... glasse* Doves seem to have been supposed to delight in mirrors. Thus in an extraordinary recipe for alluring pigeons to a dove-house, given in Lupton's *Thousand Notable Things* (ed. n. d. [†1595], Z 3) it is stated that we should have 'three or fourte lytle looking glasses within y* a Dooue-house'.

3. *Barbarie purses* I cannot learn of what kind these were; cf. Lodge, *Mist's Misery*, 1596, N1", 'his [Slovenry's] mouth is like a Barbaye purse full of wrinkles.'

18-19. *Varro saith ... felicitie* Probably from C. Agrippa, *De Incert. et Van.*, cap. 54, trans. 1569, fol. 75, 'It should be to too iuse to recompte the opinions of all men touchinge felicitie, ... for Marcus Varro gathered togeather of these twoo hundrethe eightie and eight opinions, as Augustine saithe.' See *De Civ. Dei*, xix. 1. § 1, Migne, *Patr. Curs.* 41 (August. 7), col. 621.

P. 12, 2. *Nil nisi flere libet* Ovid, *Tristia*, iii. 2. 19.

11-12 We might equally well punctuate 'suppliant for ... pardon, doe I ...'

14-15 Read perhaps 'reputation, though (through ...'.

22-3. *milde gentle moderation* According to Nashe, overtures of peace had been made by Harvey; cf. 179. 27, &c., and iii. 92. 33, &c.; cf. also i. 325. 34-5.

P. 13, 1. *Retractiones* i.e. the *Retractiones*, written in 428, when Augustine was in his seventy-fourth year. He reviews and explains his former works, withdrawing certain statements which he had come to consider erroneous.

3-4. *some spleanative vaines of wantonnesse ... to supply my priuate wants* This may refer to such productions as *The Choice of Valentines*, but it must be remembered that 'wantonness' had a wide meaning.

7. *Two or three triuiall Volumes* We may conjecture *The Terrors of the Night* and *The Unfortunate Traveller* to have been among these.

P. 15, 3. *the dayes of dolor and heauinesse* Referring to the prevalence of the plague at the time.

4-5. *The Lord is knoune by executing iudgmenl* Nashe's Biblical quotations are often inexact, and consequently it is difficult to determine which version of the Bible he used. The present quotation is, however, certainly from the Geneva version, the 'Bishops' (ed. 1588) reading, 'The Lord is knowne to execute judgement.' On the other hand, in the quotation from St. Matthew which immediately follows, the word 'purge' is only found in B.V., which has 'will throughly purge the floore', while G.V. (ed. 1582) reads 'wil make cleane his floore'.

P. 16, 28. *Mount Silo* The passage referred to here is Gen. 49. 10, 'The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor a lawgiver from betweene his feete, unto Shiloh come' (G.V.), where 'Shiloh' is explained as 'Christ the Messiah'. There was no Mount Silo or Shiloh, though there was a place called Shiloh near Mount Ephraim, where 'the
house of God' was; cf. Judges 18. 31. In both cases B.V. spells 'Silo'.

P. 21, 7. cloaked i.e. coagulated, clotted.

P. 22, 14. Eheu, quantus equis ...] Horace, Od. i. 15. 9–10 'Eheu, quantus equis, quantus adest viris Sudor.'

P. 27, 5. altogether lothe i.e. it pains me exceedingly.


P. 34, 5. altogether lothe i.e. it pains me exceedingly.

P. 35, 3. Smithes-water] I suppose that the water in which a smith cools his implements is meant; cf. ii. 316. 7.

P. 36, 21. Smithes-water] I have not traced this quotation, which was perhaps from some manual of theology. The point is discussed at length, and a conclusion, with certain reservations, accordant to this arrived at, by Aquinas, Summa Theol. Quaest. 76, art. 3, 4 (Migne, Patr. Curs. Ser. Sec., 2*, col. 593–5).

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P. 34, 5. altogether lothe i.e. it pains me exceedingly.

P. 35, 24–5. Ignorantia, si non excusata toto, saltem excusat a tanto] I have not traced this quotation, which was perhaps from some manual of theology. The point is discussed at length, and a conclusion, with certain reservations, accordant to this arrived at, by Aquinas, Summa Theol. Quaest. 76, art. 3, 4 (Migne, Patr. Curs. Ser. Sec., 2*, col. 593–5).
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but rather *De Temperamentis*, lib. ii, ed. Helmreich, 1904, pp. 61-2, \(\delta\varepsilon\ \varepsilon\iota\eta\kappa\varepsilon\tau\iota\pi\varepsilon\rho\iota\sigma\iota\nu\tau\iota \varepsilon \iota\varsigma\nu\psi\iota\varsigma\). Mr. W. F. H. King, in his *Class. Quot.* 1904, no. 2099, quotes a saying similar from Evenus, 9 (in Bergk, *Poet. Lyr. Graeci*, vol. ii).


P. 88, 23-4. *why the Sea so swelleth & barketh of late* This does not appear to be, as might be thought, an allusion to the weather at the time of writing; at least there seems no record of any special storms at this time.

20. *Grampous*] i.e. grampus.

*Wasser-man*] Explained in *Cent. Dict.* as 'a male sea-monster of human form; a sort of merman'. Spenser, *F.Q.*, ii. 12. 24 is quoted:

The griesly Wasserman, that makes his game
The flying ships with swiftnes to pursew.

P. 38, 25. *Peter*] See Nashe's correction at 13. 24-6. He does not, however, explain what we should read in the passage.

P. 40, 3-4. *Hath not the diuell his Chapell close adioyng to Gods Church*] Proverbial; cf. Bancroft's *Sermon of Feb. 9, 1588*, p. 30, 'where Christ erecteth his church, the divell in the same church-yarde will have his chappell,' given as from Luther; see his *Von den Conciliis und Kirchen*, 1539, *Werke*, ed. 1826-57, xxv, 378, 'Da nu der Teufel sahe dass Gott eine solche heilige Kirche baut, feiret er nicht, und baut seine Capellen dabei, grösser denn Gottes Kirche ist.' Cf. also Melbancke's *Philotimus*, E 1, 'wer God builds a church, the deuill builds a chappell,' and Burton, *Anat. of Mel.*, ed. Shilteo, iii. 36. 9.

32. *invocating*] The sense seems to be that virtue has more power to win honour than ambition has.

P. 42, 17. *Innouater*] The earliest instance of the word in *N. E. D.* is from Florio, 1598.

23-5. *Archisilus ... unsaunory sounds*] Probably from C. Agrippa, *De Incert. et Van.*, cap. i, trans. 1569, fol. i*, 'the kinge Archisilus [Archisilus, 1575] sometime woulde here men of a hoarse and vnpleasant voice, because that heringe afterward eloquent men, he might conceaue greatter pleasure.'

30. *Vbi cuirisque animus est, ibi animas*] Cf. 'Animus magis est ubi amat quam ubi animat,' said to be from St. Augustine (N. & Q. 1st S. vi. 61), but I have been unable to find it. Augustine has, however, 'animo autem locus est affectio sua,' which comes to much the same thing, Migne, *Patr. Curs.* 36 (August. 4), col. 95. See the *Aphor-thegmata* of Erasmus, ed. 1547, p. 446, where Τοῦ δ' ἐρωτοῖ ἔλεγε τὴν ψυχὴν ἐν ἀλογίῳ σώματι ἕπν (Plutarch, *Cato Maior*, 9. 9) appears as 'Amantis animum dicebat in alieno corpore iuiere: quod hodie quoque celebatur, animam iliic potius esse ubi amat, quam ubi animat'. The phrase used by Nashe is, I suspect, simply an error for this.

P. 48, 11. *Tower of Babell*] Nashe is probably again borrowing from C. Agrippa, *De Incert. et Van.*, cap. 28, trans. 1569, fol. 39*, 'Let vs number with these the high Tower of Babylon, whose foundation (as Herodotus testifieth) was on euerye side the eighte part of a mile.' See Herodot. i. 181; he is speaking of the temple of Belus.
P. 44, 1. *time of warre* I. It is not impossible that the 'in a Towne of warre' of the quarto may mean 'in the case of a besieged town', but the expression would here be very awkward.


26. Emprese] An allegorical device such as was used upon a shield at a tournament, or upon plate or furniture, generally accompanied, as in this case, by a motto.

27. *serpentine Salamander*] By the adjective Nashe perhaps meant treacherous, or 'viperous'; cf. iii. 195. 29, but he may have supposed it to be a kind of serpent. The salamander was supposed to be so cold by nature that its contact would extinguish fire; see Aristot. *Hist. Anim.* v. 19 (17). 13, Pliny, *H. N.* x. 86, and Aelian, *Nat. Anim.* ii. 31. For the oft-repeated statement that it habitually lives in the fire I do not know who is responsible. At iii. 223. 25 it is said to be nourished by the fire.

P. 47, 3. *Candle-flie*] "a flie that houering about a candle burnes itself" (Florio, s. v. Fara/fala), a moth, *N. E. D.*

12. *Ieschaciabus*] The reference is to the story of Herekiah; see 2 Kings 20. 7, and Isaiah 38. 21. I cannot say whence Nashe derived this form of the name.

13. *byle*] i.e. boil, a tumor; the spelling was usual.

18–19. *that with his niesenys chaseth Cloudes*] Cf. Job 41. 18; the G. V. (41. 9) has 'His niesenys make the light to shine', while B. V. reads 'His niesenys make a glistering like light'.

22–3. *and no Plannet revolve any thing but prostitution and vastitie*] The sense of this is very obscure. By 'vastitie' is probably meant 'desolation', 'wasteness'; cf. i. 168. 8, ii. 211. 22.

28. *rough-enter*] i.e. enter forcibly.

28–9. *the crannies of theyr wauering*] i.e., probably, the crannies caused their swaying about.

31. *by-or*] i.e. lullabies. I have not met with the word elsewhere.

35. *ouer-loft*] i.e. top-heavy; cf. quotation in *N. E. D.* '1611 Speed *Hist. Gt. Brit.* vii. xlv. § 14. 360 The Saxons, whose ouer-topped Monarchy, and weake walles now wanted props to hold vp the weight.'


6–7] Ben Gorion K 5*, 'the playne of Gibeon, 50. miles from Hierusalem.'

12–14. *Mount Tabor . . . broade*] Ben Gorion, Q 2–2*, 'mount Tabor . . . the heyght thereof is thirtie furlonges, and vppon the top is a playne xxiii. furlonges broade.'

17. *rebutment*] i.e. overthrow.

20] Properly speaking there should be no parentheses here. The sense is 'and while the lofty top of it is being beheaded'.

31. *sweet Bread*] Nashe seems to be referring to Pentecost, when only unleavened bread was eaten.

P. 49, 6. *Timpany*] i.e. swelling, properly a certain kind of dropsy in which the abdomen is distended like a drum. Here it means no more than a violent effusion of tears.
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35. degraded] i.e. degraded.

P. 50, 12. forrage HELL] Evidently a reminiscence of the mediaeval phrase 'the harrying of hell' for Christ's descent into hell.

34. the true Phoenix] For a description of the bird and its habits see Pliny, H. N. x. 2, and Ovid, Metam. xv. 392-407, and for a discussion of the myth see G. C. Kirchmaier's Disputationes Zoologicae de Basilisco, &c., appended to Joh. Sperling's Zoologia Physica, Leipzig, 1661, translated in E. Goldsmid's Un-Natural History, Edinburgh, 1886, vol. ii. A very full list of allusions to the phoenix in the classics and the Fathers is to be found in T. Gataker's Cinnus, sive Adversaria Miscellanea, 1651, 18-20. The comparison of Christ to a phoenix was, of course a commonplace of Elizabethan and mediaeval literature. It seems to have had its origin in a mistake of Tertullian, who in Psalm 92. 12 (A. V), 'The righteous shall flourish like the palm tree,' misinterpreted the ambiguous ὡς φοῖνιξ of the LXX. as 'like the phoenix'. See his De Resur. Carmis, c. 13, Migne, Patr. Curs. 2, col. 811; cf. Epiphanius, Physiologus, c. 11, Migne, P. C. Ser. Grec. 43 (Epiph. 3), cols. 525-6. It may be remarked that the idea of the Phoenix setting its nest on fire and dying in the flames—the generally accepted notion in later times—is not to be found in Pliny or in Ovid, nor, so far as I know, in any of the classical authorities; indeed in some versions of the story the new phoenix is explicitly said to be born, in the form of a worm, from the putrescence of the old. Tertullian and Epiphanius, however, both recognize this form of the story and speak of the new bird rising from the ashes of the former one.

P. 51, 3-4. By Herod . . . thou wert last builded] The building of the temple is described by Ben Gorion, ed. 1575. G2 G4. The 'Alablaster' mentioned below is apparently Ben Gorion's 'white marble'.

P. 52, 20-1. Panther-spotted] i.e. permanently stained, alluding to Jer. 13. 23.

29-30. Po me occidistis amici] Horace, Epist. ii. 2. 138. Quoted also in Piers Pennysse, i. 158 marg. 33-4. Est mihi supplicij causa . . .] Ovid, Heroid. xiv. 4, with 'piam'.


7. Hoc prohibete . . .] Ovid, Metam. x. 322, with 'tanto' for 'vestro'. 16-17. Therefore is my people ledde captive] Isaiah 5. 13. The quotation is not accurate.

33. corroborate] i.e. strengthen.

P. 57, 19. mirmidonis'd] Nashe apparently means hardened against weeping. Possibly the word was suggested by Vergil, Aen. ii. 6-8, 'quis talia fando [i.e. describing the destruction of Troy] Myrmondum . . . Temperet a lacrimis?' where the Myrmidons are cited as being especially unsusceptible to pity. The lines are quoted by Stockwood, Sermon, B 8, in reference to the sufferings of the Jews.

34-6] Psalm 102. 6, 7. Incorrectly quoted.

P. 58, 1-2. her bowels unnaturally torme out] Nashe is apparently thinking of the viper; see Aelian, Nat. Anim. i. 24. For the pelican see iii. 124. 16-17.
17-18. Alijsque dolens . . .] Ovid, Metam. xi. 345. Referring to a hawk, not to an owl.

P. 60, 20. write] I have met with no other examples of the word in this sense.

24, &c.] On the source of this account of the destruction of Jerusalem see the introductory note. For comparison I shall give here and there passages from Peter Morwyng's translation of Ben Gorion (edition of 1575).

24. Forty yeeres were expired . . .] The siege took place in A.D. 70.


35. over-hung with prodigies] Ben Gorion gives, towards the end of the work, many of the prodigies that occurred in the year before the coming of Vespasian. These correspond closely with those given by Josephus in Bell. Iud. vi. 5. 3. Nashe adds others, a few of which are from Biblical sources, while the rest seem to be of his own invention.

P. 61, 2-6] Perhaps from Joel 2. 31. 'The sun shall be turned into darkness, and the moon into blood,' and cf. Matt. 24. 29 and the parallel passages.

6. embayling] The word, of which this seems to be the earliest recorded instance, is explained in N. E. D. as 'to enclose in a ring'; cf. iiii. 166. 24.

7-13] Cf. Ben Gorion, 1575, Hh 2v, 'For the yeere next before the comming of Vaspasian, there was seene a starre over y* temple, so bright, as though a man had hadde many drawn swords in his hande at once. And at the same time as the starre appeared in the time of the solemn feast called Passack [Easter—marg.], that whole nyght the temple was as lyght and as cleare, as though it had ben midday, and it continued so by the space of seuen dayes of the feast.' Josephus, Bell. Iud. vi. 5. 3, differs in stating that the light in the temple lasted only half an hour. He agrees with Ben Gorion in treating the star and this light as separate phenomena. Nashe apparently regards them as one.

11. vambrashl] Nashe apparently means 'brandished'. Perhaps an erroneous use of 'vambraced', an heraldic term for an arm encased in armour.

13-20. In the Sanctum sanctorum . . . grones] I do not find any of these omens either in Ben Gorion or in Josephus.

20-2] Ben Gorion, Hh 2v-3, 'they brought a Heyffer for a burnt offering, whiche when she was selde and stroken downe that they might dresse her, she calued a lambe.' Josephus, Bell. Iud. vi. 5. 3.

23-6] This seems to be reported neither by Ben Gorion nor by Josephus.

26-30] Ben Gorion, Hh 3, 'In the feast also of weekes, the priestes hearde a man walking in the temple, and sayenge with a great and a woönderfull terrible base voyce: Come, let us goe away out of this temple, and get vs hence.' Josephus, loc. cit., states that this cry was as the voice of a multitude. The words 'Migremus hinc,' &c., suggests that Nashe used a Latin version of Ben Gorion, but the close correspondence of his language elsewhere with that of the English translation is against this. Stockwood, Sermon, B 7v, has 'Migremus hinc, Migremus hinc', which may have suggested the Latin to him.
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P. 62, 5-10. The East-gatethereof ... shut] Ben Gorion, Hh 3, also Josephus, loc. cit.

8. gymmes] i.e. hinges; see N. E. D. s. v. gimmer 12.

7-9. the dry rusty creeking ... heard a myle of] Cf. Ben Gorion, Hh 3, 'the creking of the gimmes and hookes whereof might be hearde a farre of.' Josephus has nothing corresponding to this.

10-19] Ben Gorion, Hh 3', and Josephus, B. I. vi. 5. 3.

19-21. Manie monstrous byrthes ... bloode] This appears to be Nashe's addition.

20-24] Ben Gorion, Hh 3, and Josephus, loc. cit., but not 'every night', and nothing is said of the Roman Eagles.

24-32] For the sword cf. Josephus, B. I. vi. 5. 3 near beginning, who speaks of a star resembling a sword, which stood over the city. Ben Gorion has only the passage already quoted in the note on 61. 7-13. The thunderstorm is apparently from Ben Gorion, Q6v-7. The rest seems to be Nashe's own.

34. Ambulabant ut cæci ...] Sophonias (Zephaniah), i. 17

P. 63, 15. That Sepulcheryou see, is but a thing built vp by Saracens:] I do not know whence Nashe took this. The Holy Sepulchre seems to have been currently regarded as genuine; it was certainly so considered by Münster, and by Laurence Aldersey, who visited it in 1581; see Hakluyt, Princ. Nav. 1598-1600, ii. 1. 153, ed. 1903-5, v. 211.

28, &c.] For Eleazar see Ben Gorion, S 4v-5, 'This Eleasar was the beginner and first sower of sedition amongst the Israelites,' also T 3; for the others, R 5v, &c. Much more is said of the wickedness of Jehochanan, who is called 'a limbe of the Deuyll', than of Eleazar.


P. 64, 6-10] This seems to be Nashe's own, save that 'For malice ... in vre' is, I suspect, a reminiscence of Sallust's description of Catiline, 'Scilicet, ne per otium torpescerent manus aut animus, gratuito potius malus atque crudelis erat' (Cat. c. 16), taken by way of St. Augustine, Confess. ii. 5. 11.

25, &c.] Cf. Ben Gorion, R 6v, he ... 'sent his letters where he coulde not come him selfe, in this manner and fourme: ... who so can not abyde the rule of his father or his maister, all that be in deyte, and stande in feare of their creditours: ... let him resorte to me, I wyl deliuer hym from the yoke, and daunger of the lawes, and wyll finde him his fill of booties and spoyles. There assembled vnto hym aboute twenty thousande men, all murderers, theeu, rebelles, laweslesse personnes, wicked and seditious men.'

P. 65, 4-5. whom hee cleepe the Flower of Chialtry] This appears to be Nashe's invention.


10-12] Cf. Ben Gorion, S 4v, S 5. But it does not appear that the three were leagued together, at any rate not for more than the shortest possible time.

12-15] Ben Gorion does not keep at all strictly to the chronological order of the events which he narrates, nor does Nashe follow him at all closely. He now goes back to Q 8. 'In the mornyng they
layde handes on the riche men, haled them before iudges, and the lxx. Elders, whiche otherwyse be called Sanhedrin, whom they called together . . . Jehochanan threatened the members of the Sanhedrin with death unless they carried out his instructions (Q8*), but I cannot find that he actually 'displaced' it. The Q has a comma after 'Iudges'.

16-17. the Sacrifice they silenced . . . Armory] Cf. Ben Gorion, T 4. By 'making the temple an armory' Nashe means, I suppose, no more than that there was fighting there.

18. as embery admitteth no mateshyppe] A reference to the common proverb 'love and lordship brook no fellowship'; cf. Deloney, Gentle Craft, ed. Lange, ii. 79.

22. went thorow-stitch] i.e. dealt thoroughly, made a good job of them. Cf. ii. 219. 7 and iii. 32. 11-12.

23. Twenty thousand in one day] No number seems to be given.

24-6] Ben Gorion, Q 7*-Q 8.

33-4] Cf. Ben Gorion, T 4*, 'Yea, the dead body of the priest that was offering sacrifice, lay vpon the earth together with his offerying. And when any man woulde offer any sacrifice, strayghtway one or other of the seditious would step to him and kyll him, that the blood of the sacrifice and sacrificer should be mingled togethe.' The idea is several times repeated.

34-66. 19] This appears to be Nashe's own.

P. 66, 21-5] Ben Gorion, T 4*, 'Insmuch that the pavement of the temple, being all of marble, was made so slipperie with the blood and fatte of them that were slayne, that no man coulde goe vppon it without falling.'

25-8] Cf. Ben Gorion, V 3, where he speaks of the town as 'choked with carion doong, and most pestilent synch of dead bodies, and blood of the wounded'.

28-33] Apparently taken from the account of a later defence of the temple against the Romans, Ben Gorion, Ee 5*, 'Which earnestnesse on both sides, filled the entrie of the court of the Lord with blood, that it stood like vnto a poole or a pond.'

36. allude] i.e. compare, illustrate by; cf. i. 173. 34.

P. 67, 5. mingle-coloured] i.e. spotted or stained.

11. both of life and office] According to Ben Gorion, the high-priest Anani was deprived of office quite early in the siege, but was not killed till much later (Q 3*, T 4).

11-16] Ben Gorion, Q 3*-Q 4, 'Moreouer, they cast lottes who shoulde haue the Priestes office, and who shoulde be no Priest. For they helde the priesthood and seruice of God, for toyes, gaudes, and trifles. So the lotte fell vpon one that was called Pani, the sonne of Peniel, a carterly husbandman, ignoranunt what belonged to the priests office, so that he was ytterly vnworthy of the priesthood: yet they made hym hye priest for all that, so light a matter made they of the priesthood.' Josephus, on the other hand, in Bell. Iud. iv. 3. 8, calls him Phannias, the son of Samuel.

23-5] Ben Gorion, T 5*, 'So this you see at that tyme the Lorde visited the citezins of Hierusalem with foure kinde of plagues, swoorde, pestilence, hunger, and fyre.'

25-30] Ben Gorion, T 5-5*, 'whereas agaynst tymes of necessitie
and besieginges of the towne, were layed vp in store, corne, wine, and oyle, to the number of a thousande and foure hundred storehouses, all filde full of vittayles, ... sufficient for two hundred thousande men for twentie yeeres, and nowe in this one battayle of the seditious, they were brenet every one sticke and stone.'


P. 68, 2. bayting] No recognized sense of the word seems to suit the context. Possibly Nashe may have regarded it as equivalent to 'bathing'; cf. *N. E. D.* s. v. bate st. 2 = bath (1548), but the form is very rare. Cf. also i. 214. 14, where for 'beere-bating' some eds. have 'beere-baiting', though there perhaps 'ba't', i.e. refreshment, was intended—if it is more than a mere misprint.

5. ringring-lyuing death] Read, perhaps, 'lingring lyuing-death,' but Nashe's curious compound words make one somewhat uncertain.

11-14] Ben Gorion, Q 3v, 'When they espoyed any notable rych man of the citie, they woulde after this sort quarrell with him: Art not thou he that hast sent letters to the Romanes, and to Vaspasian, to betray the citie vnto them? ... then woulde they bryng euery godlesse persons, limbes of the deuyl, of theyr owne companie, to beare false wittnesse agaynst hym.' The mention of Schimeon here is incorrect according to Ben Gorion's account, for he was not yet in Jerusalem.

18-21. Not a few... made themselves graves, and went into them alive] Apparently Nashe's addition.

21-30. The channell of Iordan ... Sea of Sodom] Ben Gorion, R 4,

35-6. the Brooke Cedron, and the waters of Schiloim in lyke sorte were chok't] Apparently Nashe's own.

36-7. As dead Cattes and dogges into Buts of Sack and Muscadine are throune] I know nothing of this practise, but something of the same kind is referred to in *Westward Hol*, Dekker, ed. Pearson, ii. 327, 'Pardon me; this Sacke tastes of Horse flesh, I warrant you the leg of a dead horse hangs in the But of Sacke to kepe it quicke.' See the note on the passage—which gives a parallel, but adds no further information.


P. 70, 3-7] Ben Gorion, Dd 8v. He says '13 myles'. Josephus, *B. I.* vi. 1, has 90 stadia.

7-12] Ben Gorion, Ee 1v.

12-13. Mens Cellers and Garrets ... they search] Nashe now turns back to an earlier part of Ben Gorion's account, Bb 1, 'the seditious searched euery mans house and seller for foode'.


16-34] Ben Gorion, Bb 1v, 'Moreouer, who so hadde any corne in store that no man knewe of, he was afrayde to send it to the myll, or bake it, because of the wickednesse of the seditious, lest they should take away from them their sustenence: Wherefore many dyde eate the drye corne vngrounde in their sellers priuilie. At that time also were exceeding riche men in Hierusalem, whiche stale
meate one from another, so that the father catcht meate from the sonne, the sonne from the father, the mother snacht from her children, the children likewyse from their mother.' Cf. Josephus, B. I. v. 10, §§ 2, 3. Nashe's phrase, 'tore the meate out of his mouth,' has a closer parallel in the latter than in Ben Gorion.


P. 71, 2. send their children] Ben Gorion, Bb 2, says 'diuers men with their wyues & children gate out of y^t citie to geather hearbes to eate'. Josephus, B. I. v. 10. 3, does not particularly mention women or children.

6—7. Many Noble-men eate the Leather of theyr Chariots as they ridde] Ben Gorion, Dd 8r, 'so that after they had eaten vp all their horses, they eat also their doung, and the leather of the charrettes.' Nashe's addition 'as they ridde' is somewhat thoughtless. Josephus, B. I. vi. 3. 3, speaks only of their shoe-leather and the leather which belonged to their shields.

7—77, 15. Miriam] The story is from Ben Gorion Gg, 1r-Gg 5. As it was well known and is often referred to, and as there is some interest in comparing Nashe's version of it with that from which—either with or without an intermediate—it was derived, I give Ben Gorion's account in full. It will at least show that some of the offences against good taste of which Nashe appears to be guilty are not his own wanton embellishments.

'There was a certayne notable ryche woman at Hierusalem, of a noble house also, whose name was Miriam, her dwellyng was beyonde Iordane: but when she perceyued the warres to growe more and more in the tyme of Vaspasian, she came vp with her neigghours to Ierusalem, byring with her not onely her men seruauntes and women seruauntes, and all her whole familie: but also her goods and riches, which were very great. When the hunger was greeuous at Ierusalem, & the seditious went from house to house to seeke meate, they came also to this womans house, and tooke away from her by force al that euer she had, and left her nothyng remayning. By this meanes she was oppressed with very greath hunger, so that she wyshed her selfe out of the worlde, but hertyme was notyet come to dye. Wherefore that she might slake her hunger, and susteyne her lyfe, she began to scrape in the chaffe and duste for beastes doung, but coude finde none. She had one sonne, and when she sawe the famine waxe greater and greater vpon her, she layde aside al womanhood & mercie, & tooke vpon her an horrible crueltie. For when she hearde her boy wepe and aske for meate, whiche she had not to geue hym, she sayde vnto hym, What shal I doo my sonne? For the wrath of God hath enuironned the whole citie, in euery corner thereof famine reigneth: without the citie the swoorde kylleth vp al, within we stande in feare of the seditious, our enimies preuayle without, in the towne are fyres, burnynges, and ruines of houses, famine, pestilence, spoiling, and destroying, so that I can not feede thee my sonne. Nowe therefore my sonne yf I should dye for hunger, to whom shoule I leaue thee byeng yet a chylde? I hoped once, that when thou shouldest come to mans state, thou shouldest haue susteyned myne age with meate, drynke, and cloth, and after when I shoude dye, to burie me honorablie, lyke as I was mynded to burie thee, if thou shouldest haue
died before me. But nowe my sonne thou art as good as dead alredy, for I haue no meate to bryng thee vp withall, because of this great famine & crueltie of the enimies both within and without. If thou shouldest dye nowe amongst other, thou shouldest haue no good nor honorable tombe as I woulde wysh thee. Wherefore I haue thought good to chose thee a sepulchre, euen mine owne body, lest thou shouldest dye, & dogs eate thee in ye* streets. I wil threfore be thy graue, and thou shalt be my foode. And for that, that if thou hadst lyued and grown to mans state, thou oughtest by ryght to haue nourished me: nowe feede me with thy fleche, and with it susteyne myne age, before that famine deour thee, and thy body be consumed. Render therefore vnto thy mother that which she gaue vnto thee, for thou camest of her, and thou shalt returne into her. For I wyl bryng thee into the selfe same shoppe, in the whiche the breath of lyfe was breathed into thy nosethrylls: forasmuch as thou art my welbeloued sonne, whom I haue loued alwayes with al my strength, be therefore meate for thy mother, an ignominie and reproch to the seditious, that by violence haue taken away our foode. Wherefore my sonne heare my voyce, and susteyne my soule and my lyfe, and goe to the end that is determined for thee by my handes, thy lotte be in the garden of Eden and Paradise: be thou meate for me, and a rebuke and shame to the seditious, that they may be compelled to say, Loe a woman hath killed her sonne, and hath eaten hym. So, when she had thus spoken to her sonne, she toke the chylde, and turning her face away lest she should see hym dye, she kylled hym with a sworde, and after cut his body into certayne peeces, whereof some she rosted, some she sodde: and when she had eaten of them, she layde vp the rest to kepe. The sauourof the fleshe rosted when it came out into the streetes to the people, they sayde one to another: see here is a smel of rost meate. Which thing came to the knowledge of ye* seditious at length, who went into the house of the woman, and spake roughly vnto her, Why shouldest thou haue meate to lyue with, and we dye for hunger? The woman made them answere, and sayde vnto them, Be not displeased, I beseeche you, with your handemaye for this, for you shall see I haue reserved part for you. Syt you downe therefore, and I wyl bryng it you, that ye may taste thereof, for it is very good meate. And by and by she layde the table, and set before them part of the chyldes fleshe, saying, Eate I pray you, here is a childes hande, see here his foote and other partes, and neuer report that it is any other womens child but myne own only sonne that ye knewe with me, him I bare, and also haue eaten part, and part I haue kept for you. Whiche when she had spoken, she burst out, and weapt, sayeing, Oh my sonne, my sonne, howe sweete wast thou to me whyles thou yet liuedst, and nowe at thy death also thou art sweeter to me then hony. For thou hast not onely fedde me in this most greeuous famine, but thou hast defended me from the wrath of the seditious, wherewith they were incensed towards me, when the smell of the meate brought them into my house. Nowe therefore are they become my freendes, for they sitte at my table, and I haue made them a feast with thy fleche. After she turned her to the seditious, and bad them eate, and satisfie them selues: for why (sayth she) shoulde ye aborre my meate whiche
I haue set before you? I haue satisfied mee selfe therewith, why therefore doo you not eate of the fleshe of my sonne? Taste & see howe sweete my sonnes fleshe is, I dare say ye wyll say it is good meat. What needeth pitie? Ought ye to be more moued therewith then a woman? If ye wyll in no wyse eate of the sacrifice of my sonne, when as I haue eaten thereof mee selfe: shal not this be a shame for you, that I should haue a better hart and greater courage then you? Beholde, I haue prepared a fayre table for you, most valiant men, why eate ye not? Is it not a good feast that I haue drest for you? and it was your wyll that I should make you this feast. It had ben my part rather to haue ben moued with pitie of my sonne, then yours: and howe chaunceth it therefore that ye are more mercifull then I? Are not ye they that spoyled my house, and left me no kinde of foode for me and my sonne? Are not ye they that constrained me to make you this feast, notwithstanding the great hunger that I haue? Why then eate ye not thereof, when as ye were the auctours & the causers that I dyd this deede? The Iewes hearing this matter, were woonderfully smitten into sadnesse: yea euen the governours of the seditious begantostoupewhen they heard of this, so that they all in a maner desyred death, they were so amased at this horrible acte.'

The version given by Josephus, who callsthe woman 'Mary, the daughter of Eleazar', is considerably shorter, but too long to quote in full. I give, however, from Whiston's translation, the whole speech of the mother to her child (Bell. Jud. vi. 3. 4), 'O thou miserable infant! for whom shall I preserve thee in this war, this famine, and this sedition? As to the war with the Romans, if they preserve our lives, we must be slaves! This famine also will destroy us, even before that slavery comes upon us;—yet are these seditious rogues more terrible than both the other. Come on; be thou my food, and be thou a fury to these seditious varlets and a by-word to the world, which is all that is now wanting to complete the calamities of us Jews.'

P. 72, 13-16. amongst the Indians there is a certaine people . . . This is related by Strabo (xv. i § 56) of the nations who inhabit the Caucasus, by Porphyry (De Abstin. iv. 21, ed. Didot, p. 85) of the Massagetae and Derbicae, and I believe that the same has been said of several other races. Mandeville, ch. 22, attributes this custom to the inhabitants of the isle Dondum.

16. day-diversifying] More violent on certain days than on others; recurring at intervals.

17. surfets] The word seems commonly to have been used for 'dysentery', as it appears to be here; cf. Creighton, Epidemics in Britain, ii. 775.

fit-meale] i.e. piece-meal.


36. Embrowne] i.e. harden; cf. iii. 191. 17.

P. 78, 10. Saturnine] i.e. unlucky. Cf. 'Saturnists' at i. 192. 9 and note.

11. Anthropophagis'd] Dekker in The Wonderfull Year 1603, Wks., ed. Grosart, i. 103, speaks of 'the vilerous body of this Anthropophagised plague', but as he thinks necessary to explain in the margin that 'Anthropophagi are Scithians, that feed on mens flesh', the word was presumably rare. N.E.D. has no quotation before 1623.
19. **Base-bidding**] Referring to the game of prisoners' base, challenging or answering one another; see 'to bid the base' in *N.E.D.* s.v. base sh.² b.

P. 74, 1. **tender-starved**] I am not sure whether we should delete the hyphen or whether the word is intended to mean 'in whom tenderness has been starved to death', an interpretation which, when we consider some of the other compound words here used, does not seem impossible.

P. 77, 19. **more than a hundred thousand**] There seems to be no authority for the number.

20-4] Ben Gorion, *Dd 7*¹, 'a keeper of the least gate which was in Hierusalem, yppon that side towards the brooke *Kidron*, noted the number of the dead that were caryed forth to burying by that gate, and founde they came to 115.M. 8.C. & .8. persons, which were all of the nobles and gentlemen, or at the least of the substanciellest of the Iewes.' Josephus says 115,810 (*B.I. v. 13. 7*).


27-33] Ben Gorion, *Dd 5* - 6. He calls the soldiers, as here, 'Aramiles and Arabians'; Josephus, in narrating the same thing, has Arabians and Syrians (*B. I. v. 13. 4*).

P. 77, 33—78, 6] Ben Gorion *Dd 7*², continuing the passage quoted in note on 20-4 above.

P. 78, 6-10] Ben Gorion, *Li 1-1*².

16-17. *iam sages est ...*] Ovid, *Heroid.* i. 53.

23-28] Perhaps suggested by the speech of Eleazar in Ben Gorion, *Li 2*².

25. **settled out**] i.e. having projections; see *N.E.D.*, which quotes the passage s.v. jet v.².

26. *Japhy*] I cannot discover what is meant. Ben Gorion, *Ff 8*, describes 'a great huge house' which was decked 'with timber of Firre and Cedar', but appears nowhere to mention 'Japhy'.

28-9] Ben Gorion, *Gg 7*² - *Hh 1*.

29-33] Ben Gorion, *Ff 2-2*², 'Titus turned him, and departed out of Hierusalem, saying, Let vs get vs hence, lest their sinnes destroy vs.'

34. *Th'almudisticall*] Probably a mere misprint. Nashe has 'Thalmud' at 116. 32.

36. *thou hadst a Prophecie ...*] See Josephus, *B.I. vi. 5* . 4 and Ben Gorion, *Hh 4*. The name of Vespasian is only mentioned by Josephus, from whom rather than from Ben Gorion, Nashe, or his original, seems in the present instance to have borrowed.

P. 79, 9-10. marg. *Math. 27. 25*] The verse is 'Then answered all the people, and said, His blood be on us, and on our children'. The reference should apparently stand opposite lines 14, 15.


18-19. **to resist the Romaine Provinciall Florus**] See Ben Gorion, *I4-4*². He seems nowhere to use the name 'Provinciall', but describes Florus as 'president & captaine' of the Roman army.
P. 80, 7. thy seauenty Esdrian Cabalizers] The mystical interpretation of the Mosaic law, called the Cabala, was, according to tradition, expounded by Moses to Aaron, his sons, the seventy elders of the Sanhedrin, and certain of the common people (see H. Morley's Life of C. Agrippa, i. 70, where there is an intelligible account of the Cabala). Agrippa, in the De Incert. et Vam. cap. 47, trans. 1569, fol. 60, says that the Cabala 'was taught with the lively voice alone by degrees of succession without writing, evan vntill Esdras time', but seems nowhere to mention the seventy elders.

25. semously] Nashe evidently means individually, but that is not the ordinary sense of the Latin semoveo. I have not met with the word elsewhere.

29. marg. 1 Kin. 19. 22] The reference should apparently be to 1 Samuel 20. 20, 36. The books of Samuel were of course frequently called the first and second book of Kings, though the Geneva version does not recognize this name. There were not five arrows; Jonathan promised to shoot three, but seems actually to have shot only one.

32. premunires] Used apparently for 'serious crimes'.

P. 81, 1. Antwerpe] Antwerp was twice besieged and taken by the Duke of Parma, in 1576 and again in 1585. On both occasions the fall of the town seems to have created a sensation in England, and to have been made an occasion of warnings to this country lest similar pride should end in like disaster. See the titles of the ballads given in Hazlitt's Coll. & Notes, ii. 199 b, 414 b, foot, and i. 308 b (R. Norris), which allude to the earlier siege. Stow, in his Annals (ed. 1615, 698-9), devotes a page and a half to the siege of 1585, in which, after first rebuking pride 'not onely the first originall sinne in the world, and first fall of man, but the downe-fall of Lucifer, and his adherents', he talks at length of the fall of Jerusalem, comparing the sins which led to it with those that he supposes to have caused the downfall of Antwerp.

15. startup] 'A half-boot or buskin, described in the sixteenth century as laced above the ankle,' Cent. Dict.

19. kentalls] i.e. quintals, a weight of a hundred pounds or a hundredweight.

33. tiptoe] Cf. i. 276. 34 note.

P. 82, 16-17. men - 'to measure the whole world] See the preface to the Cosmographia of Aethicus of Istria, a Roman geographer of the fourth century. According to this account the survey was begun in the fifth consulship of Julius Caesar (B.C. 44), the different sections being finished at different dates. Of the southern and last he says, 'A consulatu similiter Iulii Caesaris usque in consulatum Saturni (sic) & Cinnae a Polycrito meridiana pars dimensa est annis xxxii. mense i. diebus x. sicut definita monstratur' (Aethici Cosmographia . . Basle, 1575, p. 2). L. Volusius Saturninus was consul in B.C. 12. Caesar was really killed in the same year as the survey began, not some ten years later, as Nashe implies.

P. 83, 5. Alexander was but a lyttle man] So Burton in his Anat. of Mel., ed. Shillette, ii. 155, says 'that great Alexander [was] a little man of stature', and the statement is fairly frequent. See Quint. Curt. v. 2, where it is said that when Alexander sat on the Persian throne the seat was so much too high for him that a table had to
be brought for him to rest his feet upon; cf. also iii. 12 and vi. 5. Plutarch seems nowhere directly to mention his small stature.

31. One Company swells against another If there is any particular allusion in this, it may be to the dispute between the Glovers and Leathersellers which came to a head in 1593 or 1594; see Stow's London, ed. Strype, bk v, p. 205. The Glovers were not, however, properly speaking, a company at this time, not being incorporated until 1639. There had been a notable quarrel about 1577 between the Shoemakers and the Cordwainers; see Stow, u. s., p. 213, but this can hardly have been remembered.

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33. Plutarch seems nowhere to mention his small stature.
Dekker in the *Gull's Hornbook* (cf. *Wks.*, ed. Grosart, ii. 214) has 'Pimonists', an evident misprint for this, in the sense of misanthropes, a more natural meaning; cf. his *Bellman of London*, *Wks.*, ed. Grosart, iii. 74. 21–2, 'hauing wandred long (like a Timonist) hating Men.' The character must have been well known from the novel in Painter's *Palace of Pleasure*, 1566–7, and from the passage in Plutarch's *Antonius.*

6–7. *That there is no merchandize but Vsurv]* I have not met with the proverb elsewhere.

9–10. *take vp mony or commodities]* The method of borrowing money by taking up 'commodities' is almost too well known to need explanation. It was a trick by which money-lenders evaded the statute of 1572, limiting interest to 10 per cent. Briefly, instead of lending cash, or as a large part of the loan, the usurer would hand over to the borrower goods which were represented to be of the value of the amount which he wished to raise. For these the usurer would receive a promise to pay at some fixed future date, thus making the transaction an ordinary sale. The goods, of course, were not worth anything like the amount charged for them, and further, such goods were usually offered as would be most difficult for the borrower to dispose of in bulk—lute-strings and grey paper were among the favourites. He usually resold them at once either to the usurer or to some broker recommended by him, and of course in league with him, and needless to say, he did not get even the nominal price for them. See *The Gentleman's Magazine*, ccc. 58–60, and, for a number of references to the practice, Prof. Collins's note in his ed. of Greene's *Dr. Wks.*, on *A Looking-glass for London*, l. 293, also *The Spanish Curate* (Beaumont & Fletcher, 'Variorum' ed.) IV. v. 113–15 and notes.

32–3. *made Dice of their bones]* A usual expression; cf. Dekker, *English Villainies*, 1620, K 3r, 'These words (He shall rot in Prison) or I will make Dice of his bones, are worthy of a Turke, vnfit for a Christian,' and K 4, 'Thou swearest to make Dice of his Bones.' See also Stubbes, *Anat. of Abuses*, N. S. S. I. 127, and notes at pp. 290, 293.

35–6. *Mumpsimus*] The expression is said to have originated in a story of a priest who persisted in reading the word 'mumpsimus' for 'sumpsimus'. To this story Henry VIII seems to allude in his speech to the Parliament of his thirty-seventh year (Hall, *Chronicle*, ed. 1809, 865), 'I se and here daily that you of the Clergy preache one against another... Some be to styff in their old Mumpsimus, other be to busy and curious, in their newe Sumpsimus.' See a long note in Elyot's *Governor*, ed. Croft, ii. 288–9, on the words 'them whome nothing contenteth out of their accustomed Mumpsimus', and the references there given. The *Cent. Dict.* says that 'the story evidently refers to the post-communion prayer "Quod ore sumpsimus", &c.' Are we to suppose that the priest mistook the word for the Latin equivalent of 'mump', to chew? It may be remarked that the tale appears in a more intelligible form in *Scoggin's Jests* (in Hazlitt's *Sk. Jest-Books*, ii. 81), where a priest says 'Cumpsimus' for 'Sumpsimus', and being rebuked by a Master of Arts, says, 'I will not leave my old Cumpsimus for thy new Sumpsimus.' It is not impossible that the word should be written with a c, and this cause the mistake (cf. Fletcher & Massinger's *Spanish Curate*, IV. v. 98); that it should be written
with an m is absurd. However this may be, 'mumpsimus' seems to have been used in the sense of (1) a prejudice, (2) an old-fashioned person, (3) a townsman, merchant, or occasionally a townsman; cf. Cobbes Prophecies, 1614 (ed. Bullen), B 17°, 'When... Old Mumpsie is no Meacocke, Nor his proud Minckes a Peacocke,' and Lodge, Wit's Misery, F 3, 'The next of this progenie is Vnlawfull lucre, looke what a handsome Mumpsimus shee is, will you know her profession? Forsooth shee keepes a baudie house...'

P. 94, 7. Bookes cures] i.e. credit.
8. makes vp his mouth] i.e. satisfied him. Cf. Cambyses, ed. Manly in Pre-Sh. Dr., L 119. Frequent.
9-10. cuts... cloth] i.e. lives extravagantly; cf. Bale, Acts of Eng. Votaries, ed. 1560, Pt. ii. P 7*, 'He ruffied it out in the whole cloth with a mighty rable of disguised ruffians at his tail.'

20—26, 17] Sir W. Vaughan must have had this passage in his mind when in The Golden Grove, ed. 1608, Q 4-4°, he wrote of usurers as follows: 'For when a yong Punie commeth vnto them, desiring to be credited for money or apparell, then one of them counterfeiting themselues forsooth to be coy, like women, will burst forth into these termes: The world is hard, and we are all mortall, we may not venture our goods, God knowes how we earne our liuing: wherefore make vs assurance, and you shall haue tenne pounds (worth in silkes and veluets). Well, this passeth on currant, assurance is giuen with a witnesse. A little after, if the Gentleman hath not wherewithall to pay as well the interest, as the principall agreed vpon, whensoeuer this reprobate cut-throat at demaundeth it, then presently as round as a ball, he commenceth his statute-marchant against him, and for tenne pounds profite, which was scarce woorth fiue pound in money, hee recovereth by relapse tenne pound a yeere.'

'O intolerable wickednesse! O diuelish hypocriftes! and worse then those vngodly tenants, who seeing their Landlords heyre coming, said one to another, This is the heire, come, let vs kill him, and we shall haue his Inheritance.'

18. as well as the Begger knowes his dish] A common proverb. In Heywood's Proverbs, ed. Sharman, p. 67—with 'bag' for dish'.
23. per consequence] Either a misprint or an anglicization of the frequent 'per consequens'.
32. breakes] i.e. goes bankrupt, or it may merely mean 'shuts up shop' and disappears; cf. i. 168. 19.

P. 96, 27. Conny-catching] i.e. punishable theft or trickery of any kind; cf. note on i. 257. 12.
31. trammels] i.e. 'locks of hair'; cf. note on i. 380. 25.

P. 96, 18-19. those that in Affrick present theyr children... before Serpents] I cannot find any authority for this, but cf. Mandeville, Travels, chap. 8, ed. 1900, p. 37, 'And in Sicily there is a manner of serpent, by the which men assay and prove, whether their children be bastards or no, or of lawful marriage: for if they be born in right marriage, the serpents go about them, and do them no harm, and if they be born in avoutry, the serpents bite them and envenom them. And thus many wedded men prove if the children be their own.'
29. **legitimately** The earliest instance of the adverb in *N. E. D.*
32. **Zeuxes** The story is related by Pliny, *H. N.* xxxv. 36. § 4.
37. **by accident** i.e. a secondary accompaniment.

P. 97, 22-3. *Every Science... declared* Evidently a reminiscence of C. Agrippa, *De incert. et Van.* cap. 1, trans. 1569, fol. 4-5, 'For every Science, hath in it some certain Principles, which must be beleued, and can not by any meanes be declared.'

26-7. *De rebus male acquisitis...* Given as 'De male quaestis non gaudet tertius haeres' in a brief list of common sayings appended, 'colophonis vice,' to the 1574 edition of the *Adagia* of Erasmus and others, ii. 647. The source is, I believe, unknown.

35. **Augustine** The reference is correct; see Migne, *Patr. Curs.* 32 (August. 1), col. 679. The quotation on p. 98, 'Amaui perire,' &c., is substantially accurate, but varies somewhat in wording.


P. 99, 2-3. *Law, Logique, and the Swizers, may be kir'd to fight for any body* This seems to have been, in one form or another, proverbial; cf. Meres, *Palladis Tamia,* 1598, Gg 5*, 'As the Switzers and Logicke fight for every body: so do Lawyres.'

5-6. *as the Beare cannot drinks but he must byte the water* See Aristot. *Hist. Anim.* viii. 6(8). 1.

8. *Bursa Auari os est diaboil* I have not found the source of this saying. It occurs in Stubbes's *Anat. of Abuses,* ed. N.S.S. i. 115, where it is explained, 'the powch of a rich couetous Man is the mouth of the deull, which euer is open to receiue, but alway shut to giue,' and in English in the form 'The deuilis mouth is tearm'd a misers purse' in Bodenham's *Belvedere,* 1600, p. 128.

9. *Hydropem conscientiam* This is given by Migne as a variant for 'hydropem concupiscentiam' in *Sermo,* 61, cap. 3, in the phrase 'Quomodo ergo delectas opulentiam, qui habes hydropem concupiscentiam?,' Migne, *Patr. Curs.* 38 (August. 5), col. 410. Compare also *Sermo* 177, Migne, u.s., col. 956, 'omnia avarus in corde hydropes est'; and Migne, *Patr. Curs.* 75 (Greg. Max. 1), col. 1047. The idea is frequently alluded to; cf. Latimer's *Last Sermon before Edward VI* (Lent, 1550), towards end, 'And truly I think he was diseased with the dropsy: the more he had, the more covetous he was to have still more and more.' Cf. Stobaeus, *Floril.* x. 46, a saying of Diogenes.

17-18. *as it is in the olde Morral* An allusion to the custom of the Devil carrying the Vice off to hell on his back at the conclusion of the morality plays; cf. Collier, *Hist. E. Dr. Poet.* (1831), ii. 270.

20. *to bee great with* i.e. friendly with, 'thick' with; see *N. E. D.* s.v. great a. 19.

24. *Daemon signifieth... Sapiens* See Macrobr. *Sat.* i. 23. 7.


P. 100, 17. marg.] The reference should be Matt. 26. 11.


27. *sterne* i.e. rudder.

P. 101, 2. *beates on* i.e. insists upon, 'harps' upon. Instances in *N. E. D.* from 1579; see beat u. 1 9.
25-6. Pasce fame morientem ... I have been unable to find this in the De Officiis Ministrorum.

32. Erogando pecuniam auges iustitiam] St. Augustine, Sermo 61, cap. 3; cf. also cap. 4, Migne, Patr. Curs. 38 (August. 5), col. 410.

34. Nihil dives habet de divitiis ...] St. Augustine, u. s., col. 413

P. 102, 31. marg.] The reference is incorrect; the parable referred to is to be found in Luke 11. 5-9; that of the unjust judge and the widow in Luke 18. 3-5.


P. 104, 2-3. Dreams of the Deuill and Diues] There was a tract of the name—a dialogue against avarice, usury, &c., by Thomas Lupton, published in 1583. Nashe probably remembered the title, but there seems no possible point in a reference to the work itself, which I see no indication that he had read.

4-5. Strangullioh] i.e. strangury, a urinary disease.

P. 105, 11-13. Oues pastorem non iudicent ...] Not found.

17-19. Diis parentibus, et magistris ...] This does not seem to be an exact translation of anything in Aristotle, but cf. Eth. Nic. viii. 14. 4, and viii. 12. 5. Read, of course, Diis, parentibus ...


P. 106, 14. dismes] i.e. tithes, or tenths.

27. pity ... pietie] Lyly has the same antithesis in Euphues and his England, Wks., ed. Bond, ii. 207. 37, 'O rare example of pittie, O singulerspectacle of pietie,' where one edition by a similar mistake to that here reads 'pietie' for 'pittie'.

33-4. The Temple of Diana ... all Asia] Cf. C. Agrippa, De Incert. et Van. cap. 28, trans. 1569, fol. 39", 'the temples of the Goddes, and especiallie that of Diana at Ephesus whiche was in buildinge by all Asia, the space of twoo hundreth yeares.' See also note on 109. 1-4. The time occupied in building it is stated by Pliny, H. N. xxxvi. 21, to have been 120 years. Again mentioned at iii. 29. 18-20.

P. 107, 2-6] Taken from C. Agrippa, De Incert. et Van. cap. 56, trans. 1569, fol. 79", 'The Romans haue worshipped Jupiter the adulterer, and rausher, and in the palace [Lat. in palatio, on the Palatine] they did dedicate a common temple to the Feuer, and erected an Aultare to euil Fortune in Exquilitis a mountaine in Rome.' The passage is repeated almost verbally in Summer's Last Will, iii. 294. 1921-5.

9-21] A passage which seems also to have been remembered by Vaughan; cf. The Golden Grove, ed. 1608, I 3", 'if any intends but to build a free-schoole or an hospital (which is as seldome seen as a black swanne) we account him, as they say, one of God Almightyes fooles. The Gentlemen of the Innes of Court, quoth the rich chusses, weare so much on their backs, as would serue for the building of free-schooles. ... Those preachers please our mindes best, which preach fayth, and no good works. This cheape religion we like; a strong barne, Neighbour, is worth fifteen of their free-schooles.'

10] For 'God's fools' cf. iii. 213. 33 and Fletcher and Massinger's Beggars' Bush, II. i. 47.
19-21] Greene refers in his *Quip for an Upstart Courtier* (Wks., ed. Grosart, xi. 280, foot) to the newfangled sects which 'preach faith, faith, and say that doing of almes is papistry, but they have taught so long *Fides solam* (sic) *iustificat*, that they have preached good workes quit out of our Parish'. Cf. i. 22. 17.

28-9. *He is worse then an Infidel.*] Freely quoted from 1 Tim. 5-8.

35. *which was observed in S. Augustines time*] I can find no authority for this statement, though of course his works, as well as those of Ambrose and Jerome, contain much as to the duty of the Church towards the poor.

P. 109, 1-4] The two examples are probably borrowed from C. Agrippa, *De Incert. et Van.* cap 5, trans. 1569, fol. 131'-141, 'many menne ... will for theire mischeuous deedes be remembred and written in Histories, even as *Iustine* [ix. 6] recordethe of *Trogo* [Lat. ex Trog]. of *Pausanias* the *Macedonian* famous for the murder of Kinge *Phillippe*, and as *Gellius* [ii. 6], *Valerius* [viii. 14. ext. 5], and *Solinus* [49] made relation of *Herostratus*, who burned the Temple of *Diana at Ephesus*, the goodliest worke that in two hundred yeeres before was builte in all *Asia* [Lat. opus omnium praeclarissimum a tota Asia annos ducentos aedificatum].'

4-5. *The Spanyards are ... vaine-glorious*] Cf. i. 176. 12-13.

17-19. *Ridentur mala ...*] Horace, Epist. ii. 2. 106-8 'Ridentur ... Gaudent ... Si taceas ... laudant ...'

28. *dogged*] Used here, as generally at this period, for 'cynical', not for 'obstinate'.


P. 110, 12. *Status*] i.e. great men, nobles.


30-1. *They shall be ...*] Deut. 6. 8.

P. 112, 11-12. *Dooth the Peacocke glory in his foule feete?*] References to the shame felt by the peacock at its ugly feet are numerous, but I cannot learn by whom the idea was originated. There is some discussion of it in Gesner's *Hist Anim.* i. iii (De Avium Natura), ed. 1585, 658. 33, &c. 13-20. *Doth the Buck ...*] Pliny, H. N. viii. 50.


35. &c. *borrowed from Beastes*] Lists of the qualities, whether good or evil, of the various animals are numerous and differ greatly. Erasmus in the Prolegomena to his *Adagia* gives many such phrases as 'passere salacior, vulpe fraudulentior', &c. C. Agrippa in his *De Occ. Philos.* i. 19 and in the *De Incert. et Van.* cap. 68 has lists of the special characteristics of the various beasts; the second may possibly have been remembered by Nashe, for it is introduced by the remark that all the bad qualities of the various beasts are to be found in courtiers. Other similar catalogues are met with in the *Kalender of Shepherdes*, ed. Sommer, iii. 147-8 and the *Arcadia*, bk. iii, last poem but one, ed. 1621, p. 399. In none of these, however, do the qualities attributed to the beasts correspond so closely as in the following passage of a much later book, Harsnet's *Declaration of Popish
Impostures, 1603, p. 141, ‘Maister Maynie had in him (as you haue heard) the Maister-deuils of the seauen deadly sinnes, and therefore his deuils went out in the forme of those creatures, that haue the neerest resemblance vnto those sinnes: as for example; the spirit of Pride went out in the forme of a Peacocks (forsooth) the spirit of Sloth in the likenesse of an Asse: the spirit of Envy in the similitude of a Dog; the spirit of Gluttonie in the forme of a Woolfe.' It may be noted that the present passage of Christ's Tears was reproduced almost word for word by Vaughan in his Golden Grove, 1608, M6-6T.

P. 113, 1. auarice from the Hedghog] See Pliny, H. N. viii. 56. It hoards up food for the winter.

3. Envy from the Dogge] An idea derived either from Aesop's 'dog-in-the-manger' story, or from Pliny, H. N. xxv. 51, where he says that dogs know of certain herbs of great curative virtues, but are careful never to gather these in the presence of men, lest the secret of them should be discovered.

7-9.] An extraordinary instance of compression. The sense evidently is, 'But if of beasts we imitated anything save the imperfections, or even if, while imitating their imperfections, we chose the best beasts for our models, instead of the worst, as we do, it would be something.'


25-7] The quarto punctuates thus: '... the Iewes, vnder the Law (in comparison of vs,) we are the vnbroken-Colt, (including the Gentiles,) which hee commaunded ...' I take the sense to be that the Jews, compared to us, were more subjected to control, or tamed; we are, relatively speaking, an unbroken colt. The phrase 'including the Gentiles' signifies, I think, 'by which the Gentiles are meant.'

32. kicke and winche] A frequent collocation; cf. ii. 220. 33; also Scoggin's Jests in Hazlitt's Sk. Jest. Books, ii. 111, 'turne and kicke and winse with thy heeles, and say: wehee.' 'Winche' was a well-recognized form of 'wince'; for several examples see Gloss.-Index to Grosart's Greene and Glossary to Mr. Bond's Lyly.

P. 114, 11-12. seauen times hast thou beeene over-runne and conquered] This, I suppose, alludes to the invasions of (1) the posterity of Japhet under Samothes, (2) the Chemminites (Semnites) under the giant Albion, (3) the Trojans under Brute, (4) the Romans under Caesar, (5) the Saxons, (6) the Danes, (7) the Normans. See Harrison, Descr. of Brit. ch. 4. Holinshed, Chron., ed. 1807-8, i. 9-12. I doubt, however, whether this number of seven invasions was generally recognized. For example Barnabe Goge in an address prefixed to Riche's Alarm to England, 1578, says of this country, 'She hath of barbarous people bene four or five times inuaded and ouerrunne,' and Warner in the prose 'Epitome of the History of England' appended to his Albion's England, speaking of the Norman Conquest, says that it 'was (omitting the Tyrannie and Oppression, howbeit no perfect Soueraigntye, wherewithall the Pictes for manie yeeres had affercted the Britons) the fift absolute alteration or alienation vnto Aliens of the Scepter of this Land. To wit, first to the Romaines, secondly to the Armoricans or French Britons, thirdly to the Saxons, fourthly to the Danes, and nowe fiftily to the Normaines' (ed. of 1602, Bb 5').

18. Vngratefully] without receiving any thanks.

P. 116, 18-24. to Atheisticall Iulian ...] See, for the 'Vicisti, Galilaeae story, Theodoretus in Migne, Paet. Curs. Ser. Grec. 82 (Theod. 3), col. 1119, and, for his calling all Christians 'Galileans', the same volume, col. 1095, 'Ac primo quidem vetuit [Iulianus] ne filii Galilaeorum (sic enim Servatoris nostri sectatores appellabat) poeticiis, rhetoriciis, vel philosophicis studiis operam darent.'

P. 116, 4. marg. Psalm 18] i.e. Psalm 19. 1 in A. V.

11. Pironicks] Cf. iii. 332. 31-2. Nashe may have taken the somewhat odd form 'Pironicks', for the followers of Pyrrho of Elis, from the translation of C. Agrippa's De Incert. et Van. fol. 4", where it is stated that they affirmed nothing.

13-16. the late discovered Indians ... learning] Cf. i. 172. 24-5. Mr. Crawford has called my attention to the apparent reference to a very mysterious affair, namely the charges of 'atheism' brought in 1592-3 against a number of notable people, including Sir Walter Raleigh, Harriott, a distinguished mathematician, Matthew Royden, Marlowe, and others. It will be remembered that the first two items in the list of Marlowe's heretical opinions were:

'That the Indians and many Authors of antiquity have assuredly written of above 16 thousand yeeres agoe, whereas Adam is proued to have lived within 6 thousand yeares.

'He affirmeth that Moyses was but a Iugler ...'

For what is known of the matter see Mr. Boas' edition of Kyd, lxxi. Thomas Harriot (1560-1621) had visited Virginia in 1585, and, as appears from his Brief and true Report, had interested himself in the people of the country and their religion, but I cannot learn that he, or any one else, had published any account of Indian 'antiquities before Adam'. One might suspect the existence of Continental philosophic views as to the reality of the Adam legend, but apart from those held by Paracelsus—that certain races, including the inhabitants of the New World, were not descended from Adam (see Erastus, Paracelsus [1572], i. 244, ii. 137), I have been unable to discover any theory of the kind earlier than La Peyrere, whose Freadamitx appeared in 1655. He appears to have been entirely unconscious that any similar view had been propounded by others before him.


22-5. With Albumasar ... Tydes] I have not found the source of this.

28. some late Writers of our side] The reference may be to the Puritan attacks upon the Apocrypha, which are numerous in the Marprelate tracts and elsewhere; see note on i. 95. 24.

35. weake proppe] Cf. ii. 236. 11.

P. 117, 5. marg. Really Psalm 51. 3.

16-17. the inwards and the outward] Also borrowed by Vaughan, Golden Grove, 1668, C3".


28. Numa Pompilius ... Minos] See Val. Max. i. 2. 1, and ext. 1. 'Athens' should be 'Crete'.

"NOTES [II. 114"]

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34. side-cloake] i.e. wide cloak (cf. i. 269. 29); but some special kind of cloak may have been thus known.

P. 119, 1. in Nilus drown’d it selfe] Evidently due to mistaken recollection of the story that Aristotle drowned himself in the Euripus, in his grief at not being able to understand its currents or tides. See the note of Bilius (from the commentator Nonnus) in Opera Gregorii Nazianzeni, Basle, 1571, p. 810 (Migne, Patr. Curs. Ser. Grec. 36 (Gr. Naz. 2), col. 1003) and the passage to which the note refers in Orat. 1 contra Iul., Migne, u. s. 35 (Gr. Naz. 1), col. 597. Also Justin Martyr in Migne, u. s. 6, col. 305 B. But neither Gregory himself nor Justin mentions Aristotle’s being drowned; they state merely that he died of despair. For his drowning Pauly refers to Elias Cretensis, 507 D, but I have been unable to find the passage. The story is alluded to by Lyly, Wks., ed. Bond, i. 203. 10-12 and Campaspe, I. iii. 25-32.

7. humorously sirenize] The verb evidently means ‘lure down’, but what is to be understood by ‘humorously’ I cannot even guess.

24-5. (like a Noune substantiue) ... him] This jest, founded on the definition of the noun in Lily’s Grammar, ‘A Noune is the name of a thing, that may be seen, felt, heard, or understande’ is of frequent occurrence. Cf. iii. 70. 21-3, and Lyly, Endimion, III. iii. 8-16; Deloney, Gentle Craft, ed. Lange, ii. 59.

27. resiant] i.e. resident, permanently established.

35. Richard de Corde Lyon] Nashe again uses this form of the name at iii. 20. 25 and 163. 4.

P. 120, 23-33] Much to the same effect is said in Pierce Penniless; see i. 174-6, especially 175. 28, &c.

28. likelihoods] Apparently used somewhat as in 1 Hen. IV, III. ii. 45, ‘A fellow of no marke, nor likelyhood,’ i.e. promise. Or is it merely an error for ‘livelihoods’, i.e. means, incomes?

P. 121, 6. swufftie] i.e. sooty, dark.

14-15. the Sea ... over-peeres it] Nashe was perhaps merely thinking of the appearance of the sea from a height near the shore, but it may be noted that the belief that the sea was actually higher in certain parts of the world than in others—and hence presumably than the general level of the land—had been held not so long before his date. See Dreyer, Planetary Systems, 1906, p. 238 and note 5, also p. 250. Possibly a stock argument; in De Mornay’s Christ. Relig., trans. 1587, M 2, it is attributed to Aristotle’s ‘booke of Woonders’.

30. the Resolution] i.e. the work by R. Parsons, the Jesuit, published in 1582 under the title of The First Booke of the Christian Exercise, appertayning to resolution. Afterwards reprinted by E. Bunny, with a tract of his own; see note on i. 327. 14. There were many editions and the titles vary somewhat. The first part of the work is chiefly directed against atheism, and expounds with considerable force the torments of a guilty conscience in this life and of hell in the other.

31. marg. Diagoras primus Deos negans] If this is a quotation I have not found its source. Diagoras is of course constantly referred to as a typical atheist; see Cicero, De Nat. Deor. 1. 1. 2; iii. 37. 89; Val. Max. i. 1, ext. 7; Lactant., Migne, Patr. Curs. 6, col. 120; 7, col. 99.

33. the Crosse] i.e. at the open-air pulpit in the north-east angle of St. Paul’s Cathedral. Sermons were preached there every Sunday in good weather by divines appointed by the Bishop of London, and this
appointment seems to have been looked on as conferring considerable distinction. Much money was given by charitably-disposed persons to pay the travelling expenses, &c. of the preachers. The 'cross' (really a pulpit surmounted by a small cross) was pulled down in 1642; see Stow's _London_, ed. Strype, 1720, bk. iii, pp. 148-9. A list of printed Paul's-Cross sermons is to be found in the catalogue of St. Paul's Cathedral Library by Mr. W. S. Simpson, and a picture of the Cross in Harrison's _Descr. of Eng._ Pt. ii, N. S. S. (from an engraving), and in Canon Benham's _Old St. Paul's Cathedral_, plate 22, from the original painting in the possession of the Society of Antiquaries.

P. 122, 30-1. *Paterae sequum censeo ...*] _Heauton_. i. 4. 1-3:
Quam iniqui sunt patres in omnes adolescentes iudices!
Qui aequum esse censent, nos iam a pueris illico nasci senes;
Neque illarum affines esse rerum quas fert adolescentia.

P. 123, 10. *soone rype ... soone rotten*] A common proverb; in Heywood's _Proverbs_, ed. Sharman, p. 47. Cf. the _Adagia_ of G. Cognatus in Erasmus's _Adag._ 1574, ii. 437 'Celerius occidit festinata maturitas', and Aul. Gel. xiii. 2, end.

35. *thicke and three-fold*] Cf. i. 159. 6.


P. 125, 36. *to heauen of Artes*] For my conjecture cf. ii. 242. 21.

P. 127, 1. *illustration out of humaine Authors*] The objection was chiefly Puritan; references to it are fairly frequent in theological literature of the time; see, for example, Udall's _Diotrephes_, ed. Arber, p. 17.

4. *Pearle*] i.e., probably, a border of embroidery; but the spelling 'purl' seems to have been more usual at this date; cf. 138. 19.

5. *dunge*] The sense seems to be pile up (like dung).

16. *Non fuit sic a principio*] I suppose this to be a misquotation of Matt. 19. 8 'ab initio autem non fuit sic'.

26-7. *broken fragments of Scripture*] Malone quotes the passage to illustrate _Love's Labour's Lost_, V. i. 39-42.

35. *&c. refuse, with Demosthenes, to reserue all our weightie arguments*] I do not know where Nashe found this.

P. 128, 14. *state-house*] The word is used somewhat differently at ii. 217. 18. It seems here to mean 'throne'.

23.] For the first three see Titus i. 12; Acts 17. 28; 1 Cor. 15. 33. Alley in his _Poor Man's Library_, 1565, i. 127*, makes the same point, referring to these three citations. The quotation from Theocritus I have been unable to identify.

32. *oblouy*] i.e. an object of abuse.

P. 129, 8-11. *Imitate the Athenians, who committed Anaxagoras to prison ... Goddesse*] The reason alleged by Diog. Laert. ii. 2. 12 is that he declared the sun to be a mass of glowing iron, nor can I find any record of his having written a book on the moon's eclipses.

34. *demerits*] i.e. merits; cf. Harvey, _Wks._, ed. Grosart, ii. 21. 2, _Othello_, i. ii. 22. Frequent.

P. 130, 1-2] Mr Crawford refers me to Montaigne, iii. 8, where Tacitus, _Annales_, iv. 18, is quoted to the same effect.

32. *Augustine*] Apparently referring to his commentary on Romans; see Migne, _Fair. Curs._ 35 (August. 3), col. 2097 'ille peccat
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in Spiritum Sanctum qui desperans ... detrectat agere poenitentiam de peccatis suis'.

P. 131, 9-10. the merry man ... best thriueth] Proverbial, I believe; cf. the much commoner 'longer lives the merry man than the sad', Misogonus, ed. Brandl, in Quellen, II. ii. 89-90, and Roister Doister, I. i. 1-2.

25-7. Sinne is no sin, ... committing it] Perhaps from St. Augustine, but the question was of course much discussed and many similar passages could be found. See Migne, Patr. Curs. 44 (August. 10), col. 1312 'nullum est nisi volonte peccatum', also August. 8, cols. 103 and 120, and the Retractationes in August. 1, cols. 608, 612.

P. 132, 18] An accident has happened to this line in the final correction, the word 'kept' having been somehow transferred to the wrong end of the line. The passage should read, 'beeing the youngest sonne hee hath, is harder to bee yoked or kept in.'

P. 132, 28.—133, 2] Taken, with some changes of order, from C. Agrippa, De Incert. et Van. cap. 3, trans. 1569, fol. 9, 'But from whence came that wicked Heresie of the Antidicomariatans [so also ed. 1575], and of the Eluidians, the whiche denote the perpetuall virginitee of the glorious virgin Maria, mother of Christe, but of this oneely woorde Done? where it is reade in the Gospell, that Joseph did not knowe her vntil shee had brought forth the her first begotten Sonne. What greate contention haue these twoo little woordes, Ex, and Per, raisewe betweene the Greeke, and the Latine Churches? the Latins affirminge that the Holy Ghoste procheineth of the Father and the Sonne, and the Greekes sayinge that not of the Sonne, but of the Father, by the Sonne. Againe how many Tragedies hath this woorde Nisi, moued in the Counsaile of Basell? The Bohemians affirminge, that the Communion of bothe Kindis is necessarie, because it is written: Excepte yee shall eate the fleshe of the Sonne of man, and drinke his Bloude, yee shall haue no life in you. The later Latin editions have 'Antidicomarianitarum ... haeresis'.

P. 132, 34. the Counsayle of Basill] From 1431 to 1443. Its proceedings would be well known from the very full account, taken from Aeneas Sylvius, in Foxe's Acts and Monuments, ed. Townsend, iii. 605-702.

36-133, 1. Antidicomariatans] i.e. Antidikomarianitae, a sect in the latter half of the fourth century, which maintained that "our Lord's Brethren" were children born by the Blessed Virgin to Joseph after our Lord's birth' (Smith and Wace, Dict. Chr. Biog., s. v.), not as was maintained by Jerome and Augustine, and as, I believe, is the view held by the Anglican Church at present, our Lord's first cousins. The form 'Antidykomarians' is used in 1532 by More, Confut. Tindale, Wks., 1557, 489/1, and 'Antidicomarianits' before 1625 by J. Boys, Wks., 1629, 21 (N. E. D.). In the latter quotation 'Helvidians' are also spoken of.


8-9. An ater sit contrarius albo] I do not know whether this was a proverbial subject for disputation. If not, it might have been suggested by Ovid's line about the raven which had been turned black, Metam. ii. 541 'Qui color albus erat, nunc est contrarius albo'.

9-10. a white Surplesse, or a black gowne] See note on i. 77. 11.
As to the disputes about the surplice see Mr. Mullinger's *Cambridge*, ii. 195-206, and 280.

11-14] Again from C. Agrippa, *De Incert. et Van.* cap. 25, trans. 1569, fol. 36, 'there was an obstinate strife betweene the *Augustine* Freeres: and the vulgare [*Lat. regularibus*] Chanons before the Pope, concerning the habitte, or apparel of S. *Augustine*, that is to saie, whether he did weare a blacke weede vpon a white Coate, or a white weede vpon a blace Coate.'

14-16] A reminiscence of the *De Incert. et Van.* cap. 22, trans. 1569, fol. 33, 'and at no time there is any contention enmoge them [*i.e. Geometricians*] but of pointes, of lines, of the vttter shewe of thinges [*Lat. de superficiebus*].

P. 184, 9-10. *Vitia sunt ad virtutem occasio*] Not found.

15. *expositors*) and ... Fathers, but] Better 'expositors and ... Fathers,' but ...

17. *Quest* [*i.e. jury, body of persons appointed to hold an inquiry.*] Nashe means 'without reference to Church decretals or canons.'


P. 185, 8. *absolute* [*i.e. excellent, perfect.*]

22-6] There seems to be a reminiscence of this in Dekker's *Honest Whore*, Pt. i, V. ii, Wks., ed. Pearson, ii. 79, 'the Courtier is mad at the Cittizen, the Cittizen is mad at the Countrie man, the Shoemaker is mad at the Cobler, the Cobler at the Carman.'

P. 186, 7-10. *Democritus ... vanities*] See Aulus Gellius, x. 17, and Plutarch, *De Curiositate*, 12.

27. *Bauines* [*i.e. bundles of wood for burning.*]

P. 187, 2-3. *as it were to correct Gods work-manship*] Much of this attack upon gorgeous attire, face-painting, &c., might have been suggested by Stubbes's *Anatomy of Abuses*; cf. for this passage p. 64 (ed. N. S. S.). The arguments are, however, too obvious for any particular source to be looked for.

6. *Aurum potabile* [*Generally a more or less mythical medicament into which gold, to which were attributed marvellous therapeutic properties, was supposed largely to enter. References to it are numerous. A note in Day's *Humour out of Breath*, ed. Symons ('Mermaid' *Nero*, &c., p. 274), refers for a full recipe to *The Fifth and Last Part of the Last Testament of Friar Basilius Valentinus*, London, 1670, pp. 371-7. I do not exactly understand what is meant by tipping their tongues with it.*


26. *bushe*] Referring to the ivy-bush used as a vintner's sign.

34-5. *immodestly lay forth*] As to the custom of exposing the breasts see Stubbes's *Anatomy*, N. S. S. p. 267, and the note in the index at p. 351. Stubbes himself does not appear to mention it, and it seems doubtful how far it was considered allowable among respectable women.

P. 188, 1. *Wormes and Adders*] Creatures of this kind seem to have been not uncommon subjects for the embroidery of dresses. For example, we learn from Nichols's *Progresses of Q. Eliz.*., iii. 505-8, that in 1600 among the queen's dresses were 'one rounde gowne of
white cloth of silver, with workes of yellow silke, like flies, wormes, and
snailies'; 'one kirtle of aish-colour cloth of golde, with workes of
snailies, wormes, flies and spiders,' and 'one fore parte [i.e. stomacher]
of lawne, embrodered with bees and sondrie wormes'. The word
'worm' had of course at that time a wider application than now; thus
in Greene's Groatsworth of Wit, Wks., ed. Grosart, xii. 147, an ant and
a grasshopper are both called 'wormes'.

9. the Philosopher] i.e. Thales; see Diog. Laert. i. 1. 8. 34; ii. 2.
3. 4. Perhaps taken from C. Agrippa, De Incert. et Van. cap. 30, but
the story was very well known.

12. the ditch of all uncleannesse] Alluding to Prov. 23. 27 and

22. 14. 10. pinches . . . purlses . . . floury jagging] A 'pinch' was 'a pleat
or gather, in a skirt, &c.', N. E. D., a 'purl' an embroidered border,
and a 'jagging' an indented border or fringe.

22-4. the byting of a bullet . . . byting] The idea that the gangrene
which often followed a bullet-wound was due to the poisonous action of
the gunpowder seems to have been almost universal. For a curious
discussion of the matter, in which is upheld the view that the harm is
done principally by the mechanical shock, see the Treasury of Anc.
and Mod. Times, (1619), bk. viii, cap. 4. See also an interesting
article by Dr. L. Elkind in the North American Review, clxxx (May,
1905), pp. 695-8. He traces the theory that the wounds were poisoned
to the writings of Joannes de Vigo, and the abandonment of the treat-
bment by boiling oil— supposed to counteract the poison—to Ambroise
Paré. It seems to have been usual to bite the bullet in order that the
slight ridges so caused might prevent it from dropping out of the gun.


29-30. Arts-vanishing] Nashe may possibly mean 'so skilfully
that the art is concealed'.

33. Asses mylke] I have not seen any mention of the use of this in
England for the purpose of beautifying the skin. See i. 17. 3-5.

P. 140, 16. borders] Stubbes's Anatomy, p. 67, speaks of hair being
'laied out (a World to see!) on wreathes & borders from one ear to an
other'. They were 'a plait or braid of hair (natural or otherwise) worn
round the forehead or temples', N. E. D., with quotations from 1601.

P. 141, 14-15. Certaine glasses there are . . . not his owne] Doubt-
less from C. Agrippa, De Incert. et Van. cap. 26, trans. 1569, fol. 37,
'There is made a Glasse also, wherein a man maie see the Image of an
other, and not his owne.'

20-2. Themistocles . . . hys death] An almost literal quotation from
the dedicatory epistle to the Duke of Norfolk, prefixed by James
Sandford to his translation of C. Agrippa's De Incert. et Van. (ed.
1569, *2*), 'Themistocles the Philosopher, put all his felicite in
descending from a noble lineage. Simonides the Philosopher, accom-
peted the greatest happinesse to be well beloved of the people. Antisthens
put all his felicite in renowne after his death.' As this naturally is
not found in the Latin text it is evident that Nashe was familiar with
the translation, which is further indicated by many coincidences of
language in his borrowings from the work.

32. skinne-cases] Both this word and 'skin-coat' (cf. iii. 189. 33)
are used both for the skin itself and for clothing.

IV
P. 142, 2. *fore-welke*] The word, which I have not met with elsewhere, evidently means the same as 'welk', i.e. wither; cf. i. 370. 36.

9. *wansee*] i.e. wither, decay.

34. *The hoodemakes not the Moncke*] See note on i. 182. 6.

P. 143, 21. *wimple*] Apparently used here for an accidental fold or crease.

P. 145, 15. *terrestrial*] This may of course be merely a misprint, but it seemed safer to retain it. The same form 'terestial' occurs in *A Supplication of the Poor Commons*, 1546, b 5*, l. 10, and in Q 1 of *Merry Wives*, corresponding to III. i. 108.

20. *Macedon Phillip*] I do not know to what Nashe can be alluding, unless possibly to Philip's fear of unbroken good fortune and his desire at times of great prosperity for some small reverse. See Plutarch, *Reg. et Imp. Apophth.* Phil. 3, and *Consol. ad Apol.* 6.

P. 146, 27-8. *like the mourning of an Heyre*] Similar sayings based on that of Publius Syrus (Aul. Gel. xvii. 14, and Macrobr. Sat. ii. 7. 11), 'Heredis fietus sub persona risus est' are of frequent occurrence.


33. *elsewhere*] See i. 199-204.

34. *surcinct*] Perhaps merely a misprint for 'succinct'. I have, however, kept the *r*, as it seemed more probable that the word might have been regarded as connected with 'surcingle'.

P. 148, 12. *Into the hart of the City*] Cf. note on i. 216. 7-12.

18. *sixe-penny*] Cf. i. 217. 10.

28. *Smithfield ruffianly Swashbuckler*] Smithfield was a common duelling-ground. See note on i. 182. 11-12, and *Tell-Troth's Message*, 1600, ed. Furnivall for N. S. S., ll. 451-2:

> Wrath is the cause that men in Smith-field meete (Which may be called smite-field properly);

and also *Stow's London*, ed. Strype, 1720, bk. iii, 239. Hence it was proverbially a resort of evil characters, swaggering captains, and bullies. Ascham in the *Schoolmaster, Engl. Wks.*, ed. Wright, 208, mentions a 'Smithfield Ruffian', while 'Smithfield ruffians' and 'Flete-strete hacksters' are referred to in Whetstone's *Rock of Regard*, ed. Collier, 246.

P. 149, 24. *Halfe a Crowne*] Cf. ii. 225. 16, and Dekker's *Honest Whore*, Pt. i, ii, i, *Wks.*, ed. Pearson, ii. 35 foot, 'You have no soule, ... heavens treasure bought it: And halfe a crowne hath sold it.'

P. 150, 28-9. *What are you but sinkes ...* It is possible that Nashe may have recollected a passage in Erasmus, *Coll. Fam.* 'Adolescenti et Scorti,' about two-fifths through, but the image was of frequent occurrence; cf. also Dekker, *Honest Whore*, Pt. i, ii, i, *Wks.*, ed. Pearson, ii. 35-6.

P. 151, 8. *rebaters*] The more usual form is 'rebatoes'; 'a kind of stiff collar worn by both sexes from about 1590-1630,' N. E. D. The 'pinning' of them—whatever precisely that may have been—is often referred to; cf. Dekker's *Satiromastix*, i, i, *Wks.*, ed. Pearson, i. 186, 'there's such delays in rising ... in pinning Rebatoes, in poaking, in dinner ...' (from notes in *Stubbes's Anatomy*, N. S. S., p. 309), and
Jack Drum's Entertainment, iv, 'Peace! you Rebato-pinner, Potting-stick' (N.E.D.). For the other sense of 'rebater' see i. 175. 21.

13. that Italian who write the Supplication to Candle-light] Not identified.

23-4. Hoyse vpppe Baudes in the Subsidie books] The 'subsidy-books' were the assessments for the purpose of taxation. Cf. Mother Bomby, II. v. 9-11. 'Gascone wine was liquor for a Lord, Sack a medicine for the sick; and I may tell you, he that had a cup of red wine to his oysters, was hoysted in the Queenes subsidie booke.' Mr. Bond refers to The Scornful Lady, ii. iii. 153. In Jack of Dover, Hazlitt's Sk. Jest-Books, ii. 317, there is a tale of a man whose wife, simple enough in other ways, had a passion for wearing gorgeous stockings, and who consequently 'on a time looking over the subsidie booke, founde himselfe therein five pound more than he was before', the stockings having been taken as a sign of his increased wealth.

P. 158, 7. pill'd and pould] A common collocation of words, i.e. to peel and shave, to make bare of hair and skin too. Numerous examples from 1528 in N.E.D. s.v. pill v. 19.

22-37] Imitated in Westward Ho!; see Dekker, ed. Pearson, ii. 360-1. 'Parenthesis: ... He tell you Gentlefolkes, there's more resort to this Fortune-teller, then of forlorn wives married to old husbands, and of Greene-sickness Wench's that can get no husbands to the house of a wise Woman. She has tricks to keepe a vaulting house under the Lawes nose. ... For either a cunning woman has a Chamber in her house or a Phisition, or a picture maker, or an Attorney, because all these are good Clokes for the raine. And then if the female party that's cliented above-Staires, be yong, Shees a Squires daughter of lowe degree, that lies there for phisicke, or comes vp to be placed with a Countesse: if of middle age, shees a Widow, and has sutes at the terme or so.'

P. 158, 22. memento] See N.E.D. s.v. 4, 'Humorously misused for a reverie, "brown study"; hence, a doze.' The earliest instance given is from Greene's Tritam. Pt. ii, Wks., ed. Grosart, iii. 128. 3.

28. sudded] There is a verb 'sud', to cover with drift sand left by the floods, but the sense here seems to be rather that of the northern 'suddle', to soil, defile; see E.D.D.

P. 158, 23. Cum cetera possit Deus, &c.] Not, as the margin indicates, in St. Jerome's commentary upon Amos, but in his well-known epistle Ad Eustochium de Virginitate, Migne, Patr. Curs. 22 (Hieron. 1), col. 397 'Audenter loquar: cum omnia possit Deus, suscitare virginem non potest post ruinam'. Nashe had perhaps seen this passage quoted, as of St. Jerome, in reference to Amos 5. 2, 'The virgin of Israel is fallen; she shall no more rise.'

25-6. Lasa pudicitia ...] Ovid, Heroid. 5. 103-4 'nulla reparabilis arte Laesa pudicitias; deperit illa semel'.

30. Circes] Cf. ii. 263. 9. The form 'Circes' was as common as, if not commoner than, 'Circe.' Cf. C. Agrippa, De Incert. et Van. trans. 1569, fol. 96", 'Circes stayed Vysses'; Palingenius, Zodiac of Life, trans. B. Googe, ed. 1576, pp. 34, 83 (Circe in index); Scot, Disc. of Witchcraft, 1584, pp. 92, 96, 101 (Circe at p. 267). Nashe has Circe at i. 11. 33, and iii. 77. 31.

36. Seleucus & hys sonne] Nashe of course means Zaleucus, the Locrian law-giver; see Aelian, Var. Hist. xiii. 24, Val. Max. vi. 5. ext. 3.

P. 155, 5. In pollutione anima sit tota caro] I do not know whether this is meant as an exact quotation, but something to the same effect is found in Sermo 156, Migne, Patr Curs. 38 (August. 5), col. 887 'In fornicationis ipso opere . . . totus homo absorbetur ab ipso et in ipso corpore, ut iam dici non possit ipse animus suus esse; sed simul totus homo dici possit quod caro sit, et spiritus vadens et non revertens'.

7-12] I have not found the source of this, but Nashe may have taken it, by memory, from G. Whetstone's Enemy to Unthriftiness, ed. 1586, H 3, 'thus, by vnsatiable Ryot . . . the wealtihest of our yong Gentlemen, are soone learned to synge.

I Diues eram dudum, sed tria, mi fecerunt nudum, Alia, vina, venus, tribus his, sum factus egoenus.
I wealthie was of late, though naked now you see:
Three things haue chaunged mine estate. Dice,
Wine, and Lecherie.'

15. deuiden] i.e. division.

35. a sloth of Souldioury] See Stow, London, ed. Strype, 1720, bk. v. 442, 'About the year 1593, and before, the City, as well as other Parts of the Kingdom, was grieuously pestered with Beggers; and they, many of them poor disbanded Soldiers, become poor and maimed by the Wars in the Low Countries and with Spain; and many more that pretended themselves to be so: Who committed many Robberies and Outrages.' See also the proclamations there quoted, ordering relief in genuinely necessitous cases and threatening punishment to those that refused to work. References to the nuisance caused by the idleness and outrageous conduct of soldiers returned from the wars are numerous, and in one instance at least they were nearly the cause of a serious disturbance. On the arrival at Plymouth of Sir Francis Drake and Sir John Norris in June 1589, after their expedition to Spain, a number of their soldiers and sailors being disbanded 'performed many vnruleie prankeks in diuers shires' and at last 'began to plot how they might achieue some speciall act, to relieue their present want, and in the end concluded to surprise Bartholomew fayre, and to that purpose fife hundred of them were assembled about Westminster'. The Lord Mayor however raised 2000 of the citizens and dispersed them (Stow, Annals, 1615, 755). A few were afterwards hanged for a terror to the rest (756b). In the Acts of the Privy Council, New Ser. xvii, xviii, are many allusions to these vagrant soldiers. Cf. also Hist. MSS. Comm., App. to 7th Rep. (Losely MSS.), p. 647, where some letters on the subject are calendared.

P. 156, 10. oyle of angels] i.e. 'palm-oil', bribery. See N. E. D., s. v. oil 86. 3 g; cf. the similar expression in L. Wright's Summons for Sleepers, 1589, 'so long as their clients continue in greasing their vn-satisfied handes with unguentum rubrum, they seeme to feele their matter, encourage them to proccede' (from Brit. Bibl. ii. 55). So also Stubbes, Anatomy of Abuses, N. S. S. i. 117.

15. Loquire nobis . . . ] The Vulgate has 'Loquimini'.

17. Archabius] From C. Agrippa, De Incert. et Van. cap. 17,
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trans. 1569, fol. 28r, 'as it is reade of Archabius the trumpetoure, to whom men were glad to geue more to make him cease, then to make him singe.' Archabius is an imaginary person, the name being an error for Arabius or Arabicus—an Arabian; see Erasmus, Adagia, chil i, cent. 7, 32 'Arabius tibicen.'

23. the Ciconian weomen] Probably also from the De Incert. et Van. cap. 17, trans. 1569, fol. 29r, 'For the which thing the women of the Ciconians did persecute Orpheus unto the Deathe, because with his Musick he corrupted their menne.' Cf. Pausanias, ix. 30. 5.

25. Guido saith . . .] The nearest that I can find is a reference to David driving out the devil from Saul by means of music; see Discip. Artis Musicae, c. 14, Migne, Patr. Curs. 141, col. 394.

P. 157, 33 marg.] The reference should be Matt. 20. 30.

P. 168, 5 mould'] i.e. mouldy; cf. Hall, Virgidemiae, bk. iv, sat. 5, 'fusted hops . . . Or mould brown paper.' Cf. i. 382. 31.

34. Orphans teares] Nashe here and in what immediately follows is evidently hinting at some scandals connected with the administration of money left for the poor. A large number of vague hints of this kind seem to show that such misappropriation was far from uncommon and was generally resented, but inasmuch as the disposal of these funds was in the hands of persons of position criticism was dangerous, as it appears to have been in the present instance. There are references, unfortunately not very precise, to injustice done to orphans in T. Norton's Instructions to the Lord Mayor of London, 1574-5, in Collier's Illustrations of O.E. Lit., vol. iii, pp. 10-11. He says that 'Evell examples abounde in this behalfe of late'.

P. 169, 11. Apron-squires] The same as 'apple-squires', the attendants of a harlot.

17-18. Hee hath playde the Merchant with vs] The N.E.D. has no earlier example, but gives this and a later one, '1632 Rowley, Woman Neuer Vest, IV. i. 51, I doubt Sir, he will play the merchant with us.' In Hakluyt's Princ. Nav., ed. 1903-5, VIII. 314. 30, 'played the Marchants' means 'trafficked', but there is, I think, a side glance at the proverbial sense. For the whole passage cf. G. Whetstone's Enemy to Unthriftiness, ed. 1586, I 1-11, 'The extremitie of these mens [i.e. usurers'] dealings hath beene and is so cruell, as there is a natural malice generally impressed in the hearts of the gentlemen of England towards the citizens of London, insomuch as if they odiously name a man, they forthwith call him A trimme merchaut. In like despight the Citizen calleth every rascal A ioly Gentleman.'

24 marg.] The reference should be Dan. 2. 32.

P. 160, 13 marg.] I suppose that the reference should be Psalm 73-13.

14 marg.] Should be Matt. 5. 8.

20. Canibals] It is perhaps worth noting that J. Taylor in his Fearful Summer (1636) uses the word in a precisely similar way when, blaming the country-folk for refusing to give shelter to Londoners during plague time, he calls them 'Countrie Canibals' (C 1). It had, of course, its present meaning also.

31. visited] I suppose that 'visited by the plague' is meant, but one may suspect 'vnuisited' in the second case; cf. Matt. 25. 36, 43.

34. In other Lands, they have Hospitals] See what is said about
the Italian hospitals in *The Unfortunate Traveller*, ii. 285, 30-4. These, however, seem not intended for plague patients. Erasmus in his *Colloquy* entitled 'Conjugium Impar', towards end, speaks of the strict measures taken in Italy to isolate plague patients, but in his time there seem to have been no hospitals for them.

P. 161, 5. *We have no provision*] Certain recommendations regarding measures to combat the plague were indeed presented to the Lords of the Council 'to be considered of' in 1592, in which was strongly urged the advisability of removing the inmates of infected houses to places where they might be apart and under observation. Little seems, however, to have been done. See Stow's *London*, ed. Strype, 1720, bk v, 442. As to plague-measures see Creighton, *Hist. of Epidemics in Britain*, i. 309-22.

33-4. *No thanks-worthy exhibitions . . . to maymd Soulsiours*] On the want of provision for old soldiers see B. Googe's Preface to B. Rich's *Alarm to England*, 1578 (in *Brit. Bibl.* i. 908); he quotes Sir William Drury as saying that 'the soldiours of England had always one of these three ends to looke for: to be slaine, to begge, or to be hanged'.

P. 163, 7-8. *gorbellied* i.e. big-bellied.

16. *Nisi parua quod urna capitis* Ovid, *Amores*, iii. 40 'Vix manet e tanto parva quod urna capitis'.

27. *Gerasen* i.e. Gergesenes. I do not know whence Nashe took the form of the name.

P. 164, 21, &c. *In the time of Gregory Nasianzen*] Nashe means Gregory Magnus, the first Pope of the name, not Nazianzen. The plague referred to was in the year 590.


35. *antidote*] See a long list of popular antidotes in J. Taylor's *Fearful Summer*, 1636, B 17-21; also the various medical books such as Lodge's *Treatise of the Plague*, 1603.

P. 166, 3. *Quod in communi possidetur, ab omnibus negligitur*] Cf. Aristot. *Politica*, ii. 1. 10 ἐπανα γὰρ ἐπιμελείας τυγχάνει το πλεονεκρὸν νοῦν. I have not found the Latin, but in Whitgift's *Defense of the Answer to the Admonition*, 243, the saying 'that which is common to all, is neglected of all' is attributed to Aristotle.

35. *Josias*] I suppose that Josiah is meant, but he lived until his thirty-ninth year (2 Kings 22. 1), and thus was hardly 'taken away in his youth'.

P. 168, 15. *words of course*] i.e. meaningless words, patter; cf. Scot, *Disc. of Witchcraft*, 1584, p. 329, giving directions for a conjuring-trick, 'in the mean time use words of course' (margin: 'as, Alif, casyl, zaze, hit mel meltat: Saturnus, Jupiter . . . or such like'); also p. 146, last line, and Span. *Trag.* (ed. Boas), i. iv. 98.


26. *attract*] i.e. imagine, conceive; cf. i. 226. 31.

32. *a Traytour*] See Harrison, *Descr. of Eng.*, ed. N.S.S. i. 222, 'The greatest and most greeuous punishment vsed in England, for
such as offend against the state, is drawing from the prison to the place of execution upon an hardle or sled, where they are hanged till they be halfe dead, and then taken downe and quartered alieue; after that, their members and bowels are cut from their bodies, and throwne into a fire provied neere hand and within their owne sight, even for the same purpose.'

34. *grinding discruciamen* i.e. piercing, or jarring, torture.

P. 169, 12-13. *drawe a ringed circle all about hym* So far as I can discover, according to all orthodox methods of raising devils, the conjurer stood *within* the ring, which protected him from the devils outside. Nevertheless the popular writers seem not infrequently to suppose that it was within the circle that the devil was made to appear, while the magician stood without; cf. B. Barnes's *Devil's Charter*, ll. 37-8 and 1756. It is obvious that for purposes of stage representation this would be the more convenient way, as the trap-door was in the middle. Nashe has the same thing at iii. 210. 5-7.


35. *Haggard-like* A haggard was a wild hawk caught when in its adult plumage, and hence too old to be satisfactorily trained.

P. 172, 1. *the print of a hand* Marks or blotches upon the skin are often referred to among signs of the plague, but I have not elsewhere met with the idea that they were in the shape of a hand.

2. *sensible blow* So John Sanderson, the Levant merchant, who was taken with the plague at Tripoli in 1587, describes how 'sitting upon my ass, in the midst of a plain field I felt a palpable blow on the left shoulder, which stayed me on my ass. The Janizary riding before me looked back, but neither I nor he saw anything' (Gentleman's Mag. ccc. 452).

10-12. a *Hearneshaw . . . an Oxe* No other reference to these portents is known to me.

18-19. *Vnder Maister Dees name* John Dee (1527-1608), the celebrated mathematician and astrologer, seems to have been harassed for the whole of the latter part of his life by the perpetual imputation of dealings with magic. In 1604 he petitioned James I that he might be tried and cleared of the horrible slander that he was, or had been, 'a conjurer, or caller, or invocator of divels', but he nevertheless apparently claimed a certain power of foreseeing the future by the aid of a magic crystal (D. N. B.).

32. *whe their Capitol was strooken with lightning* The Capitol seems often to have been struck by lightning, as one would naturally expect. See, for example, Obsequens, 122 (60). Perhaps there is reference to Cic. Cat. iii. 4. 9.

34. *her chiefeste steple is strooken with lightning* On June 4, 1561, 'the great Spire of the Steeple of St. Paul's Church was fired by Lightning. Which brake forth (as it seemed) two or three Yards beneath the Foot of the Cross: and from thence it burnt downward the Spire, to the Battlements, Stone Work, and Bells, so furiously, that within the space of four Hours, the same Steeple, with all the Roofs of the Church, were consumed; to the great Sorrow, and perpetual Remembrance of all the Beholders' (Stow's *London*, ed. Strype, bk. iii. p. 149). The roofs were at once repaired but the steeple continued for many years in a ruinous condition, though it was of course
only the spire surmounting it that had been totally destroyed. In the
Gull's Hornbook, 1609, D 3, Dekker speaks of the rottenness of the
rails surrounding the steeple and the danger of leaning against them.
Repairs were taken seriously in hand in 1632 but, owing to the Civil
War, were not finished. Again in 1660 a new attempt was made, but
the steeple was still incomplete at the time of the destruction of the
church by the great fire of 1666.

P. 178, 1. The blazing starre] I suppose that Nashe alludes to the
comet which appeared on Oct. 8, 1580, and was visible for two
months; see Holinshed, Chron., ed. 1807-8, iv. 432. There was
a tract upon the subject by Francis Shakelton, Minister, entitled
A blazing Starre or burnyng Beacon, . . . set on fire by Gods prou-
dence, to call all sinners to earnest & speedie repentance . . . 1580
(Hazlitt, Handbook). See also Stow, Annals, 1615, p. 687 b, who
gives it a much shorter duration, namely from the 10th, or 7th, to the
21st of the same month. Holinshed, u. s., p. 488, mentions also
a blazing star which appeared on May 15, 1581, but this seems to
have attracted less attention.

the Earthquake] Probably the famous one of April 6, 1580.
1-2. dearth and famine] The year 1586 was one of great scarcity.

P. 178, 1. Frauncis the first] I have been unable to find the source
of this well-known story.

7. Lucus monumenta manebunt] Ovid, Metam. x. 725.
P. 179, 2. my former Epistle] See ii. 12.
cap. 1, trans. 1569, fol. 4", 'For the Academikes were had in price, the
whiche saide, that nothinge might be affirmed.'

15-16. the druggiers at Venice . . . Mithridate] A recipe for
mithridate, the universal counter-poison supposed to have been in-
vented by Mithridates, is given by Celsus, Med. v. 23. 3 (cf. Pliny,
H. N. xxiii. 77 and xxix. 8). See A Discourse of the medicine . . .
called Mithridatium, 1585. Venice was especially famous for the drug
called 'Venice treacle', a panacea of much the same kind. Indeed,
according to W. Turner, Book of Wines, 1568, E 6", G 1-1", one of the
three kinds of Venice treacle was called 'the Mithridatium', the others
being 'The great Triacle', and 'the Triacle salt'.

16. Spiders] They were of course reputed to be poisonous; cf. i.
93. 28-9. A curious instance of this and of another superstition is to
be found in the account of Frobisher's second voyage (1577) in
Hakluyt, Princ. Nav., ed. 1903-5, vii. 219, where the sailors find
a dead fish with a horn nearly two yards long on his nose and, per-
ceiving it to be hollow, put some spiders into it, which presently died,
'by the vertue whereof we supposed it to be the sea Unicorne.' For
the present passage cf. Harington, Ulysses upon Ajax, ed. 1814,
p. 50, 'as the quacksalvers in Germany swallow spiders in open
assemblies to show the virtue of their confections.'

24. a bridge of golde] Cf. N. & Q. 10th S. ii. 295-6, where it is
noted by Mr. E. Latham that the expression—but with a bridge of
silver—occurs in Rabelais, i, cap. 43; also, as a bridge of gold, in
II.182] CHRIST'S TEARS OVER JERUSALEM 249


P. 180, 4-8. Machiavelly inspired sets done . . . most ease] See *Il Principe*, cap. 15 end.


16-18. *saue a thief from the gallows . . . * I have not met with this proverb elsewhere, but cf. B. Melbancke's *Philotimus*, 1583, X4*, 'True is the Proverbe, saue a Thiefe from the gallowes and he will be the firste shall doe thee a mischiefe.'

18. *way to Saint Gilesesse*] St. Giles'in the Fields is meant. At this place there was a hospital for lepers, and here, as Stow tells us, 'Prisoners conveyed from the City of London towards Tyburn, there to be executed for Treasons, Felonies, or other Trespasses, were presented with a Bowl of Ale [called St. Giles' bowl], thereof to drink at their Pleasure, as their last refreshing in this Life' (Stow's *London*, ed. Strype, 1720, bk. iv, 74). Hence 'the way to St Giles' was the way to the gallows. Cf. i. 199. 0.

23-4. *Sixe and thirtie sheets*] Pierce's *Supererogation* amounts to 32 or 33 sheets, according as one counts it, there being two half-sheets, and the *New Letter of Notable Contents* to four.


29. *the dog-house in the fields*] In Aggas's map of London the dog-house is marked in Moorfields. It seems to have been the kennels where the pack of hounds belonging to the Corporation was kept; see Stow's *London*, ed. Strype, 1720, bk. v, p. 163, under 'Common Hunt', and Dekker, *Wks.*, ed. Grosart, iii. 87. 6-7, where 'my Lord Maiors Hounds at the dog-house' are mentioned. It may be noted that Moorfields was until 1606, when it was much improved, a very unsavoury locality, being chiefly used for depositing rubbish; see Stow, *London*, bk. iv, p. 54.

30-6. *his gentlewoman . . . Lillie . . . Kit Marlow . . . Perne*] Harvey's allusions to these are dealt with by Nashe in *Have With You to Saffron-Walden*; see Index for references.

P. 181, 6. *Achilles race*] Alluding, I suppose, to the Δρόμος 'Αχιλλήως, or 'Achileus Cursus', a strip of land eighty miles long on the Euxine, where the hero is stated to have held games.

10. *Chimera*] Mount Chimaera, a volcano in Lycia; see Pliny, *H. N.* v. 28, ii. 110, and Strabo xiv. 3 § 5, but Nashe is perhaps rather referring to the personification of it as a fire-breathing monster which devastated part of the country (*Iliad* vi. 179-82, xvi. 328-9).


P. 182, 2. *Jacke Wilton*] i.e. *The Unfortunate Traveller*; see pp. 246. 10—253. 1. As to Nashe's complaints of the false interpretations put upon his books, see i. 154. 20, note.

3. *one of the Vniuersities of England*] It appears from p. 183. 6, where the Harveys are mentioned as belonging to this university, that Cambridge is meant.

9. *Counte Beroune*] Presumably one of the Ducs de Biron is meant. Armand de Gontaut had died in 1592, but is more likely to have been in Nashe's mind than his son Charles.
15. *cheuerell*] The allusion is to the great extent to which this leather can be stretched; cf. *Pappe with a Hatchet*, Lyly, ed. Bond, iii. 407. 35–6, ‘Nay, if they make their consciences stretch like *cheuerell* in the raine, Ie make them crumple like parchement in the fire’; Stubbes, *Anat. of Abuses*, ed. N.S.S. ii. 12. 2–3; and *Histriomastix* (Simpson, *School of Sh*. ii) V. 29, ‘*cheuerell* conscience’.

22. *Lucilius*] The satiric poet. See Cicero, *De Orat.* ii. 6 ‘C. Lucilius, homo doctus et perurbanus, dicere solebat ea, quae scriberet neque ab indoctissimis se neque a doctissimis legi velle; quod alteri nihil intelligerent, alteri plus fortasse quam ipse.’ The saying is cited in Wilson’s *Art of Rhetoric*, 1560, A 4v.

25. *cast beyond the Moone*] A very frequent phrase for ‘to be over-subtle or fanciful’; cf. Lyly, *Wks.*, ed. Bond, i. 222. 31–2, ii. 152. 27, iii. 188. 6–7.

P. 183, 12. *Item*] This does not seem to have any special heraldic sense. I suppose that ‘difference’ is meant.

26. *Italianate verbs which end all in *ise*] By ‘Italianate’ I suspect that Nashe means little more than Romance as distinguished from Saxon words. The non-Greek -*ise* words in English seem to be of French rather than Italian origin.

28. *clumperton*] Probably the same as ‘clumpstone’ in *Misorogus*, in Brandl’s *Quellen*, II. iii. 50, which evidently means rude, ignorant country fellow, ‘The scripture, yow Jack sance a scripp [Qy. read Jack Sauce! a scripp] and a staffe, Were more meter for such a clumpestone as thou arte.’

P. 184, 9. *scutes*] French gold coins of the value of about 35. 4d.


10. *Portugues*] Portuguese coins worth about £4 10s.

11–12. *monasillables, which are the onely scandallof us*] See Index to Professor Gregory Smith’s *Eliz. Critical Essays* for many allusions to the monosyllabic character of English. None of the writers seem, however, to account this as a defect. See also Holinshed, *Chron.*, ed. 1807–8, i. 24, who says that ‘some haue affirmed vs rather to barke as dogs, than talke like men, because the most of our words (as they doo indeed) incline vnto one syllable.’ He, however, strongly objects to the introduction of foreign polysyllables (pp. 24–5). The first a in ‘monasillables’ is perhaps merely a misprint, but ‘Monasyllabis’ occurs for the Latin word in Ascham’s *Schoolmaster*; see *Eng. Wks.*, ed. Wright, note on 289, ll. 3 and 4 up.

19. *exchanged them foure into one*] That ingenious but somewhat odd person, Ralph Lever, would have approved of this. In his *Art of Reason, rightly termed Witcraft*, 1573, *5*–*5*, he says, ‘As for deuising of newe termes, and compouding of wordes, our tongue hath a speciall grace, wherein it excelleth many other, & is comparable with the best. The cause is, for that the moste parte of Englyshe woordes are shorte, and stande on one sillable a pceee. So that two or three of them are ofte times fitly ioyned in one.’

30. *verbes ending in *R*] I cannot explain Nashe’s meaning.

...
THE UNFORTUNATE TRAVELLER

1. Date of Composition and Publication.

There is, I think, no reason for doubting that the date which appears at the end of the first edition, namely June 27, 1593, is that of the completion of the work. Though, so far as is known, not issued until 1594, the book was entered in the Stationers’ Register on Sept. 17 of the preceding year, and this, together with the fact that, though it does not seem to have been remarkably popular, there was time for a second, corrected edition in the same year as the first, renders it likely that publication took place in the spring or early summer.

2. General Character of the Work.

After an Induction to the pages of the Court by the author, the tale is told by Jack Wilton in the first person. The chief incidents are as follows. (I have added within square brackets the actual dates of some of the events referred to.)

Jack Wilton being present as a page at the siege of Tournay and Térouanne plays various tricks on a cider merchant (210–17), a foolish captain (217–25), and others. After the capture of the two towns [1513] he returns to England (227–8). On the outbreak of the sweating sickness [?1517] he returns to the continent (228–31) and is present at the battle of Marignano [1515] (231–2). Thence he travels to Münster, and witnesses the crushing of the Anabaptist rising there [1534] (232–41). He meets Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, at Middleburgh (241) and travels with him, visiting Rotterdam, where they find Erasmus and Sir Thomas More (245) and Wittenberg, where they witness a reception of the Duke of Saxony, and some magical feats of Cornelius Agrippa (246–53). Agrippa accompanies them to the Emperor’s Court (253–5). Surrey and Wilton go thence to Venice where they are cast into prison (255–64). Pietro Aretino (264–6). Wilton leaves the Earl and, with a courtesan Diamante, travels to Florence, whither Surrey follows him (266–9). Florence being Geraldine’s birthplace, Surrey holds a tournament in her honour (271–9). Surrey returns to England and Wilton goes to Rome (279), where during a plague the house is visited by bandits and Wilton is cast into prison on suspicion of murder (286–93). He is delivered by a banished nobleman (296), who gives him advice on the folly of travel (297–303). He falls into a cellar and is nearly made an ‘anatomy’ of (303–6), but escapes by the help of Juliana, a courtesan (308–9). With Diamante he flees to Bologna (318–19), where they are present at the execution of one Cutwolf (320–7). Wilton marries Diamante and leaves Italy (327–8).

3. Sources.

The Unfortunate Traveller must, I think, be regarded as in the main an original attempt in a hitherto untried direction. It is not impossible that it may have been partly suggested to Nashe by the reading of the Spanish romance of Lasarillo de Tormes, which had
been translated in 1576, and with which it has been generally classed, or again that it was, as Dr. Sidney Lee suggests in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, designed as a parody of those mediaeval story-books of King Arthur and Sir Tristram which he had already ridiculed in his "Anatomie of Absurditie", but there is, so far as I am aware, no direct evidence in favour of either of these suppositions. In any case, given the existence on the one hand of such jest-books as those named after Tarlton and Scoggin, in which are brought together a number of tales about the same person, and on the other such more or less autobiographical works as Greene's *Groatsworth of Wit*, it seems hardly necessary to look for any more direct model. It will be noted how suggestive the first few pages, which recount Jack Wilton's tricks upon the cider-merchant, the ugly mechanical captain, the Switzer, and the coystrel clerks, are of the jest-book, though somewhat more elaborately worked out, and how it is only as he warms to his work that the author drops the anecdotal method and gives us a connected story.

Of certain details there is, however, more to say. By his mention, at 286.8, of Lanquet's *Chronicle*, Nashe gives us a hint of the source upon which he drew for the historical background of the story, and though there is, naturally enough, much similarity between the various chronicles, and though Nashe is utterly careless of accuracy in his use of history, the few passages from Lanquet which I have cited in the notes will, I think, show that he did make use of this work. He may indeed have referred at times to other chroniclers, and for his description of the Anabaptist rising at Münster, which Lanquet touches on but briefly, he certainly did. This appears to be made up from accounts of two different affairs given by Sleidan in his *Chronicle*; see note on 232.5.

Nashe's account of the Italian travels of the Earl of Surrey, and of his love for Geraldine, is of more importance and interest. That the story is entirely fictitious there can be no doubt, for it is certain that Surrey never visited Italy; but the question of how far it was the invention of Nashe himself is of greater difficulty. No trace of the story as Nashe tells it seems to be found earlier, and it may well be that he put it together for himself from a number of sources. Among these may be mentioned:

1 Surrey's 'Geraldine' sonnet. See *Tottel's Miscellany*, ed. Arber, p. 9:

*Description and praise of his love Geraldine.*

From Tuskane came my Ladies worthy race:
Faire Florence was sometyme her auncient seate:
The Western yle, whose pleaasunt shore doth the face
Wilde Cambers clifs, did geue her liuely heate:
Fostered she was with milke of Irishe brest:
Her sire, an Erie: her dame, of princes blood.


3 Nashe's story is fully discussed by Nott in the introduction to his edition of the *Works of Surrey and Wyatt*, 1815-16, i. xxxvii-xl iii, and by E. Bapst in *Doux Gentilshommes-politcs de la Cour de Henry VIII*, 1891; see also D.N.B., art. 'Henry Howard'.

From tender yeres, in Britain she doth rest,
With kinges childe, where she tasteth costly food.
Honsdon did first present her to mine yien:
Bright is her hewe, and Geraldine she hight.
Hampton me taught to wishe her first for mine:
And Windsor, alas, dothe chase me from her sight.
Her beauty of kind her vertues from aboue.
Happy is he, that can obtaine her louse.1

It may be remarked that Surrey nowhere else mentions Geraldine
by name, though of course we may, if we please, suppose other
sonnets of his to be written in her praise—as did Nott, who inserted
her name into the titles of several.

For the Earl of Surrey see also the note on 241. 34, and for
Geraldine that on 243. 18.

(2) A tradition that Surrey had visited Italy, doubtless based on
his evident imitation of Italian models. Such a tradition seems to be
referred to by Puttenham in his *Art of English Poesy*, 1589 (*Eliz.
Crit. Essays*, ed. Gregory Smith, ii. 62–3), 'In the latter end of the
same kings raigne [i.e. Henry VII’s] sprong vp a new company of
courty makeres, of whom Sir Thomas Wyat th’elder & Henry
Earle of Surrey were the two chieftaines, who haung trauaied into
Italie, and there tasted the sweete and stately measures and stile of
the Italian Poesie, . . . greatly pollishe our rude & homely maner
of vulgar Poesie from that it had bene before.' It was suggested by
Nott, u.s. i. xlii note, and has since been maintained by Bapst, that
Puttenham’s language was meant figuratively, but this seems to me
very doubtful. It is more natural to suppose that he was merely
mistaken.

(3) The idea of the tournament at Florence (271. 7, &c.) may have
been suggested by the fact that Surrey greatly distinguished himself
in some jousts held at Westminster on May 1–3, 1540, to celebrate
the king’s marriage with Anne of Cleves; see Holinshed, *Chron.*, ed.
1807–8, iii. 815–16.

The only remaining points of importance to be discussed are the
geography of the story and the information about foreign towns and
customs. For these I have been unable to find any definite source.
Though, as I have stated in the Introduction, I do not believe that
Nashe ever visited Italy, he would doubtless have had many oppor-
tunities of conversing with travellers (compare his own words at iii.
172. 16–17), and unless it should be shown that he followed some
particular printed account of Italy, we may, I think, be content to
suppose that he gathered his facts—and after all they are but few—
from the report of those who had been there.

4. After History.

The most noteworthy of the direct results of the work on English
literature is that the story of Surrey and Geraldine was used by
Drayton as the foundation of one of the best known of his 'Heroical

1 Professor Arber notes the following variants in the second edition, 31 Jy.
1557: l. 4 'furst gane' for 'dide gue'; l. 7 'did she rest,' for 'she doth rest';
l. 8 'With a kinges child, who tasteth ghostly food.'
Epistles'. The incident of Agrippa showing to Surrey his love's image in a glass was made use of by Scott in the *Lay of the Last Minstrel*, vi. 16–19.


8] The stop after 'LONDON' is a comma; being blurred in the original it appears in the facsimile as a full stop.

P. 201, 1. *Henrie Wriothesley*] Henry Wriothesley (1573–1624), third Baron Titchfield and Earl of Southampton, was a member of Nashe's own college at Cambridge (M.A. 1589). As a patron of the poets, he may well have been of some assistance to Nashe before this date, and the latter's *Choice of Valentines* seems to have been written for him. From the terms of this dedication (201. 12–16) it seems, however, that Nashe had not previously dedicated any work to him, and as we have no reference to him in Nashe's later writings we may conclude that this enterprise was not fruitful in results. It has, as I have stated, been suggested that the 'Amyntas' of *Pierce Penilesse* (i. 243–5) is Southampton, but this seems unlikely.

What, if anything, is signified by the withdrawal of this dedication in the second edition I cannot say; though a dedication was not necessarily repeated in later editions of a work, it was, I think, usual to do so, at least in a second which so quickly followed the first. In some cases omissions from the preliminary matter seem to have been dictated by the convenience of the printer, who having begun the composition from the beginning of the work itself wished to get the preliminary matter into one or more whole sheets; cf. iii. 307. In the present instance, however, as composition was begun from the title-page (shown by the work itself beginning on A 3), there can be no question of this, and the omission must be regarded as deliberate. The most likely supposition seems to be that, at the time of publication of B, Nashe had a patron who was not on good terms with Southampton.

P. 203, 2. *in my absence*] We do not know where he was at the time.


5. *novum*] The author is of course joking on the dice-game called 'novum' or 'novem'. See *Love's Labour's Lost*, V. ii. 547, and the notes of the commentators.

12–13. *drie... Tobacco with them*] Tobacco, which was always sold in cakes, was when purchased too moist for smoking and had to be dried. This was done by spreading it on paper, after cutting, and heating it on a shovel over the fire. A description of the elaborate paraphernalia required by a smoker is found in S. Rowlands' *Whole Crew of Kind Gossips*, 1609, B 4,—the speaker is addressing his wife:—

Then for a Candle and a Pipe hee'll call,
A Trencher, Whore, let there a Rush be got,
Some Paper, make the Fire-shouell hot,
A Knife, some Match, and reach a little Wyre,
A Tinder-box, fetch me a coale of Fyre.

Allusions to the use of waste literature for drying tobacco are very frequent.
17. 


two aces, the lowest throw at dice, and one which a gamester would not, generally speaking, love overmuch; but it seems not impossible that there was some dice-game so called; cf. The Interlude of Youth, 1.678.

18. to stop mustard-pottes] Cf. note on i.192.22-3.

19. patch] i.e. scrap.

19-20. to wrap mace in: a strong hot costly spice] Nashe is, of course, joking on the mace which was a sergeant’s or bailiff’s symbol of office. The jest was a frequent one; cf. Lyly, Mother Bomby, III. iv. 130-2, and V. iii. 398; also Massinger, Virgin Martyr, III. iii, ‘Spungius: does the devil eat any mace in his broth? Harpax: Exceeding much, when his burning fever takes him; and then he has the knuckles of a bailiff boiled to his breakfast.’ See also Jonson’s Every Man in his Humour, 1.2522-4 (Fol. IV. xi).

23. napkins] Is Nashe perhaps using the word for frisket or tympan-sheet? No sense given in N. E. D. seems applicable.

24. lost] Apparently an unusual spelling of ‘just’. The same in both editions.

32. to swere men on a pantofle] The oath on an old shoe was one of the ceremonies of ‘salting’ a freshman at the university; see Mullinger’s Cambridge, ii. 401, and may well, as seems indicated here, have been also customary among the pages of the court on the admission of a new member into their fellowship. Cf. the Page in Massinger’s Unnatural Combat, III. ii. 107-8.

5-7. two-hundred and fifty towers...attendants] Cf. Lanquet (Cooper, 1565, fol. 275), ’King Henry of England, being confederate w’ the emperor & the king of Spaine, passed w’ a great power into France, where having in wages vnder his banner y’ emperor Maximilian, & all the nobility of Brabant, Flaunders, & Hollâd, he discomfited & abashed the whole power of France, & conquered Terwine & the great city of Turney, which is said to have in it as manye toures as there be daies in the yere.’

8. a Gentleman at least] Can a somewhat odd expression in 2 Tamburlaine, III. i. 73, have been in Nashe’s mind? Callapine purposing to make Almeda a king says:

I think it requisite and honourable
To keep my promise and to make him king
That is a gentleman, I know, at least.

9. appendix] The earliest instance of the word in the sense of ‘attendant’ given in N. E. D. is Taming of the Shrew, IV. iv. 104.

14-15. _the court...the court_ | The reason for the variation between the editions is not clear, nor is the whole phrase particularly lucid, unless it simply means that the court and the camp were for the moment one.

15-16. _when Turwin lost her maidenhead_ | The expression is of course common, but it may here have been suggested by a speech of the provost of Tournay, given by Hall, *Chron.,* ed. 1809, 565, and Holinshed, *Chron.,* ed. 1807-8, iii. 589, in which is mentioned a motto graven on the gates of that town (not of Térouanne), _'Jammes ton (sic) ne a perdre ton pucelage, that is to saye thou hast never lost thy maydenhede.'_ For _'virgin'_ in this sense see side-note on 2 Kings 19.

16-17. *Jane Trosse* | Not, so far as I know, mentioned elsewhere.

20. _prouant_ | i.e. provision or arms supplied to troops.


22. _acts and monuments_ | Cf. 208. 4.

24. _slur a die_ | A method of cheating at dice by throwing so that the die slides without turning.

25-6. _the oath of the pantofle_ | Cf. 207. 32 and note.

27-8. _In grace and virtus to proceed_ | Alluding, I suppose, to the rime with which it seems to have been customary to begin the study of the horn-book; cf. note on i. 366. 28. The lines passed into proverbial use; cf. Foxe, *Acts and Monuments,* ed. Townsend, vi. 680, _'all their doctrine, even from Christ's cross be my speed [first line only given]...unto the end of their apocalypse, is nothing but idolatry.'_ Again at iii. 247. 439-40.

28. _Aliquid latet quod non patet_ | This phrase, the origin of which is unknown to me, is fairly often quoted, as in Dekker's *Strange Horse-Race,* 1613, *Wks.,* ed. Grosart, iii. 312, and, in the form _'multa latent quae non patent'_ in Greene's *Disc. of Covenage,* 1591, *Wks.,* ed. Grosart, ii. 39. Cf. also Harman, *Covet,* N. S. S. 20. 10-12, _'as the proverbe saythe, "sume thinge lurke and laye hyd that dyd not playenen apearre."'_

P. 210, 4. _on London bridge_ | Picture of London bridge, from the Pepys Collection, in Harrison's *Descr. of Eng.* Pt. iii, N. S. S. with description and all necessary references. There were houses on both sides for practically the whole length of it.

17-18. _where it is not to bee had the king must lose his right_ | Cf. Heywood's *Proverbs,* ed. Sharman, p. 83, _'Where as nothing is, the King must lose his right,'_ and W. Fulwood's *Enemy of Idleness,* 1568, C 6, _'the common proverbe, where nothing is to be had, the King loseth his right.'_

23-4. _alehouse...iuybush_ | Properly speaking a bush of ivy—as being sacred to Bacchus—seems to have been the recognized sign of a wine-tavern, while that of an ale-house was a wisp of straw (or did this merely indicate stabling?); cf. i. 256. 21; iii. 248. 485; 84. 15-16; also Dekker's *Lanthorn and Candlelight, Wks.,* ed. Grosart, iii. 242, _'But the Village into which they rode being not able to maintaine an Iuybush, an Ale-house was their Inne' and The Return of the Knight of the Post, *F* 1, _'they shall neuer be quite banisht, whilst there_
hanges a Garland before a Tauerne, or a wispe at an Ale-house.' On the other hand cf. Dekker's *Wonderful Year*, u.s. i. 138, 'a bush at the end of a pole, (the auncient badge of a Countrey Ale-house).

24. *well or gard* Cf. i. 382. 8.

27. *Tendit ad sydera virtus* This looks like an alteration, for the sake of the joke, of 'tendit ad aethera virtus', a phrase which seems somehow familiar though I cannot place it; or it may be from Ovid, *Ex Ponto*, ii. 2, 113 'tendit in ardua virtus'. Of cider, J. Taylor in *Drink and Welcome*, 1637, A 27, says, 'It is called *Syder a Syderea*; (as the Dictionary tells me) of the Starres.'

29. *Aqua caelestis* The name of some drug considered to be a powerful restorative; cf. Dekker, *Wks.*, ed. Grosart, i. 99, 'Trades that lay dead & rotten... started out of their trance, as though they had drunke of *Aqua Calestis*, or *Vnicorns horne*'; also Jonson, *Barth. Fair*, i. i (before entry of Quarlous). Cf. ii. 113. 21.


10. *the three cups* It was usual to give distinctive names to the rooms of a tavern; cf. 1 *Hen. IV*, II. iv. 30, 42.

11. *wash the pot* Can this be the host's name for the tapster or servant? If not, it was perhaps intended as a mark of special respect to the guest; it seems to have been not unusual to remind a tapster to 'wash the pot cleane when hee goes to drawe'; see Greene, *Wks.*, ed. Grosart, xi. 279. 1-3.

16. *I vp with* The phrase, still in occasional familiar or vulgar use, seems to have been common; cf. *The Cobbler of Canterbury*, ed. 1608, C i, 'the Prior vppe with his basket and away.'

17. *shift of the seuentenes* I have no idea what this means. Can it have any connexion with the—to me at least—equally mysterious expression in Harington's *Apology*, ed. 1814, p. 3, where of the last verse of the *Faery-Queen* stanzas it is said that it 'disordered their mouths, and was like a trick of seventeen in a sinkapace'?

22. *vastitie* i.e., probably, 'wastenesse'; cf. i. 168. 8, ii. 47. 23.

29. *way* A unit of weight which, in the case of cheese, seems to have varied from less than two cwt. to three.

P. 212, 1-2. *doit... denier* Nashe seems to consider the half-souse and the denier as worth much more than the doit and the dandiprat, but all were coins of very small value. The 'doit' was a Dutch coin worth about a farthing; the 'dandiprat' an English coin of the value of three halfpence; a 'sous' or 'sou' was worth about 1\(\frac{1}{4}\)d., while a 'denier' varied in value, but was, a little later than this, only the tenth of an English penny.

5-6.] For the form of the expression cf. iii. 8. 25-6.

23. *the other fresh pint* Cf. ii. 185. 13 and note.


14. *Mercie* I see no reason for positively asserting, with Mr. Fleay (Biog. Chron. ii. 139), that this alludes to Mercy Harvey, Gabriel's sister, though this is of course possible; cf. iii. 129. 24-30.

24. *have wepte all my vrine vpwards* Cf. Beaumont and Fletcher's *Scornful Lady*, V. i. 121-4.
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24-5. The wheele under our citie bridge] The first of these wheels was erected by Peter Morice, a Dutchman, in 1582; cf. Stow's Annals, 1615, 605b, and London, ed. Strype, 1720, bk. i, pp. 25, 27. The wheel was in the first arch from the north side. See Harrison's Description of England, N. S. S. Part iii, p. 47.

28. pissing Conduit] See 2 Hen. VI, IV. vi. 3-4, also quotation from Dekker in note i. 173. 4-5. I believe that the position of the conduit in question has not been determined with certainty. See, however, Mr. Bullen's note on Middleton's Chaste Maid, III. ii. 173, where the conduit is also referred to, and Ritson's on the passage in Hen. VI (Var. Sh.).

33. your daies] The change to 'these daies' in B, which can hardly have been a mere misprint, is difficult to understand.

P. 214, 4. in emptie barrels] It may be noted that about 1586 there had been much smuggling of prohibited goods into London from the Continent in pretended empty barrels. See Stow's London, ed. Strype, 1720, bk. v, p. 203. It is possible that Nashe remembered this.


29. The world is well amened] The phrase, which seems literally to mean 'things are all right so far as you are concerned', was, I believe, especially used in euphemistic allusion to one who was dead. It was not uncommon; cf. Chettle's Kind-Heart's Dream, ed. N. S. S., 11. 6-7, 'the world is wel amened with your man and you.'

30. Epeminedes] The sleep of Epimenides is said by Pausanias, i. 14. 4, to have lasted forty years; by Diog. Laert. i. 10. 2. 109, and Pliny, H. N. vii. 14. 4, fifty-seven.

P. 215, 13. snudge] i.e. miser, skinflint.

25-6. The hunter pursuing the Beauer ... off] Pliny H. N. viii. 47; frequently referred to.

P. 216, 3./ thinke] The words seem to be used in an asseverative sense, much as 'I should say' is occasionally employed at present.

4. scuphets] i.e. a kind of shovel.

8. spiggots and faucets] Properly the faucet was the body of a tap, the spigot the plug which when withdrawn allowed the liquor to flow, and which later developed into the part of a tap which one turns. The words were, however, loosely used, and Lyly seems to have regarded one as the proper term for the tap of a beer-barrel, the other for that of a wine-cask; see Mother Bomby, II. v. 29.

16. to cast at a dogge] A not uncommon phrase. Cf. As You Like It, I. iii. 3, the earliest example (1600) given in N. E. D.

30. beadsmarnie] i.e. a grant to reside in an almshouse.

P. 217, 1. brachet] I cannot learn what is meant by this.

3. on] Possibly 'one', the reading of B, should be allowed to stand; whether as giving a different sense, or merely as a variant spelling.

10. welfare] i.e. good luck to, a good memory is a useful thing. Cf. Lodge, Wit's Misery, 1596, E 4', 'This dapper slaue when I knew him first, had neither credit nor beard, but well fare a woman for the first, and oft shauing for the second.' The expression is frequent; cf Common Conditions, ed. Brandl in Quellen, II. 216, 396, 510, 1050.
15. a thrumming of buttons] I do not understand the literal sense of this phrase for 'wasting time'.

fall in] i.e. make friends with; cf. Barth. Fair, I. i. 'Littlewit: ... you must not quarrel with Master Quarlous, Win. Quarlous: No, we'll kiss again, and fall in,' and Dekker, Wks., ed. Grosart, i. 171. 17-18, 'sometimes it so falls out, that they [i.e. young wives and their admirers] fall in where they should not.' Cf. 256. 3.

18. in their state-house] i.e. I suppose, in their glory, held in honour; cf. ii. 128. 14.
25. parings] i.e. earnings—for the sake of the pun.

28-9. the golden dice ... Demetrius] Probably borrowed from C. Agrippa, De Incert. et Van. cap. 14, trans. 1569, fol. 26v, 'And it [i.e. dice-play] was accoumpted so greate a reproche emonge the noblest men, that the Kinge of the Parthians sente golden Dice to Kinge Demetrius, for a reproche of his lightnesse.' Cf. Elyot's Governour, ed. Croft, i. 278, where the editor refers to Justin, xxxviii. 9, and cites several other references to the story, including Chaucer, C. 621-6.

31. quater trey] i.e., I suppose, a die so weighted or cut that either three or four should come uppermost; cf. 'bard Cater Trea,' i.e. dice so made that these numbers should not turn up, fully explained by Dekker, Wks., ed Grosart, iii. 120. He speaks also of a 'Flat Cater Trea' which seems to be the die here alluded to.

32. dead lift] i.e., properly, an emergency, crisis; perhaps used here vaguely for a sleight, trick.

34. &c. Crede mihi res est ingeniosa dare] Ovid, Amores, i. 8. 62. P. 218, 4. it floweth] We might evidently read 'flowereth', which would apply better to the marigold but less well to the money. Mr. W. W. Greg points out that in the remainder of the simile there are separate words applying to the marigold and to the money; when the 'evening of Age comes on' the flower 'fadeth', and when 'he falls into disgrace' the money 'is not to be found'. He therefore suggests that the reading of the MS. may have been something like 'it flowereth and it floweth', and that the compositor, either through carelessness or thinking that there had been accidental repetition, dropped one of the two similar words. The conjecture seems to me almost certainly correct.

7-8. Nominatiuo hic Asinus] In Lily's Grammar the declension of nouns is given in the form 'Nominatiuo hic magister. Genitius huius magistri ...' (A Short Introduction of Grammar, 1577, A 6v). 'Asinus' is not itself given as an example, the word representative of this declension being 'dominus'.

11. Jacke Drums entertainment] The phrase means expulsion with violence and also occurs in the form 'Tom Drum's entertainment'. See Deloney's Gentle Craft, ed. Lange, ii. 79, for an explanation of its origin, but one which was doubtless of Deloney's own invention. As 'Jack Drum's entertainment' it is exceedingly common.

23. as melancholy as a dog] '—as a cat' is more usual; cf. N.E.D. s.v. melancholy a 3c, also The Man in the Moon, 1609, 'The Jealous Man.'
220. high men and low men] Dice so cut or weighted as to turn up high or low numbers.

23. langrets] A kind of false die defined in *Dice-Play* (c 1550), C 1, as 'A well fauoreed die that semeth good & square: yet is the forthed longer on the cater and tray, then any other way, and therefore holdeth the name of a langret', *N. E. D.*

fullams] 'A die loaded at the corner (a high fulham was loaded so as to ensure a cast of 4, 5, or 6; a low fulham, so as to ensure a cast of 1, 2, or 3),' *N. E. D.* s. v. fulham.

P. 219, 6. drumbling] Cf. i. 368. 29.

7. through stitch] Cf. ii. 65. 22.

10. which way your staffe falls] i.e. where you are or what happens to you—from the idea of setting a staff upright and taking the road in the direction of which it happens to fall; cf. Vaughan, *The Golden Grove*, 1608, I 6*, 'to imitate Bedlemes, who journeystill that way, where the staffe falleth.'

13. scratch this scabdelbowes] To scratch the elbow seems to have been a gesture either of annoyance, defiance, or swagger; cf. Deloney, *Gentle Craft*, ed. Lange, ii. 50, where lusty Tom Stutely [or Stukely] hearing that a gallant-seeming man is only a shoemaker says, 'O how that word makes me scratch my elbow! Can a shoemaker come to the court with more serving-men at his heelesthan Captaine Stutely? See how it makes my blood rise.' Also Dekker's *Belman*, 1608, *Wks.*, ed. Grosart, iii. 134, where a gull who is playing cards with sharpeners, being at first allowed to win, 'grins for joy, scratches his elbow, and is so proud that no ground about the Alley can hold him, thinking verily...it is impossible for his side to loose.' Apparently different from to 'rub the elbow' in *L. L. L.* V. ii. 109 and 1 *Hen. IV*, V. i. 77.

21. to lay on load] To strike heavy blows. Examples in *N. E. D.* from c. 1537; cf. Bernard's *Terence*, *Adelphi*, ii. 2 (3). 5 'Ego vapulando, ille verberando, vsque ambo defessisumus. We are both of vs wearie, I with bearing the blowes and he with laying on load', and *Grim*, IV. i (Dodsley's *Old Plays*, ed. Hazlitt, viii. 445), 'I will lay on load, and when it is done, let who will take it off again.'

29-30. like the Wooffe...scene] See Pliny, *H. N.* viii. 34.

30–1. like a Hare...eyes open] See Pliny, *H. N.* xi. 54.

31–2. as the Eagle...casts dust...blindeg them] Perhaps due to a confused recollection of Pliny, *H. N.* x. 5, where it is stated that the eagle flaps dust into the eyes of deer and thus causes them to fall from the rocks.

P. 220, 2. drinke, carouse] Probably 'carouse' is meant as a noun, and the insertion of the comma in B is an error; cf. Rowlands' *Whole Crew of Kind Gossips*, 1609, A 2*, 'That dranke carouses to the other fue', and Drayton, *Idea*, 7, 'quaffing carouses.'

9. swearing and staring] Asserting in an overbearing manner; cf. i. 170. 32 note.

17. The whelpes of a Beare never growe but sleeping] The authority for this is unknown to me; cf., however, what Pliny, *H. N.* viii. 54, says of the growth of the adult bear during its winter sleep.

22-4. Ulysses, Nestor, Diomed...Troians] See *H.* x. 203, &c., Ovid, *Metam.* xiii. 239–50, but the inclusion of Nestor suggests some other source.

27. by which proportion] i.e. similarly, or 'this being so'.

P. 221, 1-2. neuer hear that he breaks pasture] Again at iii. 241. 242-6.

23. ingender by the mouth, as rausens and doues do] See Pliny, H. N. x. 15 (cf. x. 79 and Aelian, Var. Hist. i. 15).

26. resistance] i.e. residence.


11. packt vp his pipes] i.e. concluded, left; cf. 247. 2-3. The expression is common; cf. Plain Perceval, ed. Petheram, 13. 9. Examples in N. E. D. from 1556.

Taurimontanus] Taken doubtless from C. Agrippa, De Incert. et Van. cap. 17, trans. 1569, fol. 28, 'a yonge man called Taurimontanus, according as Boetius saithe, beinge stirred vp with this Phrigian sounde, hastened to burne a house where there laie a strumpet hidden.' See Boethius, De Musica. i. t; Migne, Patr. Curs. 63 (Boet. 1), col. 1170. The name is variously given; Boethius has 'Taurominitanus', the Latin texts of Agrippa either this or 'Taurominitanus'.

20. a bridge of gold to flie by] Cf. ii. 179. 24.

26. God send him good shipping to Wapping] Probably a kind of fixed phrase equivalent to 'good luck on his journey'; he was not, of course, going near Wapping; cf. the use of 'God send him good shipping' in Soliman and Perseda (ed. Boas), IV. ii. 79, also Tam. of Shrew, V. i, 43, and Club Law, ed. Moore Smith, ll. 46-7.

P. 223, 1-2] In B the first two letters of 'there' and the first of 'in' are illegible, apparently through biting of the frisket.

7. stamped] i.e. 'coined'.

12. Rascal] The word had the special senses of camp-follower and common soldier, as well as that of knave, scamp, &c.

15. in a brauerie] i.e. as a feat of bravado.

19-20. goe to Islington and eate a messe of Creame] Excursions to the farms in the suburbs of London are frequently referred to. Islington and Stratford at Bow seem to have been among the favourite resorts. A mess of cream was apparently some form of curds and whey, or junket, but it was regarded as sufficiently solid to make a meal off; cf. Grim the Collier of Croydon, V. i, where three men—or rather two and a devil—sit down to one.

23. Adam never fell till God made fooles] Evidently proverbial, but I can give no earlier instance.
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25-6. with a trice] Cf. i. 198. 34.

P. 225, i. Corinthian Dionisius] See note on i. 312. 7.

5-6. the sparrow for his lechery liueth but a yeare] Pliny, H. N. x. 52. Having spoken of the long life of pigeons and doves, the author continues, 'Contra passeri minimum vitae, cui salacitas par. Mares negantur anno diutius durare...'. Sparrows were proverbial for the quality here mentioned; cf. Chaucer, Cant. Tales, A. 626 and ‘passere salaciæ’ in the Adagia of G. Cognatus (in the Adagia of Erasmus, 1574, ii. 595 b). Even the eggs of the sparrow were supposed to have an aphrodisiac quality; cf. 'All maners of egges waken a man to the worke of lecherie, & speciallie sparowes egges.' L. Andrewe, Noble Life, O 37, in The Babees Book, E. E. T. S., p. 222.

6-7. turnd on the toe] This means, I believe, flogged.


13-14. battle-axes...flye out scuttle] A 'scuttle' was a flat dish; there is, perhaps, some joke on the sense of 'battle' as an allowance of food (see note on iii. 65. 10) and 'battle-axes'.

16. half crowne] Cf. ii. 149. 25.

18. in cue, or in quart pot rather] Playing on the two senses of 'cue' as (1) the signal for an actor, 'in cue' meaning hence 'pre-arranged', and (2) = q., a farthing, or a portion of food worth that sum obtained from a college buttery; also, I suppose, quart.

24. antipast] Examples of 'antepast', i.e. foretaste, in N. E. D. from 1590.

26. scutcherie] i.e. knavery.

27. cöstrell] i.e., properly, groom, but used also as a term of contempt—base, knavish.

29. pincht...to God-ward of] The sense is evidently 'did them out of', but this use of 'to God-ward' is not recognized by N. E. D. For the more usual sense of 'to Godward' see iii. 350. 8.

30. dead-pay] Pay fraudulently drawn by officers on account of soldiers who were dead; the expression is of frequent occurrence; cf. Day, Part. of Bee, char. iv, where Armeriger (the soldier-bee) says:

I all this while
Drilled under honest, never pursed dead pay,
Never made week the longer by a day,—
A soldier dead, his pay did likewise die.

34. fnigraphicall] i.e. finikin; cf. iii. 5. 3. N. E. D. has no other instances.

P. 226, i. A Louce (that was anie Gentlemans companion)] There was perhaps some current saying of this sort. Cf. Erasmus, Coll. Fam., first dialogue—the passage about Montacute College—where the creature is referred to as of the 'sodalitium scholasticum', and the story about Louis XI of France in the 'Convivium Fabulosum', translated in Merry Tales and Quick Answers (Hazlitt, Sh. Jest-Books, i. 37). 8-9. stikestone] A stone used in smoothing or polishing anything, as linen after washing; cf. Lyly, Euph. and his Eng., Wks., ed. Bond, ii. 9. 19.

9. feyled] There is no need to adopt Grosart's emendation. The word was occasionally used in the sense of 'defile', being probably influenced by, or confused with, 'foul'; cf. Ascham, Schoolmaster,
(Engl. Wks., ed. Wright, 296, l. 10), 'Cesar and Cicero, whose purtie was never foiled,' where, however, the editor reads 'soiled'.


17. at all a ventures] i.e. anyhow. The division of 'a ventures' is an error which it would perhaps have been better to correct.

18. Braggadoches] Save Spenser, F. Q. ii. 3, argt., 'Braggadocchio,' this is the earliest instance of the word given in N. E. D. Cf. ii. 181. 33.

24-5. stand to their tacking] i.e. stick to their post. Very frequent. In Misogonus, ed. Brandl in Quellen, ii. iv. 134, 'We trifle y* time; let us stick to our toacinge' seems to mean 'let us keep to the point; go on with what we purposed'.

P. 227, 3-4. that the King is shipt againe into England] Towards the end of September, 1513.

4. at harde meat] 'hard-meat' is properly corn or hay used as fodder, as opposed to grass (N. E. D.), and the expression thus naturally came to mean 'in confinement' or 'in retirement', as here. In Dekker's Bellman, Wks., ed. Grosart, iii. 143, we see clearly the link between the two senses; he tells how thieves put a fresh brand on a stolen horse, or alter his ear-mark, and keep him 'at hard meat till he be perfectly recovered'.

12-13. my French dublet gelte in the bellie] I suppose 'gelte' means here 'cut'; cf. L. Wright, A Summons for Sleepers, 1589, D4, 'doublets with great burssen bellies, as though theyr guts were ready to fall out.'

14-15. side paneled hose] Hose decorated with stripes of coloured cloth at the sides—or does 'side' here mean 'wide'? 

18. of the legge] One would think that 'my', the reading of A, was preferable to 'the', but the change was perhaps intentional; cf. the similar variations in 315. 26; 316. 2; 336. 14.

23. banskin] i.e. barm-skin, a leathern apron; see N. E. D. s.v. barm sb. 3.

thiels] Those who can spin will probably understand exactly what is meant; I do not.

24-5. all a more French] Does this perhaps stand for 'à la mode French' or something of the sort? We find 'alla mode de Franque' and 'Allespanyole' in The Defence of Cony-Catching, Greene, Wks., ed. Grosart, xi. 72, and almost any perversion of such phrases is possible.

26. auglet] A form of 'aglet' (cf. note on i. 166. 21), used here apparently for tassel or fringe (cf. use of 'tag').

27. ankle of my chinne] It looks as if but half the mistake had been corrected in the errata, and we should read 'angle of my chinne'. The word 'ankle' seems never to have been thus used.


19. sweating sickness] The first epidemic of this disease occurred in 1485; later ones in 1508, 1517, 1528, and 1551. See C. Creighton, Epidemics in Britain, i. 237-81. That of 1517 is presumably the one referred to. Under this year Lanquet (Cooper) says, 'Many dyed in England of the sweating sicknesses and especially about London.' The description here given is of course wholly fantastic; the sickness especially attacked the well-to-do, not the poorer and more laborious classes.
19-20. **take my heele**] The expression is correct without 'to'; cf. note on i. 118. 23; also quotation from Gascoigne in note on i. 206. 1. With 'to' at 226. 28.


**Mother Cornelius tub**] See note on i. 182. 3-5, marg.

33. **their hall**] Cooks were admitted to be a company in the reign of Edward IV. Their hall was 'on the east side of Aldersgate Street, Stow, _London_, ed. Strype, 1720, bk. iii, p. 112 b.

P. 229. 3. **slaughter budge**] 'budge' was a cheap fur made of lamb-skin; possibly 'slaughter budge' meant the fur derived from the slaughter-houses—as opposed to the expensive kinds obtained from wild animals, but I have not met with the expression elsewhere.


14-15. that burne one another by excessive heate] Pliny, _H. N._ ix. 86 'Hunc [stellae] tam igneum fervorem esse tradunt, ut omnia in mari contacta adurat, omnem cibum statim peragat'. But Pliny does not say that they burn each other. Aristotle, _Hist. Anim._ v. 15 (13). 10. says merely that on account of their great heat they digest food very rapidly.

17. **to mixe their lyme**] to form plaster for walls, &c. Cow-hair is used.

17-18. **to stuffe their balls with**] Tennis balls were made of leather stuffed with hair; cf. _Much Ado_, III. ii. 47, and Dekker, _Shoem. Hol._ V. v. _Wks._ ed. Pearson, i. 73, 'every haire ... that stickes in this beard ... I'le shave it off, and stuffe tennis balls with it.' Cf. iii. 384. 27-8.

20. **haire breeches**] I suppose that breeches thickly padded with hair are meant.

29. **fat grosse man**] The reading of B 'fat goose' is certainly possible, but I cannot think that it is correct.

30. **dyde vp all**] i.e. all utterly perished, 'up' being merely a strengthening particle as in 'eat up', 'burn up'. This seems to be a late example of the use. Cf. 'kylleth vp al' in quotation from Ben Gorion in note on 71. 7, &c. (p. 224, l. 9 from foot).

33-4] See p. 193, ll. 5-12. I do not find any authority for the danger of sleep. Holinshed insists strongly on the necessity of lying in bed, well-covered up, for twenty-four hours.

P. 230, 1. **simples ... simple fellowes**] An obvious and frequent pun; cf. Dekker's _Wonderful Year, Wks._ ed. Grosart, i. 116-17, where, in a passage very similar to this, he says that at the time of the plague 'their [i.e. Physicians'] Drugs turned to Durt, their simples were simple things, Galen could do no more good, than _Sir Giles Goosecap: Hipocrates, Autien, Paraselsus, Rasis, Fernelius_, with all their succeeding rabble of Doctors and Water-casters, were at their wits end'.

wesr] Grosart's reading is perhaps correct.

3. **shooe the Gander**] i.e. undertake a useless or absurd task; cf. Heywood, _Proverbs_, ed. Sharman, p. 102, 'Who medleth in all thing, may shoe the gosling,' and examples there quoted from 1434 and 1510. So also 'shoe the goose'; cf. Stubbes, _Anatomy of Abuses_, N.S. S. i.
117 foot, and ii. 31 mid.; also Misogonus, ed. Brandl in Quellen, III. i. 68.

9-10. *his Spiritet of the Butterieand his spiritest of Minerals*]

Cf. notes on i. 324. 32 and 366. 11. By Paracelsus 'spirit of the buttery' Nashe means, I suppose, the familiar which he was supposed to keep in the pommel of his sword. See T. Erastus, *Disp. de Med.* Nova Paracelsi Pars Prima, Basle [1572], pp. 236-7.

11-12. *Plus erat in artifice quam arte*] Cf. the letter of N. W. to Samuel Daniel, prefixed to the latter's translation of the *Impruce* of P. Jovius, 1585, *6*, 'I must excuse him as Traian did a certain Poet, *Plus est in arte quam in artifice.*' I have been unable to find the source of the story. Nashe may have been thinking of a somewhat similar saying quoted by Burton, *Anat. of Mel.*, ed. Shilleto, ii. 241 'plus ad medico quam ad morbo periculi more danger there is from the Physician than from the disease'; cf. Peacham, *Compl. Gent.*, ed. 1906, p. 29. 8-10. Perhaps alluded to—in the form given by Nashe—in The Courtier, 'Tudor Trans.' 93. 23-4.

18. *perplexitie* The sense, which seems to be 'oppression', is unusual.

22. *Brother Bankes*] Banks's horse Marocco is almost too well known to need a note. Dekker, *Wks.*, ed. Grosart, i. 81 and iii. 285, also refers to it as a curtal. See the commentators on Love's Labour's Lost, I. ii. 57, or Corser's *Collectanea Anglo-Poetica*, i. 152-6, also N. & Q. 10th S., ii. 282. The most important of the old notices of him is in *Les Metamorphoses ou L'asnedor*, trs. of Apuleius by J. de Montlyard (ed. 1623, pp. 250-4 of the Commentary), but the correctness of many of the statements there made is disputed. One of the earliest allusions is in Donne's *Sat.* i. 80 (in or before 1593); see Mr. Chambers's note in his edition of Donne. What is the 'steede of Signor Roccoes teaching' in Greene's Great's-worth of Wit, *Wks.*, ed. Grosart, xii. 118? Can this be a joke on Ma. Rocco—or was there some horse-trainer of the name?

27. *precious faces*] A very common jibe at sergeants, &c.; cf. the description of the sumner in The Cobbler of Canterbury, ed. 1608, K 1*-2. He had been seven years ale-conner of the town and his nose showed what liquor he loved:

> His face was full of pretious stone
> Richer in Inde was never none:
> For Rubie, Pearle, and Crysolite,
> With them all his face was dight,
> From the brow to the very chin,
> Yet to drinke he would nerelin.

28-9. *the Salamander... blasteth...tress*] Perhaps due to a confused recollection of Pliny, *H. N.* xxix. 23 'Nam si [salamandra] arbori irrepsit, omnia poma inficit veneno, et eos qui ederint necat frigida vi, nihil aconito distans'.

30. *fierie facies*] It is hardly necessary to refer to this constantly occurring joke on the writ termed 'fierie facias', an execution against property for the collection of debt. I should have noted that A reads 'facias'.

31-2. *In some places of the world...no shadowe*] See Pliny, *H. N.* ii. 75.
32. *Diebus illis*] See note on i. 367. 33.

P. 231, 3-4. *Goates take breath . . . at the eares also*] See Pliny, *H. N.* viii. 76, who states on the authority of Archelaus 'auribus eas [sc. capras] spirare, non naribus' (cf. Arist. *Hist. Anim.* i. 11 (9) 1). Aelian, *Nat. Anim.* i. 53, says they breathe both by the ears and by the nose. Possibly Nashe took it from the Παραπόλιος of G. Pictorius (cf. 285. 1-2, note), where on p. 17 we find it with the side-note 'Per aures anhelant caprae'.

8-9. *the King of France and the Switzers*] The expedition of Francis I in 1515 to recover Milan, which had been lost to the French three years previously, is here alluded to. A large army of Swiss, allies of Massimiliano Sforza, Duke of Milan, attacked Francis at Marignano, ten miles from Milan, on Sept. 13, 1515. The battle was continued on the following day, when the French, being joined by Bartolommeo Alviano with the vanguard of the Venetian army, completely routed their enemies. The Swiss lost about 12,000 men.

14-16. *here unsueildie Switzers . . . there the sprightly French*] We should probably read the article in both cases (as in A), or in neither.


30-5] Taken probably from Lanquet (Cooper, 1565, fol. 275r), 'A great bataille foughten betwene the Switzers and the Frenchmen, in the which the French king was in so great daunger, that the braine of his owne men spercled in his face, and him self was thrisi striken with a speare: but in the ende of the fight, by help of the Venecians and other, which came in good season, the Heluecians were discomfited and slayne, and the citie of Myllaine yielded to the French kyrng.'

P. 232, 5. *to Munster in Germanie*] Nashe gives no hint of the nineteen years' interval between the battle of Marignano and the insurrection at Münster, which took place in 1534. It would seem that for some time before the actual rising a considerable party in the town had been inclined towards the doctrines of the Anabaptists, and to strengthen their position had induced a number of followers of that sect in Holland to settle at Münster, among them being Jan Beukeissen, or Bockelsohn, of Leyden, a journeyman tailor and later an innkeeper. The insurrection broke out on Feb. 6, 1534, and on Feb. 21 the Anabaptists secured a majority in the Council, and appointing Knipperdollinck, their executioner, as Burgomaster, proceeded to realize the rule of Christ on earth. As a beginning they drove all who were not of their way of thinking from the town, so that many of them perished of cold and hunger. Seeking to have all things in common, they confiscated the goods of those whom they had exiled. They destroyed all images, pictures, and musical instruments, and passed certain sumptuary laws. They tried also to introduce polygamy, but this seems to have been a failure.

The head of the movement was at first Jan Matthys, a baker of Haarlem, who, being killed in a sortie at Easter, 1535, was succeeded by Jan of Leyden. Until April, 1535, the siege was carried on by the Bishop of Münster with the help of some Hessian troops, and against
these the insurgents, in spite of internal quarrels, made a good resistance. At that date, however, a number of princes, both Catholic and Protestant, joined in an attack upon the town, and on June 24 it was taken by assault. Jan of Leyden and Knipperdollinck were tortured to death in the market-place. (Taken from Camb. Mod. Hist.)

A full account of the doings at Münster is to be found in the work of Joannes Philippson, known as Sleidanus, translated by J. Daus and published in 1560 as A Famous Chronicle of our time, called Sleidane Commentaries. It occupies the greater part of the tenth book, and there seems some slight evidence that Nashe had read it, or else some other account derived from it. He follows it, however, by no means closely, and the pitched battle which he describes in the pages which follow had nothing whatever to do with Münster or with John of Leyden, but is clearly the battle of Frankenhausen, fought nine years earlier, on May 15, 1525, between the Anabaptists under Thomas Muntzer (see note on 239.6) and Frederic, Elector of Saxony, which is described in Sleidane's fifth book, fol. 56-7. Even so, his account is by no means accurate, but Sleidane's mention of the Anabaptists' want of proper arms (cf. 232.27, &c.) and of the appearance of a rainbow, which being the device on their ensign was taken by them as a sign from heaven (240.2-5) seem to put the matter beyond doubt. Whether Nashe purposely combined the two stories, or writing from memory confused the man Muntzer with the town Münster, I cannot say.

11-12. kept the Emperour . . . play] i.e. kept him engaged. Examples in N. E. D. from a 1548. More often 'hold . . . play' as at ii. 132. 29-30.

19-20. made of lysts like a bow-case] Cf. i. 166. 23-5. In Martin's Month's Mind, B 1r, Nashe, ed. Grosart, i. 151, is a somewhat obscure reference to Puritans, who could not abide 'a standing collar answerable to the neck, that would [yet] weare bow-cases, and whole butterie hatches themselues vpon their backes'.

24. Bruers cow] 'cow' is apparently a variant of 'cowl'. The N. E. D. has examples of 'cow' for the cowl of a malt-kiln from 1736, but there seems no earlier instance of the word in any form. A 'cowl' was also a large tub, but it is difficult to see how this could be worn as armour for the back.

29. coole-staues] Otherwise 'cowl-staves', carrying-rods for cowl's, or tubs.

30. addises] i. e. adzes.

34. scull] A kind of steel skull-cap; the simplest form of armour for the head.

P. 238. 13-14. the land of whipperginnie] Cf. Misogonus, ed. Brandl in Quellen, II. iv. 93-4, 'wotte you where I had him? Ith alhouse at whipperginne as close as a burr.' It seems here to be used for a fictitious locality, but 'whipperginnie' generally meant an unchaste woman; cf. Tell Troth, N.S.S. 13. 26 and 21. 23-4. See also Halliwell, Dict., s. v. whip-her-Jenny, where the word is explained as meaning a kind of card-game.

P. 234. 3-4. set up his rest] Cf. note on i. 384. 35-6.

5. peace there in the bellfrie] A similar expression, 'O tace, peace in the bellfrie,' occurs in Grobianus's Nuptials, ed. Rühl in Grobianus in
England, l. 875. The 'belfry', or the part of the church under the tower, was used to accommodate the poorer part of the congregation; cf. Latimer, Fourth Sermon before Edward VI, towards end, 'a poor woman in the belfry hath as good authority to offer up this sacrifice, as hath the bishop in his pontificalibus.'

P. 238. 4-7 Cf. i. 121. 10-11.
10-11 Cf. ii. 116. 35.
19. *Qui quærunt cum qua Gente cadunt* Altered from Lucan, viii. 504-5:

Postquam nulla manet rerum fiducia, quærít
Cum qua gente cadat.

Used, as here, in the plural, but with 'cadant' in Lipsius, *Política*, 1589, i. iv, c. 9, p. 145.

21-3. *In the days of Nero ... glass as hammer-proof as gold*] Probably taken carelessly from C. Agrippa, *De Incert. et Van*. cap. 90, trans. 1589, fol. 159, 'And Plinie [H. N. xxxvi. 66] declareth that in the time of Tiberius the Emperor the temperature of glass was invented, whereby it was made softe, and flexible,'—but the artificer was put to death, 'lest that gold should be lesse esteemed then glasse.' See *Gesta Romanorum*, ed. Oesterley, cap. 44, and the numerous references to the story collected at p. 719.

P. 237. 1-3. *Cato ... was not borne till his father was fourscore yeres olde*] This statement is doubtless due to a confusion; cf. Pliny, *H. N.* vii. 12 'Catonom Censorium octogesimo exacto e filia Salonii clientis sui [filium generasse claram est]. Qua de causa, aliorum eius liberorum propago, Liciniani sunt cognominati, hi Saloniani, ex quibus Uticensis fuit'. The son in question, M. Porcius Cato Salonianus, was of no particular importance, and cannot possibly be the person referred to by Nashe, while Cato Uticensis was not the son, but the great-grandson, of Censorius.

30-5. *Diogenes ... coyning monie in his cell*] Cf. Diog. Laert. vi. 2. 1. 20-1.

35. *upp and downe* i. e. exactly; cf. i. 275. 26.

P. 238. 3-4. *shape their cotes ... according to their cloath*] Proverbial; cf. Heywood's *Proverbs*, ed. Sharman, p. 33. Frequent.

16-17. *for robbing of Iupiter of his golden coat*] The story is to be found in Val. Max. i. i. ext. 3, and Cic. *Nat. Deor.* iii. 34. 83, where it is however told of Dionysius the Elder; see also Ael. *Var. Hist.* i. 20 and Lactant. *De Orig. Error.* ii. 4, Migne, *Patr. Curs.* 6 (Lact. 1), cols. 272-3. The robbery is attributed to Dionysius the Younger, as here, by Arnobius, *Adv. Gent.* vi. 21, Migne, u. s. 5, col. 1205, and Clemens Alex., *Cohort. ad Gent.* 4, Migne, u. s. Ser. Grec. 8 (Clem. 1), col. 146. The story is again referred to at iii. 194. 3, &c. The first 'of' is probably a mere error.

18. *Schoolemaster at Corinth*] See note on i. 312. 8-9.

21-2. *Qui primus ... pati*] Ovid, *Amores*, ii. 3. 3. 4. Mr. Crawford points out that the translation here given is Marlowe's.

26. *Cardinal Wolsey*] Nashe's dislike of Wolsey may well have been due to the fact that it was, as was generally believed, his influence which had deprived St. John's College of the estates bequeathed to it by the Lady Margaret, countess of Richmond, founder of the college. See Mr. Mullinger's *Cambridge*, i. 468.

P. 289, 6. *Cnipperdolings and Muncers*] Cnipperdolings or Knipperdollink was one of the leaders of the insurrection in Münster; cf. note on 232. 5, and Lanquet (Cooper), fol. 298*. Müncrer, Monetarius, or Munzer was one of the founders and chiefs of the Anabaptists. He was put to death in 1525. See Lanquet (Cooper), fol. 283*–4*.

16. *Amor est mihi causa sequendi*] Ovid, *Metam.* i. 507; again at 271. 5. The quotation is here oddly inapropriate.


35. *Quod petitur pena est*] Ovid, *Trist.* v. 2. 77.

P. 240, 3. *signe of the rainbow*] Apparently from Sleidane’s account of the battle of Frankenhausen in 1525 (see note on 232. 18), *Famous Chronicle*, fol. 56* foot.

6. *Whereupon, assuring*] Since in A there is no comma it seems not impossible that ‘whereupon’ may refer to the sign.


P. 241, 12. *the mark is clean out of my Muses mouth*] i.e. my muse has become old and worn out. The expression is frequent; cf. Gúlpin’s *Skialetheia*, vi, ‘Some say the mark is out of Gower’s mouth, Others he’s better then a trick of youth,’ and Fletcher, *Wit without Money*, IV. v. 71–3, ‘biscuit That bawds have rubb’d their gums upon, like corals, to bring the mark again.’ Dekker explains in *Lanthorn and Candlelight* (*Wks.*, ed. Grosart, iii. 278) how fraudulent horse-dealers burn two black holes in the top of the two out-most teeth of each side the out-side of the Horses mouth vpon the nether teeth, & so likewise of the teeth of the upper chap, which stand opposite to ye nether, the qualitie of which marks is to shew that a horse is but yong’.

17. *he was hangd*] Lanquet’s (Cooper, fol. 302*) account that he, with Cnipperdolings and Cretching his companions, was ‘tormented wth burning tonges at Munster’ seems to be correct.

29. *bidding... sunonimas*] i.e. saying farewell in German.


31. *tenroof*] Cf. *Disc. of Knights of the Post*, 1597, A 3, ‘I traveilled... vpon my well approued hackney (ould Bayard of ten toes).’ The spelling as one word is perhaps a misprint.

33. *knights arrant*] i.e. knights errant; ‘infant’ is presumably used here in the sense of a youth of high birth; cf. *N. E. D.* s.v. 3.

34. *Henrie Howard, Earle of Surrey*] Henry Howard (1517–47), was proposed as husband for Princess Mary; married Frances Vere in 1532; in France 1532–3. In 1536 he was sent with his father
to Yorkshire to repress the 'Pilgrimage of Grace'; in 1537 was imprisoned at Windsor for striking a courtier. In 1540 he distinguished himself at jousts at Westminster to celebrate Henry VIII's third marriage. From 1543–6 he took part in military operations in France. Executed in 1547. He was never in Italy. Cf. introductory note on 'Sources'.


27. *grosse earthly spirite*] Cf. i. 352. 21, &c.
33. *effects*] i.e. power, efficiency; cf. i. 307. 25.

P. 243, 17. *Geraldine*] For discussion of the story of Geraldine see the introductory note on Sources.

18–19. *she it is that is come out of Italie*] The Fitzgerald family to whom belonged Elizabeth Fitzgerald (1528–1589), the supposed 'Geraldine', was of Italian origin, being descended, or reputed to be descended, from the Giraldis of Florence. Elizabeth herself was, however, born in Ireland. She was married at fifteen to Sir Anthony Browne (d. 1548), and afterwards to Edward Fienes de Clinton, earl of Lincoln. She was identified with 'Geraldine' by Richard Stanyhurst in his 'Description of Ireland' printed in Holinshed's *Chronicle* (ed. 1807–8, vi. 46). He quotes Surrey's sonnet in full.

20. *Queene Katherine Dowager*] i.e. either Catherine of Aragon (cf. Holinshed, Chron., ed. 1807–8, iii. 777, 795 for her title of Princess Dowager, or Lady Catherine Dowager), or Catherine Parr, but Elizabeth Fitzgerald never, so far as I can learn, served either of these queens. She was in the household of Princess Mary and later in that of Catherine Howard.

23–5. *Phoenix neast . . . funerall flame*] Cf. note on ii. 30. 34.
29. *deathes-man*] i.e. executioner; frequent in Greene's works; see Grosart's index.

P. 244, 3–4. *the whole receptacle of my sight was vnhabited*] This odd phrase seems to mean 'my mind was incapable of any other image, I could see her alone'. We find the somewhat similar 'receipt of the mind' used in the sense of 'mental capacity' (*N. E. D.* s.v. receipt, sb. 15 b).

14–15. *in paradise at Hampton Court*] This appears to have been the name of a room; cf. J. Taylor, The Needle's Excellency, 1640, p. 7:

> In Windsor Castle, and in Hampton Court,
> In that most pompous roome call'd Paradise.

(A room of this name at Wressil Castle in Yorkshire is mentioned in Leland's *Itinerary*.)

Nevertheless Drayton does not appear so to have taken it, for in the *Heroic Epistle* founded on this (see introductory note) he writes:

> Of Hampton-court and Windsor, where abound
> All pleasures that in Paradise were found,

lines which certainly look as if suggested by the present passage.


24. *Erasmus . . . Sir Thomas Moore*] So far as I can learn they
were never at Rotterdam together. Their first meeting took place in England in 1497, and they again met there in 1508. In 1515 More was in Flanders for six months, chiefly at Bruges, Brussels, and Antwerp, but during this time Erasmus seems to have been at Basle. They met later at Calais in 1520.

29–30. seemed so much to mislike ... foole] So far as I am aware, there is no reference to any particular passage of Erasmus; unless possibly to Moriae Enc., ed. 1816, p. 17 ‘in principum aulis ... mea KoXaxo' primas tenet’—Momus being banished, lest he should tell them of their faults.

31–2. a booke ... in commendation of follie] The Encomium Moriae appeared in 1509, several years before the Utopia.

32–246, 8. Quick witted Sir Thomas Moore ... Utopia] More's Utopia was planned and the second book written in 1515, when he was on an embassy in Flanders. The first (Latin) edition appeared in 1516. It was translated into English by Ralph Robinson and published in 1551 and again in 1556, and frequently.

35. principality were nothing but great piracies] Perhaps suggested originally by the oft-quoted answer of the pirate to Alexander (St. Augustine, De Civ. Dei, iv. 4) ‘quia id [sc. latrocinium] ego exiguo navigio facio, latro vocor, quia tu magna classe, imperator’. Cf. Midas, III. i. 15–17, ‘Those that tooke small vessels at the sea, I accepmed Pyrates; and my selfe that suppressed whole Flettes, a Conquerour.’ But of course the idea is a commonplace.

P. 246, 3–5] Cf. Utopia, near end, ‘Therefore when I consider and way in my mind all these commen wealthes, which now a dayes any where do florish, so god helpe me, I can perceve nothing but a certein conspiracy of riche men procureinge theire owne commodities under the name and title of the commen wealth’ (trans. R. Robinson, Temple ed., p. 158).

10. Wittenberg] It appears from the epistle before the 1594 edition of Christ's Tears that some had sought ‘to anag्रαmatize the name of Wittenberge to one of the Universities of England', namely Cambridge; see p. 182. 2–3 and notes, much as 'Athens' in Lyly's Euphues was taken to mean Oxford (Wks., ed. Bond, i. 224–5). Nashe denies that he had any hidden meaning, but it is doubtful how far we should believe him. Some hints at least may have been obtained from the Queen's visit to Audley End in 1578, when she received a deputation from Cambridge. The University of Wittenberg was founded in 1502 by Frederick III, Elector of Saxony. Luther was sent thither in 1508, and later, after his return from Rome in 1512, became professor of theology there. It is needless to refer to the important part taken by the University in the Reformation.

18–19. they were great heads of certaintie] There is, I suppose, the usual joke; the 'head' is the antlers of a deer. Thus in the Cobbler of Canterbury, ed. 1608, B 3v, a woman determines to make her husband 'one of the heade men of the Parish, as well as his neighbours'.

21, &c.] It is possible, though not, I think, certain, that this passage was meant as an attack upon Gabriel Harvey, to whose foppishness and dainty dress Nashe has several references. The phrase 'esse posse videatur', which is mentioned in l. 32 as a favourite
of this orator, was, according to Nashe, iii. 66. 21-4, characteristic of Harvey.

24-5. by patch & by pcecemeale i.e. by scraps; for this meaning of 'patch' see 207. 19. So Wilson, Rule of Reason, 1551, Q 6*, speaks of 'takyn out patches and pieces' from sacred writings, and reasoning falsely from them.

32. Esse posse videatur This seems to have been a favourite ending of a sentence among Ciceronian imitators, who were often laughed at for their excessive use of the phrase. See Montaigne, Essais, ii. 10, about two-thirds through, Pilgrimage to Parnassus, ii. 641-2, and Peacham, Compl. Gentleman, ed. 1906, p. 44.

P. 247, 2. Dum iuga montis aper Vergil, Ecl. v. 76.

2-3. packt vp his pipes Cf. 222. 11 and note.

13. incorporationers Members of the corporation; the only instance of the word in N. E. D.

19. koughs Cf. iii. 386. 22, 'Hoffes and tappe houses.' Presumably connected with German kof. No such word seems to be recognized by N. E. D.; cf., however, 'hove-dance' (M. Du. hof-dans), a lively dance.

21-2. carousing . . . armes These words added in B seem necessary for the sense, and an almost certain proof of revision by the author.

26. Vanderhulke] The correct reading of this name is settled by Have with You, iii. 31. 10. It seems there to be indicated—or at least suggested—that Vanderhulke was meant to represent Gabriel Harvey, but it is surely the orator of the university, mentioned on the preceding page, who, if any one here, resembles him.

30. knitt I do not understand the word here.

34. a short gowne without anie gathering in the backe There is probably some special allusion in this, but precise information as to the gowns worn at the Universities seems unattainable. If Vanderhulke is Harvey we should expect him to be described as not wearing a doctor's gown; cf. Nashe's gibes at him on the subject, i. 256. 35-6, 277. 33, &c.

P. 248, 3. broccing I cannot explain this word, unless it is merely 'broking'; often used as a vague term of abuse.

10. orificial] Explained by N. E. D. as 'mouth-making; hence high-sounding, bombastic'. It is, however, suggested that the word meant was perhaps 'orificall'. The present is the only example given.

14. troupe] i.e. trope.

15-21] This is evidently not intended to be very lucid, and cannot be made so, however punctuated.

21. fsgigging i.e. running or gadding about. See N. E. D., which quotes a 1529, an example of 'fzig' for a frivolous woman.

22. forking flantado To 'firk' is to dance, jig, or frisk, and 'flantado', for which N. E. D. quotes Stanyhurst 1583, means 'flaunting'. Nashe is evidently using the words for their oddity rather than with any strict meaning.

27. squitter bookes Persons, not books, are meant. In a note to Summer's Last Will, iil. 279. 1470, where the same expression occurs, Collier compares 'squitter-wit' in This World's Folly, 1615, B3, 'The Primum mobile, which gies motion to these vnder-turning wheeles of
wickednesse, are those mercenary Squitter-wits, mis-called Poets'; also The Two Italian Gentlemen, 'I would mete with the scalde squitter-booke for this geare.' Cf. G. Harvey's use of 'squatter', New Letter, C 2, Wks., ed. Grosart, i. 282. 3-4, 'I haue not been squattered at my papers for nothing'.

29. as merry as cup and can] The expression occurs in J. Heywood's Proverbs, ed. Sharman, p. 103.

verse] Joking on the slang sense of the word, i.e. to trick. See index to Grosart's ed. of Greene, under 'verse' and 'verser'; also note on i. 257. 13-14.

32. drink to his first man] Cf. note on i. 207. 11.

34. kneel] No sense of the word known to me is possible here, unless it means simply tread up and down. It obviously cannot be an error for 'kneel'—unless the orator is intended to speak absolute nonsense.

35. spruce beer] 'A beer made from the leaves and small branches of the spruce—fir... and fermented with yeast.' Cent. Dict. P. 249. 1. lubecke licour] 'A strong beer brewed at Lubeck.' N.E.D.

3. lambe skinne or miniever] Cf. i. Return from Parnassus, Prose. l. 6. Lambskin was worn on the B.A. hood, miniver—at Oxford at least—that of the M.A. See Scoggin's Jests in Mr. Hazlitt's Sk. Jest-Books, ii. 58-9, where we learn that the fur for the gown and hood cost over £6—or Scoggin represented that they did.

5. lambs wool] See note on i. 272. 4.

9-10. where Mahomet was hung up] There is a long account of Mahomet in Henry Smith's sermon entitled God's Arrow against Atheists, cap. 4, with which, as a great admirer of Smith (cf. i. 192. 33, &c.), Nashe was perhaps familiar. He describes how Mahomet's body was placed in an iron coffin and drawn up to the roof of the temple at Mecca by great loadstones.


14. Carnifex a scholler or hangman] I cannot say whether there is a reference to some university joke, or whether Nashe intends merely to show the orator's ignorance of Latin.

17. as garlike hath three properties] The same statement occurs in Harington's Metamorphosis of Ajax, ed. 1814, p. 48, 'or rather (to compare it fitter) fresh beef and garlic, for that hath three properties more suited to this discourse: vis. to make a man wink, drink, and stink.' Mr. Crawford compares what is said of ginger in Lodge and Greene's Looking-Glass (ed. Collins), I. ii. 251-4.

24-5. Acolastus, the prodigal child] A Latin comedy by the Dutch scholar Gulielmus Gnaphaus, or Fullonius, a dramatization of the parable of the prodigal son, which had great vogue during the sixteenth century. Written in 1529, it was translated into English, for school purposes, by John Palsgrave in 1540. See Herford, Lit. Relations between Eng. and Germany, 85-6, 108, 154, 158. It was performed at Wittenberg in 1572.

P. 280, I. thrripping] i.e., apparently, snapping the fingers (cf. 251. 5), but, save for these examples, the word is unknown to me.

12. Luther and Carolostadius] This may well have been suggested by Lanquet (Cooper), who under an. 1519 has 'At Lipsia was
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The disputation between Carolustadius, & Eckius, where Luther being present, was forced almost by Eckius to dispute of the supremacy, purgatorioye, pardons, and suche other matters. Which disputation Luther after put in writyn, notyng the errors of Eckius, and other, vttered in tyme of the disputing.

The expression is derived from the French phrase (faire) lever le cul (à quelqu'un) used in the sense of the French leve-cul, 'a rough, noisy game, formerly played at Christmas, in which each player is in turn driven from his seat and supplanted by another,' N. E. D., which gives the present passage as the earliest instance of the word. In Armin's Nest of Ninnies, Shaks. Soc., p. 28. 32, it is used for a disturbance, as apparently here—unless Nashe means that the disputants took each other's place in the rostrum.

Qua supra nos, nihil ad nos] A proverb of very frequent occurrence. See Erasmus, Adagia, chil. i, cent. 6. 69, where it is explained as 'dictum Socraticum deterrensa curiosavestigatione rerum coelestium et arcanorum naturae', and is referred to Lactantius, iii. 20, Migne, Patr. Curs. 6 (Lactan. 1), col. 416, who says 'Celebre hoc proverbium Socrates habuit "Quod supra nos, nihil ad nos"'.

The reading of B may possibly be intended to mean that the Ciceronians make up their discourses of small fragments of their master, which are not properly pieced together (as Nashe speaks at ii. 127. 2 of the sermons of certain divines being 'concloaments of Scripture'), and thus produce a worse effect than more wholesale borrowing would have done. Still the earlier edition seems to give a better reading here.

The leaden headed Germanes first began this] I can only suppose that Nashe took Longolius, one of the most prominent of the Ciceronians, for a German; he was, however, a Belgian, native of Malines. Apart from him the excessive worship of Ciceron seems to have been almost confined to Italy. See Dr. Sandys' Harvard Lectures, 1905, cap. 6. Or was Nashe really thinking of Sturmius (cf. Ascham's Schoolmaster, Engl. Wks., ed. Wright, 271-2)?

Nizolius] The reference is to the well-known Thesaurus Ciceronianus (1535) of Marius Nizolius (?1498-1576), an Italian scholar. A similar attack on those who 'keep Nizolian Paper-books' of the figures and phrases of Cicero and Demosthenes, instead of really understanding the spirit of these writers, is to be found in Sidney's Defence of Poesy, Eliz. Crit. Essays, ed. Gregory Smith, i. 202. But the subject is one which was very frequently discussed.

Cornelius Agrippa] Henry Cornelius Agrippa Von Nettesheim (1486-1535), born at Cologne, was one of the most widely known scholars of his time. He led a wandering life, first as a soldier and later as a teacher. His work De Occulta Philosophia, written in 1509-10, but not published until 1531-3, as well as lectures delivered by him on the Cabala in 1509, won for him the reputation of a magician, a reputation which grew enormously after his death. In England his De Incertitudine et Vanitate Omnium Scientiarum, translated by James Sandford (1569 and 1575), was widely known, and used, by other writers as well as Nashe, as a source of scraps of out-of-the-way learning.
7. *Scoto*] I have not been able to discover any juggler of the name.

15. *when he ground corne in the mil?] See Aul. Gel. iii. 3.

16. *half a month's mind*] The common phrase 'a month's mind', i.e. a strong inclination, has not been satisfactorily explained. It is generally supposed to have to do with a woman's longing.

19-22. *affirming that ... strangely*] I have been unable to find anything in Erasmus which might have suggested this.

P. 258, 10. *the Emperours court*] Their visit may possibly have been suggested by Wier's account in the *De Praestigiis Daemonum*, i. 16, of the doings of a conjurer at the court of Maximilian I, when Hector, Achilles, and David were made to appear.

16-18. *an oxe roasted ... birds*] I do not know whence Nashe took this statement, but the practice of stuffing one beast with another seems not to have been uncommon. We learn from Münster's *Cosmographia* (*Brief Collection out of S. M.*, 1574, fol. 41) that at the circumcision of a child the Turks made a feast of an ox in the belly of which was a sheep, in which was a hen, in which was an egg.

19. *tales of Cornelius Agrippa*] In spite of Agrippa's reputation as a conjurer there does not seem to have been, as one would expect, any collection of stories about him, and I am forced to conclude that these here related were the invention of Nashe. He seems to have made no use of the tales which were generally told of Agrippa. For some of these see the last chapter of Morley's *Life*.

22. *Cromwell being the kings Embassador*] Cromwell does not seem ever to have visited the Emperor's court, though there was talk of his going thereto in 1530. He, however, carried on the difficult negotiations with the Emperor in 1532-3 at the time of the divorce of Katherine of Aragon, the Emperor's aunt—but through Chapuys, the Imperial Ambassador in England.

22-3. *in like case*] i.e. in a similar way (he showed him); cf. i. 372. 11.

P. 254, 26-9.] Quoted in *England's Parnassus*, 1600 (ed. Collier, p. 461), with the readings 'paint' for 'paints' in l. 28, and 'falls' for 'flowes' in l. 29. Signed 'T. Nash'.

P. 255, 12. *blind ambages*] i.e. circuitous ways leading nowhither.

20. *Petro de campo Frego*] The name may possibly have been suggested by that of a real person 'Baptist of Campofregoso,' who is mentioned by C. Agrippa, *De Incert. et Van.* cap. 64 (Of Bawdrie), among 'bawdy Historiographers'.

P. 256, 3. *fel in*] i.e. became friendly with; cf. 217. 15.

8. *her house stood uppom vaultes*] This is one of the passages which seem to me to argue against the theory that Nashe had travelled in Italy and was himself familiar with the places he describes. The word 'vault' seems generally to have meant an underground cellar, and for obvious reasons the houses at Venice do not, as a rule, stand upon these. It is, however, possible that Nashe meant simply that the ground floor of the house was not inhabited, but was used for storage. Cf. iii. 285. 1650.

31. *but*] i.e. absolutely, a rare use; see *N. E. D.* s. v. but 6 b. Cf. the pleonastic or emphatic use of 'but' in such phrases as 'in Spain you are allowed to carry about you, onely but an hundred Reals', Peacham, *Compl. Gent.*, ed. 1906, 245. 5-6.
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P. 257, 1-2. at the hard heele] Cf. i. 276. 2.
6. Brunquell] I cannot explain the reference to 'no better name'.
The only person known to me with a name approaching this is 'Bruquell', a dwarf in the service of Arnedes, son to the King of France, in Palmendos, who was a 'tall [i.e. valiant] Pigmy', and could well 'use his language to gain successe for his Masters intent' (ed. of 1653, end of cap. 13, and cap. 18). The work first appeared in English in 1589 and seems to have been very popular. In spite of the difference in the name I feel by no means sure that this dwarf was not the person in Nashe's mind.

21-3. He ... doune on his knees] i.e. fell down on his knees; cf. the similar use with 'up' at 211. 16.
32. to be his owne carver in revenge] Cf. Middleton, Span. Gipsy, IV. ii. 10. 'Be your own carver,' i.e. 'adopt any course you think fit,' Bullen. The phrase 'a close carver' occurs without any very definite sense in Misogonus, II. iv. 285.
P. 258, 11-15.] Much better sense could be obtained by a slight change of punctuation. I would read 'had giuen me ... a little before, amongst the gross summe of my briberie. I, silly milkesop, mis trusting no deceit under an angell of light, tooke what she gave me, ...' Both A and B punctuate as in the text. Jokes on the two senses of angel are too frequent to need comment. The 'angel of light' is from 2 Corinthians xi. 14; cf. i. 347. 23-4.
17. turnd ouer] i.e. put to death; cf. Death of Rob. E. of Hunt., I. ii (Dodsley, Old Plays, ed. Hazlitt, viii. 230). Similarly 'turned over the perch' at 228. 29.

24. slip] i.e. counterfeit coin; cf. Mother Bomby, II. i. 52-3 and Mr. Bond's note.
25. made me a slipstring] i.e. caused me to be hanged. The word 'slipstring' seems to have properly meant a truant—one that gets away from control, and is often used vaguely for rascal, as in Chettle's Kindheart's Dream, Sh. Allusion Books, N. S. S., p. 58. 13; 72. 16. I suppose there is here some allusion to the slip-knot. The word is used in a jest about hanging in Mother Bomby, II. i. 54, though the passage hardly illustrates the present one.
P. 259, 6-7. the servant of my suucrcies] I suppose by this odd phrase 'my pretended (or? confidential) servant' is meant.
8. an outcast of his cuppe or pantofles] i.e. (?) his butler or page.
23. brother Trulies] Though I believe that I have met with this expression elsewhere in the sense of 'feigned friend', I am unable at present to find an example. Possibly a name for Puritans.
24. with a pestilence] i.e. with a vengeance; cf. note on ii. 319. 11.
29. necke-verse] It was usually the beginning of the 'Miserere', Psalm 51 (N. E. D.).
31. shoulde deal] 'should deal together' seems to be meant.
34. the backe of an asse] Compare the traveller at 297. 28-31.

P. 260, 11. old who] This apparently stands for 'old So-and-So', but I have failed to find other examples of the expression.
24. bergomast] i.e., presumably, Bergamask, or native of Bergamo.
P. 261, 2. six pene hackster] Cf. note on i. 217. 10.
12. the tone side] i.e. one side.
27. informers. Those] The sentences are perhaps meant to be run together.

31-2. Ingenium nobis ...] Ovid, *Heroid. xv. 84*. Some texts read 'facit' for 'dedit'.

P. 262, 4. *ams ace*] Two aces, the lowest throw at dice.


26-7] Doubtless an allusion to the sonnet-cycles of the time.


16-17. *beate the bush ... caught the birde*] Cf. *N. E. D.* s. v. beat v.1 26, 'a 1400 Cov. Myst. 119, Many a man doth bete the bow, Another man hath the brydde.' Also J. Heywood, *Proverbs*, ed. Sharman, p. 13, 'And while I at length debate and beate the bush, There shall steppe in other men and catch the burdes.' Also in *Return from Parnas.* II. v. 63 (l. 824), in the form 'to beat the bush, while another kild the Hare'.

19. *Petro Desperato*] I have not met with this expression elsewhere.

20. *dunstable*] i. e. rude, plain; cf. note on iii. 391. 17.


29. *imfamie*] The *m* may be a misprint, but the spelling is interesting in view of the current, or at least frequent, pronunciation of the word at present.

32. *subaudi*] Cf. i. 268. 14.

P. 264, 1. *M. John Russell*] John Russell (1486?—1555) was employed in a number of diplomatic negotiations on the continent. In 1520 he was at the Field of the Cloth of Gold, and in 1522 accompanied Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey, in a naval expedition against France. He had been a gentleman of Henry VII's privy chamber and was continued in this office by Henry VIII, becoming in 1523 knight-marshall of the Household. It is not clear to what incident in his life Nashe refers here; being ambassador at the papal court in 1527 he was sent by the Pope to treat with the Venetians, but while on his journey to Venice broke his leg, and was obliged to entrust the negotiations to Sir Thomas Wyatt. I do not find any record of his actually being at Venice, though so great a traveller must surely have visited the town at one time or another.

2. *late lieger*] i. e. was resident as English Ambassador or agent. See *N. E. D.* s. v. ledger, adj. 4.

4. *Petro Aretino*] See note on i. 242. 15. Nashe's statement that he was 'Inquisiter to the college of curtizans' is, I believe, a fiction. He did not receive a pension from Henry VIII, but in return for the dedication of the second volume of his *Lettere* in 1542, the king five years later sent him a present of three hundred scudi, through his ambassador at Venice. For details of this and the quarrel which arose out of it see G. M. Mazzuchelli's *Vita di P. Aretino*, 1830, p. 66, &c.


26. *temporizers*] I suppose that writers who dally with their subject, as we might now say 'amateurs', are meant—but the word is used chiefly for the pun.
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32-3. Martiall had ten Muses ... wine] The nearest that I can find to this in Martial is Epig. xi. 6. 12-13:

Possum nil ego sobrius: bibenti
Succurrent mihi quindecim poetae.

P. 265, 3-4. most of his learning ... Florence] So far as I can learn, Pietro was never at Florence.

11-13. some dull braine maligners of his ... de tribus impostoribus Mundt] Among them Gabriel Harvey, in A New Letter, D 1, and Pierce's Supererogation, Z 1*, Wks., ed. Grosart, i. 290, ii. 270. See Bayle, Dict., ed. 1734-7, art. P. Aretio, where the attribution is discussed, and, of course, rejected; also Mazzuchelli, p. 155, &c. The latter, on p. 157, uses the same argument as Nashe in ll. 17-18, denying to Aretino all knowledge of Latin.

13. de tribus impostoribus Mundt] The history of this book is wrapped in the greatest obscurity. Bayle denies that there ever was any such work, but there seems reason for thinking that a production bearing this title was current in the middle of the sixteenth century, and an (apparently) imperfect copy of an edition of 1598 was reprinted in 1846 by E. Weller, at Leipzig, and in 1861 by P. G. Brunet. Each reprint has a bibliographical preface summarizing what is known about the work, which is an attack upon Moses, Christ, and Mahomet, and, save for the mystery attaching to it, is of little interest.

24. that rubarbe Epitaph] The epitaph meant is evidently the following, which occurs in many variant forms; see Bayle, Dict., ed. 1734-7, i. 437, or Mazzuchelli, pp. 78-81, where it is fully discussed:

Qui giace l'Aretin amaro tosco
Del sem' human, la cui lingua trafisse
Et vivi, & morti: d'Iddio mal non disse,
Et si scuso, co'l dir io no'l conosco.

27-8. Il flagello ... ] Perhaps taken from the title of the Ragionamenti, which in the 1584 edition (ed. 2—Brunet) bears the words 'Pietro Aretino, Cognominato il Flagello de Prencipi, il Veritiero, e'l Divino', but allusions to these names are frequent; cf. Ariosto, Orl. Fur., c. 46, st. 14, and Mazzuchelli, p. 109, &c. The last title given by Nashe, 'L'vnico,' seems to be merely an error; it properly belonged to the poet Bernardo Accolti; see end of note on i. 242. 15. Harvey makes the same mistake, Wks., ed. Grosart, i. 125, ii. 272.


30-1. chaione ... in the forme of tongues] Mr. Crawford compares Marlowe's Ed. II, I. iv. 328, 'I'll hang a golden tongue about thy neck'—in reward of eloquence.

32. the humanitie of Christ] La Umanitd di Christo, first complete edition, 1535; see C. Bertani, P. Aretino et le Sue Opere, 1901, p. 347 (also the following pages for most of the works mentioned below).


35. Il sette] Should of course be 'I sette'. The mistake is one which would hardly be made by a writer familiar with Italian. The usual title of the work, which first appeared in 1534, is I Sette Salmi de la Penetentia di David.
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4. *La vita della virgine Maria*] La *Vita di Maria Vergine*, 1539.


11. *Even Beza himself*] The youth of Théodore de Bèze was dissipated, and he was the author of a number of somewhat licentious Latin poems, of which he repented in later years.

16. *indefinite*] i.e. without limitations, much the same as ‘infinite’.


18–19. *Puritans ... inuention*] The omission from B of this sentence must be an error, as it is absolutely required to make sense of what follows.

26. *an unsatiable famine in Venice*] I am not aware of any historical basis for this.

28. *record*] i.e. witness.

P. 267, 8. *ful-hand*] Cf. ii. 51. 36. Nashe seems here to mean that Diamante paid for the freak; cf. 268. 20, 269. 25–6.

23. *standing boules*] i.e. large bowls or cups, used either for ornament or for replenishing the cups out of which wine was drunk; cf. *Looking-Glass for Lond. and Eng.*, Greene, ed. Collins, l. 1768, (‘standard’s at l. 1858), and Puttenham, *Art of Poesy*, iii. 23 end.

24. *bad much good it vs*] i.e. bade us ‘much good may it do you!’ or ‘Mytchgoodditchye’ as Buttes has it (*Dry Dinner, P 6*).

P. 268, 8. *above Ela*] i.e. excessive. The note called ε-la was the highest, as gam-ut the lowest, in Guido d’Arezzo’s musical scale. The expression is of very frequent occurrence; cf. Lyly’s *Mother Bomby*, II. i. 132–3 ‘his knauerie is beyond Ela, & yet he sayes he knowes not Gam-ut’; also *Euphues and his England*, Wks., ed. Bond, ii. 3. 25 and note.

28–9. *undertooke the estimation*] i.e. ‘took upon myself the honour.

P. 269, 13. *Non veniunt ...*] Ovid, *Heroid.* xv. 121, with ‘atque’ for ‘&’.


5. *Amor est mihi causa sequendi*] Cf. 239. 16 note.


Cf. also note on i. 198. 33.

*Non patienter amo*] Ovid, *Heroid.* xix. 4.


24. *bases*] i.e. the skirts of armour.
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P. 272, 3. *Ex lachrimis lachrimae*] Not found. Many of the mottoes in the next few pages seem not to be classical. Nashe may have taken them from one of the numerous books on *impress* or emblems, but I have been unable to discover any definite source. Those on which there is no note I have not found elsewhere.

5. **plush**] The earliest example in *N. E. D.*

8. *thinking they had bin yron*] Pliny and others say that the ostrich can digest anything, but I know of no early authority for the bird's special fondness for iron. Cf. Ang. *Politianus, Opera*, 1512, ii. fol. 44v top (Probl. *Alex. Aphrodisii*) 'Dicunt autem & Struthochamelum ferrum concoquere: non proprietate quidem aliqua: sed caliditate: quod profecto absurdum. Leo nanque qui hoc animanti calidior est: ferrum tamen non concoquit'. The sixteenth-century pictures of an ostrich with a key in its mouth allude, of course, to this notion.

19. as the *Estrich hath a sharpe goad or pricke*] Gesner, *Hist. Anim.* i. iii (De Avium Natura), ed. 1585, 742. 35-7, says, 'In extremis alis, ut audio, osse quidam mucrones extant, quibus ceu calcaribus inter currundum se incitat, insinendo eos coxis ubi depulum est, ut in plerisque alis partibus corporis'. It is not clear whether all this is part of a quotation or is Gesner's own.

P. 273, 4-5. *hatcheth...heregs...by the effectual rayes of her eyes*] The fable is referred to by Gesner, *Hist. Anim.* i. iii (De Avium Natura), ed. 1585, 743. 28-32.

7. *needle quickning*] i.e. spurring like a needle.


24. *pointed*] i.e. appointed, designed.


7-8. a *Bee intangled in sheepes wool*] Cf. ii. 98. 27.

8. *Frontis nulla fides*] Juvenal 2. 8 'Fronti nulla fides'.

14. *trunchions*] Apparently shafts of spears are meant.

*Cura futuri est*] Ovid, *Metam.* xiii. 363.

19. *faburthen*] 'false-burden' or 'bass', but here used merely for 'mot', to avoid repetition of the word. Generally applied to a big-sounding expression, as in Lodge's *Wit's Misery*, C1, 'mirabile, miraculoso, stupendo, and such faburthen words.' In *Euphues and his England*, Lyly, ed. Bond, ii. 83. 33, it means something that a person keeps continually harping upon, 'refrain.'


23, footnote] My conjecture is nonsense; cf. ii. 82. 27, 'all to bepoynyarded.' The form is not unusual, though perhaps only correct in the case of verbs with the prefix be-

24-5. *Nos quoque florimus*] The last word is evidently a mistake, or misprint, for 'florimus'; see Ovid, *Tristia*, v. 8. 19-20.

27-8. *the yellow iandies, that make all things yellow they looke uppon*] A frequently repeated statement; cf. P. Le Loyer, *A Treatise of Spectres*, 1605, fol. 92. 'And when a man is sicke of the yellow iandise, whatsoever hee seeth about him on euery side, will appeare
to be yellow, and of the colour of saffron: by reason of the cholericke humour which lieth like saffron in the eyes,' and Webster, White Devil, I. ii, 'they that have the yellow jaundice thinke all objects they look on to be yellow.' Mr. Crawford quotes the same statement from Montaigne, bk ii. cap. 12 (trs. Florio, ed. Morley, p. 307*). See Sextus Empiricus, Hypotyposes, i. 14. 44 of γούν ἐνεργεῖνες δύχρα φαντ ἐκα τὰ ἕμων φαινόμενα λυπά.

32. slightly] i. e. slightly, deceitly.
34. spoke] i. e. 'mot', properly a saw, or proverbial expression; cf. Two Angry Women of Abington, II. i. (ed. Gayley in Repr. Eng. Com. iii. 351–2), 'Such spokes as th'ancient of the parish use, with "Neighbour, 'tis an old proverb and a true...".' Cf. also Lyly's Euphues and his England, Wks., ed. Bond, ii. 69, 10, and Midas, II. ii. 55, 'He hath made a spoke,' i. e. He has uttered an epigram, a proverb.

21. eight] i. e. eighth, the usual Elizabethan form.
22. engrailed] i. e. ornamented with semi-circular indentations; perhaps, here, made with rough or jagged edges.
29. with a thorne at her breast] Allusions to the idea are of course very numerous; cf. Greene's Friar Bacon (ed. Collins, ll. 1591–2). Hence Lyly (Campaspe, V. i. 36), jestingly refers to the bird's song as 'prick-song'.
30. Luctus monumenta manebrum] Ovid, Metam. x. 725. Quoted also at 175. 7.
34—278, 1. Non sine vulnere viresco] Perhaps based on 'Virescit vulnere virtus' quoted from Furius Antias in Aul. Gel. xviii. 11.
P. 278, 2–3. Toads... at his roots] Cf. note on i. 225. 6–8.
32. Inopem me copia feci] Ovid, Metam. iii. 466.
33. the rich prays makes the theefe] Proverbial; cf. Deloney, Gentle Craft, ed. Lange, i. 43. Fairly frequent.
P. 277, 2. Primo extinguor in evo] Ovid, Metam. iii. 470 'primoque extinguor in aevö'; see also Heroid. viii. 121.
7–8. the eyes of yong swallowes comming againe] See Pliny, H. N. xi. 55 and xxv. 50.
9. Et addis et addimit] Not found, but possibly suggested by the saying 'Nihil potest nec addi nec adimi'; see Erasmus, Adagia, chil. iv, cent. 8. 4.
17. Pompeius ordinance for paracides] References to the law are numerous; cf. Erasmus, Adag., chil. iv, cent. 9. 18 'Culleo dignus.' It was perhaps familiar from being described in Erasmus' Apophthegmata, trans. Udall, 1542, I 8*.
34—278, 1. Quid regnas sine usw] Ovid, Amores iii. 7. 49.
28. offals] i. e. 'leavings'.
16. Baelus manus] See note on i. 239. 15.
23. bag and bagage] Examples in N. E. D. from 1525.
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25. Johannes de Imola] There was a celebrated Roman jurist of the name (1436). He was professor of law at Bologna.

P. 280, 2. his montebanke banner] The custom of itinerant physicians hanging out banners, as signs, is alluded to at i. 364, 32.

9. Saint Austen compareth heretikes unto them] The statement seems to be founded on a collation of two passages in St. Augustine's writings; in one of his letters, Migne, Patr. Curs. 33 (August. 2), col. 219, he says, 'Ideo animositas haericorum semper inquieta est . . . Quam inquietudinem muscae illae brevissimae significaverunt, sub quibus magi Pharaonis defecerunt, dicentes: Digestus Dei est hic'. In De Trin. iii. 7, Patr. Curs. 42 (August. 8), col. 875, he has 'Scyniphes enim musculae sunt brevissimae, qua tertia plaga superbus populus Aegiptiorum caedebatur', but there is no reference to heretics. Cf. Isidorus, Migne, Patr. Curs. 83 (Isid. 5), cols. 292–3. 'Cymeses' (i.e. cimices, bugs) stands, I suppose, for 'Scyniphes'.

10–11. the church of the seven Sibels] I cannot identify the church referred to.

18. Pontius Pilates house] There is in Rome a place called the Casa di Pilato, because it formed one of the Stations of the Cross in Passion Plays—see Murray's Rome, 1899, p. 212. Cf. Fynes Moryson, Itinerary, 1617, i. 133.

18–20. The name . . . Piazza] This is the longest of the additions in B and the most important, for it certainly suggests that the writer had actually visited Rome, or that he had borrowed the passage word for word from some one who had.

20. Saint Paulus Church] There were at least two churches dedicated to St. Paul; one on Mt. Caelius, another a mile outside the city, on the road to Ostia; it seems more likely to be the latter that is meant.

the temmes Piazza] I cannot discover any place of the name, either in old or modern accounts of Rome.

22–5. the man that was condemned to death . . . his daughters breasts] See Solinus, cap. 7, and Festus, s. v. Pietatis aedes. Pliny, H. N. vii. 36, and Val. Max. v. 4 § 7 say it was the mother who was in prison, not the father, but the latter tells a similar story of Cimon, a Greek, and his daughter, v. 4. ext. 1.

32–3. the most monstrous] Nashe may have written 'the monstrous-est' or possibly 'the monstros't, a not impossible form; cf. 'Venomost' in l. 7 footnote.


1–2. nine widders of the world] Possibly a mere error, caused by confusion with the 'nine worthies'; or the number may have been obtained by adding together the alternatives of various lists; see discussion of the wonders in Treas. of Anc. and Mod. Times (ii), 1619, ii. 7, where nine are noticed.

2. Gregory y' sixths tombe] There is presumably some mistake; Gregory VI, pope 1044–6, abdicated, and died in Germany. I can only suggest that Gregory XIII and the Cappella Gregoriana, erected by him from the designs of Michael Angelo, may be meant. It contained the tomb of Gregory Naziansen.

Priscillas grate] I do not know what is referred to. There was, of course, Priscilla the wife of Aquila (Acts xviii. 2 and Rom. xvi. 3), but I can learn of no 'grate' in connexion with her. The tomb of
another Priscilla, wife of Abascantius, a minion of Domitian, is still to be seen (Murray's Rome, ed. 1899, p. 353).

16-17. which when they found ... with his point unblunted] I can learn nothing of the prohibition of weapons at Rome. They were, however, forbidden at Venice; see Hakluyt, Princ. Nav. ed. 1904-5, v. 205.

27-8. hee is counted no Gentleman ... that goes not in blacke] The fashion of dressing in black was, I believe, Spanish rather than Italian, but Castiglione in The Courtier (trans. Hoby, in 'Tudor Trans.' p. 134) recommends the wearing of black, or 'not throughly blacke, yet somewhat darke'.

33-4. The Bandettos, which ... tie betwixt Rome and Naples] These bandits seem to have been notorious, and there are several references to them. Ascham, Report ... of Germany, Eng. Wks., ed. Wright, p. 142, says they 'comber so the passage betwixt Rome and Naples, as no man departeth commonly from Rome without company which commeth to Naples without robbing'. Cf. Moryson, Itinerary, i. 104.

P. 282, 13. the gorgeous Gallerie of gallant devices] I suppose that Thomas Proctor's Gorgeous Gallery of Gallant Inventions, a poetical miscellany published in 1578, is referred to.

17. slust] As N. E. D. gives this passage as an example of the verb 'flush', it may be well to note that A has certainly 'sluste', B probably 'slust', but the opening ligature is somewhat damaged; Grosart printed 'sluste', Gosse 'fluste', both using the A-text.

19-21. great winde instruments ... dencet] P. Le Loyer, Treatise of Spectres, 1605, fol. 72, mentions 'Organs, which do go and play alone of themselves, onely by meanes of the water' as in a villa of the Cardinal of Ferrara at Tivoli. The gardens were a well-known show place; cf. Dallington, Survey of Tuscany, 1605, C 2*-3, and Moryson, Itinerary, 1617, i. 104, top, and 141, foot.

29. enwrapped] i.e. concealed.

33-4. which musick ... in the true heauen] Mr. Fleay, Biog. Chron. ii. 139, says that this 'was probably the origin of The Merchant of Venice, V. i. 62-4', but surely the idea is common enough. For full information on the subject see J. L. E. Dreyer, Planetary Systems, 1906, pp. 178-81, also 36-7, 111.

P. 283, 7. linealy] I suspect that the word should be 'liuely', more especially as Nashe uses 'lineally' elsewhere in the ordinary sense (300. 29, 'lineally descended'). The error of printing—or writing—'linealy ... delineated' for 'liuely ... delineated' belongs of course to a well-known type of mistake. Cf., however, The Downf of Rob., E. of Hunt. V. i, Dodson's Old Plays, ed. Hazlitt, viii. 205, where 'linealy' is perhaps used for 'in detail', a sense which would fit the context here.

20. there] Grosart's reading 'they' seems preferable.

22. experiments] i.e. contrivances; cf. iii. 235. 59-60.

P. 284, 11. siring-wise] i.e. like a syringe.

26. sweete-breathing Panthers] Cf. i. 21. 11.


28-9. Wolues ... eate earth] Pliny, H. N. viii. 34 'Eundem [sc. lupum] in fame vesi terra [traditur]'.

30-2. The Vnicorne ... before hee drome] On the unicorn see
G. C. Kirchmayer, in E. Goldsmid's *Un-Natural History*, i, ii, where many references will be found. The idea, universal in the sixteenth century, that its horn was a remedy against poison, is not, I believe, classical, but was held by J. Tzetzes; see his *Var. Hist. Chiliades*, ed. Gerbelius (with Lycophron's *Alexandra*, 1546), p. 86 (chil. v. 7). He calls the horn άρνοιδός φαρμάκος.

35. *The rose had no cankers*] As to the meaning of 'canker' see a correspondence in the Athenaeum, 1904, July to Dec., p. 123, &c., in which it was suggested that the bedeguar or rose-gall was known by this name. It is certainly curious, if, as is usually stated, the word meant canker-worm or caterpillar, that it should be so constantly referred to in connexion with roses, so rarely with other flowers or fruit.

P. 285, 1-2. *Goats then bare woull, as it is recorded in Sicily they doo yet*] Nashe may have taken this from the Παντοθέαν of G. Pictorius, a work which he had perhaps come upon bound up with the *Isagoge* of the same author; see note on i. 227, 3, &c. There we find, p. 17, under the heading 'De capra,'

Capra gerit setas quam dat Germania, Sicla
Lanosam profertibus atque malam,

with the sidenote 'Sicilia lanosas capras habeat'. The statement is possibly derived from a mistaken recollection of Pliny, *H. N.* viii. 76, where it is stated that the people of Cilicia shear goats and make clothes from their hair (cf. *Ael. Nat. Anim.* xvi. 30, of the goats in Lycia).

5-6. *The Elephant understands his countrey speach*] Pliny, *H. N.* viii. 1 'intellectus illis sermonis patrii'.

8-9. *A perpetuall spring, as Ouid sayth*] Metam. i. 107 'Ver erat aeternum'.

12-14. *The peach tree... hatefull*] Evidently founded on Pliny, *H. N.* xv. 13; though mistakenly, Pliny says 'Falsum est, venenata... in Persis [Persica] gigni, et poenarum causa regibus translatas in Aegyptum, terra mitigata. Id enim de Persea diligentiores tradunt, quae in totum alia est'.

14. *hatefull*] Thus in both quartos; we should rather expect 'hurtfull'.


30. *Their hospita[u]s*] Cf. what is said about the hospitals 'in other lands' at ii. 160, 34, &c.

P. 286, 5-6. *a word and a blowe*] Cf. *Marriage of Wit and Science*, I, near end, Dodsley's *Old Plays*, ed. Hazlitt, ii. 333, 'I am plain, I tell you, at a word and a blow.'

8. *in Lanquets chronicle*] Under the year 1522, 'A pestilence in Rome, which consumed an 100. thousande.'

P. 287, 19. *sante*] Properly a fool or clown, but occasionally used, as here, for a personal attendant.

P. 288, 10. *assayd her with honie speach*] Mr. Crawford remarks that this appears to be a recollection of *Dido*, II. i. 136, 'Assayd with honey words to turne them backe.'
NOTES

P. 289, 12. everie Pater noster while] Cf. i. 378. 29 and note.
18. the Prouost Marshall] The officer charged with the execution of sentences passed by martial law.
21-2. the age of goats is known by the knots on their horns] See Pliny, H.N. viii. 76.
31-2. As Mecoenas . . . was seven yeres without sleepe] Pliny, H. N. vii. 52 says three years, 'Quibusdam perpetua febris est, ut C. Maecenati. Eidem triennio suprerno, nullo horae momento contigit somnus'.

P. 290, 2-3. It is ... honour] The reading of A certainly seems preferable, but the change appears like a deliberate one.


32. win the bridle or lose the saddle] I do not know this saying, which looks like an alteration of the very common 'win the horse or lose the saddle'; cf. iii. 187. 12-13.

P. 291, 4. the poore fellowes have . . .] A sense can be obtained by taking 'haue gone . . . and 'had course bread . . . as grammatically parallel clauses, as is perhaps indicated by the comma of the Qq after 'Gehenna'. It seems, however, better to suppose the omission of a relative pronoun after 'fellowes'.

5. whipping chere] Cf. 2 Hen. IV, V. iv. 5-6. Steevens quotes from an 'ancient bl. l. ballad, entitled, O, yes, &c.:

And if he chance to scape the rope,
He shall have whipping-cheere.

13. a paire of staires] i.e. a flight, or two flights; cf. i. 167. 32.

15. Leno] i.e. pander. Used commonly as if an English word.

16, 'the olde Lenor that are shrine-keepers.'
to make his best of her] i.e. to do the best he could with her. Cf.
Tam. of Shrew, IV. iii. 100.

22. swearing and staring] Cf. note on i. 170. 32.

24. sacriligius] Perhaps a misprint for -ious, but cf. 'facetius', i. 7. 13 footnote. A number of examples of similar spellings might be quoted, but not, I think, from carefully printed works of this date.

P. 292, 5-6. her jewells did sweate] An interesting example of the superstition will be found in Holinshes's account of the death of King John, Chron. ed. 1807-8, ii. 336. A dish of pears being set before the king he 'suspected them to be poisoned indeed, by reason that such pretious stones as he had about him, cast forth a certaine poison, as it were bewraieng the poison'. John compelled the person who offered him the pears to eat some of them, but he naturally enough chose those which were harmless, whereupon the king ate the rest with fatal results.

31. Timpany of teares] Cf. ii. 49. 6 and note.


14-22] Probably taken from C. Agrippa, De Incert. et Van. cap. 17, trans. 1569, fol. 28f, 'Kinge Agamemnon, also goyng to the Troite warre, lefte at home a Musitian that plaied the Dorian tune,
who with the foot Spondeus preserved his wife Clytemnestra, in
Chastitie and Honestie, wherefore shee could not be deflowred by
Egisthus, before he had wickedly slaine the Musitian.'

23-5. the Hart... hide himself] See Pliny, H. N. viii. 50.

P. 295, 34. riding deuice] i.e. slip knot.

P. 297, 28-31. the backe of an asse to beare all... nothing] There is
considerable resemblance between this lecture on the disadvantages of
travel and the Hermit's advice to Callimachus in Lyly's Euphues and
his England, Works, ed. Bond, ii. 25. 14-20, '... recorde with thy
selfe the inconuencies that come by traualling... when at all times
thou must haue the backe of an Asse to bear all, and the swomt of
a swine to say nothing, thy hand on thy cap to shew reverence to euery
rascal...' But other similar passages are to be found; cf. Florio's
Second Fruits, 1591, N.3, 'And if you will be a traueller... haue
always the eies of a Faulcon, that ye may see farre, the eares of an
Asse, that ye may heare wel, the face of an Ape that ye may be readie
to laugh, the mouth of a Hog, to eate all things, the shoulder of
camell, that you may beare any thing with patiencie, the legs of a Stagg, to ffe from dangers.' See also a different list in J. Taylor's
Works, 1630, iii. 3.

P. 298, 1-2. the veriest butcher... will dominere over a forreiner]
will be their peere though they [i.e. foreigners] be noble, and euer
pesaunt their Lord if they be gentle.'

7. porridge] The same as 'pottage'; cf. i. 314. 33, and Jew o,
Malta, Ill. iv. 6, 87 (ed. Wagner, II. 1329, 1353), where the two words
are applied to the same pot of food.

18. fleering] The sense seems to be almost 'cynical'.

20. the Neapolitian shrug] I can give no other instance of the
expression.

23-4. that of Epicharchus, Vigila, &c memer sis ne quid credas]
Epicharchus is an error, probably Nashe's own, for Epicharmus. The
saying referred to is Νάπος καὶ μύκαν' ἀναραίων; see Frag. Phil. Graec.,
ed. Mullach (F. Didot, 1860), i. p. 144, l. 255. This quotation, with
'es' for 'sis', and the one from Seneca which follows, occur on con-
secutive pages of Lipsius, Politica, ed. 1589, bk. iv, cap. 14, pp. 299-10.

26-7. Multi fallerar docuerunt...] Seneca, Epist. 3 § 3 'Nam
quidam fallere docuerunt...'

33. Philemon] Val. Max. ix. 12. ext. 6. His death is variously
related by other writers.

P. 299, 3. Spanish figges] 'A poisoned fig used as a secret way of
destroying an obnoxious person,' N. E. D., which quotes from the
Theses Martinianae, 21, 'Italian figge.'

5. with the Candians, live on serpents] Pliny, H. N. vi. 34
'Candei, quos Ophiophagos vocant, serpentibus vesci assueti'.

6-7. Rats and mice ingender by licking one another] See Pliny,
H. N. x. 35.

11. Non formosus erat... Vlysses] Ovid, Ars Amat. ii. 123.

12. the long Traveller] Cf. Lodge, Wits Misery, 1596, D 1, 'he
[i.e. Scandale] hath beene a long Traveller.'

14-17. it is not possible... to learn the Art of Memorie... natuall memorie before] Probably a reminiscence of C. Agrippa, De
Incert. et Van. cap. 10, trans. 1569, fol. 24v-25, where of the 'Arte of memorie' it is said that 'Notwithstandinge what so euer it be, it cannot stande without natural Memorie'. Among those who have written on the subject are mentioned Cicero, Quintilian, Seneca, Petrarch, Mareolus of Verona, Petrus of Ravenna, and Hermannus Buschius. Buschius (1468-1534) was a German scholar of repute in his day and professor of history at Marburg.

11 Cf. Ovid, *Tristia*, v. 12. 31 'Patentia longa malorum'.

27-9. *What is here... Studie?* Similar advice to read of other lands instead of travelling in them is given in *Euphues and his England*, u. s. 26. 36—27. 5.

30-1 Ovid, *Amores*, ii. 11. 17—18 'Et vobis... Quas Scylla infestet...'. The translation is not here Marlowe's, though somewhat similar.

34-5 Ovid, u. s. 21—2. The somewhat peculiar arrangement is that of Q.


16—17. *Burdeaux... Gascoigne... Orleanc* From Peele’s *Old Wife's Tale*, ed. Gummere in Gayley's *Repr. Eng. Com.* ii. 351—4, it appears that the wine of Orleans was considered the best. Nashe refers to that of Bordeaux at i. 305. 27.

18—19. *to esteeme of the pox as a pimple* Lodge also speaks of the slight regard which was paid to this disease. In describing 'Fornication (a notorious lecher)' in *Wit's Misery*, 1596, G 4, he says, 'Tell him he hath the pox, tut it is a gentlemen's disease.'

P. 801, 6. *dishcloth* Mr. Crawford compares Rom. &*Jul.* IV. v. 221, 'Romeo's a dishclout to him.' Cf. also Aylmer's *Harborough*, 1559, Q 2, 'They contemned them as dishe cloutes'.

11. *mizers* See *N. E. D.* s. v. miser, sb. a, where it is explained as 'a kind of sop made with the crumb of bread, etc.', the only other example given being 1670-4 Han. Woolley, *Queen-like Closet* (1684) 169, 'To make Miseres for Children to eat in afternoons in Summer. Take half a pint of good small Beer, two spoonfuls of Sack, the Crum of half a penny Manchet[etc].'. It is stated that it is 'perhaps a use of F. *mistrre*, which according to Cotgrave had the sense of a drink made from the washings of bee-hives.' The 'misons' of A is presumably a misprint.

15. *the Paradice of the earth* Cf. Harrison, *Descr. of Brit.* i. 18, ed. N. S. S. ii. 132, 'Italie, which in my time is called the paradise of the world;' also Aylmer's *Harborough*, P 4, 'England is the paradise and not Italy, as commonly they call it'. Much earlier the term had been applied, by Richard of Bury, to Paris; see Sandys, *Class. Schol.*, i. (ed. 1906), 628.

27—8. *he hath beene in Italy* See note on i. 10. 22.

31. *doe nothing but fill bottomeles tubs* For the traditional drunkenness of the Danes cf. i. 180. 16 and note. For that of the Dutch see i. 204. 32—3.

35. *Pitch and pay* i. e. pay ready money; see *N. E. D.* s. v. pitch, v. examples from 14 .., among them *Hen. V*, II. iii. 51. Nashe seems to incorporate a bit of popular rime.
THE UNFORTUNATE TRAVELLER

P. 302, 17. Cum patriam amiss... Ovid, Tristia, iii. 3. 53.
25-6. with the Ethiopians inhabiting over against Meroe, feed on nothing but scorpions] From Sextus Empiricus, Pyrr. Hyyoilypoies, i. 14. άλλα καὶ Αθιπινών οי ζημίως τῆς Μερώς... σκόρπωσς καὶ οίνει καὶ τα παραενία ακολούθως εσθιοῦσι.
26-7. use is another nature] Cf. the Latin form at ii. 36. 34-5.

P. 303, 23. the Element] i.e. the sky; so Dekker in The Gull's Hornbook calls the sun 'the eye of the Element', Wkts., ed. Grosart, ii. 218. 2.
28. fell into it] A similar incident is made use of in Fletcher and Massinger's Custom of the Country, III. iii. 30, &c., where Rutilio, wandering about at night, falls through a trap-door into a vault.
29. orloofs] i.e. orlop, lower deck.
32. tumble on a sodaine into hell] It is perhaps worth noticing that hell was popularly considered as being in the centre of the earth, not below it as in the Miltonic cosmology; cf. Lodge's Wit's Misery, 1596, O 3°, 'For as the heart is in the midst of a creature, so is Hell in the midst of the earth.' Details will be found in a curious little book by Giuseppe Rosaccio called Teatro del Cielo, Fiorenza, 1599 (and earlier). The writer places hell in the centre of the earth. It is 7,875 Italian miles in circumference and is 3,758½ miles distant from the surface (pp. 10-11).

P. 304, 11-14. It was then the law in Rome... hang him] I can learn nothing of any such law.
36. Bona Roba] i.e. good stuff; commonly used for 'wench'.

P. 305, 8. my Jewish Premunire] The sense of 'premunire' here seems to be 'an awkward predicament', as in Middleton and others' Old Law, V: 'If the law finds you with two wives at once, There's a shrewd premunire' (example from Cent. Dict.), but even so the phrase is not very clear.

14-15. stript naked... sound] Possibly suggested by the way in which the Turks examined slaves before purchase; see Strange Things out of S. Munster, ed. 1574, fol. 50r-51.
32. surgeons hal] See note on i. 196. 20-21.
33. incarnatiues] i.e. lotions to cause wounds to heal up.
35. in this distance] i.e. during this time; cf. i. 359. 15.

P. 306, 7. Manna] Properly 'the concrete juice obtained from the bark of the Manna ash, Fraxinus Ornus, chiefly in Calabria and Sicily; used in medicine as a gentle laxative,' N. E. D.
8. conserve of chippings] Nashe is perhaps joking on the name of some drug, but I do not know what. In its ordinary use 'chippings' simply meant 'the ashe parings of bread'.
10-12. His snot... snow water] Either a common saying against misers, or imitated in The True History of the Life... of Old John Overs (ent. S. R. 1636/7) ed. 1744, p. 17, 'Some have said, that in the Winter Time he hath saved the Droppings of his Nose, and offered to sell them to an Apothecary in the stead of Snow-water.'
14-15. allone water] Recipe in Lodge's Poor Man's Talent, ed. Hunt. Soc., p. 11: it is 'good against tetter, itchings, and heats that happen in the skin'.
18. *dodkin* i.e. with a negative, not at all. A diminutive of the word ‘doit’; cf. 212. 1.

29. *his throte-bowle* i.e. mine. The sentence is one of those odd mixtures of direct and indirect speech that we so often meet with.

32. *ere a month to an end* For the form of the expression cf. 223. 4.

P. 307, 17–18. *Crocodile tears* See i. 184. 8, note.


P. 308, 5. *the soule was nothing but blood* C. Agrippa, *De Incert. et Van.* cap. 52, trans. 1569, fol. 66, gives a long list of the opinions of various philosophers about the soul, in the course of which he mentions those who would have it to be ‘of bloud, as Empedocles, and Circias’.

5–6. *then thought I, what...* I follow the punctuation of Q, but ‘then, thought I, what’ is probably meant.


lobcokkes] Properly a country bumpkin, hence a fool; cf. *Horestes*, l. 379, ‘In fayth, Goodman lobcocke, your handsomely drest.’

17. *faintest hearted* Possibly the correction was intended for ‘faint-heartedst’; cf. *Grim the Collier of Croydon*, III. i. (Dodsley’s *Old Plays*, ed. Hazlitt, viii. 432), ‘Well, go thy way, for the true-heartedst man That liveth.’

27. *for* So both quartos, but we should perhaps read ‘from’. Compare, however, the common use of ‘for’ to mean ‘against’, ‘to prevent’, as at iii. 386. 29–30.

29. *apple squire* i.e. a harlot’s attendant.

P. 308, 21. *liripoop* From its earliest sense, the long tail of a graduate’s hood, the word later came to mean ‘lesson’, ‘rôle’, or ‘part’. See *N. E. D.* s. v. *liripepe*. Though in common use, its history is somewhat obscure. Cf. *Mother Bomby*, I. iii. 128, ‘There’s a girl that knowes her lirripoope,’ and note in Mr. Bond’s edition of *Lyly*.

23. *cloke for the raine* i.e. an excuse or pretence to cover their actions, a very common expression; cf. Heywood’s *Proverbs*, ed. Sharman, p. 120; Greene’s *Discovery of Cosemage, Wks.*, ed. Grosart, x. 33: 7, ‘yet haue they cloces for the raine and shadowes for their vilanies’; Dekker, *Hon. Whore*, Pt. i. V. ii, ‘O my lord, these cloaks are not for this rain!’; *Two Angry Women of Abington*, IV. iii. (middle); *Every Man in his Humour*, 1601, l. 2826.

P. 310, 1. *tantara*] The same as *taratauntara*, the Latin onomatopoeia of the sound of a trumpet; its meaning here may be illustrated from Wilson’s *Art of Rhet.*, ed. 1560, fol. 88*, where, speaking of onomatopoeia and words coined on occasion, he gives as an example, ‘when one is lusty to say Taratauntara, declarlyng thereby that he is as lustie, as a Trumpette is delitefull, and styring.’ Cf. also Peele’s *Old Wives Tale*, I. 292, ‘Faire Lady, if thou wert once shrined in this bosome, I would bucklier thee tara-tantara.’
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4. The ballet of the whipper] Apparently a reference to a ballad entered in the Stationers' Register, Feb. 16, 1590/1, as 'A ballad entituled all the merrie pranks of him that whippes men in the highe waies'. (S. R., ed. Arber, ii. 575.) I do not know of any copy of this ballad at present existing.

5-6. the Colliers of Romford] The entertainment of whipping a blind bear, which often followed a bull-baiting or bear-baiting, is described by Hentzner (1598); see Harrison, Descri. of Eng. N. S. S. i. lxix. The bear was chained up and five or six men stood round him 'with whips, which they exercise upon him without any mercy, as he cannot escape from them because of his chain'. It is several times referred to; cf. Dekker, Satir. mastix, Wks., ed. Pearson, i. 260, and Two Angry Women of Ab. III. ii, ed. Gayley in Repr. Eng. Com., sc. viii. 93; but why the colliers of Romford should hold their corporation in this manner I cannot imagine.

20. toad fish] I do not know this fish. Possibly the 'globe-fish' or one of the other creatures called 'swell-fishes' or 'swell-toads' (cf. Cent. Dict.) is meant, but the bursting spoken of suggests that a fish caught in very deep water is referred to.

36. blache sant] See note on i. 357. 6.

P. 311, 7-9. Ilte tice all the young children into my house...throates] It need hardly be said the enticing away of Christian children for the purpose of crucifying them or otherwise putting them to death was a common charge against the Jews. Several instances of this are given in Foxe's Acts and Monuments; cf. Chaucer's Prioress's Tale.

12. scorpions oyle] Good against the bite of a scorpion, also a remedy for the stone. See Mizaldus, Memorabilia, 1573, cent. ii. 41 'Oleum de scorpionibus'.

21-2. thunder and lightning...to sour all the wines in Rome] This effect of thunder does not seem to be mentioned by the classical writers, but is remarked upon by G. Gratarolus in his treatise De Vini Natura, ed. 1565, pp. 91-2, and at p. 164 a method is given for restoring wine 'corruptum occasione tonitus' by adding aqua vitae. See also Lemnius, De Mirac. Occ. Naturae, i. ii, cap. 48, and J.-B. Porta, Magia Naturalis, iv. 23. On the other hand, in Lyly's Mother Bomby, II. v. 37-8, Stellio says that sack is not soured by thunder, though beer is.

P. 314, 11. Favorable ladie vnto me] It may be noted that the punctuation is correct, not 'favorable, ladie, vnto me', as might be thought. Cf. G. Harvey, Letter-Book, p. 62, 'Marry, on this condition, that your worship will be so good and favorable master unto me as...', and Merry Tales of Skelton in Mr. Hazlitt's Sh. Jest-books, ii. 24, 'I pray ye be good master vnto me.'

24-5. here in this page] I cannot help drawing attention to the odd fact that this sentence actually begins a page (in both editions); not that I accept the possible inference that Nashe dictated his story to the compositors, making it up as he went along.

P. 315, 6. the duke of Bourbon] Charles de Bourbon. As a fact he did not sack Rome, being killed in the assault upon it in 1527.

18. Non est inuentus] The return made by a sheriff to a writ commanding him to arrest a defendant, when he is unable to do so owing to the defendant not being within his bailiwick. Renton, Encycl. of Laws of England.
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23, &c.] The tortures inflicted on Zadoch are little worse than those suffered in 1591 by Dr. Fian for witchcraft. See News from Scotland (Roxb. Club, 1816), or R. Pitcairn's Criminal Trials in Scotland, i, pt. 2, p. 222. I suspect that Nashe had seen the tract, of which there were at least two editions, 1591 and 1592.

31. Mercury sublimatum] i.e. corrosive sublimate, mercuric chloride.


25. the three brothers] Familiar as is this idea, I am unable to discover any form of the story to which Nashe can have been alluding.


14. the Burgo] Properly the suburb of the Vatican, but the name seems to have been especially applied to the chief street of the suburb.

31-2. such as is carried over great princess heads] I have not been able to discover other allusions to these. Nothing of the sort is to be seen in such pictures of Elizabeth in procession as are known to me.

P. 318, 3. Interea quid agitur domi] Not found, if a quotation.

5. fac totum] The earliest instance in N. E. D. is Gascoigne, Supposes, III. iv. Cf. Kendal, Flowers of Epigrams, 1577, D 2, 'Thy mountyng minde doth still aspire, | thou still doest boast and cracke: | And Leonel thou wouldst be | Magistertotum fac.' Earlier in Aylmer's Harborough, 1559, O 3, 'M. Haman, who was, domine fac totum' (Aylmer is referring to the story of Esther). See also note on iii. 174-16.

8-9. Quid non auris acrafames] Verg. Aen. iii. 56-7 'Quid non mortalia pectora cogis, Auri sacra fames!'

10-11. Dimicandum est pro aris & focis] Erasmus in his Adagia, chil. i, cent. 8. 18, under 'Dignum propter quod vadimonium deseratur', gives the phrase 'pro aris focisque adicare'. I am not aware that the saying occurs exactly as here given in any classical author, though 'pro aris & focis' is of course frequent.

16. size ace and the dice] A term doubtless borrowed from some game, but I have failed to find it elsewhere. It seems to mean all they possess.

19. pestered] i.e. crowded, either with persons or things.

P. 318, 11-12. with a verie vengeaunce] Cf. Lodge and Greene's Looking-Glass for Lond. and Eng., ed. Collins, 232-6, 'if he [i.e. a horse] have outward diseases... we let him blood and clap a plaister to him with a pestilence, that mends him with a very vengeaunce.'

14. in my grandames beanes] i.e., evidently, in a great to-do; but I have not met the phrase elsewhere. A similar expression 'in myne eames reason', which occurs in the Merry Tales of Skelton in Mr. Hazlitt's Sh. Jest-books, ii. 16, appears to mean very drunk, so drunk as not to know what one is doing.

21-2. A theefe, they say, mistakes everie bush for a true man] Cf. 3 Hen. VI, V. vi. 12, 'The thief doth fear each bush an officer,' and Steevens' note on 1 Hen. IV, II. ii. 98, 'The thieves have bound the true men,' where he remarks that 'a true man is always set in opposition to a thief', and gives several instances. Cf. i. 298. 18-19.
II. 326] THE VUNFORTVNATE TRAVELLER 293

26. said in the hauen] Cf. Erasmus, Adagia, chil. i, cent. i. 46

27. sain the hauere] In portu navigare . . . qua significamus, nos iam a periculo abesse'.

28. Terence, Andria, iii. i. 22.

P. 320, 16. empair] i.e. bring into discredit, reflect upon; cf. N.E.D. s.v. impair and appair.

27-8] Mr. Crawford compares Greene's James IV, ed. Collins, ii. 2439-40 (Nan's last speech) and First Part of Jeronimo, i. iii. 114, 'My minds a giant, though my bulke be small.'

29. Coblers are men, and kings are no more] Such sayings as 'a man is a man, and kings are no more' are very frequent, and to be regarded as proverbial. They are perhaps based on Wisdom 7. 1-5.

P. 321, 14. swords walking] The verb 'walk' is used of many things, especially when there is some sense of attack; of fists— Grim the Collier, V. i, in Doddsley's Old Plays, ed. Hazlitt, viii. 469 (also of the tongue); Dekker, Hon. Whore, Pt. i, IV. iii; Rowlands' Crew of Kind Gossips, A 4T; of eyes— Dekker, Gull's Hornbook, Wks., ed. Grosart, ii. 251. 15.

30. my elbowes icht] Here apparently as sign of joy; cf. 219. 13 and note.

31. the lastie witnesse is vnrefutable] Alluding, perhaps, to Plautus, Truc. ii. 6. 8 'Pluris est oculatus testis unus quam auriti decem'. Cf. Erasmus, Adagia, chil. ii, cent. 6. 54.

P. 324, 25. have broken their strings] Cf. Cymbeline, I. iii. 17. The expression is frequent.

32. the sables of religion] Certain of the chief distinguishing marks of Christianity, as baptism and the sign of the cross, were so called.

33. The veyne in his left hand that is derived from the hart . . . he pierst] Prof. Logeman (Faustus-Notes, 1898, p. 58) sees in this passage a reminiscence of the Faust-Book (1592, B 1). When making the bond with the devil, 'to confirme it the more assuredly, he [i.e. Faustus] tooke a small penknife, and prickta a vaine in his left hand' (Faust-Book, ed. Logeman, p. 10). There is, I think, no reason for supposing that Nashe was acquainted with the Faust-Book. That the vein of the third finger of the left hand is especially connected with the heart was a commonplace; see Macrobius, Sat. vii. 13, § 7, &c., and Aul. Gel. x. 10, who thus explain the wearing of rings on that finger. The latter says 'propetra non inscitum visum esse eum potissimum digitum tali honore decorandum qui continens et quasi connexus esse cum principatu cordis videretur'. So too—of the marriage ring—Isidorus, De Ecl. Off. ii. 20. 8, Migne, Patr. Curs. 83 (Isid. 6), col. 812. Is it not then natural that in signing in blood a most solemn compact it should be this vein which is pricked for the purpose? I may add that in the translation from S. Michaelis, published in 1613 as The Admirable History of the Possession and Conversion of a Penitent Woman, the pricking of this finger for the signing of diabolical contracts is referred to as if it were the usual
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thing. See p. 393 (cf. B 2 and B 3 foot), also p. 390 mid, and the reference to this passage in the index, 'Magdalene prickt in the heart finger by John Baptista a Magician.'

24. blache as a toad] The idea that bodies of persons in league with the devil became black at their death was of course universal. For 'black' applied to toads, cf. Timon, IV. iii. 181.

P. 327, 7-8. olde excellent] Cf. G. Harvey, Wks., ed. Grosart, ii. 129. 15-16, 'Dubble V. is old-excellent at his Cornu copiae,' and, for 'excellent' alone, Lodge, Wit's Misery, 1596, F 3', 'She is the excellent of her age at a ring and a basket.'

15. quaueringly] i.e. with quick blows.

17. for the nones] i.e. for that special purpose; cf. Deloney's Gentle Craft, ed. Lange, ii. 13-14, 'in the length of thy foot thou surpassest all; therefore I must have a paire of lasts made for the nonce.' The sense fluctuates between this and 'for a (temporary) occasion'.

31-3. ere I went out of Bolognia, I . . . hasted so fast out of the Sodom of Italy] The grammar is careless, but the meaning clear. 'Sodom of Italy' does not, I think, mean Bologna, against which there does not appear to have been any special imputation of the kind, but Italy in general.

34-5. the king of Englands campe] The reference must be to the meeting at the 'Field of the Cloth of Gold', in June, 1520, but Henry's camp was really at Guisnes, that of Francis at Ard, the meeting being in the valley between the two towns.

THE TRAGDEYE OF DIDO VEEENE OF CARTHAGE

1. Date of Composition.

So far as I am aware, there is not the slightest direct evidence as to the date of Dido, though, so far as it is the work of Marlowe, it seems natural to place it early rather than late among his plays. In his Collectanea, i. 91, Mr. Crawford remarks on the resemblance of many passages to Tamburlaine and suggests that it belongs to the same period. Dr. Ward and Mr. Fleay (Biog. Chron. ii. 147) also consider it to be an early work. The latter states that it was acted 'perhaps at Croydon, in 1591', but does not say how he arrives at this.

2. Authorship.

It seems fairly clear from the general evidence of style that the greater part of the work is Marlowe's, but what share, if any, Nashe had in it is very difficult to decide. The only attempt known to me definitely to apportion the play between the two authors is that of Mr. Fleay in his Biog. Chron. ii. 147. He conjecturally assigns to Marlowe I. 1. 1-121, II. i, ii, III. iii, IV. iii, iv, V. i, ii; to Nashe I. i. 122 to end, III. i, ii, iv, IV. i, ii, v. The question has since been very

1 Mr. Fleay assigns to Marlowe the authorship of 'I. i a' and to Nashe that of 'I. i b', which, he says, 'should be marked as a new scene.' He does not, however, mention any second scene of the first act, though in Grosart's edition and Mr. Bullen's, both of which he seems to have used, the act is divided as in
elaborately discussed by Dr. B. Knutowski in *Das Dido-Drama von Marlowe und Nash*, Grosser & Co., Breslau, 1905, whose conclusion is that the play as we have it at present is essentially Marlowe's, the share of Nashe being limited, at most, to a few very short and unimportant passages. Dr. Knutowski adds certain conclusions which seem to me somewhat speculative, (1) that the play was Marlowe's first attempt at dramatic work and was probably written while he was a student at Cambridge (1581-7), (2) that Nashe several years before Marlowe's death 'hat das Stück leicht überarbeitet', (3) that Marlowe towards the end of his life, probably before the writing of *Edward II*, 'hat es nochmals einer gründlichen Überarbeitung unterzogen.'

3. Source.

So far as I can discover, the sole source used for the story is Vergil's *Aeneid*. Dr. Knutowski in an Appendix to his dissertation points out a large number of incidental borrowings from Ovid; as, however, in these the original is seldom closely followed, I have only thought it necessary to mention a few of the most important.

As the play seems to belong almost entirely to Marlowe and can only be satisfactorily dealt with in connexion with his other works, and as it seems to throw no light whatever on the rest of Nashe's writings or to be in any way connected with them, I have made no attempt to annotate it fully.

P. 341, s. D. Mercury] In the text at l. 38 and in s. D. and speakers' names on p. 387 he is called 'Hermes', but 'Mercury' in the text at 389. 93. On the title-page he stands as 'Mercurie, or Hermes'.

6. pleasance] i.e. a fine kind of lawn or gauze; quotations in *N. E. D.* from c. 1420.

It is therefore doubtful whether, as I suppose, he wishes to break I. i into two scenes, beginning a fresh one at 345. 122, or possibly at l. 134 below, or whether he is merely referring to the two scenes into which the act has been divided by editors. In any case he probably meant to assign I. ii to Nashe, for his statement (l. 6 from foot of same page) that Nashe spells Cloanthus in V. ii apparently refers to the stage direction on p. 349, for the fifth act is not divided, save by Robinson and Cunningham, and Cloanthus is not mentioned in their sc. ii. It will be noticed that Mr. Fleay appears to break Act II also into two scenes.

1. It may be remarked that the author, or authors, of the play seem to have gone directly to the Latin text of the *Aeneid*. It is of course impossible to say that no use was made of Phaer's translation, but a few examples will show clearly that it cannot be regarded as the immediate source of the play. At 344. 106 we have 'Princesse priest', the Latin 'regina sacerdos': Phaer (ed. 1584, B. 4) simply 'Ilia Queene', not mentioning her priesthood. P. 347. 186, 'spotted Leopards skin': 'maculosae tegmine lynx': Phaer (B. 5) omits this, mentioning only the quiver. P. 347. 203, 'such honour, stranger, doe I not affect': 'Haud equidem tali me dignor honore': Phaer (B. 5) has 'As for mine altars (quod she tho) no such estate I beare'. P. 392. 202, Aulis (Aen. iv. 426) is not mentioned by Phaer (F. 7). The translations of books ii and iv by Surrey and of books i-iv by Stanyhurst seem equally to have been ignored by the authors of the play.

1 To Dr. Jakob Friedheim's dissertation, *Die Didoedramen des Dolce, Jodell und Marlowe in ihrem Verhältnis zu einander und zu Vergil's Aeneis*, Kempten, 1888, I have been unable to refer.


20. *waldein with Egles wings*  Dyce refers to Titian's [*picture* (in the National Gallery) of the rape of Ganymede.

P. 342, 25. *exhaTd*  This seems to mean 'drawn out of myself'; cf. the use of *exhale* in iii. 248. 481-2; also a very similar passage in Greene's *Menaphon, Wks.*, ed. Grosart, vi. 91. 19-24.

32. *Vulcan shall daunce*  Mr. Bullen remarks that though the speech is undoubtedly Marlowe's, there is a close parallel in *Summer's Last Will*; see iii. 294. 1930-3. He suggests allusion to *Iliad* i. 599-600. Perhaps, however, a nearer source was Erasmus, *Enc. Mor.*, ed. 1816, p. 17. Quin et Vulcanus ipse in deorum convivis *γελοιοποιοῦν* agere consuevit, ac modo claudicatione, modo cavillis, modo ridiculis dictis exhilarare computationem: tum et Silenus . . . saltare solitus', &c.

50-121  *Aen.* i. 223-300 and 50-86.

P. 343, 70-3  Cf. ii. 220. 22-4, and note that Nashe seems there originally to have written 'Calipus' for 'Rhaesus' (it can hardly be, as he states, a printer's error). The passages seem too much alike to be independent, and the above-mentioned error renders it unlikely that this is the original and the other copied from it; can we infer that ll. 70-81, or perhaps more, is Nashe's addition to fill a gap? Mr. Bullen has noted that the riming lines 76-81 are suggestive of Nashe.


P. 344, 96. *beauties better worke* I cannot explain the meaning.

106. *Princesse priest*  *Aen.* i. 273-4.

108. *eternish*  A common form, or rather the usual one, of 'eternize'.

112. *taint*  Collier has written 'tint' in the margin of his copy (see p. 331 foot), probably as an explanation, rather than an emendation.

P. 345, 130. *Triton*  His duty was to recall the winds and waves; cf. Ovid, *Metam.* i. 333-5.


134-248  For the whole scene cf. *Aen.* i. 312-409.

145-9  *Aen.* i. 200-3, Bullen.

P. 346, 158. *map*  i.e. *picture.*

159. *haire*  The copy of Robinson's edition at the British Museum (11771, d. 4), which belonged to James Boughton, and has a number of notes, also conjectures 'hair', and cites Jonson's *Masque of Hymen,* 'Up, youths! hold up your lights in air, And shake abroad their flaming hair,' as well as many other parallels.

169. *arts necessitie findes our*  See the *Adagia* of G. Cognatus in Erasm, *Adag.* 1574, ii. 459, for references to such sayings.

177] Possibly Ascanius is intended to go out, but it would seem from ll. 166 and 171 that the fire was to be lit close at hand. As Aeneas and Achates could 'rove abroad' without leaving the stage perhaps the others could do so also.

P. 347, 183] Mr. Bullen notes that 'from this point to the end of the scene Marlowe follows Vergil very closely. Cf. *Aen.* i. 321-410.'
204. **Turen** All editors, except Grosart, read Tyrian (Lat. ‘Virginibus Tyriis’).

P. 248, 241. *the mouings of her feete* Aen. i. 405 ‘vera incessu patuit dea’.

P. 349, 252–95] In Vergil the appeal is made by Ilioneus to Dido herself. All, save the speeches of Iarbas, is closely from Aen. i. 524–41.

267. **buckled with** i.e. joined in battle with.

P. 350, 289. **Baucis** Cf. Lyly, *Euphues and his England*, Wks., ed. Bond, ii. 81. 9, ‘you shall be no lesse welcome then Jupiter was to Bacchus.’ Mr. Bond, pointing out the obvious error, refers to Ovid, *Metam.* viii. 629 sqq.

*Act II, sc. i*] According to the Vergilian account Aeneas first sees Carthage from a hill overlooking the town (*Aen.* i. 418, &c.). Descending thence he is enveloped in a cloud and passes unseen into the midst of the city, where is a grove and a temple of Juno. In this temple he sees depicted the tale of Troy (*Aen.* i. 446, &c.). He is apparently accompanied by Achates alone. It seems to me evident that in this scene the locality is intended to change while the action is in progress; a fiction to which several parallels might be found. See, for example, George a Greene, IV. iii (ed. Collins, ii. 916–18), *Rom.* & *Jul.* I. v (a modern division; see S. D. before it in Folio; cf. Collier, *Hist. E. Dr. Poet.* 1831, iii. 368), also Webster, *White Devil,* i. ii, 629 sqq.

P. 351, 39, &c.] In Vergil, Dido enters and, shortly after, Cloanthus, Sergestus and other Trojans approach, accompanied by a crowd. Ilioneus then addresses Dido in the speech already used in the preceding scene. Dido laments the absence of Aeneas and he reveals himself (*Aen.* i. 586, &c.). Ascanius has remained with the ships and Achates is sent to fetch him (643–6,) but Venus has substituted Cupid and it is he who is brought by Achates to Dido, while the real Ascanius is conveyed by Venus to the groves of Idalia (691–4). In the play the real Ascanius is brought to Dido, and the substitution takes place later (ii. i. 304, &c.). Then in Vergil follows the banquet (*Aen.* i. 705–6), which in the play is merely referred to (l. 71), after which Dido asks for the story of the fall of Troy (*Aen.* i. 753 sqq.; *Dido*, ii. 106, &c.).


114–299] The whole of Aeneas’s description of the fall of Troy is from *Aen.* ii, though the Latin is not followed closely in arrangement and in some other points, and there are certain additions, especially at the end.

135. **marcht**] Tenedos being an island, as is stated in the passage on which this is based, the word seems inaccurate, but Dyce quotes from Harington’s *Orl. Fur.* x, st. 16:

> Now had they lost the sight of Holland shore,  
> And marcht with gentle gale in comely ranke,

which Mr. Bullen considers amply to vindicate Marlowe. Nevertheless the general use of ‘march’ is certainly of land-travel.

P. 386, 186. **quenchles fire**] Cl. 2 *Tamb.* III. v. 27. Mr. Bullen compares *Ed. II.* V. i. 44.

201. **came**] Grosart notes (p. 209) that, as we have at l. 207, ‘burst from the earth,’ Mr. P. A. Daniel would read ‘brave Hector’s ghost’.
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304, &c.] As in Virgil the exchange of Cupid for Ascanius has been already made (cf. note on l. 39), there is nothing corresponding to this scene, which is, however, all suggested by *Aen.* i. 657–96.

P. 360, 335. these] Perhaps caught from the preceding line; we should rather expect 'the'.

P. 361, 7. Iarbas] The wish of Iarbas, king of Mauritania, for the hand of Dido is merely mentioned in passing in *Aen.* iv. 36 (cf. ii. 213–14) and Ovid, *Heroid.* vii. 125. The important rôle which he here plays is the chief divergence from the Vergilian story.

P. 362, 52. Iarbas . . . backe?] I follow Mr. Bullen in counting this as one line.

P. 363, 60-1] The love of Anna for Iarbas is not taken from Virgil.


115. riveld] i.e. (I suppose) twisted.—Dyce.

122. Pyramides] The discussions of this word by Mitford and Dyce and by Collier in *Eng. Dr. Poet.*, 1831, iii. 228, were based on the misconception that Q reads 'Pyramids', which it does not.

P. 365, 127. meanly] I have allowed this reading to stand simply because no one of the emendations proposed seems at all satisfactory. Grosart upholds 'meanly', considering that the word 'is used in a semi-boastful way, as putting it by contrast as though to one so rich and mighty the most lavish gifts were nothing to speak of'. He notes that Dr. B. Nicholson thought it to be 'used as often as evenly [with the before-mentioned treasures]; 'shalt be as richly clad as the ship's furniture is precious''.

138. the pictures of my suiters] Nothing corresponding in Virgil.

P. 366, 158. Alcion] I cannot learn whence the author took this name, unless it is due to a mistaken recollection of C. Agrippa, *De Incert. et Van.*, cap. 17, trans. 1569, fol. 29–29v, 'In Homer a Harpar plaith, and Alciones, and Vlisses geue eare.' This 'Alciones' seems to be in turn an error for 'Alicinous'; cf. *Od.* viii. 62, &c.

178. The heireof furie] The note in the Boughton copy that Q reads the heir of Fame refers to a copy at that time in the possession of the Marquis of Stafford.

P. 367, 191. mind] Whatever be the correct reading here, it seems unreasonable for Juno seriously to declare that she has no mind to hurt her foes. It is, however, quite possible that her words are meant ironically, as I now think to be the case. I therefore withdraw my conjecture.

195] Cf. I Tamb. ii. iii. 37, 'When she that rules in Rhamnus' golden gates.' Rhamnus, the northernmost town in Attica, was famed for a statue of Nemesis.


233. Fancie] i.e. love.—Bullen.

P. 369, 263. these walles] i.e., presumably, the walls of Carthage. The scene passes in the grove where Ascanius lies asleep, which is apparently contiguous to the place where Dido's banquet was
served; see pp. 359–60. Possibly the authors may have meant the
grove surrounding Juno’s temple (see p. 334 mid.), though this would
obviously be a most dangerous place for Venus to leave him.

Scene iii] As stated on p. 334, I believe the scene is meant to change
during the progress of the action, Dido’s first speech being uttered as
she leaves the palace, and the wood being reached at about l. 305.

P. 370, 280. All fellows] i.e. all equals—I have laid aside my
state; the phrase is common. Cf. Dekker’s Lanthorn and Candle-
light, Wks., ed. Grosart, iii. 251, where, in a description of the doings
of horse-thieves, we are told how some are dressed as gentlemen, while
‘the other act their parts in blew coates, as they were their Seruing-
men, though indeed they be all fellows’, and p. 254, when after the
theft is completed, ‘the Seruing-men cast off their blew coates, and
cried All fellows’. See also Dekker’s Hon. Wh. Pt. i, V. ii, Wks.,
ed. Pearson, ii. 77 foot, and Death of Rob. E. of Hunt, I. i, Dodsley’s
Old Plays, ed. Hazlitt, viii. 221.

299. out of ioyne] I take this to mean ‘cantankerous’, but the
sense is unrecognized in N. E. D.

301. man of men] This appears here to mean simply ‘any human
being’, though N. E. D. gives it under man 6b ‘a man of supreme
excellence’, as in Ant. & Cleo. I. v. 72. The expression occurs
earlier; cf. iii. 317, 26, and R. Harvey’s Philadelphus, 1593 (apparently
completed by the preceding summer, if not before). Harvey is
speaking of the ideal nobleman or captain, ‘Then seeing Histories
breed onely desires and wishes and expectations in the hearts of
students & nothing but affections, seeing they never create any habit
or perfection in them: I omit the verball and talkative vses of
histories, which other men stand vpon, and conceiue in my mind this
Id ea of one that would be a man of men, as God is named the Lord of
Lords’ (O 2, p. 103).

336. the soyle] i.e. marsh or water to which an animal flees when
pursued.

P. 371, 339. far fet] In Q there is a slight mark after the r, but the
space is not enough for a hyphen. Boughton’s marginal note ‘forfeit’
is not accompanied by any remark, and it is therefore doubtful
whether he intended it as an emendation, or whether it is, as many
similar notes, a correction from his transcript of the quarto. On the
whole the reading ‘forfeit to’ perhaps gives the best sense of any; for
the expression cf. ii. 201. 9. The opposition seems to be not between
one coming from a distant country and Dido’s neighbour, but
between a castaway and a king.

P. 372, 359] i.e. all the gain is to thy rival. Iarbas is addressing
himself;— or is ‘thy’ a slip for ‘my’?


P. 373, 385–6] These lines are far from satisfactory, and some-
thing has probably gone wrong—the rimes (conceale: reveale) are
suspicious—but a kind of sense can be obtained by taking all from
‘but sicke’ to the end of line 388 as an aside.

397. effect] Probably rather a confusion with ‘affect’ than
a misprint for the latter word. See instances in N. E. D., under
Effect v. 4, and Tell-Troth’s New-Year’s Gift, ed. Furnivall for
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N. S. S., 26 mid, 'such as, onely led with extreames, ether hate deadly, or effecte too too childishly.'

308. for] It is not clear what Collier would read. Perhaps 'foreign fame'.

P. 374, 407. descend] Mr. Bullen's emendation is very plausible, and I have little doubt of its correctness; the error might easily arise from the preceding 'did'. Yet it seems possible that the writer, regarding Venus as daughter of the Sea, used 'descend' in the genealogical sense. It will be noticed that Aeneas joins in his invocation 'the purple Sea' with the name of Capys, his father's father.

P. 375, 19. Tiphæus] The giant imprisoned by Jupiter under Aetna (Ovid, Metam. v. 346, &c.).

22. edged sting] i.e., perhaps, sharp-pointed; cf. i. 88. 25.


45. Elisa] i.e. Elissa. The two names were regarded as equivalent, and G. Harvey and many others refer to the Queen as Elissa. See Harvey's Grat. Vald.—'De Osculo':

Siste, Harueie, inquit, iam iamque videbis Elissam,
Teque tuos queelegos iam iamque videbit Elissa.

53. is straight way fled] This must surely be a random insertion to fill up some gap or other. Iarbas is praying that Aeneas should leave the country; cf. l. 56.

P. 378, 94-105] This dream seems to be the invention of the authors. In the Aeneid Hermes is only sent once (cf. p. 387. 24). The scene is, in fact, to some extent a reduplication of V. i. 1-50. It is, I think, from here onwards, or perhaps from the beginning of Act. IV, that, if anywhere, we can detect a rehandling of the original scheme.

94] No comma in Q. It would perhaps have been better to place it after 'Hermes'.

P. 379, 146. female drudgerie] i.e. servitude to a woman. Or did the author perchance write 'druerie'?

P. 380, 156. soldiers] The word was not confined to the land forces; cf. the common 'fresh water soldiers' where we now say 'sailors'.

P. 381, 197. wherein thou fleest] Mr. Bullen refers to II. v, where (ll. 344-5) Apollo shrouds Aeneas in a cloud that he may escape from Diomed. Dr. Knutowski compares Ovid, Metam. xv. 803-6.

211. now, to] It should perhaps have been noted that Q has no comma. A slightly different sense might be obtained by omitting it.

P. 382, 232. thee, sister; leade] So all editors. Q has 'Do as I bid thee, sister leade the way'; but cf. l. 212.

P. 383, 274. Packt] i.e. plotted, conspired.

P. 385, 332. twigger] i.e. wanton. See Cent. Dict.


P. 387, 22. calde] Dyce and Mr. Bullen print 'called'; 'Anchisæon' is probably to be read 'Anchisæon'.

38-9] Perhaps corrupt. The Latin (Aen. iv. 274-6) has:

Ascanium surgentem et spes heredis Iuli
Respice, cui regnum Italiae Romanaque tellus
Debentur.
II. 396] DIDO QVEENE OF CARTHAGHE 301

P. 388, 61. sterne] i.e. rudder.
62-77 The provision by Iarbas of rigging, &c., for the voyage is, of course, an invention of the dramatists necessitated by their addition in IV. iv, where Dido destroys the tackling.
P. 389, 89. Rhode] So spelt in Marlowe's Jew of Malta, ed. Wagner, ll. 84, 120.
106. quit] i.e. requite, Bullen.
P. 389, 110-11 I feel almost certain that this line should form part of Dido's speech, and that we should read, with modern punctuation:

_Dido. 'Let me goe!' 'Farewell!' 'I must from hence!'

These words are poysen to poore Didos soule . . .

All these expressions are quoted from Aeneas's speeches just above; see ll. 109, 104, 93. Cf. the similar repetition in I. 105. Q has commas after 'goe' and 'farewell'.
114. chaind] Mr. Bullen compares 1 Tamb., V. i. 21.
156-9 Closely following Aen. iv. 365-7. What follows, to l. 173, is based on II. 368-84.
P. 389, 212-71 Not represented in Vergil.
221. too keend] Mr. Bullen remarks that if 'kenned' is correct, we must suppose the meaning to be 'too clearly perceived'.
P. 384, 234. heart's] I adopt this emendation, as it gives some sort of sense, but it seems far more probable that a line—signifying that Aeneas turned his back upon Anna, or went below—has dropped out after I. 235, the subject of the verb being 'he' in I. 234. The word 'whit' is followed by a colon in Q, but the punctuation of this text counts for little.
247. like Tritons niece] I can only suppose that Scylla, the daughter of Nisus, king of Megara, is meant; see Ovid. Metam. viii. 143-4. She had nothing to do with Triton, but the other Scylla, the sea-monster, who is often confused with her, is represented as either his daughter or sister. See Prof. Collins's note on the meaning of 'niece' in Greene's Dr. Wks., i. 283.
P. 395, 272-8 Cf. Aen. iv. 478-98. The witch was 'Hesperidum templi custos'.
P. 396, 300-1. papers all, Shall] So Q. All editors except Grosart read 'papers, all Shall ...'
304-11 Aen. iv. 621-9. As Dyce remarks, the approved reading is 'pugnent ipsique nepotesque'.
313 Aen. iv. 660.
318-29 The deaths of Iarbas and Anna are not recorded by Vergil.
1. Date of Composition and Publication.

There seems to be no precise evidence as to the date of this work, the composition of which perhaps extended over a considerable period. The reference, at 52. 23-4, to Ralegh's voyage to Guiana seems to date that part after February, 1595, and before the end of that year, while one to the 'late deceased' Countess of Derby, at 77. 20 (see note), shows that the sheet in which it occurs had been at least not printed off by the end of September, 1596. The work seems to have circulated in MS. for some three months among the author's friends before publication (32. 3-5), and it is, I think, not improbable that all the early part, as far as 33. 30, was added just before it was sent to press. At 133. 1-3 there is a reference to its publication in Candlemas Term.

The only serious reason alleged for the delay in replying to Harvey seems to be that Nashe expected the aid of others (32. 5-19), among them being Lyly (137. 32-138. 6).

2. General Character of the Work.

The book is intended as a reply both to Pierce's Supererogation and to the New Letter of Notable Contents, which had appeared within a short time of each other in the autumn of 1593. It does not, however, answer these works of Harvey in as detailed a manner as Strange News did his Four Letters, but is rather of the nature of a general attack upon his person and behaviour.

It opens with a humorous dedication, on much the same lines as that of Strange News, to Richard Lichfield, barber to Trinity College, Cambridge (5-17). This is followed by an epistle to the readers, in which Nashe briefly comments upon his quarrel with Harvey, and explains the plan of his reply—which is to be in dialogue form.

The work itself consists of a mass of discursive criticisms of Harvey's person and writings, in which are inserted (a) an oration made up of scraps from his books, intended to exemplify and ridicule his style, with, of course, a running commentary by Nashe (43-53), and (b) a 'Life' of Harvey (55-102), including a pretended Letter from his tutor at Cambridge to his father (65-9). The rest of the book (102-39) is supposed to be a summary of Pierce's Supererogation, with comments. It is, however, very disorderly and defies analysis.

3. Sources.

There is little or nothing to say under this head, save that according to Nashe the idea of the dialogue-form of the work is taken from Bullein's Dialogue of the Fever Pestilence (20. 32-3). The notes will show that Nashe had evidently been reading Bodin's Methodus ad Facilem Historiarum Cognitionem, Hakluyt's Principal Navigations, and John Bale's Acts of English Votaries.
HAVE WITH YOV, ETC.

4. After History.

The work was replied to, presumably by Gabriel Harvey, in *The Trimming of Thomas Nashe, Gentleman, by the high-titled patron Don Richardo de Medico campo, Barber Chirurgion to Trinitie Collide in Cambridge, 1597.*

For explanation of the references to Harvey's works see note on pp. 153-4 of this volume.

P. 8, 10. *Omne tulit punctum*] Greene's motto; cf. note on i. 10.

3-35.


P. 5, 1. *Orthodoxall*] Perhaps borrowed from Harvey, *P.S. L 3*, G. H. ii. 145. 15.

6 footnote] The first two of these reference marks are also used in Vaughan's *Golden Groove,* 1608, printed by S. Stafford, the one like γ being generally inverted. They seem to be far from common.

13. *Dic mihi, Musa, virum*] Hor. *A. P.* 141.

15. *The male and female of red herrings*] This seems to have been some current joke; cf. Fletcher and Massinger's *Elder Brother,* II. iii. 12-13.

16. *Dic obsecro*] I do not know what, if any, is the point of the phrase here. It occurs in Plautus, *Merc.* iii. 4. 20, and, of course, frequently.

18. *old Dick of the Castle*] Cf. the expression 'my old lad of the castle' in *1. Hen. IV,* I. ii. 48, which is looked on as a reference to the name of Oldcastle; also, Harvey, *Wks.* ii. 44, *P.S. B 2*, 'a lusty lad of the Castell'. The expression has not been satisfactorily explained.


20. *in the pike of his buckler*] The 'pike' was the point in the centre of a buckler; 'in' seems to be used for 'as' or 'for'. But the sentence, as much of the passage, is far from lucid.

*Swarsh*] i.e. swaggerer; cf. 133. 6. In T. Wright's *Songs and Ballads,* Rox. Club, 1860, p. 209, is the line 'Dick Swashe keeipes Salesbury plane, syr,' from which we may perhaps gather that highwaymen were thus known.


21. *Cutter*] i.e. bravo, bully; cf. i. 368. 5; here, of course, used jestingly. 'Cutting Dick' in Heywood's *Wise Woman of Hogsden,* II. i, towards end, is much the same as 'Desperate Dick'; in his *Fair Maid of the West,* III. i. 6, he seems to allude to a particular bravo known by this name.

version of the story at this date is known. Dick of the Cow having been robbed of some cattle by two of the Armstrongs, manages to steal a couple of their horses, and being pursued by Johnie Armstrong on the 'Laird's Jock's' horse, fights with him on Canobie Lea and falls him with the pommel of his sword. Nashe had perhaps heard the ballad sung and had retained an imperfect recollection of it. In no version of the story does Dick fight with the 'Laird's Jock', who of all the Armstrongs is the least unsympathetic towards him.

25. Demilance] i.e. a light spear, or a horseman armed with one; cf. Holinshed, Chron., ed. 1807-8, ii. 630, 'He that might dispense ten pounds, should furnish himself, or find a demilance or light horseman (if I shall so term him) being then called a hobler with a lance.'

28. was Heigh, fill the pot, hostesse] i.e., I suppose, stood one a drink; or, possibly, presided at a drinking bout.

P. 6, 2. Dicke of Lichfield] The 'Barber Chirurgion to Trinitie Colledge in Cambridge', under whose name (as 'Richardo de Medico campo') G. Harvey's Trimming of Thomas Nashe, a reply to the present work, was issued. Richard Lichfield's will was proved in 1630; see Cal. to Cambridge Wills, 1501-1765, Cambridge, 1907, p. 51.

6. dicker] i.e. ten, but frequently used for a large indefinite number.

15. to trie if that will helpe him] On the principle that shaving produces a beard; cf. Lodge, Wits' Misery, E 4*, l. 8, S. Rowlands, Letting of Humours Blood, 1600, B 1v.

18. Crowner] Joking, of course, on 'coroner', of which this was a usual form.

23. French crownes] i.e. jestingly for crowns rendered bare by the Morbus gallicus; cf. Mids. Nt. Dr. i. ii. 99.

24. pild Friers crownes] Cf. 1 Hen. VI, I. iii. 30, 'Peeled priest,' alluding primarily to the tonsure; also Misogonus, ed. Brandl in Quellen, II. v. 32, where a priest is addressed as 'pild Jacke'.

25. Scottish hornec crownes] I cannot explain the allusion.

33. the terrible cut] Cf. Stubbes, Anat. of Abuses, Part ii, ed. N.S.S. 50 'they [i.e. barbers] will ask you whether you will be cut to looke terrible to your enemie, or amiable to your friend, grime & stern in countenance, or pleasant & demure (for they have diuers kinds of cuts for all these purposes, or else they lie).' Also Greene, Wks., ed. Grosart, xi. 247. 15-17, 'whether he will have his peak cut ... to be terrible like a warrior and a Soldado', and Rowlands, Greene's Ghost, 1602, B 1, l. 12. Cf. iii. 252. 615.

36. take him a button lower] Cf. i. 204. 14-15 and note.

knacke] Allusions to barbers snapping their fingers are very numerous; cf. Stubbes's Anat., Part ii, u. s. 50 foot, Lyly's Midas, III. ii. 34-5, and Mr. Bond's note. It appears from Stubbes, u. s., and Greene, Wks., ed. Grosart, xi. 246. 21-3 and 247. 26, that they also snapped the scissors as at present.

P. 7, 7. olde dogge at] i.e. skilled or practised at; cf. iii. 191. 20.


12. old King Harries sincerite] I have not met with the phrase elsewhere.

18-19. by Poli and Aedipoli] The not unusual collocation of these two interjections is probably a reminiscence of Lily's Grammar, where
in the section 'Of the Aduerbe' it is stated that 'Some be of Swearing: as Pol, ædepol, hercle, mediou fidius' ('Short Introduction of Grammar', 1577, C iv). The words seem sometimes to mean nonsensical talk; cf. 'Dekker, Shoemaker's Holiday, 1. i, Wks., ed. Pearson, i. 14, 'Away with your pisherie pisherie, your pols and your edipolls'.

16. Si quis[es] The meaning is sufficiently explained by Nashe's own note, but it may be remarked that a 'Si quis' was properly an announcement that a candidate for Holy Orders was about to offer himself for ordination and that persons who knew of any impediment should declare it (Cent. Dict.). The term seems, however, to have been applied to almost any public notice. See note on i. 194. 27.

20. marg. contraction] Should not this be 'subtraction'?

25. a profound Abridgement upon beards] See i. 33.

28. like a rubbing brush] So Harrison (Descr. of Eng., ii. 7, ed. N.S.S. i. 169), speaking of beards, says 'some made round like a rubbing brush, other with a pique de vant'.

33. Defence of short haire] Nothing seems to be known about this book, which may or may not have been by Richard Harvey. It was not, however, a creation of Nashe's fancy, for it was entered in the Stationers' Register to John Wolf on Feb. 3, 1592-3, as 'A defence of shorte haire, &c.' The Calvitii Encomium of Synesius had been translated in 1579 by Abraham Fleming, as A Paradoxe, proving by reason and example, that Baldnesse is much better than bushie haire.' Valeriano Bolzano, called Pierius, wrote a satirical work, Pro Sacerdotum Barbis Defensio.

P. 8, 2. Prolixior est breuitates sua] The source, if any, of the phrase is unknown to me.

3. Burne Bees and have Bees] This looks like a proverbial phrase, but I have not met with it elsewhere. It alludes, I suppose, to the smoking out of bees in order to obtain the honey. Tusser in his Hundreth Points of Husbandry, June, has the somewhat odd couplet:

'Saint Mihel byd bees, to be brent out of strife:
sajnt John bid take honey, with fauourof life.'

8. a great Man of this Land] As no copy of the work seems to exist it is not known who this was.

15. hair-brain'd] This (incorrect) form of the word seems to have been the commoner at the date.

18. hair lines] i.e., presumably, lines or ropes made of hair, but N. E. D. has no example before 1731. At that time they seem to have been used for drying linen on.

25. With teares be it spoken, too few such ...] For the form of the expression cf. ii. 212. 5-6.

29. de lana caprina] See Horace, Epist. i. 18. 15, and Erasmus, Adagia, chil. i, cent. 3. 53.

30. Cast i. e. rejected, worn-out.

32. Cats smelling haires] The superstition that cutting off a cat's whiskers deprives it of the sense of smell is still, I believe, common.
by-founder] i.e. subsidiary benefactor.

37. browne Bakers dozen] Cf. Massinger, New Way to Pay Old Debts, III. ii: 'Greedy: There are a dozen of woodcocks— Overreach: Make thyself Thirteen, the baker's dozen.' A 'brown baker' was a baker of brown bread; see N. E. D., but whether his dozen differed from that of other bakers I cannot say.

of Almanackes] John Harvey had published at least two almanacks; cf. 81. 32-3 and Appendix A; and Nashe accused Gabriel of the authorship of these issued by 'Gabriel Friend'; see 70-1.

P. 9, 3-4. thorough hayre] Cf. ii. 185. 21.

marg.] I have been unable to find any other reference to this notion.

18. Palermo rasour] Probably regarded as the best; cf. King Leir (in Six Old Plays, p. 411), 'more sharpe then a razer of Palerno [sic].'

31. thy painted May-pole] For the history of the pole as a barber's sign see the article by Mr. MacMichael referred to in note on i. 72. 9.

37—10. 1. Tilbury Campe] The famous muster of the London trained bands at the time of the Armada; see, inter alia, R. Robinson's Archipfrus, MS. Royal, 18. A. lxvi, in the British Museum, where is to be found the number of soldiers recruited from each district, together with the names of the captains.

P. 10, 3-4. strugled through the foamy depe, and skirmish on the downes] This must almost certainly be a quotation, but I have not traced it.

5. with a hey downe and a derry] A meaningless refrain. There was a tune called 'Hey downe derrye'; see note on 32. 21-2.

10-11. those love-letters in rime] The only rimed love-letters known to me are those appended to W. Fulwood's Enemy of Idleness, 1568. Julia's words to her maid in Two Gent. of Ver. I. ii. 79 seem to suggest that they were then considered vulgar; sonnets and the like were doubtless on a different footing.


13. Proctor of Saffron-walden] A proctor was a species of attorney in a court of civil or ecclesiastical law. The allusion is doubtless to Harvey's legal studies, with probably at the same time some reference to the use of 'proctor' for a beggar. Cf. Hist. MSS. Com., Apx. to 7th Rep. 621a (?1568), 'That no person ... gyve lodginge ... to any Tynker, mynstrell, proctor, or wandring roge ...' Possibly Nashe also remembered that Harvey had, in 1583, been Junior Proctor at Cambridge.

17. out of all scotch & notch] Cf. Lyly's Mother Bomby, II. iii.

78. Mr. Bond cites Hay any Work for Cooper, ed. Petheram, p. 8. The meaning of the expression is clear, but its origin is, I believe, uncertain.

19. dated letters from his gallerie in Trinitie Hall] See 2 Let. I 2, G. H. i. 27; cf. note on i. 290. 25.

23. rob Peter to pay Powle] Joking, of course, on 'powling.' The saying, in its ordinary form, is fairly common; see N. E. D. s. v. Peter 2. The earliest instance given is from Barclay's Eclogues, i, 1515. The present instance and one in T. Adams's sermon, The White Devil, 1613, F 2n, l. 4, together fill a somewhat long gap in the examples given.
25. four nobles Curate] Was 'four nobles' a typically minute income? In Deloney's Gentle Craft, ed. Lange, ii. 86, it is the yearly wage of a water-carrier.

26. Confessor of Tyburne or Superintendent of Pancrade] I can learn nothing of these two offices, but doubtless the attendance on ordinary criminals at their execution was neither a well paid nor an honourable task, while Pancras was notoriously a disreputable locality. Norden in his Speculum Britanniae, 1593, p. 38, says that 'Pancras Church standeth all alone as utterly forsaken, old and wetherbeaten'.

P. 11, 8. Lenuoy] The form is common; see N.E.D. s.v. L'envoy.

9. without hum drum] i.e. without hesitations, hemming and hawing; for 'drum' cf. ii. 219. 6, 'without drumbling or pawsing.'

11-12. not only but also] Mr. Fleay, Biog. Chron. ii. 140, says that this ridicules Harvey's continual use of 'not only, but also', but does he use the phrase continually, or more than another? The passage in Locrine I. ii (Hazlitt, Doubtf. Plays of Sk. 65), 'so not only, but also, (oh fine phrase!) I burn, I burn', &c., suggests that it is merely a typical affected expression.

12. blunderkins] i.e. muddlepates, N.E.D., where this example alone is given.

16. Sarpego] i.e. serpigo, herpes, a kind of skin disease; cf. Meas. for Meas. III. i. 31, 'Sapago.'

P. 12, 5. gub-shites] Not in N.E.D.

16. Dawes crosse] An imaginary rendezvous of fools. See Hazlitt's Proverbs, where he refers to the Marriage of Wit and Wisdom, and to Tyro's Roaring Megge, 1598, A 4. In the extraordinary tale or parable told by Daphne in the Third part of the Countess of Pembroke's Ivory Church, 1592, fol. 55, l. 9, certain scholars of Cambridge who wish to discover the way to heaven meet at Daw's Cross; it is again referred to on fol. 56.

18. Arcandum] I can only suppose that Nashe was thinking of the fictitious astrologer Arcandam, under whose name a work, translated from French, had appeared in 1578 (see Lowndes). There were numerous editions.

Acarnians] If Nashe is referring to the classical people of the name I cannot say whence he derived his idea of their foolishness.

Disards] i.e. fools; cf. Misogonus, II. iv. 156, 'dreminge dissarde'.

P. 18, 2. Pachecoes] The name 'Pacheco' was borne by several Spaniards of distinction, the most notable being Don Juan Pacheco, Marquis of Villena (+ 1474), a favourite of Henry IV, King of Castille, but Nashe was, I think, using it simply on account of its similarity in sound to 'patch', a fool. It is possible that he met with it in Hakluyt, ed. 1903-5, vi. 260.

Poldauisses] 'Poldav' was a kind of coarse canvas, here used apparently for the wearer, clown, rustic.

Dringles] Apparently equivalent to 'fools'; cf. iii. 151. 13, 'John Dringle'.

6. vnico] In imitation of 'l'Unico Aretino'; see note on ii. 265. 28.

10. Saracen Butcher] Cf. i. 201. 19, note.

15. qui guse codshead] Used, apparently, for a beginner in Latin—one of the usual jokes on the grammar.

15-16. the Latine Tragedie of K. Richard] i.e. Legge's tragedy
of Richardus Tertius, performed at St. John's College, Cambridge, in 1583 (cf. Prof. Moore Smith in Mod. Lang. Rev. iii. 141), reprinted with The True Tragedy by Barron Field, for Shak. Soc. in 1844; see p. 87, col. 1 'Urbs, urbs, Cives, ad arma, ad arma'.

24-5. qui mihi Discipulasses] From the first words of a composition entitled 'Guilielmi Liliadu suo discipulos monita pedagogica, seu Carmen de Moribus' in Lily's Short Introduction of Grammar, 1577, D 4. The lines, which are frequently referred to, begin:

Qui mihi discipulus puer es, cupis atque doceri,
Huc ades, haec animo concipe dicta tuo.

28. perpolite] i.e. highly polished. Earliest example in N. E. D.
30. Spruce] He is unknown to me.
32. Lipsian] The sense seems to be merely 'learned' or 'scholarly'—from the great reputation of Lipsius. Nashe calls R. Harvey 'Lipsian Dick' at 85, 24, but for the sake of a jest.
35. be not a horse] Cf. Psalm 32. 9.

P. 14, 2-5. those prospectuie glasses . . .] Cf. C. Agrippa, De Incert. et Van., cap. 26, trans. 1569, fol. 37, 'and an other [glass], that dothe not represente the image receaued within him, but casteth it farre of in the ayre, and theretho make it appeare like an ayrie image'. Also in Scot's Discovery of Witchcraft, 1584, p. 316, where most of Agrippa's chapter 'De Specularia' is borrowed.

8. Doctor Dodipowe] Examples of 'Doctor Dodypoll' are found from 1581; see N. E. D. For 'dodipoule' alone see i. 256, 36.

9-10. Doctor Nott and Doctor Powle] I cannot learn anything of the persons referred to. Gabriel Powell, afterwards chaplain to the Bishop of London, may possibly be meant, but he was not a doctor.
13. old Tooly] Mr. Fleay, Biog. Chron. ii. 140, suggests that Nich. Tooley the actor is meant (not so Collier; see Mem. of Princ. Actors, 1846, 233, &c., 235 footnote), but it seems more likely that some well-known character at Cambridge is referred to. Harvey, in 3 Let., D 2, G. H. i. 69, complains that Cambridge men now make no difference 'betwene the learned and vnlearned, Tully, and Tom Tooily'. He is also mentioned by Stanyhurst, trans. of Aen. i–iv, ed. Arber, p. 9.
13-14. Stephen Gardiner and Sir John Cheke] The well-known controversy as to the new pronunciation of Greek first suggested by Erasmus and introduced at Cambridge 1538–40 by Sir Thomas Smith and Sir John Cheke, is fully discussed in Mullinger's Cambridge, ii. 54–63. Cheke's controversy with Gardiner, then Chancellor of the University, was printed at Basle in 1555 as Johannis Cheki Angli de Pronuntiatione Graecae potissimum Linguae Disputationes cum Stephano Wintoniensi Episcopo, septem contrariis Epistolis comprehensae. Generally speaking, the pronunciation in vogue had been that of modern Greece, which did not differentiate between η, ο, α, ι, and υ. Smith's reform was the introduction of a pronunciation in some respects similar to that now used in this country. Cf. W. G. Clark in Journal of Philology, i (2). 98–108.

20. dowsets] i.e. pastry or custards, sweets in general.
24. Bosomes Inne] Bosom's or Blossom's Inn—for it seems to have been equally well known by both names, was in Saint Lawrence
Lane, near Cheapside. See Stow's London, ed. Strype, 1720, bk. iii, p. 51. In John Taylor's time it was here that the carriers from Chester and Shrewsbury put up (Carriers' Cosmography).

28. a charm against the tooth-ache] The curious may find such charms in Chettle's Kind-heart's Dream, in Sh. Allusion-books, N.S.S., p. 58, ll. 28, &c., and in Scot's Discovery of Witchcraft, 1584, p. 244.

31. Textors Epithites] The great collection, in the form of a dictionary or gradus, of the suitable epithets to use with words, examples being given. The first edition seems to have appeared in 1518.

35. Pythagoreanly] The point of the adverb is not very clear. Perhaps Nashe only meant 'strictly', in reference to the strict rules laid down by Pythagoras for the education of youth.

36. Williamson] Harvey refers to Williamson in an undated letter [c. 1579] on the subject of his being called upon to deliver a Philosophy Lecture, Letter-book, p. 71, 'But would to God in heaven I had an hour for there sake the profounde lerninge of M. Buffington... the rowlinge tongue ether of M. Williamson, ouer fine Cambridge barber, or of Mistrisse Trusteme-trulye, mye Welche ostisse'.

E 16, 2. descanting on the Crates] Of the last word N.E.D. says 'App. a name for a beard of some particular cut, or for some part of it: see Fairholt's Costume in England, Gloss. s.v. Beard'. The sole example given is from Greene's Quip for an Upstart Courtier, Wks., ed. Grosart, xi. 247. 18.

6. xenigmatical linguist] I have been unable to find the phrase in Harvey. Possibly the asterisk should be at 'termes probatorie'.


13-14. caused all the bells in the Parish... to be rong forth] This may possibly be a reminiscence of a story told of Boiardo, who caused his invention of the name 'Rodomonte' to be celebrated in a similar manner; see Villari's Machiavelli, undated Eng. trans. i. 162; but I have not seen it anywhere whence Nashe might have borrowed.

19. like a clowne of Cherry-hinton] I cannot learn that the people of Cherry Hinton had any special repute for clownishness. According to the Trimming of Thomas Nashe, G t*, G. H. iii. 64, they were greatly offended at the suggestion.

25. I must require your connivance] There is a passage in Satiromasxis which looks like a reminiscence of this, though it is Jonson, not Harvey, whose language is derided (Dekker, ed. Pearson, i. 212): 'I was but at Barbers last day, and when he was rencing my face, did but cry out, fellow thou makst me Connive too long, & sayes he sayes hyee, Master Asinius Bubo, you haue eene Horaces wordes as right as if he had spit them into your mouth'.

27. sincanter] i.e. cinquanter, a man of fifty, an old stager; cf. Misogonus, ed. Brandl in Quellen, III. i. 24, 'But tell me, olde sincanter, what quick cattell hast thou heare?' Cf. Trimming, E 1, G.H. iii. 41. Quotations in N. E. D. from 1611 onwards.

27-8] In 2 Return from Parnassus, I. iv. 66–9 (ed. Macray, ll. 436–8), there is a passage which may possibly be a reminiscence of this: 'any of the hidebound brethren of Cambridge and Oxford, or any of those Stigmatic maisters of arte, that abused vs in times past'.
Cf. also *Pilgrimage to Parn.,* II. 216–17, 'an ould drousie Academicke, an ould Stigmaticke, an ould sober Dromeder'. The meaning of 'stigmaticall' is not very clear; there is, perhaps, some Cambridge joke. In the *Trimming*, E 1, G. H. iii. 41, Nashe's use of the word is objected to on the ground that it means 'burnt with an hot Iron', i.e. branded as a thief, as of course it properly does.

28–9. Charles the ninth massacre] i.e. the St. Bartholomew massacre, August 24, 1572.


35. Paracelsian] Apparently used for inflated, high-sounding. Can it be a joke on his name 'Bombastes'?

35—10, 1. What a pestilence] The frequent use of 'with a pestilence' as a mere expletive (cf. note on ii. 319. 11), suggests that the correct punctuation of this may be 'What! a pestilence!'

P. 16, 2. Rayse ... on the trees] Possibly some technical term of shoemaking. I cannot explain it. 6–7. Omniscious and omnisufficient Master Doctor] Cf. P. S. D 4, G. H. ii. 70, 'Agrippa ... such a one, as some learned men of Germany, France, & Italie, intituled The Omniscious Doctour', and P. S. B 3*, G. H. ii. 46, 'Agrippa was reputed ... a demi-god in omnisufficiency of knowledge'.

8–9. cosmologisd and smirkt] Neither 'cosmologiz' nor, in the sense here given to it, 'smirk' seems to have been used by Harvey.

10–11. the Bishop of Lincolne] He was, and is, ex officio Visitor of St. John's. The bishop more particularly referred to must be either Thomas Cooper, 1571–84, or William Wickham, 1584–95.

12–13. while there was euera Bishop there] See note on i. 97. 18–19.

21. Tragotanto] In default of a better explanation I suggest that the word is due to imperfect recollection of a story in Huarte's *Examen de Ingenios* (Exam. of Men's Wits, 1594, I 3*-4) of a Spanish gentleman who was much bothered to find a suitable name for a furious giant in a romance which he was writing, until one day while playing cards he heard one of his companions say 'traquitantos', bring hither tokens or counters. The phrase struck him as having such 'ful sound in the eare' that he called his giant 'Traquitantos'.

23–4. although thou beest fortie mile off from mee] Nashe was probably at London. Though it is really, in a direct line, 47 miles from Cambridge, Harrison gives the distance by Ware and Barkway as 44 miles, or by Saffron Walden, which he calls a better way, as 46 miles, *Descr. of Eng.* iii. 16. Holinshed, *Chron.,* ed. 1807–8, i. 417.

31. hast mist mee ninescore] i.e., evidently, missed me completely; but I can give no other instance of the phrase.

35–6. a spirit in the way of honestie too] The meaning of the phrase is not clear. For 'in the way of honesty' cf. *Merry Wives,* II. ii. 75.


6. Guiny phrases] I cannot explain the meaning of this.


11. Tindalls Prologue] The Prologue, with some additions, was separately reprinted in London by Thomas Godfrey before 1532 under
the title 'A Pathway into the Holy Scriptures', D.N.B., lvii. 429.

15-16. *Trinitie College rubber*] The meaning is unknown to me.

23. *to sit on his skirts*] i.e. annoy, injure. The use varies slightly; cf. Puttenham, *Art of Eng. Poesy*, ed. Haslewood, 252-3, 'to speake faire to a mans face, and foule behinde his backe, to set him at his trecher and yet sit on his skirts for so we vse to say by a fayned friend', and Bernard's Terence, *Andria*, iii. 5, formulae loquendi, *Te viliscar, I will be revenged on thee: I will sit on thy skirts: I will be vpon your jace for it*. The phrase is common; cf. *Every Man In his Humour* (1601), l. 1406; Dekker, *Wks.*, ed. Pearson, ii. 360, i. 225 mid.

24. *Nos-da diu catawhy*] For the Welsh 'Nos da, Duw cadw chwi', i.e. Good-night, God preserve you. See Dyce's note on 'Du cat a whee' in Fletcher and Massinger's *Custom of the Country*, i. ii. 81.

P. 18, 6. *two or three yeares*] Pierce's Supererogation was published about the end of August, 1593.

12. *Liff-lander Bogarian*] These terms are apparently taken, without any particular meaning, from Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations*, which Nashe had evidently been reading previous to the composition of the present work, and from which I shall have occasion to note several borrowings. The 'Liefianders', or Livonians, are frequently mentioned by Hakluyt (ed. 1903-5, ii. 407, 421, &c.), and once at least the country is called Lifland (iii. 93). The 'Bogharians' were the inhabitants of Boghar (Bokhara), Hakluyt, u.s. ii. 470.

16. *the hanging of Lopus*] Roderigo Lopez, a Portuguese Jew, was chief physician to Queen Elizabeth from 1586 to 1594, when he was executed at Tyburn for complicity in a plot to murder her.

P. 19, 7-8. *about Mahomet and Mortus Alli*] Perhaps mistakenly from Hakluyt, u.s. iii. 159. 'Of the religion of the Persians. Their religion is all one with the Turkes, sauing that they differ who was the right successor of Mahomet. The Turkes say that it was one Homer and his sonne Veman. But the Persians say that it was one Mortus Alli.'

9. *with Vipers teeth*] Hakluyt, u.s. x. 52, of the arrows used by the natives of Florida, 'the heads of the same are vipers teeth, bones of fishes, &c.'

24-32] These two paragraphs are of course grammatically one, but it seemed better to leave the text as it stands.

27. *against M. Lilly*] Nashe refers particularly to the 'Advertise-ment for Fapp-hatchett' inserted in the middle of Pierce's Supererogation, 14-53 v. G. H. ii. 124-221.


35. *Frier Tecellius*] i.e. John Tetzel (c. 1470-1519), a Dominican, who was charged by Leo X with the publication of his indulgences in Germany. See Philippson (Sleidanus), *Famous Chron.*, 1560; fol. 1'; also, for what follows, fol. 177, where it is stated that in 1517 'John Tecell, a Dominike Frere, caried about pardons to sell in Germany. . . . He (I say) amongers other things taught, howe he had so great authoritie of y* bishop of Rome, y* although a mâ had deflowred y* virgin Mary, & had gottê hir w* child, he had power to forgeue hi for money. Moreouer he did not onely forgeue synnes past, but also what so euer a man listed to commit hereafter'.

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NOTES

P. 20, 5. *Furicanoes*] See Eden, *History of Travel in the... Indies*, 1577, p. 195, ‘Great tempestes, whiche they [i.e. the inhabitants of the West Indies] call *Furacanas*, or *Haurachanas*’, and Hakluyt, u.s. x. 67, ‘stormes... which they call Furicanoes’.

6–8. *Wesell in Germanie... at all times*] I have not found the source of this statement.

11. *an Elephants fore-legs are longer than his hinder*] Hakluyt, u.s. vi. 164, ‘The Elephant (which some call an Oliphant) is the biggest of all four footed beasts, his forelegs are longer then his hinder.’

13. *Aesopum non attriuistis*] See Erasmus, *Adagia*, chil. ii, cent. 6. 27 ‘Ne Aesopum quidem triuisti’, you don’t even know Aesop, whom even the most ignorant know. Quintilian, *Inst. Or.* i. 9, § 2, recommends Aesop’s fables as the first things that a child should learn.

14–15. *as the Astronomers are in the true mouings of Mars*] Probably from C. Agrippa, *De Incert.et Van.*, cap. 30, trans. 1569, fol. 43, ‘Neither the true mounding of Mars bene known vntill this daie’. Cf. 1 Henry VI, I. ii. 1–2.


20–1. *Baldwin in his morrall sentences*] This must be his *Treatise of Morall Phylosophye containing the sayynges of the wyse*, which first appeared in 1547, and was frequently reprinted with additions by T. Paulfreyman. A work called *The Use of Adagies; Similies and Proverbs; Comedies* is ascribed to him by Wood, but of this nothing is known (D.N.B.).


24. *Heggledepegs*] Apparently a mere nonce-word.

24–7. From Holinshed, *Chron.*, Rich. I, an. 2 (ed. 1807–8, ii. 213). It was a punishment for sailors. Nashe carelessly omits to mention that their heads were first to be polled, thus losing the point of the ‘barrain scalp’ in the line above. Nashe uses the same form of Richard’s name at ii. 119. 35 and iii. 163. 4.

30–1. *Peter Maluenda*] A person of this name was the Pope’s factor at Ratisbon and is mentioned as a persecutor in Foxe’s *Acts and Monuments*, ed. Townsend, iv. 387, in connexion with the martyrdom of John Diazius, a Spaniard, in 1546, but it is not clear why he was sufficiently notorious for the present reference to be understood.

31. *Sinibaldo Crasko*] Unknown to me.

33. *Bullen and his Doctor Tocrub*] The reference is to the popular work of William Bullein (d. 1576) entitled *A Dialogue... against the fever Pestilence*, 1564. This consists of a number of colloquies, of which the second is between a rich usurer, Antonius, and a ‘Medicus’, who in the 1564 edition is styled Antonius Capistrinus, but in later editions bears the name Dr. Tocrub, doubtless intended for a Dr. Burcot, whose name occurs in the *State Papers* (Mr. A. H. Bullen in *D. N. B.*, art. William Bullein). Burcot is mentioned as ‘though a stranger, yet in England for phisicke famous’ in Chettle’s *Kind-heart’s*
Dream, in Shakspere Allusion-Books, N.S.S., 44. 20; at pp. 53-7 is a paper feigned to be of his composition. See also Scot, Disc. of Witchcraft, 1584, pp. 144, 357, 522.

P. 21, 9-13. Treasurer of Bride-well . . . surcease] I have been unable to find other references to this custom.

19. Americke Vesputius] This must surely be a slip of the pen—or of memory—for Raphael Hythloday. The persons present at the conversation at Antwerp which forms the matter of the Utopia were only Hythloday, Peter Giles, and More himself. It is, however, mentioned early in the book that Hythloday had accompanied Amerigo Vespucci in three of his voyages.


22-3. one and twenty Maides . . . Boston Steeple] I have not met with the story elsewhere.

34-5. a Gentleman of good qualitie] There is, I think, nothing which enables us even to guess at the persons referred to in this and the following paragraph.

P. 22, 1-2 (as the Philosophers say of winde . . . moou'd') Quoted from Hakluyt, Princ. Nav., ed. 1903-5, vi. 171, 'For winde (as say the Philosophers) is none other then aire vehemently moved, as we see in a pare of bellowes, and such other.'

4. journey] i.e. day's fighting.


7-8. as Aesculapius built an Oracle of the Sunne at Athens] Apparently from Hakluyt, u.s. iv. 281, 'John Erigene . . . undertooke a long journey, even as farre as Athens . . .: he there frequented all the places and schooles of the Philosophers, and the oracle also of the Sunne, which Aesculapius had built unto himselfe'.

14. as Hippocrates preserved the Citie of Coos] Perhaps taken by Nashe from the French Academy of La Primaudaye, ed. 1586, 5. 23-7, where the story is told in much the same words: 'that famous physician Hippocrates preserved his citie of Coos from a mortalitie that was generall throughout all Grecia, by councelling his countrymen to kindle many fires in all publike places, to the end thereby to purifie the aire'.

20. the scratches] 'A disease in horses, consisting of dry chaps, rifts or scabs between the heel and the pastern-joint.' Cent. Dict.


29-30. Musique . . . infinite and without end} Probably from C. Agrippa, De Incert. et Van., cap. 17, trans. 1569, fol. 30, 'They [i.e. musicians] saie moreouer, that it is an endelesse Arte, and that it cannot be thorowely learned with any witte: but that dailie according to the capacitie of every man, it geueth freshe melodie'.

33. Florentine Poggius] Alluding presumably to the Facetiae.

34-5. ignem faciens ex lapide nigro] Münster several times mentions the coal in England, e.g. Cosmog., ed. 1572, pp. 43, 47; but I cannot find anything about its being the greatest wonder of the country. The Latin phrase is not, I think, used by him. It appears to be a reminiscence of Pol. Vergil's Angl. Hist., a work with which Nashe was certainly familiar; cf. 55. 34; see ed. Basle, 1570, 7. 40-1 'Scoti qui australinem incolunt partem . . . cum rarae hic sylvae, ignem faciunt ex lapide nigro, quem ex terra effodiunt'.

III. 22] HAVE WITH YOV, ETC.

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NOTES [III. 28

P. 23, 4-5. as Polidore Virgill . . . burnt all the ancient Records]
For this story, which rests on no good evidence, but seems to have been widely accepted, see Sir Henry Ellis's edition of Three Books of P. Vergil's Engl. Hist., Camden Soc., 1844, pp. xx, &c. On p. xxii he quotes a passage from Caius, De Antiquitate Cantabrigiae, 1574, p. 52, in which the charge is made.

11. neighbor Quiquisse I have not met with the expression elsewhere, but 'quidam' is frequent as an English word.
15. Gorboduck The name of the legendary British king seems to have been more usually spelt 'Gorbodug', but it has the final c in the play and in the 'Historicall Preface' to Stow's Annals.
28-9. nimis credulos aut incredulos] Probably borrowed from Bodin's Methodus ad Hist. Cognit. (ed. 1595, 44 foot) 'illud minimus debemus, quod ab Aristotele sapienter dictum est, in historia legenda, neque nimis credulum, neque plane incredulum esse oportere.'
31. Gam vt are] It would be more natural to read either 'Gamut are' or 'Gam-vt a-re'. They are the first two notes of Guido d'Arezzo's musical scale.
36. a fools coat with four elbowes] Apparently a coat with sewn-up sleeves hanging down the back is meant. Cf. Deloney, Gentle Craft, ed. Lange, ii. 37, 'O fond foole, worthy to wear a coate with four elbowes', and Dekker, Gull's Hornbook, Wks., ed. Grosart, ii. 202. 4-6, 'ye motley is bought, and a coate with four elbows . . . is put to making, in defiance of the seuen wise maisters'.

P. 24, 1. Prince of Wingan-decoy Wingandecoawas the native name of Virginia; see Hakluyt, u.s. viii. 300.
3. Pomados] The pommodo was a manner of vaulting on to a horse without using the stirrups.

P. 25, 8-9. Saint Faiths Church] This was underneath the choir of St. Paul's, and served, as Stow says, as a Parish Church for the stationers dwelling in St. Paul's Churchyard, Paternoster Row, and the vicinity.
10. Cole-harbour] This place, also called Cold-harborough and Coal-harbour, was originally a large building in Dowgate Ward. It came into the hands of the Earls of Shrewsbury, who some time before 1590 pulled it down, and built instead a great number of small Tenements 'now letten out for great Rents, to People of all sorts' (Stow's London, ed. Strype, 1720, bk. ii, p. 206—in the ed. of 1598). The place seems from numerous allusions to have been looked on with disfavour and to have become a refuge for scoundrels. See Hall, Virgidamiae, v. i (Chalmers, v. 279 b):

Or thence thy starved brother live and die,
Within the cold Coal-harbour sanctuary;

III. 28] HAVE WITH YOV, ETC. 315

11. myst[ Cf. Fletcher's Wit without Money, V. ii. 40, where the reading of the early editions 'midst' is almost certainly an error; possibly also the expression 'mist language' in Dekker's Gull's Horn-book, Wks., ed. Grosart, ii. 258. 9. For the fumes from brew-houses cf. Harington, Met. of Ajax, ed. 1814, 112-13, 'it should poison all the town with the ill savour (as the brewhouse by White-hall doth her Highness' own house and all Cannon-row')

23. Stones the fool's nose] Stone is several times referred to, but little is known about him. See Nares, Glossary.


27. Tower-hill vinegar] Stow does not seem to mention the repute of Tower Hill for vinegar, nor have I been able to discover any reference to it elsewhere. Mr. Farmer, Slang. Dict., s. v., explains the phrase as 'The swordsman's block,' but gives neither authority nor examples.

P. 26, 13. toies for private Gentlemen] Cf. 31. 1-5, also what is said at 129. 33-7 as to Harvey's charge of 'baudie rymes'.

13-14. business...concern] The word could be used as a plural; cf. 108. 6; Grosart's alteration is therefore unnecessary.

15. had I wist humours about Court] Mr. Crawford compares Spenser, Mother Hubberd's Tale, 892-3:

Most miserable man, whom wicked fate
Hath brought to Court, to sue for had ywist.

For the expression 'had I wist', borrowed from the classical 'non putaram' (see Cic. De Off. i. 23. 81), cf., inter alia, Elyot's Governor, ed. Croft, ii. 51. Examples in N. E. D. from 1390. Nashe refers again to the charge at 30. 2, &c.

20. euery minute of an houre] The expletive use of the words 'of an hour' after 'minute' is not uncommon. Cf. Lazarillo de Tormes, ed. 1586, E 5', 'I went in, and within a minute of an houre, I visited the whole house aboue and beneat, without staying, or finding whereat to stay'.

29. a treatise in Duinitie] i.e. Christ's Tears.

P. 27, 2. old Laertes in Homers Odisssea] Perhaps referring to Od. xxiv. 219 ff., but there are many allusions to his neglect of himself in the absence of Odysseus.

4. at sixe and seauen] The singular was the usual form; cf. Rich. II, II. ii. 122 and other examples in Cent. Dict.

15. in thy other booke] See i. 268. 3.

17. morts and doxes] Both words, in canting language, meant 'woman'; the former was a general term; the latter signified the female companion of a beggar.

19. at the vitmos] Used, apparently, for 'at any rate'. We should rather expect 'at the least'.


P. 28, 5. in the 2700. age of the world] Lanquet (Cooper), Chron., dating the creation as B.C. 3962, says that Orpheus flourished in the year of the world 2697.

5-6. it is now 5596.] Nashe evidently followed a chronology which
placed the creation 4,000 years before the commencement of the Christian era. According to that of Luther, which was widely known as being given in the Genevan Bible, the year 1596 would have been A.M. 5563. A list of twenty-nine dates assigned by different authorities to the creation of the world is given in Lycosthenes’ *Prodigiorum Chronicon*, Basle, 1557, b 2°. They range from 6984 to 3707 years before the birth of Christ.

10-11. *those in Germanie, which being executed are never buried*]
I have been unable to trace the authority for this statement.

33-6. *and secondly... could prove*] The construction is a little awkward, but the sense is clear:—1 and secondly, or to the second lie (where he saith if I do answer him it is nothing, since I have been a whole age about it) [I reply that,] if I list, I could prove...’ In l. 34 ‘and’ is for ‘if’. Cf. 26. 6-9.

P. 29, 3. *Veritas Temporis filia*] See Aulus Gellius, xii. 11. 2.
18. *Dianas Temple at Ephesus*] See note on ii. 106. 33-4; but Nashe here follows some other authority.

20-5. *Arie time this 17. yere... upon the yce*] Probably ‘17.’ is correct. The sense seems to be that ever since 1579, the year of his first letters to Spenser, Harvey has been amassing worthless manuscript, and has now published treatises against Lyly and Nashe which are not newly written, but made up of scraps which he has had by him ever since the great frost. The frost of 1564-5 must be referred to; but only vaguely as typical of an event long past. It lasted only from Dec. 21 to Jan. 3, but was exceptionally severe. Stow mentions the archery matches on the Thames. There was another cold winter in 1572-3, and possibly in 1584; cf. i. 280. 29.

21. *Frigius Pedagogus*] Cf. note on i. 272. 25-6. ‘Johannis fridgij pedagogus’ was entered to J. Harrison, senior, on Nov. 27, 1582, but I cannot learn that the work was printed in England.


shrewish snappish] Nashe uses the same words when speaking of mustard at iii. 200. 19-20.

P. 30, 1. *Pope Siluesters or Frier Bacons brazen head*] Allusions to the supposed magical powers of Pope Silvester II (Pope 999-1003) are numerous; for his brazen head cf. Bale, *Acts of Eng. Volaties*, pt. ii, ed. 1560, B 6°-7. For that of Friar Bacon cf. i. 331. 18. I have nowhere found the statement that the head was to be set up on Salisbury Plain.

6. *like cutting of haire*] I cannot learn that there was any such superstition as seems here to be indicated regarding the proper times for hair-cutting.

12-14. *those in Florida or... Negroses, that kindle fire... another*] From Hakluyt, ed. 1603-5, x. 52; cf. also vii. 372.


25. *as it was said of the blacke Princes souldiers*] Holinshed, *Chron.*, 20 Ed. III, ed. 1507-8, ii. 643, the ‘souldiers and men of warre were so pestered with riches, that they wist not what to doo therewith: they esteemed nothing but gold and siluer, and feathers for men of warre’.
The passage really refers to the army of the Earl of Derby, not to that of the Black Prince.

30. *hey gallanta* I have not met with this elsewhere.

36. *res est angusta domi* Juvenal iii. 165.


4. *Villanellas* A species of Italian rustic poetry—or possibly the French *villanelle*, a much more complicated form, is meant.

*Quipassas* The only other example of the word known to me is in Stanyhurst's account of Ireland, in Holinshed's *Chron.*, ed. 1807-8, vi. 13 mid., 'And true it they [i.e. jests] be set a duiune as well, as for an asse to twang quipassa on a harpe or gitterne, or for an ape to friske trenchmoore in a paire of buskins and a doublet'. It probably represents the opening words of some well-known song, but I cannot identify it.

10. *Doctor Vanderhulk* See *The Unfortunate Traveller*, ii. 247. 26, &c. This passage seems to indicate that Vanderhulk was intended as a hit at Harvey.

16. *Domine Dewse-ace* Cf. 72. 9 and note.

*conswappeved* The only instance in *N. E. D.*, which has 'conswap, v. [f. Con- meaning completion + Swap to strike] ? To knock on the head'.

17-18. *a paire of newe shoees . . . like a Russian when he is buried* See Hakluyt, *Princ. Nav.*, 1589, 346 (ed. 1903-5, ii. 447), 'When any man or woman dyeth, they stretch him out, and put a new payre of shoees on his feet, because he hath a great iourney to goe: then do they winde him in a sheet as we do, but they forget not to put a testimony in his right hand, which the priest giueth him, to testifie vnto S. Nicholas that he dyed a Christian man or woman' (cf. ii. 237, where Saint Peter replaces Saint Nicholas, but the shoes are not mentioned). Also in Harrison's *Desr. of Eng.*, cap. 9, in Holinshed, *Chron.*, ed. 1870-8, i. 35, and referred to in *Soliman and Perseda*, II. i. 312.

25. *Gobin a grace* The reference to the Black Prince's soldiers at 30. 25 shows that Nashe had been reading Holinshed, and it seems likely that he took this name from the same source. See ed. 1807-8, ii. 636, where is mention of a certain prisoner, variously called Gobin de Grace and Gobin Agace, who showed Edward III a ford of the river Some.

*a Hannikin* I have not found this name, which is perhaps, as Chappell thought, merely a form of 'Hankin'; cf. 63. 12.

31-2. *Gregorie Huldricke* Huldricke is Ulric, a saint celebrated on July 4; cf. iii. 185, 6—used here, of course, without any particular signification.

P. 32, 4-5. *any time this quarter of this yeare* It would seem that part of the work—perhaps from 33. 31 onwards—had been circulated earlier in MS.


Also quoted at 110. 26-7.

10. *so did I stay for some company* It appears from 137. 32, &c., that Lyly was to join in the attack.

13-14. *as the King of Spaine did with Sebastian, King of Portugal* There seems to be some confusion here. In 1577, the year before Sebastian's ill-fated expedition to Morocco, which ended
in his death at the battle of Alcazar-Kebir, he had an interview with his uncle Philip II of Spain at Guadaloupe. Philip, however, did not promise Sebastian his assistance, but strongly urged him to abandon the proposed attempt.

16. *veiah diabolo* Nashe probably means 'Forward, in the devil's name'. 'Veiah' must be 'Vieah'.

17. *tickling . . . Tobacco* The word 'tickle' seems to have been in frequent use in this connexion; cf. Dekker, *Wks.*, ed. Grosart, iii. 276. 17-19, 'the Horse-courser tickles his nose (not with a Pipe of Tobacco) but with . . . ', and Dekker, ed. Pearson, ii. 27. 22.

20. *fearst no colours* Cf. i. 280. 20.

21-2. *Inkin Heyderry derry* There is probably no particular allusion in this, but the words are suggestive of some ballad or other. There was a tune called 'Hey downe derrye', of which nothing seems to be known (Chappell, *Pop. Mus.* 770).

24. *Venice dye* The fine quality of the red Venetian dye is mentioned by Hakluyt, ed. 1903-5, ii. 52.

26. *shredded* i.e., apparently, ruined.

30. *Omnigatherum* The word, which has been in use since early in the fifteenth century for miscellany or collection of any sort, seems to be used here for people generally.

33-4. *grand commander of silence* Hakluyt, ed. 1903-5, ii. 255, 'on the one side of him [i.e. the Emperor of Russia] stood his chiefe Secretarie, on the other side, the great Commander of silence, both of them arayed also in cloth of gold'.

35. *in my sleeve* For the use of the sleeve as a pocket cf. i. 159. 25.

36. *besliue* Cf. i. 322. 25.

P. 33, 4. *towld and bookt* The sense is somewhat obscure, and I can only suggest that the expression means 'put him down in writing', 'made sure of,' or something of that sort. There may be allusion to the entry of tolls paid for horses at a fair in the 'toll-book'.

7. *merry Greeke* The earliest example in N. E. D. is the name Mathew Merygreeke in *Roister Doister*, but 'gay Greek' is found earlier.

8-9. *Macaronicall tongue* Nothing is known of this translation.

12. *maimedly translated into the French tongue* This translation has never been discovered; see introductory note to *Pierce Penilesse*, end, pp. 85-6 above.

13. *ill interpreted* Cf. i. 154. 20, &c.

19-20. *Aesope did buy vp all the tongues in the market*] The story is from the life of Aesop prefixed to his fables. See the undated [c. 1580] edition of *The Fables of Esope in English*, fol. xiii, 'How Exantus sent Esope to the market to bye the best meate that he coulde get, & how he bought nothing but tongues'.

23. *the tongs* The same joke on 'tongues' and 'tongs' is found in Lyly's *Midas*, V. ii. 29-31.

27-8. *Mahomets angels in the Alcheron* I have not found the source of this.

31. *Mascula virorum*] Taken apparently from the line in Lily's *Grammar* (Short Introd. of Gram. 1577, E 6), 'Mascula nomina in a dicuntur multa virorum'.

*Saint Mildred* A grand-daughter of Penda, king of Mercia,
Abbess of Minster, St. Augustine’s, and St. Gregory’s, Canterbury; died c. 700. She is celebrated on Feb. 20.


The point, if any, of the reference to these two saints is unknown to me.

33. Grauesend Barge] See note on i. 64. 22.

P. 34, 5-6] Collier and Grosart apparently understood, ‘quoth he to me “those [persons] are the heaviest [i.e. saddest] whose cart has cried creak under the weight...” ’ I take the passage to mean ‘the news is heaviest to me whose cart has cried creak under the weight...’

6. cryde creak] i.e. creaked, but the phrase also had the special sense of to confess oneself vanquished; cf. Cambyses, in Manly’s Pre-Sh. Drama, I. 810, and Stanyhurst’s account of a quarrel between William de Vesey and John Fitzgerald in 1294, ‘when the prefixed daie [for trial by battle] approached neere, Vescie turning his great boast to small rost, began to crie creake, and secretlie sailed into France’ (Holinshed, Chron., ed. 1807-8, vi. 52).

14. Lodum] A game of cards. Nashe is apparently joking on ‘load ’em’, which there is some reason for thinking to be the etymology of the word; see N. E. D. s. v. loadum.

15. vnbumbast] i.e. take the stuffing out of.

bag-pudding] i.e. a pudding made of the paunch of an animal stuffed, a kind of haggis.

19-21. letters... remooue] Alluding, I suppose, to the story of Bias; cf. iii. 243. 311-12.

21-2. Anthonie Guevaraes golden Epistles] i.e. Golden Epistles, containing variety of discourse... gathered, as well out of the remaynder of Guevaraes workes, as other Authours... By G. F[enton], 1575. Nashe was, however, perhaps thinking of the Familiar Epistles, all taken from Guevara, which had appeared in 1574.


28. Statutes of clothing] There does not seem to have been any special collection of statutes relating to clothing, and I am at a loss to know what is meant.

29. Charter of London] I do not know what charter is referred to. There were of course many; cf. Stow’s London, ed. Strype, 1720, bk. v. p. 346, &c.

32. Packstonisme] I cannot explain the allusion.

P. 35, 11-13] The charge is to a certain extent true. Grosart’s index to Harvey has twenty-four references to Sidney and seventeen to Spenser.

16. in making benefic of his enemie] Alluding of course to Plutarch’s De Caipienda ex Inimicis Utilitate.

19. passing... through the pikes of] i.e. running the gauntlet of; quotations in N. E. D. from 1555.

25. gorbellied] i.e. big-bellied, grossly fat.

26-7. Swissers omnipotent galeaze breeches] The Swiss seem to have been notorious for their great breeches, but the use of ‘galeaze’ is not clear. Possibly no more is meant than ‘gales’ or ‘galley’ (cf. ‘gally-gascoines or a shipmans hose’ at i. 172. 16). Dekker, Wks.,
ed. Grosart, i. 79. 21–2, refers to goblins with ‘bladder-cheekes put out like a Swisser's breeches’.

29–30. at the end of the 199. Page hee beginnes with one 100. againe] This is true. Pp. 200 (Cc⁵) to 220 are wrongly numbered 100 to 120. After what should be 220 follow Ff⁴, Gg not pagd at all. This is the additional matter corresponding to pp. 332–46 in Grosart's edition.

33. Anteus Shield . . . Elephants hyde] Source not found.

P. 86, 2. there an ende] For this common phrase cf. iii. 149. 34, Two Gent. of Ver., I. iii. 65, II. i. 168, Tam. of Shrew, V. ii. 98.

2–3. the Giant that Magellan found at Caput sancte crucis] Patagonians ten or eleven feet high were found by Magellan at the straits which bear his name; see Hakluyt, ed. 1903–5, xi. 256, but I can learn nothing of any giant at Cape St. Cruz.

3–4. Saint Christophers picture at Antwerpe] Thomas Wilson in his Art of Rhetoric, ed. 1560, fol. 100, speaking of images in churches, refers to the same St. Christopher, 'But is any man so mad to thinke, that euer there was so che a one as S. Christofer was painted vnto vs? Marie God forbid. Assuredlie when he liued vpon yearth, there were other houses builded for hym, then wee haue at this tyme, and I thinke Tailers wer moche troubled, to take measure of him for making his garmente. He mighte be of kin to Gargantoe, if he were as bigge as the he set forth at Antwerpt.'

4–5. the monstrous images of Sesostres, or the Aegiptian Rapsinates] Probably from C. Agrippa, De Incerti. et Van., trans. 1569, f. 39v, 'the monstrous images of Rapsinates, of Sesostres, and of Amasis'. See Herodot. ii. 121 (1); 110 (1); 176.

11. Bonarobe] i.e. buona roba, good stuff, a wench. Cf. 2 Hen. IV, III. ii. 26, which is the earliest instance in N. E. D.


32. In Sandonsoyle as late befell] The ballad is unknown to me.


P. 87, 11. Fy, fa, fum . . . English-man] See the notes of the commentators on King Lear, III. iv. 189–90. The words 'Fee, Fa, Fum' are used in S. Rowlands's Knave of Clubs, 1609, as a mock invocation to Beezebub.

15. lying a flea in a chaine] See Holinshed, Chron., ed. 1807–8, iv. 406. One Mark Scaliot, a blacksmith, made an extremely minute lock and key, 'He also at the same time made a chaine of gold of three and fortie linkes, to the which chaine the locke and keie being fastened, and put about a fleas necke, she drew the same with ease. All which, locke, keie, chaine, and flea, weied but one graine and a halfe'. Also in Stow, Annals, ed. 1615, 680 b.

18. Kent and Christendome] Cf. iii. 168. 2, and Lyly, Mother Bomby, III. iv. 5, 'I can live in christendome as well as in Kent'. The expression 'Kent and Christendom', i.e. everywhere, was fairly common, but has not been satisfactorily explained.

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24-5. *like an ape over the chains* Cf. Jonson, *Barth. Fair*, Induction, 'a juggler with a well-educated ape, to come over the chain for a King of England, and back again for the Prince, and sit still on his arse for the Pope and the King of Spain'.

31-2. *with one strop* I do not understand this.

35-6. See 3 *Let. E* 1, G. H. i. 79. The lines are:

'O blessed Vertue, blessed Fame, blessed Aboundaunce,
O that I had you three, with the losse of thistle Comencementes.'


8. *Calentiura* Cf. note on ii. 92. 15.

10-11. *counterfet and portraiture* Both Nashe's excuse in ll. 20-8 for putting Harvey in a costume which he did not usually wear, and the condition of the block itself, especially the unsupported leaves on the left hand, lead one to suspect that the 'portraiture' here given was simply an old wood-cut which the printer happened to have by him, probably a piece cut from a larger one. So far as I am aware, however, it has not been identified.


15. *single-soald* See note on i. 165. 8-9.

27. *Lute pin* 'One of the pegs or screws for tuning the strings of the lute'.— *N. E. D.*

33. *ouzled* No such word in *N. E. D.* It looks like a verb formed from *ooze*, the liquor of a tanning vat, and may perhaps be used here vaguely for 'prepared'.

33-4. *gidumbled, drizled* Neither word seems to be in *N. E. D.*, nor have I met with them elsewhere.

34. *Hauns Boll* Hans Bol (1534-93) painted views of cities and towns in the Low Countries, especially Amsterdam (Pilkington).


35. *Hauns Mullier* The name probably stands for Müller, but I have been unable to identify him. Hermann Müller, an engraver who worked at Antwerp in 1585, seems to have been fairly well known.

P. 89, 2. *Blockland* A. de Montfort Blockland (1532-83) painted at Delft and Utrecht (Pilkington).

*Trusser, Francis de Murre* I can learn nothing of these two artists.

4. *murre* i. e. catarrh.


6. *Iohannes Mabusiusse* Mabuse or Baubeuge, i. e. ean Gassaert (1499-1562), a painter of the Flemish school.

8. *at sharpe* Commonly used in such phrases as 'to fight at sharp', i. e. with unblunted rapiers. Cf. Coryat's * Crudities*, ed. 1905, i. 413. 28.
32. *rapit omnia secum* Not found.


9–10. *curse the sunne when it riseth, and worship it when it setteth* Probably taken from Hakluyt, u. s. vi. 167—of the Moors or Negroes. Cf. Herodotus, iv. 184, where it is stated that the Atarantes, a people of Libya, curse the sun when it is over their heads. The worship of the setting sun seems to be Nashe’s addition.

13. *Ponuloi nashe* Evidently borrowed from Hakluyt, *Princ. Nav.*, 1589, p. 345 (ed. 1903–5, ii. 443), ‘All their [i.e. the Russians’] service is in the Russe tongue, and they and the common people have no other prayers but this, *Ghospodi Iesus Christos este vose ponuloi nashe.* That is to say, O Lord Iesus Christ, Sonne of God haue mercy vpon vs.’


27–8. *the dyuing boate twixt Dover and Callis* I can learn nothing of this.

34. *upon the naile* i.e. on the spot, the earliest instance in *N. E. D.*

35. *arsedine* a gold coloured alloy of copper and zinc rolled into very thin leaf. *N. E. D.*

P. 42, 3. *to the Bathe* A ‘*bagnio*’ is meant.

10. *like a true Millanoyes*] The story of Frederick Barbarossa and his punishment of the inhabitants of Milan is well known. See Douce’s note in *Var. Sh.* on 2 Hen. IV, V, iii. 124–5.

20. *cut his cloake with the Wooll*] Cf. i. 307. 1–2.

30. *trinkets* i.e. points.

34. *moaths pallet roome*] This example of pallet is given in *N. E. D.* under the signification ‘head, pate’.


III. 45] HAVE WITH YOV, ETC. 323

10. of the counter-tenor . . . Sir] N. L. C 1, G. H. i. 278. 25. ‘above
El’ is used in the following page, 280. 2. For ela cf. note on ii. 268. 8.
14. a dog in a doublet] I really have no idea what Harvey is
talking about in the passage here quoted, but in this expression there
is apparently some reference to the saying ‘as proud as a dog in
a doublet’; cf. Dekker’s Shoem. Holiday, III. i, Wks., ed. Pearson, i.
31. Also used for something particularly ridiculous, or out of keeping;
cf. Harrison, Descr. of Eng. (bk. ii, cap. 7), N. S. S., i. 168. 27, ‘except
it were a dog in a doublet, you shall not see anie so disguised, as are
my countrymen of England’. A dog in a rochet had been used to
23–4. incorruptible Areopage] P. S. P 2°, G. H. ii. 186. 5. Harvey
does not say that he himself is one.
P. 44, 2. energetical lines] P. S. Ee 1°, G. H. ii. 261. 7.
13. The first word also at O 1, 172. 1.
5. occasionet of aduanlage] P. S. I 3°, G. H. i. 132. 11.
6–7. pregnant propositions and resolute Aphorisms] P. S. L 3°,
G. H. ii. 145. 8, 20.
9–10. he had no goods . . . in commoner use than it] Greene
certainly used the word several times—see Grosart’s index, to which
a few instances could be added—but hardly perhaps more than other
writers.
29–30. like a Merchantsbooke] In reference, I suppose, to the
signs used to indicate that a customer had paid his account.
30. Arsemetrique] A variant of ‘arithmetic’ (from ars metrica)
common earlier; cf. ‘Lady Arsmetrike’ in Hawes’ Palace of Pleasure.
At this date, however, it seems generally to be used with humorous
intention.

P. 46, 11. cannot doo withall] i.e. cannot help it.
15. sicco pede] i.e. cursorily. The phrase was common, though
not, I believe, classical.
16–17. mercurial . . . vaine] P. S. H 2°, G. H. ii. 108. 24–5 and
Queene Poetrie] I have not found this in Harvey,
quaint theorikcer] N. L. B 1°, G. H. i. 268. 22.
264. 10, also Dd 4, 321. 4.
"rich economie"

22. Arch-patrons ... Omniscians

23-4. Quanquagennarians ... Chiliarkes

25-6.

24-5. Idees of monstrous excellencie

25. smirking]

26-7. not with the multiplying spirits . . . villanist

27-8. spite . . . scummer

15. Impudence...vagabonds] P. S. A 2°, G. H. ii. 32. 11–12.


24. S. Georges robes] I have not met with the expression elsewhere.

27–32] P. S. O 2°, G. H. ii. 176. 4–9; the last line does not stand thus in Harvey, who, however, has, a few lines later, ‘a most-hideous nullity...a most pittifull nullitie’.

27. David Gorge] Otherwise called David George, Joris, or Joriszoon. He was born at Delft in 1501, and about the year 1535, separating from the Anabaptists, to which sect he had formerly belonged, formed a congregation of his own, generally called, after his name, the Davists or Davidians. He professed to be guided by visions and revelations, some of which he printed in his Wonder Buk of 1542. Soon after this date he gave up his propaganda and settled down at Basle under the assumed name of John Von Brügge, where he lived quietly until his death in 1556.

28. H. N.] i.e. Henry Nichols, or more properly Hendrik Niclas, an Anabaptist of Amsterdam, who, becoming acquainted with Joris, fell under his influence and took over the leadership of the sect after Joris’s abandonment of it. About the end of the reign of Edward VI he came over to England, where he obtained a considerable following, his sectaries being called the ‘Family of Love’ or the ‘Familists’. Several of his books were translated into English, and a Confutation of his heresies was published in 1579 by J. Knewstub. The ‘deification’ refers to a tenet of the sect as to a change in their nature after reception into the Church.

29. Ket] Francis Kett, clergyman, was educated at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, of which he was elected a Fellow in 1573. In 1588 he was tried before the Bishop of Norwich for heresy, and, being condemned, was burnt alive in 1589. The charges against him are given in Grosart’s ed. of Greene, i. 259–60. In the article on him in D. N. B. the Rev. Alex. Gordon says ‘he has been identified with the “Francis Kett, doctor of phisick,” who published The Glorious and Beautiful Garland of Man’s Glorification in 1585, with a dedication to Queen Elizabeth’. It seems clear from the use of the word ‘glorification’ here that he was so identified by Harvey.

30. Browne] Robert Browne (1550?–1633?) was educated at Corpus Christi Coll., Cambridge, and about 1579 began to preach his peculiar tenets, the fundamental one being the denial of all human authority in matters of religion. He thus objected to the whole system of Church government, to ordination of priests, and to the licensing of preachers, holding that a minister was responsible to God alone. He founded at Norwich the sect who were called by themselves ‘the Church’, and by others ‘Brownists’. Not being able to enjoy religious liberty there, he migrated in 1581 to Middleburgh in Holland. Thence he went to Scotland, afterwards returning to England. There, in 1586, he was excommunicated, which seems to have decided him to renounce any further attempt to propagate his views. But the rest of his life was passed in quiet, first as a schoolmaster at Stamford and later as rector of a church in Northamptonshire (D. N. B.).
P. 47, 30. **Barrow**] Henry Barrow, of Clare Hall, Cambridge, B.A. 1569-70, became a member of Gray's Inn in 1576. After a dissipated youth he gave himself to the study of theology, being greatly influenced by the views of Browne. He was arrested in 1586 on a charge of heresy, kept in the Clink and afterwards at the Fleet until 1593, when, with John Greenwood, he was hanged at Tyburn. See the account of his third examination in Arber's *Intro. Sketch to Martyr. Controversy*, p. 40, &c., from which it appears that his objection to the popish character of the worship on Saints' days, Feasts, &c., was the chief charge against him.

P. 48, 1. *like a spirit in a wall*] In 1554 there was a 'spirit in a wall', in a house without Aldersgate, which attracted much attention. One Elizabeth Croft whistled in 'a strange whistle made for that purpose'—apparently a sort of speaking tube—and uttered sedition against the queen, the prince of Spain, and the mass. 'Some said it was an angel, some a voice from heaven, some the Holy-ghost, &c.' However, she was found out and made to stand on a scaffold at Paul's Cross all sermon time, and confess. See Holinshed, *Chron. ed. 1807-8*, iv. 56.

6. *be you Load-stones to exhale what I say*] Not found.

7-9. **Martin ... o. k.**] *P. S. Bb 2*, G. H. ii. 294. 16-18.

8. *a Guerra*] Harvey has 'a Martin Guerra'. Martin Guerre, a Frenchman born on the Pyrenean border at the beginning of the sixteenth century, was the hero of one of the most remarkable stories of impersonation. Married in 1539, Martin lived with his wife for ten years and then left her to join the army in Spain. Nothing was heard of him for a considerable time, when a person turned up who professed to be Martin, and who was recognized without question by every one, including Martin's wife, by whom he afterwards had a daughter. Later, however, suspicion seems to have been aroused, and on his taking some steps to secure the property of Martin's wife, certain members of the family asserted that he was not Martin, though marvellously like him, but one Arnaud de Tilh, a companion of his. A trial took place, at which, of 150 witnesses, forty recognized him for Martin, fifty declared that he was Arnaud, while sixty were doubtful. The judges were in the utmost perplexity, when the real Martin suddenly returned, and of course had no difficulty in proving the other to be an impostor. Arnaud was hanged before Martin's house in 1560. See *New. Biol. Générale*.

23-4. *he that hath ... life*] *P. S. S 4*, G. H. ii. 225. 4-5.


Allocer is one of the devils and spirits described by Scot in his *Disc. of Witchcraft*, bk. xv, ch. 2, ed. 1584, 391–2; he is 'a strong duke and a great, he commeth forth like a soldier, riding on a great horse...'

34. *no such Arte ... crab-tree desk*] *P. S. V 1*, G. H. ii. 237. 3.

F. 46, 1. *husbanded*] An obvious joke which I have not, however, met with elsewhere. Cf. note on 75. 34.
III. 52] HAVE WITH YOV, ETC.

4. under correction of the arts notoria] For 'Art Notory' see P.S. D 2, G.H. ii. 64. 7, 25. The term is there applied to Pierce Penilesse. Arts notoria was magical divination performed in virtue of a direct pact with the devil; see Delrio, Disq. Mag., 1599-1600, ii. 101.

29-30. the gentleman or flour of curtesie] I have not met with other examples of this 'common scoffe'.

34. Quirko] Possibly a nonce-word derived from 'quirk', a trick or peculiarity of behaviour, a fad. It seems not to be recognized in N.E.D.

P. 50, 3-4] So far as I can discover, these verses are the invention of Nashe.

8. His Entelechy was fine Greece] 'Entelechy' is frequently used by Harvey. For 'fine Greece' see P.S. C 1, G.H. ii. 50. 5-6.

10-11. casts Tuscanisme . . . in a Noble-mans teeth] Alluding, of course, to the 'Speculum Tuscanismi' in Three Proper Letters, E 2*, G.H. i. 84, which was supposed to be directed against the Earl of Oxford; cf. note on i. 295. 27-8.

15-16. Here within this place] Cf. Jonson's Ev. Man in his Humour, 1601, l. 332, 'Here within this place is to be seen, the most admirable rare & accomplisht worke of nature.' Apparently a usual formula in signs.

P. 51, 1-2. Cat a mountaine] i.e. wild cat.

11. To utter . . . sillables] Not found; but cf. N. L. D 2, G.H. i. 292. 12-14, 'to disbowell the intrails of their owne impious mindes.'

19-20. you were never otherwise like] I am not certain what is meant. Professor Moore Smith compares Club Law, l. 291, 'Hee was never otherwise like,' where the sense in which the word is used is by no means clear.

28. Isernborough good] I have not met with the saying elsewhere. For Isernborough cf. iii. 179. 11. Possibly 'of good metal' is meant, as in 'right Sheffield' at iii. 178. 16.


with the celebrated Doctor Dee, whom he accompanied in his visit to the court of Rudolph II.

14. cooling card] 'Apparently a term of some unknown game', *N.E.D.* This frequently occurring expression, always used figuratively in the sense of something which will 'cool' one's ardour, seems never to have been satisfactorily explained. Cf. *Misogonus*, ed. Brandlin in *Quellen*, III. ii. 23-4, 'Heavy newes for yow, I can tell yow of a cowlinge carde. It will make yow plucke in your hornes.' Also Lyly, ed. Bond, i. 246. 13. Frequent in Greene; see Grosart's index. See also 1 * Hen. VI.* V. iii. 83, and Harvey, 4 *Let.* F 3, *Wks.* i. 214. 18-20, 'that will not be cooled with a carde, or daunted with bugs-words'.

16. Cordially I could wish] Cf. *P. S.* 2* 4, G. H. ii. 16. 14. the pelting hornes . . . sturres] Cf. *N. L. C* 3, G. H. i. 284. 8-9, 'The rest of her speaches, and writings, are to be recorded, or suppressed, as it pleaseth the Horne of these pelting sturres.'

17. faccial law] Mentioned in *P. S. R* 1, G. H. ii. 205. 17. The Fetiales were the Roman college of priests who had charge—among other things—of the ratification of treaties of peace.

17-18. our popular] *P. S. P* 3, G. H. ii. 188. 12.


19. fine Theurgie] *P. S. F* 3v, G. H. ii. 90. 9-10.


23-4. upon the Retourne from Guiana] Referring to Sir W. Raleigh's expedition for the discovery of Guiana, which left England on February 6, 1595, and returned towards the end of the same year.

30. the arte of figges . . . wit] *P. S. C* 4, G. H. ii. 59. 5-6.


Grosart incorrectly omits 'cole' after 'blacke'.

33-4. Saint Fame . . . thee] Harvey gives this name to Nashe in allusion to the closing sentence of the Epistle before *Strange News*, i. 263. 24-5, 'Saint Fame for mee, and thus I runne upon him'.

34-6. under the arte of figges . . . Master Lilly] On this name for Lylly Mr. Bond notes (Wks. i. 59, note 3), 'Harvey was of course alluding to Lylly's tale-bearing about himself to Lord Oxford in 1580' (see note on i. 295. 27-8).

*P. 63, i. Crimme] Perhaps merely the race of Tartars referred to at iii. 186. 28, or their great Khan; see Hakluyt, *Princ. Nav.*, ed. 1903-5, iii. 390-1.

*Maniquenbecke] I do not know what is meant by this.

3. Michael Angelo and Raphaelle Vrbin] The two artists were not indeed on very friendly terms, but I cannot learn that they ever 'went to buffets'. Is it possible that Nashe was thinking of the quarrel between Michaelangelo and Torrigiano, when, as lads, they studied in the Brancacci Chapel at Florence? See Vasari, *Vite degli Architetti, Pittori, &c.*, 1550. Pt. iii, p. 952. Benvenuto Cellini's *Autobiography*, which is generally cited as the authority for the story (see bk. i. cap. 13), was not published until the eighteenth century.

5. collimo] The only word which I have been able to discover at all resembling this is 'colli-mollie', used once—in 1603—and possibly a humorous perversion of 'melancholy'; see *N. E. D.*

8. bear no cooler] i.e. put up with no affront. Frequent; cf. Rom. & Jul. i. 1-2, and Hen. V. III. ii. 50.
16. Paliard] i.e. beggar, or lewd person.
Senior Penaquilla] He is unknown to me.
17. since the raigne of S. Tor] The only Tor of whom I can learn is the Arthurian knight of that name; see Malory, iii. 3-11. S. could stand equally well for 'Sir', or 'Saint' (cf. iii. 187. 9). Compare 'since the raigne of Queen Gueniuer' at 102. 7.
18. Queenes Takers] See note on i. 257. 4.
20. twittle-cum-twattles] i.e. gabble.
20-1. with a Wennion] i.e. 'with a vengeance'; generally 'wanion'. Cf. Peele, Old Wives' Tale, l. 587, and Jacob and Esau in Dodsly's Old Plays, ed. Hazlitt. ii. 190, 'Up, with a wild wanion'.
23. Embellishably] Qy. not in Harvey?
24-5. oyle of prickes ... styrype of Rosa] Cf. P. S. E 3, i. 239. 22-5.
26-7. not euerie ... cafes head] P. S. T 2, G. H. ii. 228. 24-5.
Cf. Speeches to the Queen at Sudeley, 1592, in Nichols's Progresses, iii. 142, 'amorous he is, and wise; carrying a sheepe's cie in a calfs heade.'
28-31. the Wheel-wright ... the Printer] Cf. P. S. C 3, G. H. ii. 57. 3-5. Nashe adds 'pregnant mechanician' from P. S. A a 4, G. H. ii. 290. 5.
F. 84, 1. Biscanisme] i.e. Basque, N. E. D.
4. Rose Flowers] I know nothing of her.
17. like Homers Iliads ... in ... a nut-shell] See Pliny H. N. vii. 21.
19. gibrill] 'punying alteration of gabble sb.', N. E. D., the only instance given.
20. Littletons, with his John a Nokes and John a Stiles] See notes on i. 343. 26; 189. 5.
Slampamp] The word seems to mean a beating. It is used by Harvey in N. L. C 2, G. H. i. 282. 9 and P. S. Z 4, G. H. ii. 277. 20; also by Deloney, Gentle Craft, ed. Lange, i. 90 (slampan).
23-4. Cockledemoj] The only example of this word in N. E. D. dates from 1613, in Chapman's Mask of the Inns of Court, p. 2, where a mock-masque of baboons scatters cockledemois by way of largesse. It has been suggested that some sort of shells are meant.
24-5. Italionate carnation painted horse tayles] In Sidney's Arcadia, ed. 1621, p. 268, Phalantus has a horse with 'his mane and tayle ... dyed in carnation' (Nares, Gloss., s. v. beards).
27. scutchaneled] N. E. D. gives 'scutcheneal' as a seventeenth-century variant of 'cochineal', but the form does not appear in any
of the instances given—nor have I met with it elsewhere. But for this one might be tempted to suggest an error here for 'so cutchaneled'.

28. *trauerlike* Collier's emendation is ingenious, and, I think, probably correct. At any rate it seems impossible to assign any meaning to 'trauerlike'.

29. *iauels*] 'javel' is a rogue or worthless fellow.

drumbling] Cf. i. 368. 29.

30. *asses buskind eares*] There seems to be no meaning of 'buskind' which gives a possible sense here.


34-5. *Ale and Shorditch*] Perhaps this merely means 'as disreputable topers'.

36. *and more, (to)* Read perhaps 'and (more to ...'

P. 55, 2. *as there was of Cutting Ball*] Nothing seems to be known of this ballad. According to G. Harvey, *Wks*. i. 169, 'Ball (surnamed cuttinge Ball)' was hanged at Tisbury, and it was by his sister, 'a sorry ragged queane', that Greene had his son Fortunatus. As Prof. Collins points out (Greene, i. 9), he is also alluded to in Greene's *Great's-worth of Wit*, in *Sh. Allusion-Books*, N. S. S., 25. 25-6, 'one, brother to a Brothell he [i.e. Roberto] kept, was trust under a tree as round [as] a Ball.'

3. *Ho, Ball, ho* See note on i. 124. 15.

12. *In Speak with his eight Parts*] See note on i. 305. 18.

14. *enable* i. e. exalt.

30. *of the age of fortie eight or vpwards*] This would give 1547 or a little earlier as the date of his birth. Professor Moore Smith has shown good reason for preferring 1550 or 1551; see his letter in the *Athenaeum*, Dec. 5, 1903.

34. *Parentem habuit ... lanium*] See Pol. Verg. *Angl. Hist.*, ed. Basle, 1570, p. 633, l. 33. The quotation is correct, as also those on the next page, save that, for l. 5, Polydore has 'vt rem non vtiqwe persona ipsius dignam'.

P. 55, 2. *scot and lot* i. e. parish or borough rates or taxes. On the expression see *Cent. Dict.*


27. *Socrates*] Diog. Laert. ii. 5. 1. 18.

P. 57, 8-9. *in one place of his first books*] The quotation below is from 4 *Lett.*, F 1, G. H. 1. 208. 24-5. Harvey is speaking of Greene, not of himself.

10. *as heretofore I haue set downe*] See i. 257. 24.


21. *beechen coles*] It was pointed out to me by the late W. J. Craig that beech charcoal was especially associated with the operations of alchemists. He referred me to Chaucer, *Canon Yeoman’s Tale*, l. 1160, Lyly’s *Gallathea, II*. iii. 78, and Jonson’s *Alchemist*, i. i. 476, 11. i. 126-7.
III. 60] HAVE WITH YOV, ETC. 331

23-7 Enlarged from i. 270. 10-12.
24. like the Peacocke ... foule feete] Cf. ii. 112. 11-12 and note.
27-32 Cf. i. 273. 30-5; 274. 20-1.
33-5 See i. 304. 1-3.

4-5. his kinsman, Sir Thomas Smith] Harvey in 4 Let. C 4, G. H. i. 184, speaks of M. Thomas Smith, the son of Sir Thomas, as his cousin, but it is not clear how he was related to him. In the letters to Sir Thomas Smith in his Letter-book, he always writes in a most reverential tone, as to a patron, and there is, so far as I can discover, no suggestion of kinship. The reference to Sir T. Smith’s funeral here mentioned is to be found in P. S. Dd 1, G. H. ii. 313; Harvey calls him ‘the honorable Sir Thomas Smith’ and says nothing about his being a kinsman, nor does he say that he was a chief mourner.
19. Another brother] Cf. i. 274. 20.
24. hangum luums] Cf. Latimer, Fifth Sermon before Ed. VI (‘Ev. Man’s Lib.’, p. 155), ‘There lacks a fourth thing to make up the mess, which ... should be hangum tuum, a Tyburn tippet to take with him.’ Also Last Sermon before Ed. VI, u. s. p. 215, ‘They [i.e. plowmen] shall have hangum tuum, if they get any venison’.

P. 59, 6-7. as Massarius de ponderibus writes] See Dominici Massarii Vincentini de Ponderibus & Mensuris medicinalibus libri tres, 1584, p. 89. ‘Funiculus, schoenos, Aegyptia mensura sexaginta stadiorum, ita dicta D. Hieronymo autore, quod Aegypti in Nilus flumine, siue in eius rius solerent naues funibus trabere certa habentes specia, que appellant funiculos, vt labori defessorum recentia trahentium colla succedant.’


P. 60, 11-12. Didimus or Diomedes ... Grammer] Cf. C. Agrippa, De Incert. et Van., cap. 3, trs. 1569, fol. 7v, ‘Didimus wrote thereof [i.e. of the art of grammar] fowre thousande books, or as some saie, sixe thousande,’ a passage which is quoted almost verbally in Summer’s Last Will, iii. 234. 50-2. See Athenaeus iv. 17, who says 3,500, and Seneca, Epist. 88. 32, who has 4,000. Agrippa mentions Diomedes in the same chapter, but says nothing about his having written any large number of books, nor does there seem any good authority for the statement. Nashe probably took it from Bodin, Methodus ad Hist. Cognit., ed. 1595, p. 12 ‘Diomedes verbo de re grammatica sex millia librorum effudit.’ As Mr. Crawford points out, Montaigne says the same thing, Essais, iii. cap. 9, first paragraph.

13. boone-grace] A ‘bongrace’ was a shield on the front of a hat to protect the wearer from the sun; see N.E.D. I can only suggest that it is here used for the placard in which it was customary to set
forth the name of a person undergoing punishment and the offence for which he suffered.

19. *fantantanting*] i.e. flaunting, the only instance in *N. E. D.*

*Omega fist*] Nashe perhaps means with great rounded curves, either as Ω or ø.


23–4. *the Statue against ... beggers*] There was much legislation against vagabonds; cf. Stow’s *London*, ed. Strype, 1720, bk. v, p. 431, &c. See especially the statute of 1593, p. 442–3.

28–9. *A desperate stabber with pen-kniues*] Is it possible that the same incident, whatever precisely it may have been, is referred to by Lyly in *Pappe, Wks.*, ed. Bond, iii. 399. 15–19, ‘One hath been an old stabber at passage: the One that I meane, thrust a knife into ones thigh at *Cambridge*, the quarrel was about cater-tray, and euer since hee hath quarrelled about cater-caps’? Lyly refers to Harvey on the following page, but this passage seems to point at ‘Martin’. As in most of the tracts, however, the precise meaning is far from clear.

P. 61, 3–5. *slept in a sheepes skinne ... vnder a lawrell tree ... on the bare ground ... on a dead mans tomb*] I can give no contemporary references to these superstitions.

7. *no barrel better herring*] A proverb of frequent occurrence, meaning ‘one is as good as another’, ‘it makes no difference’. Cf. Bernard’s *Terence*, ‘Formulae loquendi’ to *Andria*, iv. 4 (ed. 1607, p. 84), ‘Paulum interesse sensu. I thinke theres no great choise: little difference: scarce either barrel better herring,’ and Harvey, *P. S.* 2, G. H. ii. 217. 10–12, ‘neuer a laye in the barrel, better herring: the beginning, the midst, and the end, all in one pickle.’ Cf. iii. 222. 9.

10. *Salomons brazen Bowte*] Scot tells the story twice in his *Discovery of Witchcraft*, 1584, 383, 455, in the latter place giving his authorities. He does not say that the Babylonians were digging for treasure, but that they found the bowl—in a deep hole or lake—and ‘supposing there had beene gold or siluer therein, brake it, and out flew all the divels’. See the life of St. Margaret in the *Golden Legend* (Temple ed., iv. 69).

19. *Empedocles devils*] I cannot explain the allusion.

22–3. *more disquiet than the Irish seas*] Proverbial for storms; cf. *Strange things out of Seb. Munster*, 1574, A 6, ‘The sea betwixte Ireland and Engelande, do rage almoste continuallye, soe that there is no safe passage but at certaine times.’

33–4. *he would needs crosse the seas ... Tuscanisme*] It is clear that in 1578 and 1579 Harvey was expecting to go abroad on the service of Lord Leicester; see Prof. Moore Smith’s Introduction to *Pedantius*, pp. xxxvi–vii, but there appears to be no evidence that he actually did so. ‘Tuscanisme’ refers to his poem; see note on i. 295. 27–8.

36. *Commenter vppon earth-quakes*] referring of course to the *Three Proper Letters*, of 1580, in which the earthquake of April 6 is described.


2. *key-colde*] Cf. Lyly, *Mother Bomby*, IV. i. 42, ‘the loue of our children waxeth key colde’. The expression was common.
3. Tractate of Pap-hatchet] The attack upon Lyly in Pierce's Supererogation, Wks., ii. 124-221. Nashe's comparison is hardly just, for it occupies more than a quarter of the whole book.


34-5. as hee tatt Lyly] See Bodin's Methodus ad Hist. Cognit., ed. of 1595, p. 57 'sed in eo genere Liuius nimis religioso dicam, an superstitione omnes superavit. nihil enim frequentius, quam boues loquutos, scipiones arsisse, statuas sudasse . . . Deum Annibali apparuisset, infantem semestrem triumphum clamasse.' By 'scipiones' Bodin does not of course mean 'the Scipios', but 'staves'; see Livy xxii. 1. Nashe apparently had some independent knowledge of Hannibal's dream (Livy xxi. 22).

P. 63, 11. Hoppenny Hoe] Properly a game; it is mentioned in Brian Melbancke's Philotimus, 1583, L2, 'Thy Argumentes are drawne from the disport called Ho penni ho, wherin all must say as one saith, & do as he doth, for all thy confirmation is but an an [sic] exhortation to frame an imitation to other mens liking'. I have seen no other allusion to it.

12. Hankin Booby] See Chappell, Pop. Mus., 73, on the tune called 'Hanskin, or Half Hannikin'. 'Hankin' seems to have been a name for a clown; 'Hankin bovy' occurs in Skelton, ed. Dyce, i. 159, and 'Hankin boby' as a tune in Trewes.

21. like certaine people of the Tartars] Perhaps a careless reminiscence of John de Plano Carpini's people with no joints in their legs, who when pursued by the Tartars 'flye strongly before them'. Hakluyt, ed. 1903-5, i. 143-4.

30. as about Dionis ship] See Plutarch, Dio, 24. It was a swarm of bees, not wasps, that settled on the prow of his ship.

31. cradle] Engl. 'cradle' was never a plural word, and I have therefore concluded the reading of Q to be a misprint; but cf. Lat. cunabula.

P. 64, 1. at Queene Maries coronation] There is apparently some confusion here. Holinshed records that at Mary's coronation one Peter, a Dutchman, did antics on the weathercock of St. Paul's, but he was certainly not killed, for he afterwards received £16 13s. 4d. from the City 'for his costs and paines'. At the entry of Philip into London, however, in 1554 there was one 'that came downe vpon a rope tied to the batelements [of St. Paul's] with his head before, neither stayeng himselfe with hand or foot: which shortlie after cost him his life'. Holinshed, Chron., ed. 1807-8, iv. 63.

5-6. manie of which are yet extant in Primers and Almanackes] It so, they are not to be identified. There are hexameters in John Harvey's almanac for 1584.


10-11. Susenbrotus and Taleus] They were grammarians of some note. Joannes Susenbrotus (d. 1543) wrote numerous works, among which may be mentioned his Rudimenta Grammaticae Graecae et Latinae. There is an entry of his 'figures' to Thomas Orwin on May 7,
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1593. Audomarus Taleus, or Talon (d. 1562), a native of Picardy, was a friend of Ramus and wrote a number of commentaries on various works of Cicero. His Rhetorica was entered to 'Master' Harrison on Dec. 6, 1588.

11-13. Philo Judaeus ... preferd above Plato] Possibly also from Bodin's Method. ad Hist. Cognit., ed. 1595, p. 76 foot 'Philo Iudeus, quem inter et Platonem opinor, veteres non modo prxudicium, sed plane iudicium tulerunt.'

14-16. Gaza ... Aegipt] See P. Mela, i. 11.

18. carries the poake] 'Poke' is a wallet of any kind; the exact sense of the present passage is not altogether clear, but there is evident allusion to some part of the service exacted from scholars and sizars.

34. as Paulus Iouius did] Cf. Bodin's Method. ad Hist. Cognit., ed. 1595, 59. The sense of the Latin is more correctly given in Cognet's Politique Discourses, trans. 1586, E 5*, 'Paulus Iouius, was wont to say, that to doe favour to such great personages as gaue him pensions, he set things downe, in such sort as they that liued in that time, were well inough able to discouer them, mary the posterity should hold them for true.'

36. Dialogus twixt Charles the fift and him] Bodin, u. s., p. 60 'Omitto ineptam Caroli Imperatoris ad Iouium cohortationem, Expedire te, inquit, Ioui, calamos oportet, &c., tum eius querelas & colloquia cum Iouio...'

P. 85, 2. Inuectiue against Selimus] Cf. Bodin, Method. ad Hist. Cognit., u. s., 54 'Iouius, qui oratone longa Selimi Turcarum principis crudelitates omnes cum summa contumelia verborum amplificauit.' The colon in l. 1 should perhaps have been replaced by a comma.

10. battles] i.e. thrives, with an allusion to another meaning, to obtain provisions from the college buttery—now only in use at Oxford.

14-16. Corax or Lacedemonian Ctesiphon ... anie thing] Probably from C. Agrippa, De Incert. et Van., cap. 6, trs. 1569, fol. 19* 'The Lacedemonians bannished Ctesiphon, because he auaunted that he coulde talke a whole daie of any thinge.' See Plut. Inst. Lacom. 39. Corax is frequently mentioned in the same chapter.

17. Gurmo Hidruntum] The only 'Gurmo' known to me was the father of Canute (Holins. Cron., ed. 1807–8, vi. 92). 'Hydruntum' (Otranto) was well known as a port in Calabria, but whether Nashe took the name from this place or not I cannot of course say.

23. Cornelius Musa] Cornelio Musso (1511–74), preacher and theologian, Bishop of Bertinoro and later of Bitonto, took an important part in the Council of Trent. He was famous for his eloquence and a remarkable memory, and was called the Chrysostom of Italy. See Bayle, Dict. 1737, iv. 390–2, and for testimonies to his eloquence Tiraboschi, Storia della Lit. Ital., Milan, 1824, xiii. 2347–8.

24. Pancarola] I suppose that Francesco Panigarola (1548–94), a celebrated Italian preacher, is meant, who became Bishop of Asti in 1587. He wrote against the Calvinists. See Tiraboschi, u. s. 2349–60.

26-7. Archibald Rupenrope] Apparently a mere nonce-name. Professor Moore Smith points out, however, that in 'Rupenrope' and 'rope-rethorique' at 15, 35 there may be more point than a mere allusion to the Harvey's 'rope-making business'. He compares
III. 67] HAVE WITH YOV, ETC.

R. W.'s Three Ladies of London, 1584, B i (Dodsley's Old Plays, ed. Hazlitt vi. 267), 'Thou art very pleasant & full of thy ropery (I would say Retorick),' and Romeo and Juliet, II. iv. 154, where Q has 'roperipe', Q 2 and F 1 'ropery'. Cf. also Tam. of Shrew, I. ii. 113, and The Prodigal Son, l. 61, in Malone Soc. Collections, 1.

29. sourding] i.e. springing.

32, &c. incendarie...abiect] The four expressions here quoted do not seem to be used in Harvey's printed works.


3. Ens entium miserere mei] Cf. Lyly's Campaspe, I. iii. 31-2, and Euphues, Wks., ed. Bond, i. 293, 10-12, also Burton, Anat. of Mel., ed. Shilleto, iii. 388 top. The origin of the attribution to Aristotle of these words seems to be unknown. Comparetti in his Virgilio nel Medio Evo (Engl. trans. 1895, p. 99) says that when he was a boy at school the phrase 'causa causarum miserere mei' was taught to him as the traditional dying words of Cicero.


18-19. esse posse videatur] Cf. notes on ii. 246. 21, 32.


P. 67, 13. artire] A common form of 'artery'.

15. Apothecaries Crocodile] Cf. Romeo and Juliet, V. i. 43, where 'An alligator stuff'd' is mentioned as one of the furnishingsof the apothecary's shop. Steevens states that he had seen one 'hanging up in the shop of an ancient apothecary at Limehouse'.

17. Countes Mountes] I do not know who is meant by this.

18-22] Enough on the subject of poems in odd forms has been said by Puttenham, Art of English Poesy, ii. ii.

24. Haue with ye to Florida] This ballad was in existence at least as early as 1567; see Horrestes in Brandl's Quellen, stage-direction to l. 306, where a song is to be sung to the tune of 'haue ouer y water to floride or selengers round'. The words have been preserved (at least in part) and are to be found in T. Wright's Songs and Ballads, Rox. Club, 1860, no. lxxvi, p. 213. Certain of the stanzas there printed appear to belong to another song.

24-5. Axeres and the worthie Iphijs] Anaxarete and Iphis (Ovid, Metam. xiv. 698, &c.) are evidently meant, but the names must be mistakes or intentional corruptions rather than misprints.

25. As I went to Walsingham] See Chappell, Pop. Mus. 121. It is also called 'Have with you to Walsingham'. See also Shirburn Ballads, ed. A. Clark, 246.

26. In Creete when Dedalus] Two verses of this ballad, with the tune, found by Mr. F. Sidgwick in Harley MS. 7578, fol. 103, were published in the Gentleman's Mag. for August, 1906, p. 180. It is several times alluded to; cf. Simon Smelknaves Fearfull... effects of two Comets, 1591, B 1, 'But oh you Ale-knights ... that sing In Creete when Dedalus, ouer a cup, and tell Spanish newes ouer an Ale-pot.' Dyer's 'My mind to me a kingdom is' was sung to the tune of 'In Creete'; cf. Shirburn Ballads, u.s., p. 113.

28. Cato] i.e. Cato Uticensis; see Plutarch, Cato, 68.

32. like Homers works] As Alexander did; see Plut., Alex. 8. 2.

36. like a Church and an ale-house] Proverbial, I believe; cf. Overbury's Characters (Works, p. 145), 'A Sexton': 'for at every
church stile commonly there’s an ale-house’ (quoted by Prof. Gummere in a note to Pele’s Old Wives’ Tale, I. 491–2, ‘weele to the church stile, and have a pot’—Gayley’s Repr. Eng. Com., p. 384).

P. 68, 4–5. a little epitomised Bradford’s Godly Meditations upon the Lord’s Prayer, the Belief, and Ten Commandements, first printed in 1562, went through several editions, but I know no epitome of them.

7. The Fall of man] Possibly Nashe’s invention—no work of so early a date with this title seems to be known, though of course there may well have been one.

13–14. Lene vit ... ] Ovid, Amores, i. 2. 10.
15. Fatales quisquis ... ] Ovid, Heroid. 17. 145.
16. forbod] i.e. prohibition. Such phrases as ‘passing God’s forbode’ are fairly frequent in the sense of ‘extravagant’; see N.E.D.

22. pumps and pantoffles] Cf. i. 278. 31.
25. amor and amicitia] There is, I believe, nothing in the De Officis which can here be referred to; cf., however, Part. Or. 25.
28. De Amic. 8. 26. Or was Nashe thinking of Seneca, Epist. 35?
32. Iack of the Falcon] Cf. i. 283. 1.
33. mustard to his red herring] See note on iii. 200. 22.
37. stewd prunes] See note on ii. 185. 12.

P. 69, 1. under pretence of swearing by it] With some such declaration as ‘may this bread choke me if I do not speak the truth’. Allusions to the practice are fairly numerous. See the account of Earl Goodwin’s death in Holinshed, Chron., ed. 1807–8, i. 748. Cf. iii. 199. 14.

15. and so forth] The signification of this very common phrase is somewhat puzzling. It is, I think, clear that it had other senses besides that of ‘et cetera’, which it has at present. It seems often to be equivalent, as here, to ‘and so, to proceed’, while sometimes it seems rather to mean ‘and there you are’, or ‘and that’s all there is to do—or say’. Cf. Lyly’s Mother Bomby, I. i. 14, and Two Ang. Wom., ed. Gayley, in Repr. Eng. Com. viii. 314.

24–5. the setting up of the Bull by Felton] This was the bull of Pius V, absolving Elizabeth’s subjects from their allegiance to her on the ground of her hostility to the Roman faith. It was set up on the palace gate of the Bishop of London, in Paul’s Churchyard, on May 25, 1570, by John Felton, who was afterwards arrested and hanged. See Holinshed, Chron. 12 Eliz., ed. 1807–8, iv. 252.

27. capitulated] A somewhat rare use for ‘wrote’. So far as is now known there is no truth in all this about Harvey’s ballad-writing and pamphleteering.

29. the earth-quake] That of April 6, 1580.
31. foure notable famous Letters] This must be a slip of the pen for ‘three notable ...’, for Nashe is evidently referring to the Three Proper Letters of 1580, and that the Two Other Letters was published with it does not make him any more correct. Of the five letters in these two works three are Harvey’s and two Spenser’s.

34. English Hexameters] the ‘Speculum Tuscanismi’ to which Nashe so often refers; see note on i. 295. 27–8.

P. 70, 3–4. a common writer of Almanackes] Nothing is known of
them, if he ever wrote any. His brother John wrote at least two; see Appendix A.

6. Gabriel Frende] This person, of whom nothing seems to be known, published almanacs for 1589, 1595, 1596, 1597, 1598, 1599, 1615, 1616 (see Hazlitt, Coll. and Notes, II. 236-7), and probably for other years also (‘Gabr. Frende writeth yearly Almanackes’—Maunsell, Cat. ii. 9 b). Six of these are in the British Museum. Nashe’s identification of him with Harvey is, I suppose, no more than a jest.


27. cordam quem queritis adsum] Vergil, Aen. i. 595.

32. Quarter-master] Cf. note on i. 213. 3.

33. rede letters] Alluding, of course, to the generally lavish use of red in the printing of almanacs. Cf. i. 256. 10.

P. 71, 1-2. vnusquisque proximus ipse sibi] Cf. Erasmus, Adagia, chil. i, cent. 3. 92; among a number of similar sayings he does not, however, give the exact form found here. It is evidently based on Terence, Andria iv. 1. 12 *Proximus sum egomet mihi*. Bernard in his translation gives it among the ‘sententiae’ at the end of the scene as ‘Proximus quisque est ipsimet sibi’.

6. a blank maintenance] Doubtless some joke—but I cannot explain it.

8-9. By the civil law] Cf. 46. 6-7.


19. Si nihil attuleris . . .] Ovid, Ars Am. ii. 280.

21. Legend of Iyes] See note on i. 11. 5.

32. cue] See note on ii. 225. 18.

P. 72, 8. John Doleta] See note on i. 23. 24-5.


Doctor Mery-man] The earliest instance of the name known to me is in L. Wright’s Display of Duty, 1589, D 4”, ‘Certain necessarie rules . . . of health prescribed by D. Dyet, D. Quiet, and D. Merrymen.’ Cf. also the title of Rowlands’ tract of 1609 (or 1607); N. E. D., s. v. Merryman 3, and Schola Salernitana, ed. 1649, p. 8.

17-18. the Discourse of Debitor & creditor] One of two books by James Peele may be meant, The maner and fourme how to kepe a perfecte reconyng, after the order of the moste worthie and notable compte of Debitor and Creditour, 1553, or The Pathe way to perfectnes, in th’ compte of debitour, and Creditour: in manner of a dialogue, 1569. Both these would, however, be somewhat antiquated, and I can learn of no later editions of them.

18. ordinary] Collier’s correction to ‘ordinar[i]ly’ is unnecessary; cf. N. E. D., s. v. ordinary, a 7 B.

19-21. They are . . . Dialls of dayes . . . months-mind] I do not understand the meaning of these lines.

20. gheses] A not uncommon Italianate spelling; so also ‘ghost’.

21. months-mind] See note on ii. 252. 16.
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23. *halpering* i.e. stumbling, going backward and forward; see *N. E. D.* The word seems peculiar to Nashe; cf. iii. 207. 6.

P. 78, 10. *at Audley-end*] The Queen visited Audley End on Sept. 2, 1571 (Nichols, *Progresses of Q. Eliz.* i. 280), and again on July 26, 1578 (*Progresses*, ii. 111-15). It is the later visit that is here referred to. The Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge and the Heads of Colleges waited on her there on July 27, and offered presents. There was a disputation, in which Harvey took part.

12. *huffty tuffty* i.e. swaggering, *N. E. D.*; the earliest example.

15-16. *take not my markes amisse* i.e. am not mistaken.

16. *Rauer*] I know of no other reference to this person.

21. *of the mending hand* i.e., properly, on the road to recovery; see *N. E. D.*, s. v. hand 2b. 4b.

26. *as sure as a club* Cf. Scot, *Disc. of Witchcraft*, 1584, 84, 'And by the masse (quoth the priest) hir prophesie fell out as sure as a club'. *N. E. D.*


31. *arantling with his sister in law* See 81. 33, &c.

P. 74, 1. *meate in the mouth* Cf. note on i. 322. 32.

8-9. *the Jewes rising vp in armes* There is perhaps allusion to some rumour of the day. I can find no mention of it elsewhere.

9-10. *raining of corne this Summer at Wakefield*] Apparently unrecorded elsewhere.

16. *Sadolet*] An Italian cardinal and famous scholar (1477-1547). His name seems here to be introduced merely for the sake of the pun on 'saddle', though there may possibly be allusion to his well-known work *De litteris rectae instituendis*, 1531.

17. *ostry* A form of 'hostry' or 'hostelry'.

18. *pelts* i.e. skins, strips.


24. *metamorphized* Apparently a recognized form of the word; cf. *Two Gent. of Ver.*, II. i. 27 (Fol.); *Merry Wives*, repr. of Q in Camb. ed., xvii. 58; *Jew of Malta*, ed. Wagner, l. 601; and Fletcher and Massinger's *Spanish Curate*, IV. vii. 14 ('-ird' in both F in.); also examples in *N. E. D.* So 'Metamorphisis' at iii. 183. 16.


P. 75, 1. *par-anters* The form 'paranter' for 'peradventure' was antiquated at this date (see *N. E. D.*), but may well have survived longer in this phrase 'without all par-anters', i.e. without doubt, than when standing alone.

7. *Crosses*] The usual joke on this name for coins; cf. Nares, *Gloss*.

12-13. *the Queens coins in the Mynt*] The Mint was within the tower. Full description in Stow's *London*, ed. Strype, 1720, bk. i. 96-104.

13. *alwaies abroad and never within*] A kind of proverbial saying; cf. Deloney, *Gentle Craft*, ed. Lange, ii. 91, 'It is true,' quoth she, "for they are alwaies without that are never within."

18. *Talatamtana, or Doctor Hum*] I know nothing of these two
III. 77] HAVE WITH YOV, ETC. 339

names. Hum, or Hun, seems to be a variant of the name Hume; cf. Holinshed, Chron., ed. 1807–8, iii. 203 foot, and 2 Hen. VI, I. ii. 88.


29–30. Nux, mulier, asinus...desunt] Given, with 'ligati' for 'ligata' and 'cessent' for 'desunt', in the Adagia of G. Cognatus (Erasm. Adag. 1572, ii. 482) as 'toto terrarum orbe cantatissimum'. Cf. 'Nux, asinus, mulier, verbere opus habent' among the miscellaneous proverbs at the end of the volume, p. 647. Very commonly quoted or referred to.

34. thriftely] Evidently connected in some way with the phrase to 'husband' a cudgel about any one's shoulders; cf. 49. 1. Mr. Crawford compares Jonson's Epicene, last speech, 'this Amazon...should beat you now thriftily', and Discoveries, 'Imo serviles' (ed. Gifford, 1873, 755b, l. 13.)

P. 78, 19–20. as in my former Booke I have cyted] See i. 277. 5–6.

23. take it upon him] i.e. swagger.

25. Monarcha, the Italian] Probably a mistake or misprint for 'Monarcho', i.e. Monarch, the nickname by which this person seems to have been known. The fact of his being mentioned in Love's Labour's Lost, IV. i. 101, has caused references to him to be collected, but though these are fairly numerous they tell us little. It seems most probable that he was a hanger-on of the Court, who lived on his reputation for fantasticality. If we are to believe Scot, he was not altogether sane; see the Disc. of Witchcraft, 1584, 54, where having mentioned the 'melancholike humor' of Thrasibulus, who imagined 'that all the ships, which arrived at port Pyraus, were his', he continues, 'The Italian, whom we called here in England, the Monarch, was possessed with the like spirit or concept'. For a reference to him by Meres see note on Shakerley at i. 257. 4. In Churchyard's Chance, 1580, there is a poem on him called 'The Phantastical Monarches Epitaphe', from which it would appear that he was then dead. We also learn that 'On gallant robes his greatest glory stood'. Scot's statement as to his madness is supported by an anecdote quoted by Reed from A brief discourse of the Spanish State, 1590, from which it appears that he claimed to be sovereign of the whole world. See the Var. Sh. of 1821 and Love's Labour's Lost, ed. Furness, for this and other allusions.

35. another honourable Knight] Perhaps Sir Fulke Greville.


19–20. Master Bradurie] According to the account printed by Nichols, Progresses, ii. 114, the Cambridge scholars who had taken part in the disputation at Audley End returned to Cambridge the same night.

20. Countesse of Darbie] This must refer to Margaret, wife of Henry Stanley, fourth Earl of Derby, from whom she was afterwards separated. She died towards the end of September, 1596; see Cal. of State Papers, Dom. 1595–7, p. 289.

27–8. the woman with the horne in her head] On Oct. 28, 1588, there was entered in the Stationers' Register to R. Jones, E. White, T. Orwin, and H. Cary 'A miraculuous and monstrouse but moste true and certen discourse of a woman (nowe to be seene in London) of thage of lx. yeres in the middest of whose forehead by the wonderfull worooke of God, there groweth out a Croked horne of 4 ynches longe'
(S.R., ed. Arber, ii. 504). For other allusions to this woman see Dekker's *Old Fortunatus*, V. ii, *Wks.*, ed. Pearson, i. 163, 3-4 ('Cyprus' is of course put for London), and Marston's *Malcontent*, III. i, ed. Dyce, in *Wks. of Webstar*, 1857, p. 336. For the last reference I am indebted to Professor Bang.

P. 78, 3. *Aedes Valdinenses* i.e. *Gabrielis Harvii Gratulationum Valdinsium Libri Quatuor*. See Appendix A.


8. *Master Snagge* The only well-known person of the name seems to be Thomas Snagge (1536-92), Attorney-General for Ireland 1577-80, and later Speaker of the House of Commons. He is said to have been in Ireland from 1577-80, but may possibly have been at this time in England on a visit.

11-12. *Wodie, meusque tuusque ...* Harvey's *Smithus*, B i:

'O Deus, an perijt Musarum gloria Smithus;
Smithus, Vudde, meusq;, tuusq;, Britannorumq; suorum;
Victurus nobis, si non sibi viuere posset?'

14. *As in presenti*] See note on i. 282. 23.

17. *two great Pieres beeing at tarre* There was, of course, much rivalry between the nobles of Elizabeth's court, and it is difficult to be certain which are the two peers referred to. The Earl of Oxford was probably one; it was the time of his famous quarrel with Sir Philip Sidney.

21-2. *hewe and slash with his Hexameters* The 'Speculum Tuscanismi' again. See note on i. 295. 27-8.

23. *duke Fryer* Cf. '1530 Paligr. 526/1 I dawke, I stowpe lowe as a frere doth.' *N. E. D.*

24. *that Noblemans house*] Probably the Earl of Leicester is meant.

25-6. *Syr Iames a Croft*] Sir James Croft (d. 1591), controller of Queen Elizabeth's household and privy councillor, 1570, commissioner for the trial of Mary Queen of Scots, 1586.

26-7. *had him under hold in the Fleete*] Cf. i. 297. 9.

28-9. *his olde Controwler* See 3 *Let. D 3*, G. H. i. 72. 20, and compare 4 *Let. C 3*, G. H. i. 183. 12, where Harvey makes it clear that he was referring to Dr. Perne. A few lines earlier he states that Sir James Croft, supposing himself attacked, was incensed against him, but was pacified by Thomas Wilson and Sir W. Mildmay.

P. 79, 12. *Sturbridge Fayre*] For a collection of all that is known about this celebrated fair see *Life of Ambrose Bonwicke*, ed. Mayor, pp. 153-65 (Mullinger, *Cambridge*, i. 540 note). Harrison, *Descr. of Eng.* in Holinshed's *Chron.*, ed. 1807-8, i. 174, calls it 'the most famous mart in England'.

13. *foot-cloth*] See note on i. 201. 6.

24-5. *Vnde haec insanias*] As Nashe has so many jesting references to Harvey's Latin poems, it may be noted that 'quorum haec insania' occurs in the 'Charitum Hymnus' in *Smithus*.

27. *Semel insanitus omnes*] This oft-quoted phrase is from Mantuan's *Eclogues*, i. (Faustus) l. 118 'Id commune malum: semel insanivimus omnes'. Again at iii. 235. 56-7.

29. *Nodgescombe*] See note on i. 281. 25.


14. *Buffianismus*] i.e. buffoonery, from ‘buffian’, a variant of ‘buffoon’; see N. E. D., where the present example is the only one.

17. *Raptim scripta*] Cf. 3 Let. E 4, G. H. i. 91. 9. ‘Raptim, vti vides; Pedantius, V. iii, after l. 2567, in Caius MS. ‘scripta enim sunt vti vides raptim et negligentem’ (ed. Moore Smith, p. 99; not in the printed text of 1631).

*Nosti manum & styllum*] 3 Let. G 1, G. H. i. 107. 23; Pedantius, V. iii, l. 2567.


29. *Shewe made at Clare-hall*] Nothing seems to be known of it.

31–2, 35] In the quarto these lines are printed in a larger type.

36–81, 1. *broke the Colledge glasse windowes*] For this method of expressing disapproval cf. Pedantius, u.s., xxii, where Professor Moore Smith quotes from the Junior Bursar’s Book of Trinity College for the year 1578–9 the entries: ‘It. for thyrteye foote of new glasse after the playes in the hall windowes . . . xv*.—It. for new leading of thirteye foote in the great hall windowes . . . v.*’

P. 81, 1–2. *either for himself or Deputie Vice-chancellour*] Perne was several times Vice-Chancellor of the University, the last time being in 1580, which was about the date when this show at Peterhouse may be supposed to have been performed.

6. *Kate Cotton*] Nothing seems to be known of her.


22. *reakes*] i.e. pranks; the word is of obscure origin.

23. *M. Wathe*] I can learn nothing of this person.

32–3. *dedicated to him an Almanacke*] See Appendix A.


P. 82, 16–17. *the water of Saint Iues*] See J. Bale’s *Acts of the English Volataries*, pt. ii, ed. 1560, C 4* : *Saint Iues water was in those dayes, about the yeare of our Lord a .M. and xii, verye hoesome for the feminine gender. For a certain woman complained her vnto the prior of Ramsey in cofession, that a lecherous sprite had many nyghtes occupied with her in the likenesse of an Hare . . . And he gaue her counsel to drincke of that water, which was vnto her euer after (the story saith) as a water well against al his busy assaults. If ye searce Ihon Capgrave in vita Iuonis episcopi, ye shall find it a matter more vncomely, than may with honesty be expressed.* See the *Nova Legenda Angliae* collected by Capgrave and others, ed. Horstman, 1901, ii. 89. It is the St. Ives in Huntingdonshire which is referred to. The water issued from the saint’s tomb. For the ‘Monkes Cowle’ in ll. 15–16 see a story told on the preceding page of Bale.
NOTES

19. Master Candishes Roote] Perhaps brought back by Thomas Cavendish from the circumnavigation of the globe in 1586-8, this being the last voyage from which he returned. It does not, however, seem to be mentioned in Hakluyt.


29. Thebit Bencoral] i.e. Tābit ben Korra (826-901), an Arabian astronomer; see Dreyer, Planetary Systems, 276-7; ‘orb’ of course means ‘sphere’.

34-5. the Bishop of London that then was] i.e. John Aylmer, who was consecrated bishop in 1577. The sermon does not seem to have been printed.

P. 88, 2. Heath] i.e. Thomas Heath, mathematician, M.A. of All Souls, Oxford, 1573. His work against Harvey appeared in 1583 under the title of Manifest and Apparent Confituation of an Astrological Discourse lately published to the discomfort (without cause) of the weak and simple sort. It was dedicated to Sir George Carey (Baron Hunsdon). Heath was a friend of John Dee, the famous astrologer (D.N.B.).

6. Ribaden] Nashe is probably referring to the Spanish Jesuit Pedro de Ribadeneyra (1527-1611). His Historia Ecclesiastica del scisma del Reyno de Inglaterra, 1588, attracted attention in this country. It was naturally looked upon by Protestants as a budget of lies.

Chinclen Kraga] Unknown to me.

7-8. Cashiers or Prouiditores] This instance of ‘cashier’ is the earliest in N.E.D. I can learn nothing of the officers here mentioned. In Stow’s London, ed. Strype, 1720, bk. v, p. 431, &c., will be found a full account of the legislation dealing with beggars, vagrants, and old soldiers, the latter being very numerous about London, but in the orders issued concerning them more is said of punishment than of relief.

9-11. as the Athenians ... erected to Berosus ... with a golden tongue] See Pliny, H.N. vi. 37.

13. Sophisters Hills] No hills of this name are known to me.

14. ochamie] The word is a corrupt form of ‘alchemy’. This is the earliest example of it given in N.E.D. ‘meerely’ Possibly we should read ‘meerely’ (as does N.E.D. in quoting the passage under ‘occamy’).

21-3. as Cardan saith Cosmo de Medices ... Burbon were] See J. Bodin, Methodus ad Facilem Historiarum Cognitionem, ed. 1595, p. 137 ‘Eodem sidere [sc. Capricorno] Cardanus nata m scripsit Carolum Burbonium, Cosmum Medicem, & Selimum principem Turcarum ...’. For Charles V see a few lines earlier.

27-8. malevolent Starres of Medusa and Andromeda] According to the Kalender of Shepherdes, ed. Sommer, iii. 135, those born under Andromeda ‘shall be in daunceoure to dye in pryson’. Medusa is presumably an alternative name for the constellation Perseus, which included Medusa’s head.


36. September] I have been unable to find any other allusion to this idea.

P. 84, 3. born under Aries] Cf. Stubbes, Anat. of Abuses, Pt. ii, ed. N.S.S. 64, where it is stated that one born under Aries shall be rich, but the reason given is different.
7. under Libra] I can find no authority for this statement. Stubbies, u. s., p. 65, says that one born under Libra 'shall be fortunate in merchandize'.

9. Hilding] Apparently a form of 'hilding', a worthless beast, a sorry jade, applied also to a good-for-nothing person; see N. E. D. s.v.

11. Thomas Deloney] See note on i. 280. 15. His Garland of Good Will was entered to Thomas Pavier on March 1, 1601-2, on condition that it belonged to no other man (S. R., ed. Arber, iii. 202), but no earlier edition than that of 1604 (Hazlitt, Hbk. 153 b) is now known. It must—as is clear from the present passage—have been originally issued in or before 1596. The form of the entry to Pavier suggests that it was an old work. It may be mentioned that it was in 1596 that Deloney got into trouble for writing a book about the dearth of corn, which 'brought in the Queen speaking to her People Dialoguewise in very fond and undecent sort' (Stow's London, ed. Strype, 1720, bk. v, p. 442).

13. more than the premises] I cannot interpret this.

14. an Epistle of Momus and Zoylus] There is no such epistle in the Garland, and I do not know what is referred to.


16. a penny a quart] Harrison's beer cost him 20s. for 200 gallons, a month's consumption, i.e. a penny for 3½ quarts; see his Descr. of Eng., N. S. S. i. 159 foot. In 1591 the price was 6s. 8d. per barrel of 32 (?or 36) gallons, and 3s. 4d. for small ale. Stow, u. s., bk. v, p. 204.

17. this deare years] Both 1595 and 1596 were years of dearth; see Stow, Annals, ed. 1615, 768, 769, where he seems to be referring to the summer and autumn of 1595, and p. 782, where he apparently means the summer of 1596; cf. 784*, but the dates are somewhat confused. From the numerous allusions to the scarcity in the Acts of the Privy Council it would appear that it continued in some parts of the country until the spring of 1597.

19. carded] i.e. adulterated by mixing.

20. Candlemas] It is not clear whether this is meant as the title of a ballad or not; none of this name seems to be known. John for the King] 'A new Ballet called John for the king' was entered to Edward White on Oct. 24, 1603. This may have been a revised version of the earlier one. No copy of either seems to be known. The words were perhaps a common refrain; cf. the Clown's song in Heywood's Rape of Lucrece, II. v:

'John for the king has been in many ballads,
    John for the king down dino,
    John for the king has eaten many salads,
    John for the king sings hey ho.'

The ballad is again referred to at iii. 201. 7.

21-2. The Thunder-bolt against Swearers] Nothing seems to be known of this.

22. Repent, England, repent] Perhaps either (1) the ballad entered to J. Danter on Aug. 2, 1594, as 'A call to Repentance to all true Englishe harte', or (2) 'A ballad entitled a warminge to England with speede to Repente for the great scarce-sye and want that now is and like this yeare ensuinge to be', which was entered on Apr. 19, 1595.
See also Chappell’s suggestions in Pop. Mus. 770; but is Collier’s ballad of ‘The great earthquake’ (Twenty-five Old Ballads, 1869, p. 39) genuine? In the Shirburn Ballads, ed. A. Clark, 1907, p. 36, is one ‘Awake! Awake! O England...Repent with speed thy wickedness’. It may be noted that ‘Repent, England, repent’ was the cry of Coppinger and Artington; cf. note on i. 205. 24, and Stow, Annals, 1615, 760th foot, 761st mid.

23-3. The strange judgments of God] On Feb. 21, 1594-5, there was entered to Cutbert Burby a ‘booke shewing the miraculous Judgement of God showen in Herefordshire, where a mightie barne filled with Cornewas consumed with fire begynning last Christmas Eeve, and Duringe fifteen Dayes after’, together with a ballad on the same subject. Perhaps this is the one referred to. There was also a ballad of ‘the iuste Judgement of God vpon a...Fermour’, entered March 18, 1586-7.


24. Pastor of Cheshelhurst] Hasted, Kent, i. 104, mentions one ‘Harvie’ as rector of Chislehurst until 1623. D.N.B.

25. such and such and one] We should, of course, expect ‘such and such a one’, but I did not feel sufficiently certain that the reading of the quarto was a misprint, and not an alternative, though erroneous, form, to alter it.

26-7. The miracles of the burning of Brustur] i.e. William Brewster. See Holinshed, Chron., ed. of 1807, iv. 504; on Feb. 3, 1582/3, Brewster and a woman with whom he lived were found smothered to death—apparently by the fumes of a charcoal fire. Certain peculiar circumstances caused people to regard this as a divine judgement, and according to Holinshed pamphlets were published on the subject; these seem now to be lost. See also Stubbes, Anat. of Abuses, N. S. S. i. 100-1, who disguises the name as ‘Ratsurb’. In the edition of the Anatomy published in 1595 the whole of the passage about Brewster is omitted; so perhaps Nashe’s statement that the affair had been shown to be an ordinary murder is correct.

P. 86, 5-6. that Dick that set Aristotle...on the Schoole gates] See i. 196. 1-2.

9-10. Smiths...Questions] I cannot identify this Smith.

11-15. Aquila non capit muscas...Nec elephas mutres] See Erasmus, Adagia, chil. iii, cent. 2. 65 and chil. i, cent. 9. 70. In the latter place he refers to the use of such phrases by philosophers and theologasters to excuse their ignorance of Latin and Greek.


Synesian and Pierian Dicke] See note on 7. 33.

19-20. the true Brute] Referring to R. Harvey’s Philadelphus; or, a Defence of Brutes and the Brutans History, 1593.

22. Dick against baldnes] Apparently referring to the same Defence of short haire against Synesius and Pierius, which at 7. 34-5 is called ‘a Dash ouer the head against baldnes’.

22-3. Dick against Buchanan] i.e. the attack on Buchanan with which his Philadelphus opens, A 3-C 1.

23-4. Aquinas Dicke] I do not know to what this refers.

24. light a louse a Dick] A charge of incontinence seems to have
been brought against R. Harvey by Greene in his *Quip for an Upstart Courtier*; see i. 273. 14-15.

28. *abi in malam crucem*] Frequent in Plautus and elsewhere.

31. *Garropius*] I know no Garropius, but suppose that Nashe meant Goropius. He may possibly have had in his mind a passage in Harrison's *Descrip. Brit.*, cap. 5, Holins. *Chron.* 1807-8. i. 20. 8-12: 'Casanion of Mutterell hath alredie sufficiently discoursed vpon these examples [of giants] in his *De gigantibus*, which as I gesse he hath written of set purpose against Goropius, who in his *Gigantomachia*, supposeth himselfe to have killed all the giants in the world, and like a new Jupiter *alterum carcasse Herculem*, as the said Casanion dooth merllie charge and vpbraid him.'


34. *Lex loquens*] See Cicero, *De Legibus*, iii. 1. 2; also Erasmus, *Adagia*, chil. 1, cent. 2. 18, under 'Muti magistri'. Nashe merely means that Harvey will never be able to practise in the courts.

P. 86, 2-3. *one of the Emperour Iustinians Courtiers*] See i. 262. 6. 16-17. *Nero can I . . . bonetto*] Apparently based on Harvey's line in 3 Let. E 2, G. H. i. 28. 7-8, 'Needsed to thy bowes will I bow this knee, and vayle my bonetto'. Already quoted at i. 277. 21.

22-6] Nashe seemstohaveborrowedthis from Harvey's 2 Let. H 4, G. H. i. 31. 5-7, where he complains that some of Spenser's verses are incorrect, 'especiallye the thirde, whych hath a foote more than a Lowce (a wondrersous deformatie in a righte and pure Senarie)'. But was there not some current joke on the subject? Cf. J. Taylor, *Praise of Beggary*, in *Wks.*, 1630, I 6**:

'A Lowse hath six feate, frys whose creeping sprawl'd
The first Hexameters, that euer crawl'd:
And euer since, in mem'ry of the same,
A Lowse amongst the Learned is no shame.'

27. *Dictionarie*] Nashe seems to be using the word in the odd sense of 'habitual', but perhaps 'so Dictionarie a custome' may be understood as 'such a common characteristic of his diction'.

33-4. *No may-pole . . . eue tree*] Partly taken from Harvey's verse; cf. i. 277. 35, 20, the second having in the original 'laurel' for 'ewe tree'.

P. 87, 6-7. *when there dyde aboue 1600, a week*] The plague seems to have been at its height in June and July, 1593, but details of the number of deaths are now lost. Harvey went to London from Saffron Walden at the end of August, 1592 (see Bird's letter in 4 Let. A 3), and was still there on July 16, 1593, when he finished the prefatory matter of *Pierce's Supererogation*, but had evidently left some time before September 16, the date of the *New Letter*.

14. *from the fat manured earth with contagion*] For this inversion cf. i. 262. 25-6 and iii. 318. 2-3.

15. *being the buriall place of fious parishes*] In C. Creighton's *History of Epidemics in Britain*, i. 333, it is stated that 'for some years previous to 1582, as many as 23 of the city parishes were using St. Paul's churchyard for their dead, having parted with
their own burial-grounds. But in that year (Letter of April 3, 1582: Remembrancia, p. 332) the number of parishes privileged to use St. Paul's churchyard was reduced to 13.

P. 88, 4. the Voice or Ghosts Hearse] See The Shirburn Ballads, ed. A. Clark, 1907, p. 337, where we find a ballad 'to the tune of The goste's hearse alias The voice of the earth'. So far as I am aware the original has perished.

17. Mighelt] A usual spelling of 'Michael'.

28. Benjamin the Founders father] i.e. the father of Benjamin. I can only conjecture that Benjamin Sympson, the type-founder, is meant; see T. B. Reed, Old English Letter Foundries, pp. 128–9, 164. All that is known about him is that in 1597 he entered into a bond of £40 not to cast any letters or characters, or to deliver them, without notice to the Master and Wardens of the Stationers' Company.

P. 89, 6. protests by no bugges] This curious use of the negative is paralleled by the phrase 'to swear by no beggars'; cf. George a Greene (Greene, ed. Collins), I. 220, 'And by no beggars swore that we were traytours'; cf. note, and Dekker, The Wonderful Year 1603, Wks., ed. Grosart, i. 87, 19–30, 'swore by no beggars that now was the houre come for him to bestirre his stumps.' N.E.D. s.v. bug sb.1 quotes from Gosson's School of Abuse, 'Caligula ... bid his horse to supper ... and swore by no bugs that hee would make him a Consul.'

II. Plague Bills] Wolfe's plague bills seem to have perished, so we have no means of verifying Nashe's statement. Harvey refers to them at the beginning of his New Letter, 1593, G.H. i. 259. 14–16, 'You haue lately, (as appeareth by your Indices of the sicknesse, and so many other Nouels) very tidely playde the Bees part'. Wolfe had apparently sent them, with some books, to Harvey, then (September 16) absent from London. Plague-bills of the years 1593–5—whether written or printed is not clear—existed in 1665; see C. Creighton, Epidemics in Britain, i. 352–3. Weekly records had been kept from December 21, 1592.

14–15] For 'Sus Minervam' see Erasmus, Adagia, chil. 1, cent. I. 40, and Cicero, Acad. Post. i. 4. 18, Epist. ad Diversos, ix. 18. 3. The expression 'a pig of one's own sow' was common; cf. Heywood's Proverbs, ed. Sharman, 134, and Day's Humour out of Breath, III. i.

17. Wrinkle de crinkledum] No such expression is known to me, nor can I suggest any reason for Harvey being called 'vermilion'.


32–3. Parthenophill and Parthenope] By Barnabe Barnes. It was entered to John Wolfe on May 10, 1593, and published about August (after Harvey left London; see N. L. A 2, G.H. i. 259 foot). Only a single copy is known to exist, and the title-page of this is defective, lacking both date and printer's name.

P. 90, 3. Chutes Shores Wife] i.e. the poem entitled Beawtis dis-honoured, written under the title of Shores wife, 1593, entered June 16.

3–4. Procris and Cephalus] A book of this name was entered to John Wolfe on October 22, 1593, but no copy of any edition published
in that year is known to exist. A work entitled *Cephalus & Procris* was, however, published by Wolfe in 1595, but the dedication of this is signed by Thomas Edwards, who distinctly claims to be the author. As it seems unlikely that two books of such similar names, but by different authors, should be issued from the same press within two years of each other, we must, I think, suppose Nashe to have been mistaken in assigning it to Chute.

4. *Paphlagonian*] Apparently 'Paphlagonian' is meant; cf. Barnes, *Devil's Charter*, 1607, K 3, l. 2797, 'The slaues are buisse reading their paphlagonian papers'. The Paphlagonians were proverbially stupid; cf. Lucian, *Alex.* 9 and 17.

11. *which God payd for*] Mr. Crawford refers me to Ben Jonson's *Epigram*, xii, on Lieutenant Shift: 'To every cause he meets this voice he brays, His only answer is to all, “God pays”', and to the *Masque of Owls*, 'Hey, Owl Second.' 'Whom since they have shipt away, And left him “God to pay”'.

not to be spoken of] Cf. iii. 262. 911. I am doubtful of the precise meaning of the expression.

13. *saracenly* i. e. 'cruelly', or 'fiercely'.

17. *mony woule he say*] Grosart perhaps took this as equivalent to 'money quoth a', i. e., practically, 'money, forsooth', all being part of the quotation; a way of reading which is, I think, possible.

25. *in his pocket*] His pocket must have been in his sleeve; cf. i. 159. 25; iii. 32. 35.


35. *commodities of Santa Cruz*] Merely the usual joke about crosses, i. e. coins.

P. 91, 13. *Hermogenes*] A Greek rhetorician, fl. A.D. 161-80. His *Tεαρηροτοπος* περι των στρατων is presumably referred to; it had already been four times printed.

21. *spleene*] i. e. humour.

28-30] Cf. *Aen.* i. 204 'Per varios casus, per tot discrimina rerum.'

P. 92, 7. *Bassia de umbra de umbra des los pedes*] Cf. Puttenham, *Art of E. Poesy*, iii. 24, 'With vs the women glue their mouth to be kissed, in other places their cheek, in many places their hand, or in steed of an offer to the hand, to say these words, *Beso los manos*. And yet some others surmounting in all courtly ciuilitie will say, *Los manos & los pedes*. And aboue that reach too, there be that will say to the Ladies, *Lombra de sus pisadas*, the shadow of your steps.'


13-14] Printed in Harvey's * Gratulationes Valdinenses*, K 4, with 'Sidnie' for Sydnee, as the metre demands. From what is said in l. 9 it seems that Nashe had seen the poem in MS. The pentameter is, of course, based on the old couplet:

> Cor ardet, pulmo loquitur, fel commouet iras:
> Splen ridere facit, cogit amare iecur.

(Mizaldus, *Memorabilia, sive Arcana*, 1573, cent. vi. 90, introduced by the words 'ut trito fertur dimetro'). Prof. Moore Smith refers me to the *Carminum proverbialium loci communes* of S. A. L., London, 1579, under 'Homo', where the couplet appears in a slightly different and...
inferior form, the first line being 'Cor sapit, at pulmo loquitur, sed commovet iram'. Burton, *Anat. of Mel.* iii. 2. 1. 2 (last par.), has 'cogit amare iecur, as the saying is', and there are many other examples.

17. *Lincolnshyre*] There are no other allusions to Nashe's visit to Lincolnshire.

20. *the same Inne*] i.e. the Dolphin, as appears by 95. 15.

32. *non vult fac*] Possibly 'fac' is for 'facere', and this is some technical form of refusal; but it is unknown to me.

34—93, 1. *trouchmen*] i.e., properly, interpreters; cf. Puttenham, *Art of E. P.*, ed. Haslewood, p. 227, 'the Earle...would not speake one French word, but all English,...all was done by Truchemen.' Not infrequently used, however, as here, for 'go-betweens'; cf. Dekker, *Strange Horse-race, Wks.*, iii. 337. 23—5, 'his two trunchmen (the Brokers)'. The intrusive *n* is also found in other instances of the word.

P. 93, 18. *mortring*] 'Mortar' is given in *Cent. Dict.*, with this passage as the sole example, for 'to bray in a mortar'.

25-6. *(like the Turks) he observ'd 4. Lents in a yere*] Apparently from Hakluyt, *Princ. Nav.*, ed. 1903-5, ii. 237, but erroneously. It is the Russians who 'have foure Lents in the yeere, whereof our Lent is the greatest'.


35-6. *characters on Christs Sepulcher*] See Hakluyt, ed. 1903-5, v. 211, 'the outside of the sepulchre is very foule, by means that every man scrapes his name and marke upon it.'


10. *Jacke a Lent*] 'A figure of a man, set up to be pelted: an ancient form of the sport of "Aunt Sally", practised during Lent,' *N. E. D.* See Merry Wives, III. iii. 27, V. v. 134, and the notes in the Variorum Sh., where many examples are given. Cf. iii. 389. 14, note.

13. *smudge*] The word seems here to be a variant of 'smug', neat, spruce.

16. *Knight of Windsor*] In Hentzner's Description of Windsor Castle, printed in Nichols' *Progresses of Q. Elizabeth*, i. 144, we read that these pensioners 'must be Gentlemen of three descents, and such as, for their age and the straitness of their fortunes, are fitter for saying their prayers, than for the service of war; to each of them is assigned a pension of £18 per annum, and cloaths; the chief institution of so magnificent a foundation is, that they should say their daily prayers to God for the King's safety, and the happy administration of the kingdom, to which purpose they attend the service, meeting twice every day at Chapel'. They formed a branch of the Society of the Garter.

18-19. *missing of the Vniuersitie Oratorship*] See note on i. 268.


26. *porknells*] *N. E. D.*, following the reading of *Q*, explains 'sheepes porknells' as 'some part of the offal of a sheep', but no other example of the use, or evidence in support of the interpretation, is given.
28. a new part of Tully] See i. 290. i, &c., and note.
29. Nicholas Copernicus] His work De Revolutionibus Orbium Coelestium was published at Nuremberg in 1543, within a few days of the author's death. It may be remarked that the use of the word 'Paradoxe' by no means implies that Nashe disbelieved in the Copernican theory—though on other grounds it seems likely that he did. See examples in N. E. D., s. v. paradox, s. t. 1.
P. 95, 4. Paulin] I have been unable to find the word elsewhere.
The context suggests that it meant a kind of banshee.
15. the Dolphin in Cambridge] The Dolphin was situated on part of the ground now occupied by Corpus Christi College, and was entered from Trumpington Street. See map of the college in Willis and Clark's Architectural Hist. of Camb.
23-4. John a Droynes his man] A comma should have been inserted after 'Droynes'. 'John a Droynes' seems to have been a current name for a country bumpkin; see the notes of the commentators upon Hamlet, II. ii. 595; 'John-a-dreams', who allude to the character so called in Whetstone's Promus and Cassandra, 1578. See also J. Taylor's Superbiae Flagellum, 1621, in Wks., 1630, D 4, col. a, where 'Jacke and Jil', and John a Droner his issue' means evidently 'tag, rag, and bobtail'. In A C. Mery Talys, there is a story of one John Adroyns who acted the devil in a play in Suffolk, and going home in his stage attire, terrified a poaching priest (Hazlitt, Sh. Jest-Books, i. 14-17). As the point of the present passage is the extraordinary dress of Harvey's servant, it is perhaps not impossible that there is some allusion to this story. The form in Hamlet, 'John-a-dreams', which may or may not be the same name, occurs also in Armin's Nest of Ninnies, ed. Collier for Sh. Soc., 49, 27.
27. pinkt] i.e. with holes cut so as to show the lining through.
33. incensing my L. Mayor against me] Nashe got into trouble with the civic authorities in the autumn of 1593, in consequence of an attack on London in Christ's Tears; see ii. 4 and note 2, but the present passage apparently refers to some earlier affair. I am indebted to the Town Clerk, Mr. James Bell, for the information that no reference to any such petition or complaint to the Lord Mayor as seems here to be indicated is to be found in the records of the Corporation belonging to the years 1592-6. Cf. i. 307. 34-5.
P. 96, 1. that Christmas] This must, I think, mean the Christmas of 1592, for we know that Harvey was then in London (see note on 87. 6-7). At the same time I do not see how we can definitely prove that it was not the following year that is referred to, for we have no direct evidence as to where either Nashe or Harvey were at that date.
3. the Preacher at Poules Crosse] I have been unable to identify the sermon, which may, of course, not have been printed.
10. God night] This spelling of 'good night' is quite common; see N. E. D.
19. legem pone] 'The first two words (forming the heading) of the fifth division of Psalm cxix, which begins the psalms at Matins on the 25th day of the month; they were consequently associated with March 25th (quarter day), and hence used as an allusive expression for: Payment of money; cash down,' N. E. D., the earliest instance given being 1573, Tusser, Husb. x. (1878) 22, 'Use (legem pone) to
350 NOTES [III. 96

Paiethythe dale, but vse not (Oremus) for often delaie'. Cf. Heywood, 
Wise-Woman of Hogsdon, IV. i, 'sed as in present, if your worship 
at this present, Iste, ista, istud, will do me any good, to give me legem 
opere in gold or in money ...'

22-3. one of my Lord of Haresford's turers] Edward Seymour. 
I am not aware that Wolfe had any special connexion with him. He, 
however, had printed the description of the Queen's reception at 
Elvetham by the Earl of Hertford in 1591.

24. Saint Christopher] As being the patron saint of travellers.

31. Crocodiles skin (which no yron will pierce) Cf. Hakluyt, eds. 
1903-5, x. 40, 'Crocodils ... whose skinne is so hard, that a sword 
will not pierce it', rather than Pliny, H. N. viii. 37 'contra omnes omnes 
cutis invicta'.

P. 97, 25. to Shrine with] When Lent was observed as a strict fast 
Shrovetide was naturally made much of as a festival. For the ways 
in which it was celebrated compare extract from The Popish Kingdom 
in Stubbes, Anatomy, ed. N. S. S. 329. Many of the customs there 
described seem to have been still observed in Protestant times.

27. Scarlet] Possibly T. Scarlet, the printer, but the 'one' is 
rather suspicious, for Scarlet had printed Nashe's Unfortunate 
Traveller, as well as several works of Greene, and must have been 
quite well known.

P. 98, 2-3. his Sister in law] Cf. 81. 33, &c.

5. pawling] i.e. becoming stale. Cf. Massinger, New Way, 
I. i. 3.

10. objecting] Grammatically we require 'objected'.

22. bag-pudding] Cf. 34. 15.

35. Raw-head and bloody bones] The expression occurs also in 
Dekker's Satiromastix, Wks., ed. Pearson, i. 237, 'So, that raw-head 
and bloody-bones Sir Adam, has fee'd another brat (of those nine 
common wenches) to defend baldnes and to raile against haire: 
he'll haue a fling at thee, my noble Cock-Sparrow'. The sense in 
this passage does not seem to be very precise. Elsewhere Dekker 
seems to mean some kind of a 'bug'; cf. O per se O, 1612, M. 2, 
'These [Abram-Coues], walking yp and downe the Countrey, are 
more terribly to women and children, then the name of Raw-head and 
Bloody-bones, Robin Good-fellow, or any other Hobgobling.' In the 
latter sense it is fairly common; see N. E. D., s.v. 'Raw-head'.

Stow mentions visions seen by Hacket on his way to execution, but 
says nothing of his feigning madness.

25. willed to] It looks as if a represented the corrected copy, for 
in this the space between 'weapon' (spelt 'wepon') and 'That' is 
less than is usually allowed at the end of a sentence. Still 'willed 
him to' can hardly be right. Collier and Grosart read 'willed to'.

26. wrung him on the withers] A frequent expression; cf. Mother 
Bombay, I. iii. 6, also Hamlet, III. ii. 253.

30. rattled] i.e. scolded, rated. See N. E. D., s. v. rattle, v. 7 b., 
examples from 1547.

P. 100, 11-12. swaps ... too] i.e. shuts hurriedly.

16. Tapthartharath] I do not know whence Nashe took this 
name.
17. through manie briers] i.e. difficulties, straits. Bernard in his translation of Terence, ed. 1607, p. 65, gives to be 'brought in the briars' as the equivalent of 'impeditum esse'.
18. bolts] i.e. fetters, leg-irons.
19. the Widdowes Almes] See note on i. 322. 4.
30. crau] i.e. properly, crop of a bird.

P. 101, 6. Pye-corner] A street between Newgate and Smithfield; see Stow's London, ed. Strype, 1720, bk. iii, p. 283, where it is stated to be 'noted chiefly for Cooks Shops, and Pigs drest there during Bartholomew Fair'.
13. onely for the names sake] The rector of St. Alban's, Wood Street, at the time of Gabriel Harvey's supposed incarceration, was one Robert Harvie, A.M. He held this living from 1588 to 1595, and was afterwards rector of St. Botolph's, Billingsgate, until his death in 1597. See G. Hennessy, Novum Repertorium.
16. Mangerie] i.e. board. This is the only instance of the word in this sense given in N. E. D. It usually meant, in earlier times, banquet or feasting.
18. to set vp his rest] See note on i. 384. 35-6.

P. 102, 7. Queen Gueniuer] Nashe probably does not mean to bring a charge of ill life and doctrine against Guinivere, but is merely using her name as that of Tor at 53. 17. Cf. Love's Labour's Lost, IV.i. 125-6, 'when Queen Guinover of Britain was a little wench'.
9. Basilisco] Mr. Fleay notes that the bragart knight of this name in Soliman and Perseda is referred to. Cf. King John, I. i. 244.
28. John Thorius] A scholar of whose life little is known, save that he was B.A. of Christ Church, Oxford, 1586. His works consist chiefly of translations from the Spanish.

Anthonie Chute] Beyond what may be gathered from Nashe's writings, practically nothing seems to be known of Chute. This amounts to little more than that he served in the English expedition to Portugal in 1589, and died in or about 1595 of the dropsy.
30-1. the three orient wits] Cf. P. S. 2* 1, G. H. ii. 6. 24-5, 'you, and diuers other Orient wittes'.

P. 108, 1-3. Tis more . . . remember] Cf. P. S. 2* 2, G. H. ii. 6. 1-6. 3. I'e, I'e, I'e] P. S. 2* 2, G. H. ii. 7. 13-16. 'He that thought to make himselfe famous with his ouerweening and brauing I'e, I'e, I'e, might perhaps nourrish an aspiring imagination to imitate his [i.e. Cicero's'] Ego, Ego, Ego, so gloriously reiterated in his gallant Orations.' See also P. S. S 2* 1, G. H. ii. 219. 1.
7-8. the greene Popiniay ... idoll] P. S. 2* 1, G. H. ii. 8. 4-5, 6-7.
26, &c.
5-8. Harvey mentions the Earl of Essex as Barnes's general. Barnes had accompanied him in 1591 when he went to Normandy to join the French forces against the Prince of Parma.
22. *Baskervile* i.e. Sir Thomas Baskerville (d. 1597). He was sent with Lord Willoughby to France to assist Henry IV in 1589, and subsequently commanded the troops dispatched to Brittany (1594) and to Picardy (1596).

26-8. *as hee did with a Noble-mans Stewards chayne . . . Windsore* I can discover nothing further about this incident. Barnes, however, seems not always to have had a very good character. See a letter in the *Athenaeum* of August 20, 1904, by the late Joseph Knight, on the charge brought against him in 1598 of trying to poison the recorder of Berwick.

29. *stink-a-pisse* i.e. cinq-a-pace.

31-2. *the Wine his Misitres drinks* See Parthenophil, sonnet 63:

> 'Or that sweet wine, which down her throat doth trickle,
> To kiss her lips, and lie next at her heart,
> Run through her veins, and pass by Pleasure's part.'

It is similarly ridiculed by Campion in an Epigram 'In Barnum' (*Wks.*, ed. Bullen, 1889, 268-9):

> 'In vinum solvi cupis Auflema quod haurit,
> Basia sic felix, dum bibit illa, dabis;
> Forsitan attinges quoque cor; sed (Barne) matella
> Exceptus tandem, qualis amator eris?'

Mr. Bullen notes that Marston also attacks Barnes for the same conceit in his *Scourge of Villany*.


3. *Altera Musa venit . . . Appollo* The source of this is unknown to me.

6. *Paris Garden Cut* i.e. a dwarf pony kept in Paris Garden for a monkey to ride; cf. *Downs* of Robert, E. of Hunt., II. i., Hazl. Dods. viii. 124; 'neither was it a horse Little John and I loaded, but a little curtail of some five handfuls high, sib to the ape's only beast at Paris Garden'. See also quotation in Collier's *Hist. Dr. Poet.*, 1831, iii. 279, or Lyly, ed. Bond, iii. 406. 8 note, and J. Taylor's *Bull, Bear, and Horse*, 1638, E 3v. For Paris Garden cf. i. 83. 5 note.


8. *Ballet of John Carelesse* 'A ballad of John Careles, &c.' was entered to Edward White, Aug. 1, 1586. John Careless, a weaver of Coventry, was imprisoned for religion in November, 1553. He died in the King's Bench in 1556. There is much about him in Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*; see ed. Townsend, index.

9. *Greene sleeues moralised* For the history of the ballad or song of Green Sleeves see Chappell, *Popular Music*, 227-9, where a very large number of references to it are brought together. The earliest mention appears to be the entry in the Stationers' Register on Sept. 3, 1580, to R. Jones of 'A newe norther[n] Ditty of y* Ladye Greene Sleeves', but, as Chappell remarks, seeing that on the same day was entered a ballad entitled 'Y* Ladie Greene Sleeves answere to Donkyn hir frende', the song must surely have been known previously. On Sept. 15 we have an entry of 'Greene Sleeves moralised to the Scripture, declaringe the manifold benefites and blessinges of God
bestowed on sinfull manne', which is apparently the production referred to by Nashe.

P. 105, 2-3. in praise of Gabriell Harvey] Referring to Barnes's letter and sonnets in P. S. 3* 1'*, &c., G. H. ii. 19, &c. 6-10] P. S. 2* 3', G. H. ii. 15. 8-13. 7. Andrewes] i.e. Lancelot Andrews (1555-1626), the famous preacher. He knew, according to Fuller, no less than fifteen languages. Again referred to at 107. 21, 28-35. At this date he was vicar of St. Giles's, Cripplegate.

8. Bodley] i.e. Sir Thomas Bodley, 1545-1613, founder of the Bodleian Library, diplomatist and scholar. His first diplomatic commission was in 1585, to Denmark. He was afterwards employed in a confidential mission to France, and from 1589 to 1596 he was the Queen's representative in the Netherlands. He returned to England in the summer of 1596.

16. tanquam Paulus in Cathedra] Presumably a quotation, but not found.

24. hyperborically] I am doubtful whether this is a misprint or mistake for 'hyperbolically', or whether Nashe meant barbarously.

28-9. Intelligencer] The word does not seem necessarily to have had a bad sense, but obviously might be so used; cf. ii. 220. 9-10.

31. before his going out] Bodley was in England for a short time in 1593, and again in the winter of 1594-5, and in June and July 1595 (D. N. B.).

37. Wittall] I. e. a contented cuckold.

P. 106, 8. tumbler] i.e. the species of greyhound so called.

12-14. summer...the sinnes of the people] See i. 216. 16-17 and note.

22-3. Doctor Coranus...of Oxford] i.e. Antonio de Corro (1527-91), a Spanish monk. In 1557 he adopted Protestantism, and after living for some time in France and Flanders came to London (1568). Was lecturer on divinity at Oxford, 1578-86. The word 'sonne' is, I suppose, used in an academic sense for 'pupil'.


28. Clarenceius] Apparently Robert Cook is meant. He studied at St. John's College, Cambridge, M.A. 1561, and was made Chester herald in 1561, and Clarenceux king-of-arms in 1567, an office which he held until the time of his death. The date of this is uncertain; Nichols, Progresses of Q. Eliz., ii. 512 note, gives it as 1592, the D. N. B. as ?1593. The passage of Harvey here referred to is dated July 16, 1593. When Nashe wrote Richard Lee was Clarenceux, having been appointed on May 8, 1594 (Cal. of S. P. Dom.). Nashe seems not to have known of Cook's death; see 108. 11-16.

36. **lycoras** i.e. liquorice, a not unusual form.

**posset curd** "posset" was a drink composed of hot milk curdled by some infusion, as wine or other liquor; *Cent. Dict.*

P. 107, 3. **Knight of Tobacco** I can learn nothing of the ceremonies accompanying this—doubtless one of the many burlesque initiations which seem to have been popular at the date.

5-7. **The transformation of the King of Trinidad into two Daughters . . . Tobacco** I know nothing of this 'Commedie'.

10. **as a French Varlet . . . is** The meaning is, I suppose, that Chute was taken in the expedition merely as one might take one's personal servant with one, and not chosen for his valour or skill in any other respect. But the expression is far from clear.

13. **dead payes** Cf. note on ii. 225. 30.

14. **Graphiel Hagiels** Source of names not found.

**Wily Beguily** It was supposed by Malone that there is in this passage a reference to the play of *Wily Beguiled*, first printed in 1606, but written earlier, the question being of importance because this play must have been composed later than the *Merchant of Venice* and *Romeo and Juliet*, passages in which are parodied or imitated. The matter is discussed in Mr. Daniel's introduction to his edition of Brooke's *Romeus*, N.S.S., 1875, pp. xxxv-ix. It is perfectly clear that in the present passage there is no reference to the play, but that 'wily beguily' is merely equivalent to a wily trick, hank-eye-pankey.

17. **Whippets** No other instance of such a use of the word is known to me. A reference to the dog so called would hardly be to the point.

**Jack Strawes** Jack Straw was one of the leaders of the rising of 1381; this is the earliest instance in *N. E. D.* of the use of the expression for 'a man of straw', a person of no consideration; cf. iii. 221. 35.

18. **enable** i.e. to give power to, regard as qualified or competent; cf. iii. 55. 14; hence sometimes, as here, to exalt. Not a mistake for 'ennoble'.

23. **sty** i.e. mount.

36. **&* India** Sir Thomas Baskerville took part in the expedition of Drake and Hawkins to the West Indies in 1595, and after their death was in command. The expedition returned in May, 1596.

P. 108, 1-2. **in a young Knights Chamber** We have no means of guessing who this may have been.

3. **Syr Roger Williams** We know nothing beyond what is stated here of Nashe's connexion with him. He was lieutenant to Sir John Norris in the Low Countries, 1577-84, and under Leicester there in 1585; fought at Zutphen in 1586, in which year he was knighted; served in the cause of Henry of Navarre, 1590; succeeded Essex as commander of the English troops encamped before Rouen in 1592, and died in 1595.

7. **such as Plato would** See Leges, xii. p. 958 e.

10. **chrismoe** i.e. infant, babe, *N. E. D.*

19. **Summ' tot'** i.e. 'Summa totalis'; cf. iii. 239. 196.


26-7. **And as Plato had . . . Agatho** Diog. Laert. iii. 23. 32.
HAVE WITH YOV, ETC. 355


P. 109, 1. Peter Pingles] 'Pingle' means a keen contest; see N. E. D.; and from this perhaps the name is derived. I can hear of no person so called. For another sense of 'pingle' cf. iii. 242. 272.

2. Moundragons] A soldier of this name is frequently referred to, generally as a hero; cf. Lodge, Wit's Misery, B 2v, 'Charles the Emperour gaue [him] his cloake: his sword was Moundragons, all that hee hath if you beleue him, are but gifts in reward of his vertue', and Dekker, Lanthorn and Candle-light, Wks., ed. Grosart, iii. 240. 'Vp the staires does braue Mount Dragon ascend: the Knight and he encounter, and with this staffe does he valiantly charge vpon him'. The name is here used ironically. See also Barnes's Devil's Charter (Mat. sur Kunde des ält. engl. Dramas, vi.), i. 1497. The allusions may be merely to the historical character, the commander of the Spanish forces at the siege of Guines in 1558 (see Holinshed, Chron., ed. 1807–8, iv. 97, 100), and defender of Middleburgh at the time of its capture by the Prince of Orange in 1574 (see Gascoigne, Wks., ed. Hazlitt, i. 172–80). Though, however, he was a soldier of distinction, it is difficult to account for such references to him as the present—unless perchance he had acquired popularity as a character in some well-known play.

6. mushrumpes] A usual Elizabethan form of 'mushroom'.

8. Proh Dii immortales] The phrase occurs (among other places) in Terence's Adelphi, iii. 4. 1, which was of course one of the first Latin classics with which the schoolboy became familiar.

10-11. clap the doe vpon a poast] From Hakluyt, Princ. Nav., ed. 1903–5, vi. 174; certain of the Ethiopians make of flour and water 'very thinnest dough, which they sticke upon some post of their houses, where it is baked by the heate of the Sunne'.

12. who's will] i.e. who so will.

22. Bragannisme] The form does not seem to occur elsewhere.

26. Babylonian briches] Allusions to the 'goodly Babylonish garment' which so attracted Achan (see Joshua 7. 21) are not infrequent. Vaughan in the Golden Grove, 1608, Cc 2v, says that our ancestors 'knewed not what meant our Italianated, Frenchified, nor Duch and Babylonian breeches', and at H 3v speaks of gallants attired 'in Babylonian rayments'.

34. Kenimnawo compt] The meaning of this is unknown to me.

35. Edge] Presumably the 'Orator' mentioned at l. 315. 34.

36. he painted himself like a Curtisan] I cannot say to what this refers.

P. 110, 4. Latine Poem of Master Campions] See Campion, ed. Bullen, 1889, p. 336, from the edition of 1619. It was also in that of 1595, and runs as follows:

In Barnum.

Mortales decem tela inter Gallica caesos,
Marte tuo perhibes, in numero vitium est:
Mortales nullos si dicere, Barne, volebas,
Servasset numerum versus, itemque fidem.

12. Allone] i.e. 'allons'; come on; a frequent perversion.

A a 2
15-16. the excellent Gentlewoman] N.L. B 4, G.H. i. 276. 19; P.S. 2\textsuperscript{o} 4, G.H. ii. 16. 16, and Y 2\textsuperscript{v}, ii. 263. 10. Grosart insists that this was the Countess of Pembroke, 'that is, that Harvey wished to convey that idea'. He bases this on the fact that Harvey praises Mary Pembroke, both in the New Letter and in Pierce's Supererogation, in somewhat the same terms as the 'excellent gentlewoman', who, according to him, has undertaken his defence and is going entirely to demolish Nashe in her reply (G.H. iii. xxiii). The chief passage referring to the Countess of Pembroke (N.L. A 4\textsuperscript{r}-B 1, G.H. i. 266-7) runs: 'The sky-coloured Muse [i.e. 'Urania' in Spenser's Colin Clout] best commendeth her owne heauenly harmony: and who hath sufficiently praised the hyacinthine & azuredie, but itselfe?...What Dia-margariton, or Dia-ambre, so comfortatiue or cordiall, as Her Electuary of Gemmes, (for though the furious Tragedy Antonius, be a bloody chaique of estate, yet the diuine Discourse of Life and Death, is a restoriatiue Electuary of Gemmes) who I do not expressly name, not because I do not honour Her with my hart, but because I would not dishonour Her with my pen, whom I admire, and cannot blason enough.' The question must, I think, be left open, but I am by no means sure that Harvey would, or could with propriety, have referred to the countess as a 'gentlewoman'.

16-17. patronesse ... quarrell] This should surely have been in roman type, as it is all quoted, with what follows, to 'blacke incke', from P.S. 2\textsuperscript{o} 4, G.H. ii. 16. 17-22.

30-1. like a Tinker . . . his wench and his dogge] Cf. Dekker, Wonderful Year, Wks., ed. Grosart, i. 142, 'hee was none of those base rascally Tinkers, that with a ban-dog and a drab at their tayles . . . will take a purse sooner then stop a kettle'. Mr. Crawford refers me to R. Armin's Two Maides of More-clacke, ll. 745-6, 'Humil. Indeede whats a tinker without's wench, staffe, and dogge?'

22-3. a Germane . . . his Tannakin and her Cocke] Cf. Dekker, Lanthorn and Candlelight, Wks., ed. Grosart, iii. 260, 'As the swizer has his wench and his Cocke with him whè he goes to the warres'.

23. Tannakin] i.e. girl or woman; 'apparently a particular use of Tannikin, a dim. of Anne (with prefixed t- as in Ted for Ed)', Cent. Dict., but the word must surely come from a Dutch or German source, as it is, I believe, in almost every case used of a foreign woman; cf. Armin, Nest of Ninnies, S.S., p. 5, l. 12, 'like a Dutch tannikin sliding to market on the ise'. Cent. Dict. quotes Marston, Dutch Courtesan, i.i, 'A pretty nimbly-eyd Dutch tanakin'. As a term of abuse in Dekker, Shoem. Hol. III. i, Wks., ed. Pearson, i. 29, 'Eyre: . . . rippe you Browne bread tannikin'.


34. the one shee] Cf. P.S. I 2\textsuperscript{o}, G.H. ii. 119. 20.

35. the credible Gentlewoman] P.S. I 2\textsuperscript{o}, G.H. ii. 130. 18.


P. III, 1. and] The reading of Collier and Grosart is probably right; but I retain that of the quarto as being possible. a new starre in Cassiopeia] P.S. Ee 1, G.H. ii. 324. 15. The star appeared on November 18, 1572; see Stow, Annals, ed. 1615, 673. It was his observations upon this star that first brought the Danish astronomer Tycho Brahe into notice. In England it had been dealt

2. _the heavenly creature_ [N. L. B 4°, G. H. i. 276. 25.]

2-3. _a Lion in the field of Minerua_ [N. L. B 4°, G. H. i. 277. 17-18.]

3-4. _a right Bird... charoio_ [N. L. B 4°, G. H. i. 277. 27.]

4-7. _she hath read Homer... Tyraquell_ [P. S. Dd 3°, G. H. ii. 320. 3-9.]

18. _a Hare_ Pliny, *H. N.* viii. 81, states, on the authority of Archelaus, that hares have the characteristics of both sexes. It is the hyaena, not the hare, that was supposed to change its sex each year; cf. Pliny, *H. N.* viii. 44, xxviii. 27, and Aelian, *Nat. Anim.* i. 25.

19-20. _as Pliny holds there is male and female of all things*_ H. N. xiii. 7.

23-4. _a Simon Magus... Silenes; an Aristotle... Hermia*_ Probably, if not certainly, from Bale's *Acts of English Votaries*, which Nashe had been reading (cf. note on 82. 16-17); see ed. 1560, pt. ii, A 7, 'baude Aristotel, which... kept a moste filthye whore, called Hermia, but also after her deathe, did sacrifice vnto her as to a greate Goddes, and made hymnes in her prayse. This sheweth Origene & Ihon Textor in his officines. Both Simon Magus and his whore Selenes... wer admitted of the Romains... to be worshipped for Goddes.' The name of Simon's companion is generally given as 'Helena', but 'Selenes' is found in certain editions of Irenaeus, *Contra Haeres.* i. 23. 2; see Migne, *Patr. Curs.*, Ser. Grec. 7, col. 671, note 4.

The story of Aristotle and 'Hermia' is thus told in Textor's *Officina*, 1532, fol. 115° top: 'Hermia fuit meretrix, cui prae nimio amore sacra fecit Aristoteles, quae laudibus hymnos dicavit, Vnde ab Eume-donte seu Demophilo accusatus reliquis Athenis (ubi triginta annos docuerat) Chalciden se receptit. Auctor Origenes'. I have not found the passage in Origen. This mythical _meretrix_ evidently owes her existence to an error curiously similar to that which, in the commentary of one 'Thomas Anglicus' on Boethius, *De Cons. Phil.* iii, prosa 8, made of Alcibiades 'mulier pulcherrima' (see Migne, *Patr. Curs.* 63 (Boet. 3), col. 551), and, as some hold, won him a place, under the name of Archipia, in the finest of all French ballades. She is simply Hermias or Hermia, tyrant of Atarneus and Assos, a friend of Aristotle, at whose court the philosopher spent several years. While there he is said to have fallen in love with the tyrant's concubine, and with his consent to have married her, afterwards sacrificing to her as to the Eleusinian Ceres; see Diog. Laert. v. 1. 5. 3-4; also Euseb. *Praep. ad. Evangelium*, xv. 2, who has a different account of the matter, calling her Pythias, the sister of Hermias. The woman 'Hermia' is fairly often referred to; cf. Greene, *Wks.*, ed. Grosart, iv. 221; ix. 123; xi. 138; Heywood, *Twoorion*, 1624, 303 top (trans. from Textor). See also C. Agrippa, *De Incert. et Van.*, cap. 63 'Aristoteles... Hermiae pellici sicut Eleusiniae Cerceri sacra fecit'; but Agrippa's 'Hermiae pellicci' is ambiguous, and he may have meant 'the concubine of Hermias'. Sandford, whether intentionally or not, kept the ambiguity in his translation (fol. 92°), 'Hermia his woma'.

25. _Silius Poeta_ Nashe can hardly be referring to SiliusItalicus, whose work was by no means contemptuously regarded at the date,
and I am forced to suppose that he is merely attempting a very elementary pun on the sound of the name. Cf. iii. 13. 25 ‘Discipulares’.

26. Da, Venus, consilium] Perhaps a common enough phrase, but only known to me in an epigram of Q. Catulus, quoted by Aulus Gellius, xix. 9.


32-4. as in the Turkes Alchoron . . . for the love of Mahomes] I do not know whence Nashe took this.


4-5. as the Italian Lady did] i.e. Catharine Sforza; see Bayle, Dict., 1734-8, v. 131-2.

7-8. Semiramis was in love with a Horse] The immediate source is perhaps the De Incert. et Van., trans. 1569, fol. 94. See Pliny, H.N. viii. 64.


23-4. it will them . . . greenes sicknes] G. H. ii. 324. 21-2.

23. as in a clere Vrinall] The image is not infrequent. Mr. Crawford compares Two Gentlemen of Verona, II. i. 40-1.

28. with a witness] Cf. i. 321. 28 and note.

33-5. Licophrons penne . . . her wooers] Perhaps taken carelessly from C. Agrippa, De Incert. et Van., cap. 4, trans. 1569, fol. 12*, ‘Licophron writeth, that Penelope, made famouse by Homer for her singular chastitie, did bedde with certaine of her louers’.


8-10. Ennius invention of Dido . . . that Legend] Probably from C. Agrippa, De Incert. et Van., cap. 4, trans. 1569, fol. 12*, ‘The Poete Ennius settinge out the deedes of Scipio, was the first that fained Dido, the first buildresse of Carthage, a verie chaste widowe, to haue ben enamoured of Eneas: the whiche yet according to the reckening of times, could never haue seene him: whiche lie, Virgul did afterwaite so beautifie, that it was beleued for a true historie.’

12-13. the Ballet of Anne Askew] Printed in Roxburghes Ballads, i. 31-4. Anne Askew was a Protestant martyr, burnt in 1546.


28. Hey ding a ding] For the use of the phrase here cf. Faustus xi. 31-3 (Breymanna, 1604, li. 1167-70): ‘if he [a horse] had but the quality of hey-ding-ding, hey-ding-ding, I’d make a brave living on him: he has a buttock as slick as an eel’. A ballad of the name is mentioned in Laneham’s Letter; see Chappell, Pop. Mus. 263.
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29. have at your plum-tree] The phrase also occurs in The Widow, i. ii. (Beaumont and Fletcher, ed. Dyce, iv. 318). For this use of 'plum-tree' see Farmer and Henley, Slang Dict., where examples are given from c. 1547, also Middleton's No Wit, no Help, ii. i. 89-90. Cf. Italian 'susino' in Pietro Aretino's Ragionamenti, 1584 (Brunet's and ed.), pt. i. p. 115, third line from foot.

30. Megara] i.e., I suppose, Megaera; cf. iii. 217. 7.

32. as right as a fiddle] I can give no other early instance of the phrase. Examples of the similar expression 'as fit as a fiddle' are given in N. E. D. from 1882 only. Cf. Dekker, Wks., ed. Grosart, i. 182. 4-5, 'as fine as a farthing fiddle'.


4. Getulian] I can find no authority for the depreciatory sense in which the word is used. Can Nashe possibly have meant 'Getan'—referring to the 'barbara verba' of Ex Ponto iv. 13. 23?

slabberies] Presumably equivalent to 'drivel'.

7. trump and poope] Both words mean to cheat, to get the better of.

7-8. if the winde come in that doore] i.e. if that is how the matter stands. The expression is very common; cf. Heywood's Proverbs, ed. Sharman, 118. Several examples in Prof. Collins's note to Lodge and Greene's Looking Glass, l. 289. Also in Tarlton's Jests, in Hazlitt's Sh. Jest-Books, ii. 241, and in Merry Tales of Skelton, u. s. ii. 11.

11. dumpe] i.e. a mournful tune, or a slow dance.

12. Whipsideoxy] Apparently a mere nonce-name. We may compare 'Syr Iohn whydpok' in Jyl of Breyndfords Testament, ed. Furnivall, 187, l. 329. Harvey, P. S. Ee 2*, G. H. ii. 328. 2, seems to use the word for a 'whipping'.

13. Wee three] Alluding to the humorous picture of two boobies, with the inscription 'We three, Loggerheads be', the spectator being of course the third—or to games or jests of a similar nature. Cf. Dekker, Gull's Hornbook, Wks., ed. Grosart, ii. 249. 8.

14. Stoope Gallant] A ballad of the name was entered to R. Jones, July 9, 1580. I believe that nothing further is known about it.

16. No foole to the old Foole] Proverbial; cf. Heywood, Proverbs, ed. Sharman, p. 96, and Lyly's Mother Bomby, IV. ii. 97, 'In faith I perceive an olde sawe and a rustie, no foole to the old foole'.


25. In pudding time] i.e. just at the right moment. Cf. Bernard's Terence, ed. 1607, p. 106 (Andria v. 5.), 'In tempore ipso miki advenis, You come in season: in the very nick: in pudding time', and p. 83 (And. iv. 4.), 'Per tempus advenis, You come in pudding time, you come as well as may be'. The expression is frequent. Cf. Wilson, Disc. of Usury, 1572, C 8*, and Heywood, Proverbs, ed. Sharman, p. 165.

32-3. My Printers Wife too hee hath had a twitch at] See P. S. T 2*, G. H. ii. 229-30. The passage is more than usually incomprehensible, even for Harvey, but it is 'Nashe's S. Fame' that he is talking about, not Mrs. Danter. He calls her 'Danters Maulkin, and the onely hagge of the Presse'.

34. maulkin] P. S. T 2*, G. H. ii. 239. 17; 230. 15. There is, of course, a play on the two senses of 'malkin', (1) a diminutive of 'Moll', used as a generic term for a girl, especially for a slattern, and (2) a
mop, and in particular one used to clean out a baker's oven, as at iii. 177. 23-4.


23. scrimpum scrampum] The exact meaning of this—if any—is unknown to me.

25-6. viperous critical monsters] P. S. 3* 2, G. H. ii. 20. 10-11. The expressions which follow will be found without difficulty in the epistle in question. Nashe's summary is fair.

P. 116, 6. Patter-wallet] Possibly some sort of beggar may be meant. The word is otherwise unknown to me.

Megiddo] I cannot explain this.

22. M. Bodines commendation of him] Bodin had written a letter in commendation of Harvey; see P. S. 3* 3', F 1, G. H. ii. 23, 24, 83, this being apparently a testimonial of some sort, perhaps in support of Harvey's candidature for some office. I can discover no reference to Harvey in Bodin's printed works. From 4 Let. K 1, G. H. i. 252, we learn that Spenser had often called Harvey 'Homer', 'And Monsieur Bodine vow'd as much as he'.

27. Barnabe the bright] i.e. St. Barnabas's day, June 11—called 'the bright' because it was the day of the summer solstice. The use of the name in Spenser's Epithalamion, l. 266, will be remembered.

33. Hatcher] I suppose Thomas Hatcher, the antiquary, who died in 1583, is referred to. He edited Haddon's Lucubrationes, 1567, and Carr's De Scriptorum Britannicorum Paucitate, 1576.

Lewen] This must be William Lewin (d. 1598), a civilian, who prefixed a Latin epistle to Harvey's Ciceronianus. He is termed by Barnes 'Rhetoriques richest noblesse' (P. S. 3* 3', G. H. ii. 24), perhaps because he was Public Orator at Cambridge, 1570-1. He became later M.P. for Rochester, and a Master of Chancery.

Wilson] Described by Barnes as 'Wilson, whose discretion did redresse Our English Barbarisme'. Thomas Wilson (1525?-1581), the author of the Art of Rhetoric, is evidently meant.

36. Miserum est fuisse folicem] The idea is found expressed in a great variety of ways; see W. F. H. King's Class. Quot., 1904, No. 1677. The best known authority seems to be Boethius, De Cons. Phil. ii, prosa 4 'In omni adversitate fortunae infelicissimum genus est infortunii fuisse felicem'.

P. 117, 3. the Printers Advertisement] P. S. 3* 4, G. H. ii. 24-5. The sonnets referred to are to be found at P. S. Ff 2* to end, G. H. ii. 336, &c.


17. neuer so] The sense is evidently 'never became so by means of them.'


P. 118, 2. I was euer unwilling . . .] The opening words of the book, G. H. ii. 31.
8-9. after...wee were reconcile] Cf. ii. 179. 29-30.
10-11. being vrgd...Philosophie] I do not find 'being vrgd', though this is implied in P.S. *2*-*27*, G.H. ii. 6, and elsewhere; for the rest see A 3, 34. 21, &c.; A 2, 32. 11; A 3, 34. 13-14.
23-9. One that...earth] This does not seem to be a quotation from Harvey, though evidently intended to appear as such. It, however, fairly represents the charges brought by him against Nashe.
P. 119, 6. Catalanian...Hethite] I do not know of any special sense attaching to these words.
13. Romane Palemon] Probably taken from C. Agrippa, De Incerti. et Van., cap. 3, where it is said (trans. 1569, fol. 7) that 'Palemon...was a very arrogant man, that he auanted that knowledge tooke beginning with him, and shoulde die with him'. See Suet. De Gram. Illustr. 23.
18. Stramutzen] The meaning is unknown to me.
P. 120, 16. Taleus] I suppose that Audomarus Taleus is referred to (cf. note on 64. 10-11), though from the context one would imagine that a book of the name was meant.
22. breake] i.e. become bankrupt.
P. 121, 2. a Venus in printr] Cf. 112. 22. The usual sense of 'in printr' was 'in perfection', sometimes 'true', 'real'.
8-9. though Sir Philip Sidney fetcheth it out of Plautus] This is an error. In the Apology for Poetry he says that we find 'the Terentian Gnato and our Chaucers Pandar so exprest that we nowe vse their names to signifietheirtrades' (Gregory Smith, Eliz. Crit. Essays, i. 166. 2-4). This derivation is the one generally accepted.
12-14. as Thucidides pronounceth...least spoken] Hist. ii. 45 της τε γαρ ἐπαρχουσας φίλων μη χειρος γινωσκαι υμων μεγάλη η δόξα και 
η δν εν επι διάνυσον ἐρεῖτο περι η ψάγον εν τοις δροσι κλοιος θη. The saying is frequently referred to.
18. indesinently] i.e. incessantly. The earliest instance in N.E.D. belongs to the year 1651. Nashe has 'indesinence' in another sense at i. 316. 29.
22. Fasilia, the daughter of Pelagius] An error; Fasilia, or Favilla, was son of Pelagius, king of the Asturias (718-37). See Münster, Cosmographia, ed. 1572, p. 74 (lib. ii. cap. 20—in a list of the kings of Castille) 'Fasilia filius Pelagij. Huc discerpsit ursus in uenatise'.
24-5. The Devill of Dowgate] A ballad entitled 'the Devell of Dowgate and his sonne' was entered in the Stationers' Register to Edward White on Aug. 5, 1596, but I believe that no copy is now
known. Long afterwards, on Oct. 17, 1623, a play called *The Devil of Dowgate* was licensed by Sir H. Herbert. It was described as by Fletcher (Var. Shakespeare, 1821, iii. 276). It has been identified with *Wit at Several Weapons* (Fleay, Biog. Chron. i. 218). I cannot learn what the 'Devil' was.

25. *a woman in Rooms* i.e. one Marcia; see Pliny, H. N. ii. 52.
31-4. *the female of the Aspis ...* See Pliny, H. N. viii. 35.
35-6. *In some Countrys ... most men* i.e. among the Gindanes, a people of Libya; see Herodotus iv. 176. Brusonius, Facetiae, ed. 1560, p. 237, attributes the same thing to the Stymphali, but, so far as I can discover, without authority. Cf. also Montaigne, *Essai*, i. 22 (ed. Leclerc, 2-vol. undated Garnier edition, vol. i, pp. 82, foot, 80 mid.).

P. 122, 1-2. *as Messalina did* See Pliny, H. N. x. 83. The immediate source was probably C. Agrippa, *De Incert. et Van.*, cap. 63, trans. 1569, fol. 93v.

3. *Agelastus* A name given to M. Licinius Crassus (ἀγελάστος). His having laughed only once is referred to by Cicero, *De Fin.* v. 30, 92, and *Tusc. Disp.* iii. 15. 31, and Macrob. *Sat.* ii. i. 6—all on the authority of Lucilius. Pliny, H. N. vii. 19, says that he never laughed. So far as I am aware the only writer who gives the reason for his laughter is St. Jerome, *Epist.* 7. 5, Migne, *Patr. Curs.* 22 (Hieron. i), cols. 340–1.


15. *ingram cosset* i.e. ignorant pet, or silly. 'Cosset' is properly a lamb brought up by hand, hence a coddled child.

20. *Friskin* i.e. frolicksome person; cf. the different use at


*Basilino* Nothing seems to be known of this.

*Turkelony* See Chappell, u. s., 95–6. It was a dance tune, and is mentioned by Gosson together with 'Rogero'.

23. *All the flowers of the broom* See Chappell, u. s., 116, 91. Mentioned as a dance tune in Breton's *Works of a Young Wit*, 1577.

*Pepper is black* See Chappell, u. s., p. 121. The present seems to be the earliest allusion to it, save for an undated black-letter ballad by Elderton, *Prepare ye to the Plowe*, which was to be sung to this tune. See Hazlitt, *Handbook*, 178 b.

*Greene sleeues* See Chappell, u. s., 227–33.


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34, &c. *I have thundred ... pike* Cf. *P. S. D 4*°, &c., *G. H.* ii. 70-2. The general sense is correct, but the quotation is not close.

P. 128, 10-15. *where I wish him ... mungrels* See i. 258. 24-9.

20. *beeing never my Postie* It was, of course, Danter's. See his device on i. 338. Harvey refers to 'Aut nunc, aut nunquam' at *P. S. C* 3, *C* 4*°, *Cc* 3*°*, *G. H.* ii. 55. 25, 60. 6, 309. 9—in the last case together with 'Aut nunquam tentes, aut perfice'—but without distinctly attributing it to Nashe, though this is more or less implied.

26. *a kinde of old verse* I cannot learn of any verse called by this name.

26-7. *fell a rayling at Turberuile or Elderton* So far as I am aware Harvey does not mention Turberville at all. For his railing at Elderton cf. his brief but contemptuous mention of 'your braue London Eldertons' in *3 Let. C* 4, *G. H.* i. 62. 8-9. See i. 280. 26-31.

27. *Licosthenes reading* Presumably referring to C. Lycocthenes' well-known and much used collection of *Apophthegmata*; but there is, of course, also a vast amount of miscellaneous learning in his *Prodigiorum Chronicon*.


33. *Ascanius* I have been unable to discover the book or author referred to.

33-4. *Andrew Mmansells English Catalogue* i.e. *The first (second)* Part of the Catalogue of English printed Bookes: which concerneth such matters of Divinitie, as haue bin either written in our owne Tongue, or translated out of anie other language, and haue bin published ... 1595. The second part 'concerneth the sciences mathematicall ... and also ... Phisick and Surgerie.'

P. 194, 2. *crie mumbudget* i.e. to be tongue-tied, to keep silence.

3-7. *The victorioust Captaines ... he trowles vp*] For the 'Captaines' see, I suppose, *P. S. G* 1°, &c., *G. H.* ii. 98-104; for the 'confuters' see *B* 2°, &c., *G. H.* ii. 43-9. For 'victorioust' cf. 'curioust' in *Patient Grissill, IV. i.*, l. 1637, in Dekker's Wks., ed. Grosart (quoted in Prof. Collins's note to Greene's *Alphonsus*, l. 1830).

5-6. *likewhom ... forcible* Possibly suggested by C. Agrippa, *De Incert. et Van.*, cap. 6, trans. 1569, fol. 20, where, speaking of the evil power of rhetoric, he instances the eloquence of Luther and others as a great cause of heresy. Cf. also Sleidan (Philippson), *Famous Chronicle*, 1560, fol. 332*°, 'What force and plétie of eloquence was in him [i.e. Luther], his workes doe sufficiently declare, ... certenly the Dutch tongue he beautifiyd and enryched excedingly (sic), and hathe the chiefe commendation therin.'

15. *Puerilis* Nashe is apparently using the word merely for 'school-book', but there was of course a work—or perhaps more than one—called *Sententiae Pueriles*; see note on iii. 366. 15.

16. *a true Pellican* The *N. E. D.* states that this fable about the pelican appears to be of Egyptian origin, and to have referred originally to another bird, mentioning its use by Epiphanius [see the *Physiologus* attributed to him, Migne, *Patr. Cur*. Ser. Grec., 43.
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(Epiph. 3), col. 523], and St. Augustine [Migne, Patr. Curs., 37
(Aug. 4), col. 1299]. The two accounts differ somewhat, but in both
the young birds are brought back to life by the blood of the parent—not,
as seems to have been later a more common form of the story, fed

19-20. Sapitès dominabitur astra] This very common saying seems
generally to be attributed to Ptolemy, as in the Adagia of G. Cognatus,
in Erasm. Adag. 1574, ii. 365, under ‘Astra inclinant, sed non urgent’; Scut,
Disc. of Witchcraft, 1584, 207; Lodge, Devil Conjured, 1596, G 1.
I have, however, not been able to light upon it in his works; cf., how-
ever, Centum Ptol. Sententiae, trans. Pontanus, 1519, sent. 5 (p. 7)
‘Potest qui sciens est multos stellarum effectus avertere, quando
naturam earum noverit, ac se ipsum ante illorum eventum praeparare’.
M. Cognet, Pol. Discourses, trans. Hoby, 1586, p. 188. m., appears
to attribute the saying to a certain prince mentioned by Aeneas Silvius.

20-1. the presenting of Artaxerxes with a cup of water] Cf. Plutarch, Artaxerxes, 5 (see also below). I have not, of course, made
any attempt to verify Nashe’s statement as to the frequency of the story
in Epistles Dedicatori, but it may be noted in passing that it is found
in those of Elyot’s Governor, ed. Croft, i. cxci, La Primauysay’s
French Academy, and Lupton’s Savile, 1580, A 2*—besides, of
course, the classic instance of its use in Plutarch’s (or another’s)
dedication to Trajan of the Reg. et Imp. Apoph. Stanyhurst in his
trans. of Aen. i-iv, ed. Arber, p. 10, says the same thing as Nashe.

25. Servetus] Michael Servetus (1509-55), a Spanish doctor of
medicine and famous antitrinitarian heretic. Attempted to associate
himself with the Reformers, especially Calvin, but was viewed by them
also as heretical. He was burnt at Geneva.

Muretus] Marc Antoine Muret (1526-85), a French legal scholar,
and later priest.

Surius] Laurentius Surius (1522-98), a German ecclesiastical
historian. Best known by his Lives of the Saints, 1570. He wrote
against Luther; cf. Foxe’s Acts and Monuments, ed. Townsend, v. 600,
602, where he is called ‘furious Surius’ and ‘his railing stories’ are
spoken of. Cf. Donne, ed. E. K. Chambers, Satire iv. 47-8, ‘or outlie
either Jovius, or Surius, or both together’.

31-2. ever since 89] The ‘advertisement for Papp-hatchett’ is
dated at the end Nov. 5, 1589.

33. pannier] This passage is given in N. E. D. under the
meaning ‘to furnish with a pannier or panniers’. The only other
instance of the word—with a different meaning—is in 1804.

Z 2, G. H. ii. 54-5, 272.

4-5. so did he ... other Booke] See i. 284. 1 and note on 283. 32.

5-6. my excepting against his Doctorship] Cf. P. S. E 1*, G. H.
ii. 73-4, and see i. 277. 33-4, 279. 18-19.

7-11. My calling him a faune-guest messenger ... day] P. S. E 1*,
G. H. ii. 74. 5-8. See i. 265. 5.

11. with] The sense requires ‘with him’.


9-16. See i. 276. 36, &c., 295. 5-7, (?) 281. 14, &c.
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24–5. my taking vpon me to be Greenes advocate] P. S. E 2, G. H. ii. 75. 10. See i. 269. 33, &c., to 301. 9, also 330. 7, &c.


11–14. of palpable Atheisme . . . his Enemies] P. S. E 2, G. H. ii. 74. 27–8. See, for the last phrase, i. 272. 4–5. The 'palpable Atheisme' of which Harvey accuses Nashe seems no more than a hit at his contemptuous treatment of Richard's Lamb of God.

17–18. I tested at heaven . . . arrived] P. S. E 2, G. H. ii. 75. 1–2. See i. 301. 24–5. It is Harvey who calls it 'the hauen,' &c.


32. nor Barnard all things] A very common saying; cf. 220. 20. See Chaucer's Legend of Good Women, l. 16. Prof. Skeat notes that in the margin of two MSS. the proverb 'Bernardus monachus non uidit omnia' is given. He refers to J. J. Hofmann's Lexicon Universale, Basle, 1677, s. v. Bernardus. Can it have originated in a jesting allusion to the story of St. Bernard riding all day by the lake of Lausanne so absorbed in meditation that he did not see it? See the Golden Legend, trans. Caxton, Temple ed. v. 21.


10–11. His imprisonment . . . supposal] P. S. F 2, G. H. ii. 87. 1–6. In the same passage Harvey refers to Nashe's charge, at i. 296. 35, that he himself had written the 'wellwiller's epistle' before his 3 Let.—not, as is here stated, his 4 Let.

13. a yeare ago] The 3 Let. (1580) were about fifteen years ago; there is evidently some error.

15–18. Hee bids . . . mine] P. S. F 2, G. H. ii. 87. 16–22. Harvey is evidently referring to the short epistle to the reader, signed R. I., in the first edition of Piers Penilesse; Nashe to the letter to the printer, signed by himself, before the second and later editions.


32. as another Scholler] There is, so far as I am aware, no hint anywhere as to who this may have been.

P. 128, 6. these three yeres] If this is to be taken literally, Nashe must have been paid for his books at or before the time of entry in the
Stationers' Register—not at the date of publication. The last entry had been that of the *Unfortunate Traveller*, Sept. 17, 1593, but this, with the *Terrors of the Night* and *Dido*, appeared in 1594.

7. *that's once* i.e. once for all, a common asseverative phrase.

14. *he putting in the Presse* *P. S. Y 27*, G. H. ii. 262. 20–2.

16–17. *after three Forme a day* The use of the word ‘after’ in such expressions is not uncommon; cf. i. 170. 32, also Cotgrave (quoted in Stubbes's *Anatomy*, N. S. S., i. 294 foot), ‘I sure comme un Gentil-homme, He swears after a thousand pound a yeare,’ and Dekker, 1 *Hon. Whore*, I. iii, ed. Pearson, ii. 11, ‘*Viola*: Swears as if you came but new from knightings. *Fust*: Nay, Ile swearne after 400. a yeare.’ In both these instances the meaning is evidently ‘in the style of’; here it seems—so far as it has any definite meaning—to be equivalent to ‘by’.

20. *Danters gentleman* *P. S. B 2*, G. H. ii. 42. 4. Harvey refers, of course, to the fact that Danter had printed *Strange News*, and on the title page had described Nashe as ‘Gentleman’; cf. i. 312. 1–2.

21. *right worshipfull Gabriell* *P. S. 3* 1, *Ff 2*, Gg 1, G. H. ii. 19, 335, 342.

21–4. *the gentleman he brings in . . . reinoounter* *P. S. D 1–2*, G. H. ii. 62–4. The phrases italicized by Nashe seem not to occur in Harvey.


35. *tale of ten eggs . . .* *P. S. F 37*, G. H. ii. 89. 17–24. Harvey implies that Nashe had sometimes eaten ‘eight or nine eggs, & a pound of butter for your pore part, with Gods plenty of other victuals, & wine enough’ two hours before his ordinary. It seems to have been unusual to take breakfast at all; according to Harrison, *Descr. of Eng.* ii. cap. 4, ed. N. S. S., p. 162, only a few young hungry stomachs did so, most persons contenting themselves with dinner and supper only.

The expression used by Nashe, ‘tale of ten eggs’, means a foolish story, or one not to the point. It occurs in various forms; cf. More, *Utopia*, trans. Robinson, Temple ed., p. 37, ‘Another commeth in with his five egges, and adviseth’ (Lat. ‘alius interim censet’), *Misogonus*, ed. Brandl in *Quellen*, II. v. 23, ‘What, come yow in with your seven egges’; E. Tasso, *Of Marriage and Wiving . . . Done into English by R. T.*, 1599, K. 2, ‘to smile . . . at those Tales of Simonides (who comming in with his five Eggges, whereof foure were rotten)
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dreameth...'; and Dekker, Batchelors' Banquet, Wks., ed. Grosart, i.
197, 'Then comes in the Chamber-maid with her fine [? fue] egges',
i.e. puts in her say, interrupts. The only tale known to me which
could possibly, as a well-known jest, have given rise to the expression
is that of 'Quinque ova' in the Facetiae of Poggio.

   Sir Kil-prick] P. S. F 3", G. H. ii. 89. 28. 'Chilperic' is meant;
cf. P. S. F 3, G. H. ii. 88. 14, 'the noble blood of the Kilprickes, and
   Childeberds, kings of France.'
6. Piggendewiggeri) The expression, which is unknown to me,
   seems here to be equivalent to 'pigsney', i.e. darling. It is treated by
   N. E. D. as a form of 'pig-wiggen'; cf. iii. 151. 7.
10. placards] i.e. plackets.
   durante bene placito] A legal phrase. The last two words are
   properly written as one.
16. See him & see him not] Mr. Fleay, Biog. Chron. ii. 144,
suggests that this phrase is the origin of the wrongful assignment
to Nashe of the authorship of Hans Beerpot his invisible Comedy of
See me and See me not.
17-20. the Good-wife...her selfe] P. S. F 27', G. H. ii. 87. 10-13.
20. a hacknry proverb] It is of fairly frequent occurrence; cf.
   Heywood, Proverbs, ed. Sharman, p. 144, and Two Angry Women of
21. K. Lud'] The mythical king who built Ludgate; he reigned
   from B.C. 72-58. 'London' was supposed to be a corruption of
   Caerlud, i.e. Lud's town; see Holinshed, Chron. 1807-8, i. 463.
   Belinus, Brennus brother] See Holinshed, u. s., i. 456. Belinus was
   a mythical British chieftain, supposed to be brother to the Gallic leader
   who sacked Rome in B.C. 390. Brennus also is claimed as British by
   Holinshed and other English historians, who state that Brennus and
   Belinus began to reign as joint kings of Britain in B.C. 390.
22. for the loute hee bare to oysters] I suppose the reference is
   merely to the fish-market at Billingsgate. There was an 'Oystergate'
25. Arches or Commissaries Court] A court of appeal belonging
   to the Archbishop of Canterbury.
26. prinkum prankums] Apparently the name of a kind of dance;
   see Chappell, Pop. Mus. 153-4, but here of course used in another sense.
27. his Sister] The strange account given in Harvey's Letter-
   book of the relations of his sister Mercy with a young nobleman seems
   to lend some colour to Nashe's charge.
29-30. cannot doo withall] i.e. cannot help it.
33. baudie rymes] P. S. F 4, G. H. ii. 91. 9, &c. See Introduction,
   Doubtful Works—Choice of Valentines.

P. 130, 7-8. there is in court but one true Diana] See i. 216. 23.
   Harvey attacks the expression as 'a very Vniuersall Proposition' and
   insulting to the rest of the court, P. S. Y 4", G. H. ii. 267. 20-3.
9-10. I think as reuerently of London as of any Citie] Harvey, in
   the same place, makes much of Nashe's attack upon London in Pierce
   Pennillesse (i. 216. 17-18).
NOTES

16-17. Gnimelfe Hengist] The first word is apparently from 'Gnimelf Maharba', an anagram of Abraham Fleming which occurs in the list of authorities prefixed to Scot's Discovery of Witchcraft.
20. it was his own first seeking] See i. 195. 23, &c., and notes.
30-1. I praisde him ... Menaphon] See iii. 320. 28.
36. that proper yong man] 4 Let. B 3, G. H. i. 170. 11-15. This was probably written before the appearance of Pierce Penilesse.

P. 181, 1. as also in his Booke] The distinction here made between Harvey's first butter-fly Pamphlet against Greene and his 'Booke' seems to indicate that the second of his Four Letters was first issued separately; cf. p. 153 of this volume.
4-8. praised me ... Tongue] 4 Let. F 4th, G. H. i. 218. 25, &c.
15-16. I never abused Marloe, Greene, Chettle in my life] As to this see notes on i. 10. 3-35, iii. 311. 25, &c. Harvey's words, P. S. D 4th, G. H. ii. 322. 18-23, are 'shamefully, and odiously misused every frend, or acquaintance, as he hath serued some of his favorablist Patrons, (whom for certain respects I am not to name), M. Apis Lapis, Greene, Marlow, Chettle, and whom not? ' For 'Apis Lapis' see i. 255-8. I know nothing which might be supposed an attack upon Chettle, unless perhaps the reference to Greene's Groats-worth of Wit, which he had edited, as 'a scald triuial lying pamphlet'; cf. i. 154. 10-11.
20-1. being but an Artificer] Chettle was first (1577-85) apprentice to T. East, the stationer, and from 1591 partner with W. Hoskins and J. Danter, printers. He had, however, probably begun by this time to turn his attention to play-writing.
31-2. thy defence ... his reproofs] P. S. Z 1, G. H. ii. 269. 20-1.
Harvey has 'condemnation'.

P. 182, 2. the Courts remoue] I suppose the sense to be that Harvey's word is less to be trusted than that of a beggar who undertakes to give one the news of court.
10-14. as it was against Paulus Iouius ... intelligence] From Bodin's Methodus ad Hist. Cognit., ed. 1595, p. 60 'Quaeigitur verissime scribere potuit, noluit: puta res in Italia gestas. Quae voleit, non potuit: scilicet externa.' In the latter phrase Bodin refers to Jovius's writings on Turkish history.
16. Gorbolone] No such word seems to be known; and it may, of course, be merely a fantastic formation of no meaning. In view, however, of Nashe's habit of picking up words at random from his reading it may be noted that a Russian of the name of 'Gorbolones' is mentioned in Hakluyt's Princ. Nav., ed. 1903-5, ii. 361, in an account of Russia which Nashe had almost certainly read; cf. note on 136. 33.
20. pearle] i.e. opacity of the crystalline lens, cataract; cf. Middleton, Spanish Gipsy, II. i. 167, 'A pearl in mine eye! I thank you for that; do you wish me blind?'
23-5] Cf. note on i. 10. 3-35.
26-7. Valentine Bird] I know nothing of this person; he may, however, have been related to the Christopher Bird of Saffron Walden, whose letter introducing Harvey to Demetrius is given in the Four
III. 188] HAVE WITH YOV, ETC. 369

Letters, and who is frequently referred to by Harvey. Harvey had earlier corresponded with a Richard Bird, curate in the neighbourhood of Saffron Walden; see Letter-Book, p. 173. I can find no book against Greene that can well be the one referred to, nor, consequently, have I traced the six lines 'embezzled' from Piers Penîlesse, which are mentioned below.

34. kire-elosoning] Though the words are spelt in many different ways, I cannot parallel 'elosoning', and the first o may be a misprint for e, ee, or ei. In N. E. D. two instances are given (Tyndale, 1528, and J. Taylor, 1630) of the noun as equivalent to a complaint or scolding. Cf. P. S. VI, G. H. ii. 237. 27.

P. 188, 1–2. Candlemas Term] i.e. Hilary Term, which lasted from Jan. 23 to Feb. 12. Candlemas day was Feb. 2.


10. for the chape of it] A 'chape' was a metal tip to a scabbard or to certain other things—used here figuratively for 'ornament', or 'finish off'.

12. Close] Harvey entitles the verses 'Glosse'.

13–14. tuft or label] The meaning seems to be fragment or specimen.

16–19. Labore Dolore . . . the Parliament tune . . . meeting the diuell in comisure house lane] I can learn nothing of any such tunes.

26. Dilla] Apparently one of the many meaningless refrain-words. (Wexford), also as a dialectal form of 'yelp'.


35. The Tragedie of wrath] See i. 334. 3.

Priscianus vapulans] A famous comedy of Nicodemus Frischlin (1547–89), a professor at Tübingen.

P. 184, 3. he mumbles . . . mouth] P. S. I 2, G. H. ii. 118. 5, &c., where the last two lines of the sonnet in question are quoted and commented upon.

4. horse-plum] A kind of small red plum.


The fencer is there called 'Tom Burley'.

10. in the same Inne] Cf. 92. 17–24.

17. was) when . . . Dolphin, for] Read rather 'was, when . . . Dolphin, for'.


See i. 320. 18–20.

27. pan] i.e. presumably, bowl; perhaps joking on pan=skull.

28–9. as the Elephant and the Rinoceros . . . pastures] See Aelian, Nat. Anim. xvii. 44 Μέγη δὲ ἑμοὶ ὄρθιος πρὸς ἑλέφαντα ἀντὶ τῆς νομῆς ἐτικ. 31. Comundrum] The word seems to have meant a foolish or fantastic device, a hoax, hence apparently here a fool.

P. 185, 1. his verses] The verses here discussed are those at the end of P. S. (G. H. ii. 335, &c.).

IV B b

11–16. Apologie...eloquent] The sonnet of Fregeville, which is in French, is correctly represented by Nashe. P. S. Ff 3–4, G. H. ii. 338.

24. Ramisticall] i.e. following Ramus; cf. i. 43. 33–4 note.

30–1. Struthio Belliuscente de Compaeso Callipero] I can suggest no meaning for this.

33. Poditheck] Apparently another of Nashe's random borrowings; cf. Hakluyt, Princ. Nat., ed. 1903–5, ii. 369, where the second word in a Samoyede vocabulary is 'Poddythecke, come hither'. Tolmach] Cf. Hakluyt, u. s., ii. 449, where a Tartar of this name is mentioned; also iii. 138 of the same.

36. the Encomium of the Foxe] P. S. Cc 4, G. H. ii. 312. 20–1.

37. the fulting Preacher of Pax vobis & humilitie] P. S. Bb 4, G. H. ii. 338. 2–10; cf. also Cc 2, 306. 20–2.

Harvey says that Perne should have an equilateral triangle imprinted upon his sepulchre, as Archimedes had the figure of a cylinder engraved upon his, and suggests an epitaph in which occurs the line 'A chaungling Triangle: a Turnecoate rood'.

7. snase] i.e. the snuff of a candle. The word seems to be properly 'snaist' or 'snaeste'.

9. brings in his coffin to speake] The epitaph above mentioned is headed 'The Coffin speaketh'.


Sergius] A Nestorian monk, an adherent of Mahomet, who was supposed to have assisted him in the compilation of the Koran. See Pol. Verg. De Inv. Rerum, vii. 8, and H. Smith's God's Arrow, cap. 4.

16–17. Vincit qui patitur...knawerie] P. S. Cc 4, G. H. ii. 312. 3–4. The suggestion that by the motto is meant a great counsellor who bears it (i.e. Whitgift; see W. K. R. Bedford, Blazon of Episcopacy, ed. 1897, p. 6) is Nashe's.

18–19. The whole Quire thankes you hartily] I am uncertain as to the allusion. In Mids. N. Dream, ii. i. 55, 'the whole quire' is used for 'the company'.

20–1. For a polished...Cartwright] P. S. Bb 1, G. H. ii. 290, 28, &c.
III. 141] HAVE WITH YOV, ETC. 371

21–3. His rayling ... Bishops] This is rather curious. It apparently refers to P. S. X 27, G. H. ii. 252. 2–6. Harvey says that Nashe contemns and depraves Buchanan and Bartas, 'Whose grosse imperfections he hath also vowed to publish, with an irrefragable Confutation of Beza, and our flourishingest New-writers, as well in diuinitie, as in humane; onely diuine Aretine excepted.' Nashe seems to accept the charge, but there is, I believe, nothing whatever against Beza in his known writings, save a brief reference to the wantonness of his youth in Unf. Trav. ii. 266. 10–11, and this had not been published when Harvey wrote. (Cf. also i. 112. 19–28, which, however, cannot, I think, possibly be regarded as an attack.)

25–6. The Clergie ... cheefest] Cf. P. S. Bb 4, G. H. ii. 298. 26, &c., 'The Clergie never wanted excellent Fortune-wrightes; but what Byshop, or Politician in Engladh, so great a Temporiser, as he, whom euery alteration found a new-man, even as new as the new Moone?'
P. 189, 5. a tale out of Pontane] See P. S. X 4, G. H. ii. 255. 15, &c. Harvey says that it is 'in mensa Philosophica, and Pontans Dialogues'. The tale is the well-known one about an archbishop, who in a sermon greatly praised Christ's humility in riding upon an ass, and after the service himself mounted a 'lofty palfry', whereupon he was rebuked by an old woman. See Mensa Phil., ed. 1508, fol. 41, or T. Twyne's Schoolmaster, ed. 1583, Q 1 (bk. iv, ch. 26), but in both these the tale is in a shorter form than that given by Harvey. I have not succeeded in finding it in Pontanus.


18. which then is to be renewed and reprinted againe] So far as is known, this was never done.

19. So be] Read perhaps 'So, be'—for 'by'.

31. with Traian] The idea is familiar, but I cannot find any such saying attributed to Trajan.

33–4. Tu mihi Criminis Author] Also at ii. 275. 12–13; from Ovid, Metam. xv. 40.

NASHES LENTEN STVFFE

1. Date of Composition and Publication.

The book was written in 1598 (see 160. 9–10), and was in preparation during Lent (see 151. 10–11), but cannot have been finished until the late autumn (see note on 220. 6–7). It seems to contain no other definite marks of date.

It was probably published early in 1599, in any case before June 1, when the printing of any further books by Nashe or Harvey was prohibited.
2. General Character of the Work.

Lenten Stuff, which Nashe calls 'a light friskin of my witte' (151.23), seems to have been intended as a glorification of Yarmouth in return for the hospitable treatment which he had theretwieve when obliged to flee from London on account of his Isle of Dogs (156.10-22). After a humorous dedication to Humfrey King (147-50) and an epistle to the reader (151-2), the work opens with a few words of explanation as to the Isle of Dogs and Nashe's flight to Yarmouth (153-4). Next comes a History and Description of Yarmouth (156-72) — The praise of the red herring (174-95), which is interrupted by a catalogue of works on trifling subjects, introduced by way of an apology (176-8)—Humorous version of the story of Hero and Leander (195-201) — The invention of red herrings (204) — Burgh Castle and the neighbourhood (204-5) — Tale of a herring-merchant at Rome and the Pope (206-11) — Complaint of false interpretations put upon Nashe's works (213-16) — A fantastic tale of a herring, or cropshin, and a turbot (216-220) — Other tales about herrings (221-3) — In praise of fishermen (224-5).

It may be noted that Nashe's language in this work is deliberately bombastic; cf. his reference to his 'huge woords' at 152.6. It contains, I think, a larger proportion of expressions not to be found elsewhere than any other of his writings.

3. Sources.

The only part of the work for which we need expect to find a source is the historical description of Yarmouth and the surrounding country. Nashe himself by his frequent mention of Camden, and his reference at 161.32-3 to 'a Chronographycal Latin table, which they haue hanging vp in their Guild hall', put us on the right track, but investigation brings us face to face with at least one difficulty as to the precise way in which he became possessed of his material.

Of his borrowings from Camden's Britannia I need say nothing further here: some of the more important are mentioned in the notes. It is with the 'Chronographycal Latin table' that the difficulty arises.

Thomas Hearne in his edition of Leland's Collectanea, 1770, vi. 285-8, printed a document which purports to be a transcript of such a table, this having been, as he says, communicated to him by his friend Richard Rawlinson. The heading as given by Hearne is as follows:

'E Tabula pensili in Aula communi magnx farnemuths.

'Exscripsit Richardus Rawlyn impensis venerabilissimi viri Johannis Wentworth de Somerilton in comitatu Suffolciæ equitis aurati, & ex liberrimis hujus municipii suffragiis in suprems regni comitiis assessoris anno orbis redempti 1627. & serenissimi Domini nostri Caroli regis tertio, qui, inter cetera benevolentiae pigmenta, monumentum hoc renovari curavit, Thoma Medow & Thoma Manthrope Ballivis in anno Salutis 1638.'

Properly the phrase 'e tabula exscripsit' should, I believe, mean 'copied out', with the implication that it was a complete copy, but unfortunately the point is not altogether certain, and as the original seems to have disappeared, there is no means of knowing what exactly
it contained. In one case at least the transcript printed by Hearne can hardly have been accurate, for it gives the number of persons who perished in the great plague of 1348 as 7,000, while Camden, quoting what I suppose to be the same table, though he calls it 'Tabula Chronographica antiqua in templo appensa', gives it as 7,050 (see note on 161. 32), the same number as is given by Nashe (165. 31).

Now most of Nashe's information about Yarmouth will be found in Hearne's document, much of it in a form closely resembling that in which it appears in Lenten Stuff, but some of it is not to be found.

There exists, however, another source of early information about Yarmouth, namely a manuscript (in English) supposed to have been written by Henry Manship the elder (fl. 1562), which, about the time when Lenten Stuff was written, seems to have been in possession of his son, also named Henry, who had been town clerk from 1579-85, was at this date a member of the corporation, and afterwards compiled a history of the town. The MS. was printed in 1847, with introduction and notes by C. J. Palmer, as A Booke of the Foundation and Antiquitye of the Towne of Greate Yermouthe, and it is remarkable that in many respects Nashe's description corresponds far more closely to this than to Hearne's transcript of the Table. Not only does this manuscript add a number of details which are used by Nashe, but the coincidence of language is so striking that there can be, at least in my opinion, no doubt that the two accounts are very closely related. Curiously enough the passage in Lenten Stuff which shows the greatest number of verbal similarities with the Manship MS. is the very passage which Nashe claims to have taken from the 'Chronographica Latine table' (see 161. 32-163. 2). Though something to the same effect is to be found in Hearne's transcript (see note on 162. 1, &c.), not only does the expression 'grow into sight at a [the] low water' appear both in the Manship MS. and Nashe, as corresponding to Hearne's 'crevit in altitudinem per defluxionem maris', but the phrase 'more sholder at the mouth of the river [the said flood called] Hirus' is common to the first two, while in the last there is nothing at all to correspond.

On the other hand, neither can the Manship MS. have been itself the source used, for in a few cases Nashe gives particulars and dates which are absent from this, though given in the Hearne transcript (see notes on 163. 23-4, 32; 164. 9-13; 165. 7-13), and we are thus driven to suppose either that Nashe himself combined the two accounts, which seems unlikely, or that, besides the Latin table, there existed, not improbably in the Town Hall, a translation of it, perhaps with added details, and that the compiler of the Manship MS. made much use of this, quoting large parts of it, but adding to it or omitting as he pleased. It is of course possible that even if Hearne's transcript accurately represented the Latin table as it was after its renovation in 1638, the renovator may have omitted or altered certain parts of the original, which had perhaps become illegible.

However this may be, I think that a comparison of the extracts from the Manship MS. which I have given in the notes, with the corresponding passage of Nashe will show that this MS. represents a translation of which he certainly at times made use.

It may be noted that Nashe had apparently been reading Froissart,
the *Rudens* and perhaps other plays of Plautus, and had again looked through Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations*.

4. After History.

There are occasional references to the work, such as Peacham's in the *Complete Gentleman*, ed. 1606, 53 foot, 'there is no booke so bad, even Sir Bavis himselfe, Owleglasse, or Nashe's Herring, but some commodity may be gotten by it', and John Taylor once or twice mentions it, but none of the allusions known to me are of importance.

This seems the best place to mention an extraordinary production which was described by Haslewood in *The British Bibliographer*, i. 149-52, and by him supposed to have reference to the present work. The title as given is *A Piltopurge Melancholie: or a preparative to a purgation: or Topping, Copping, and Capping: taking either or whether: or Mash them, and squash them, and dash them, and diddle come derrie come daw them, all together*, 4to, 8 leaves, n.d. The pamphlet, which is dedicated to 'M. Baw-waw' (supposed by Haslewood to be Nashe, who uses the term in *Lenten Stuffe*, 212. 1), consists chiefly of a string of terms of abuse, such as, 'Then tit ye and tip ye and tap ye, and heele ye and hale ye, and hop ye and top ye and cop ye and lip ye and lap & lop ye...', and, to judge at least from the extracts given, seems to be entirely devoid of meaning. There are references to 'your herringcobs in invention', 'Lenton relics,' and to the recent arrival of the dedicatee in England from foreign countries. One of the pieces is in the form of a letter and is signed 'She that shornesse thee and thy tuffe stuffe: Snuffe'. The tract was in Heber's collection, but I cannot learn what has since become of it.

P. 141. *Entry in the Stationers' Register*] The words 'vpon Condition that he gett yt Laufully Authorised' may have reference to the trouble about the *Isle of Dogs*. The prohibition to print any of Nashe's books was later, namely June 1, 1599.

P. 145, 2. *Lenten Stuffe*] This was a general name for provisions suitable for Lent. See quotations from the Chronicles of Fabyan (1494) and Hall (a 1548) in *N.E.D*. The phrase had been used by Elderton as the title of a ballad; see Mr. Hazlitt's *Handbook*, 178 b: 'A newe ballad entytuled Lenten Stuffe for a lyttel munny ye maye have enowge.' Mr. Fleay (*Biog. Chron.* ii. 137) thinks that Nashe took the title from Harvey's *Pierce's Supererogation*, i, *Wks.*, ed. Grosart, ii. 115, 'his shrouing ware, but lenten stuff, like the old pickle herring.'

14. *Famam peto per undas*] The source of this, if a quotation, is unknown to me, but cf. *Aen.* iv. 381 'pete regna per undas.'


7. *the Tabour*] Joking, of course, on the pipe and tabour of the morris-dance.
12–17. H. S.,...grow] I do not know whether it has been noticed that we have here an allusion to the title-page of the 1593 edition of Sidney’s Arcadia, with its pig smelling at a bush round which is the motto ‘non tibi spiro’. The initials H. S. are those of the editor of the volume and writer of the prefatory epistle. They have been variously interpreted, it being supposed by some that they stand for Henry Salisbury (1561–1637?), the Welsh grammarian (D. N. B. art. Sidney; cf. Jos. Hunter, New Illustrations of the Life...of Shakespeare, 1845, i. 276), while in J. Aubrey’s Brief Lives, ed. A. Clark, 1898, i. 311, under Mary Herbert, Countess of Pembroke, we read, ‘Mr. Henry Sanford was the earle’s secretary, a good scholar and poet, and who did penne part of the Arcadia dedicated to her (as appeares by the preface). He haz a preface before it with the two letters of his name. ’Tis he that haz verses before Bond’s Horace.’

There is another and more violent attack upon this same H. S. in the epistle to the reader prefixed to J. Florio’s World of Words, 1598, A 5v–6. A reference to ‘dride Marioram’ makes it certain that the editor of the Arcadia is there also intended. Behind these allusions there seems to be a rather interesting literary quarrel, but, so far as I can learn, Nashe had little direct connexion with it, and I must therefore pass it over. In his case the enmity against H. S. may possibly have had some connexion with his edition of Astrophel and Stella, and the action taken—perhaps by H. S., certainly by a friend of the Pembrokes—in immediately issuing a corrected text.

16. in the old song] The song in question seems to have completely disappeared, unless, indeed, it is merely a perversion of the well-known ‘Go from my window, go’, for which see Chappell, Pop. Mus., i. 140.

21. Cailes beards] Presumably some fashion set by those who had taken part in the Cadiz expedition of 1596.


25–6. after my returne from Ireland] This has oddly enough been taken (e.g. in D. N. B.) as an announcement by Nashe that he was about to go to Ireland, while Mr. Fleay says (Biog. Chron. ii. 145) that from it ‘it appears that Nash was in Ireland serving in the war’; but surely it is quite clear that the whole passage from l. 24 to l. 8 of the next page is the imaginary speech of the ‘Brauamente segnors’, to whom Nashe might have dedicated the book.

P. 148, 4–5. to expell cold] Jacques Cartier, in 1535, describing the use of tobacco by the Indians, says that they claimed that it ‘doth keepe them warme and in health’ (Hakluyt, ed. 1903–5, viii. 242), and it seems to have been currently supposed that it had some such virtue.


7. in the word of] Apparently equivalent to ‘on the word of’, for which it may indeed be a misprint.

11. carpetmungers] i.e. carpet knight; cf. Much Ado, V. ii. 32.

primrose] The word was used much as we now use ‘flower’;
cf. Ascham, *Schoolmaster, Eng. Wks.*, ed. Wright, p. 219, 'two noble Primeroses of Nobilitie, the yong Duke of Suffolke, and Lord H. Matreuers.' Here, of course, it is used chiefly for the joke on 'primero', the card-game.

29. *S. Loy* i.e. Saint Eligius (d. 659), who was treasurer and friend of Dagobert I and remarkable for his skill in jewellery. He was the patron saint of goldsmiths, and also of farriers and horsekeepers. Cf. Chaucer, *Prol.* 120; also Scot, *Disc. of Witchcraft*, 1584, pp. 528, 157.

29. *drawes deepe* i.e. makes a deep impression on his purse. Cf. Cambises, ed. Manly in *Pre-Sh. Dr.*, I. 1322, 'your words draw deepe in my minde'.

30. *on the heild* i.e. on the decline; see N. E. D. s. v. hield.

36. *have two playes in one night* These must have been private performances of plays or interludes. At the theatres plays were of course in the afternoon, and only one of ordinary length was performed. See Collier's *Hist. Dr. Poet.*, 1831, iii. 376, 'Hour and Duration of Performance'.

P. 149, xi. Johannes de Indagines] There were two writers of this name, one a Carthusian monk of the fifteenth century, otherwise known as Johannes de Hagen, who wrote on theology and ecclesiology, the other a writer on astrology and physics, who flourished in the early part of the sixteenth century. See Jöcher, *Gelehrten-Lexicon*. I am not sure which is here alluded to. Presumably the first.


18-19. *drive a coach or kill an oxe* I cannot say what is here alluded to.

24. *ominare* i.e., properly, prognosticate; here, perhaps, infer.

24-5. *the king of fishes* The herring seems commonly to have had this title; cf. Ben Jonson, *Ev. Man in his Humour*, I. iii. 13 (1601, l. 354). Later in *Conceits, Clinches, &c.*, 1639, in Hazlitt's *Sh. Jest-Books*, iii. p. 40, we learn that 'In the Common-wealth of Fishes are many officers; Herring the King, Swordfish his guard; Lobsters are Aldermen, Crabs are Constables, and poor Johns the common sort of people'.

27. *greene beeфе* i.e. fresh, not salted.

28-9. *The strife of Loue in a Dreame* i.e. R. D.'s translation of the well-known *Hypnerotomachia* of Francesco Colonna, which appeared in 1592. One might almost fancy Nashe to have been a little jealous of its truly amazing style, feeling, perhaps, that even his own 'boystrous compound words' and 'Italionate coyned verbes all in Ize' must yield the palm to the translator's wondrous nymphes in chapter 8, with their yellow hair 'hemicirculately enstrophiated about their diuine faces'.

29. *the Lamentable burning of Teuerton* Tiverton had been destroyed by fire on April 3, 1598. A 'true and lamentable discourse' on the subject was entered in the Stationers' Register on the 14th, and a ballad on the same subject on the 28th of the same month.

34. *there an ende* Cf. note on iii. 36. 2.

P. 150, 4-5. *In Ruscia there are no presents but of meate or drinke* See Hakluyt, *Princ. Navig.*, ed. 1903-5, ii. 426 margin, 'Presents
used in Russia are all for the most part of victuals', and the text opposite, where it is stated that a certain person 'had presents innumerable sent unto him, but it was nothing but meate and drinke'.

7. merry-go-downe] i.e. a kind of strong ale. Instances in N.E.D. from c. 1500.

8. the shadow of your feete shadow] Cf. note on iii. 92. 7.


P. 151, 7. Pig-wiggen] Cf. iii. 129. 6, 'Piggen de Wigen', and see N.E.D., s.v. 'pigwidgin'. The word is of obscure derivation and meaning. It occurs as a fanciful name in Drayton's Nymphidia, and in Selimus, ed. Grosart, 1898, l. 174, 'Now will I be as stately to them as if I were master Pigwiggen our constable'.

10. Nickneacaue] The word is unknown to me.


14. booke of the Red Herring's tailed] The work referred to is A Herrings Tale: Contayning a Poeticall fiction of divers matters worthie the reading. At London, Printed for Matthew Lowmes. 1598. 4to, A-D*, E. It is a rambling poem in Alexandrines, the purport of which is by no means clear, but which doubtless has some topical reference. It is said to be by R. Carew. 'See Guillim's Heraldry 1611, 1st ed., p. 154' (note in B. M. copy of the Herring's Tale).

21. the Trim Tram] Nashe evidently refers to 'Dick Litchfield's' Trimming of Tom Nashe. The word 'trim-tram' seems to have meant 'absurdity, trifle'; see Cent. Dict.

24-5. the prayse of iniustice . . . Phalaris] It is impossible to say whence Nashe took this, for lists of the writings of the learned on ridiculous or unworthy subjects are of constant occurrence from the time of A. Gellius (xvii. 12) downward. Nashe refers to many productions of this sort at p. 176. 20, &c. Three of the subjects here (not Phalaris) are mentioned, with others, in Erasmus's epistle to Sir T. More, prefixed to his Encomium Moriae.


the fever quartaine] According to A. Gellius, xvii. 12, Favorinus had made an oration in praise of the fever quartain. G. Insulanus Menapius (+ 1561) wrote also an 'Encomium Febris Quartanae', 1542, which may be found with a number of similar productions in the convenient collection entitled Admiranda Rerum Admirabilium Encomia, 1666.

Busiris] The reference is to the orations of Polycrates and Isocrates. For a full discussion see Bayle, Dict., ed. 1734-8, ii. 235 note C.

25. Phalaris] See the two dialogues ascribed to Lucian. There was also a short dialogue by Ulrich von Hutten, entitled Phalarismus, or sometimes Apologia pro Phalarismo, published c. 1517.

29, &c.] Apparently alluded to in 1 Return from Parnassus, III. i. (ed. Macray, 917-22), 'I' faith, an excellent witt that can poetize upon such meane subjects! everie John Dringle can make a booke in the commendacoes of temperance, againste the seven deadlie sinnes, but that's a rare witt that can make somthinke of nothinge, that can make an Epigram of a Mouse and an Epitaphe on a Munkey.' See also J. Taylor's Thief, Wks., 1630, Kk 6, 'and I am assured that
the meaner the subject is, the better the invention must bee, for (as Tom Nash said) every foole can fetch water out of the sea, or picke corne out of full sheaues, but to wring oyle out of flint, or make a plentiful harvest with little or no seed, that's the workman, but that's not I'.

29. say Bee to a Battledore] See note on i. 221. 13-14.


P. 158, 3. the Ille of Dogs] As to this play see the Introduction.

15. stickle-banck] I allowed this spelling to stand as being possibly an alternative form of 'stickle-back'—but I am very doubtful.

20-3 marg. Quassa tamen...nauis] Ovid, Tristis v. 11. 13.


5. I was glad to run from it] It seems clear that though a warrant was issued for Nashe's arrest he succeeded in escaping, and was not, as has frequently been stated, sent to the Fleet. The entry in Henslowe's Diary, 'pd this 23 of auguste 1597 to harey porter to carye to T. Nashe nowe at this tymne in the fete for wryting of the Ile of dogges...' is now known to be a forgery; see the Diary, ed. W. W. Greg, fol. 33 and p. xi; and Harvey's Trimming of Thomas Nashe, though giving a picture of him in fetters, refers to him as a fugitive (F 1, G. H. iii. 51).


17-18. post varios casus] See iii. 91. 28.

20. ende of Autumnne] i.e. of 1597.

21-2. Hic...imbricus] Plautus, Mercator, v. 2. 35 'Hic Favonius serenust, istic Auster imbricus'.

24. diameter] i.e. crosswise, at variance with.

26. Aquarius] Meaning that Nashe was at Yarmouth in the winter. The sun enters Aquarius about the middle of January.


30. live to my selfe with my owne iuice] This looks like a reminiscence of Plautus, Capt. i. 1. 13 'cochleae suo sibi suco vivunt'. The phrase 'live to one's self' seems usually to mean 'live by one's self, alone'; cf. Jonson's Every Man in his Humour (1601, I. 2105), 'I will tel you, Signior (in priuate), I am a gentleman, and liue here obscure, and to my selfe'; also ii. 237. 24-5. In the present passage it apparently has the sense of earn one's own living.

P. 156, 1-4. even as Homer by Galatson was pictured vomiting...disgorged] See Aelian, Var. Hist. xiii. 22. The painter's name was Galaton. Cf. Lyly's Euphues and his England, Wks., ed. Bond, ii. 5. 28, where the painter is not named; also G. B. Cinthio, Discorsi, 1554, P. 35.


5-15] Somewhat 'written-up' from the account given in the Vita
Homeri, formerly attributed to Herodotus (see Homer's *Il. et Od.*, ed. 1541, ii. 378–9). He promised the inhabitants of Cyme that if they would support him he would make the town famous, but after discussion his offer was rejected. He therefore betook himself to Phocaea, where he wrote a poem called the *Phocaeid* (p. 380); and later to Chios (384).

22. *Huddle-duddles*] Explained in *N. E. D.* as 'decrepit old man', the only example given.

23. *Cum-twangs*] 'An obsolete term of contempt,' *N. E. D.*; only instance.

24. *Euclionisme*] Euclio is a miser in the *Aulularia* of Plautus. For the proverbial use of the name see the *Adagia* of Hadrianus Junius in *Erasm. Adag.*, 1574, ii. 119 b.

25. *A sharpewarre*] Apparently Nashe’s invention.

26. *to this effect hath Buchanan an Epigram*] Not an epigram; the lines are from his Elegy entitled 'Quam miseras it conditio docentium literas humaniores Lutetiae' (*Franciscan et Fratres, Elegiarum Liber I, &c.*, ed. 1594, p. 63):

Bella gerunt urbes septem de patria Homeri:

Nulla domus viuo, patria nulla fuit.


21. *Launce-skippe*] I know no other instance of this spelling. The most usual appears to have been ‘lanskip’ or ‘lantskip’.

22. *superiminente*] The words ‘imminent’ and ‘eminent’ were frequently confused; cf. *N. E. D.*, s. v. Imminent (especially example under 5) and Eminent, 6.

24-5. Battlementes of Gurguntus] i.e. Norwich, supposed to have been founded by King Gurgunt, or Gurguntius, son of Belinus. At the reception of Q. Elizabeth in 1578 there was ‘one which represented King Gurgunt, sometime king of England, which builded the castell of Norwich, called Blanch Flowre, and laid the foundation of the citie’, Holinshed, *Chron.*, ed. 1807–8, iv. 376.

27. *Thetforde*] It had at one time been the seat of the East-Anglian kings, and later a bishopric and a town of considerable size. After the transference of the see to Norwich, however (see note on 162. 33), it had much decayed. Camden, *Brit.*, 1594, p. 359, says ‘Raris nunc est habitatoribus, licet satis amplum, olim vero frequens & celebratum’.

31. *Fumish*] i.e. seething.

34. *Eiectione firmae*] Properly ‘eiectione firmae’, i.e. ejectment from a holding, a form of writ; see Bouvier’s *Law Dict.* Nashe seems here to be using it jokingly for ‘ejection from terra firma’. The same form of the expression (with *firma*) is found in *Span. Trag.*, III. xiii. 62 (ed. Boas), and, I believe, not infrequently.

P. 157, 11. *Balist*] i.e., I suppose, weigh down, overwhelm; a form of ballast.


26. *with a vantage]*] i.e. and even more.
NOTES

P. 158, 1. *gulliguts* i.e. gluttons; here, rather, big-bellied fellows.

2-5. K. Edgar ... *Summer* See Stow, Annals, 1615, 83 b, where the number of the ships is given as 3,500, or, as other writers say, 300, 'and this hath a more likelihoode of truth'. Cf. also Hakluyt, Princ. Nav., ed. 1903-5, ii. 140, i. 18, and lv. In the last-mentioned passage his ships are stated to have been not comparable in size with those of later times.

7-8. *driven in swarmes*] Probably for 'driuen in in swarmes', but the omission of one 'in' in such cases is frequent and should rather be counted, I think, as a licence than as an error.

8. *pestred*] i.e. crowded together.

11. *drabled*] i.e. wet and dirty.

*in the full clue*] i.e. spread wide; see N. E. D., s.v. clew, sb. 7.

P. 159, 8. or] The r is badly damaged and might at first sight be equally well a broken f (or i). It seems not impossible that 'of' was intended.

13. *descintine*] Harl. and Hind. modernize to 'descending'. Harl. and Gro. read as here. In N. E. D. this passage is quoted s. v. descriptive—the sole instance—the n being treated as a misprint for u. This may be correct, but until other examples of the word are found it seemed best to follow the quarto. Possibly the word is simply a misprint for 'descending', the termination '-tine' having been caught from the 'line' which follows.

P. 160, 5. *that dyed drunke at Lambeth*] It was Hardicanute, Canute's son, who died 'with the pot in his hand' at a great feast held at Lambeth; see Holinshed, Chron., ed. 1807-8, i. 738.


13. *balderdash*] Perhaps associated by Nashe with the barber's ball of soap. It meant 'frothiness', whether of liquids or of language.

18-22. *as the Westernegales . . . Rhene*] See Camden, Brit., 1594, 364 'Vt enim Caurus in Batauiam e regione tyrannidem exercet, & agglomeratis arenis medium Rhenii ostium obturauit: itidem Aquilo hanc oram affligit, & arenas conuerrenshoc ostium obstruxisse videatur'.

34-5. *Omnium rerum . . .* Terence, Eun. ii. 2. 45.


8. *bruite*] i.e. descendant or follower of Brutus; hence, hero.

8-9. *cast their heelles in their necke*] This apparently means no more than 'leapt'. A similar phrase occurs in Tarlton's Jests, Hazlitt's Sh. Jest-Books, ii. 243, 'The fellow, seeing a foolish question had a foolish answere, laid his legges on his neck, and got him gone'.

10. *obscene appellation*] 'sard' = 'swive'; see Farmer and Henley, Slang Dict. s. v.


17. *warp*] i.e. 'a cast of herrings, haddocks, or other fish; four, as a tale of counting fish', Cent. Dict., which quotes the present passage, explaining 'warp of weeks' as four weeks, a month. No other
examples are given, but this is probably a nonce-use. Numerous examples of the word as a tale of four in E. D. D., s. v. warp, s. b. 18.

18. balk[. i.e. shunned.

20. Yarmoth] Perhaps a misprint, but cf. 186. 34.

24-5. overwhart] i.e. opposite.


32. Chronographical Latin table] This is presumably the table mentioned by Camden, Brit., 365, when referring to the plague of 1348, ‘pestis illa tristissima, quae hoc oppidulo 7050. vno anno absumperit, quod testatur Tabula Chronographica antiqua in templo appensa, vbi bella etiam cum Portuensis [i.e. the Cinq Ports], & Lestoffensibus notantur’. See introductory note on the Sources.

P. 162, 1, &c.] As stated in the note on the sources, the historical sketch of Yarmouth given by Nashe is evidently closely related to that which has come down to us in a MS. attributed to Henry Manship, senior (fl. 1562), and both are related to a Latin account formerly in the town hall, of which a transcript has been printed by Hearne. I have already discussed the problem of the connexion between them, but must, for the sake of illustration, give a few extracts. The passages in the two authorities which correspond to this page of Lenten Stuff are as follows.

(1) Hearne’s transcript (Leland’s Collectanea, ed. 1770, vi. 285):

‘Tempore Edwardi regis & Confessoris dicta arenad crevit in altitudinem per defluxionem maris: & temporibus Harroldi regis & Willieli Conquestoris eadem arenad crevit in siccam terram: & populi ibidem congregabant in tabernaculis circaemptiones & venditiones haleicum & piscium, tam de piscatoribus alienis, quam Angli- canis, in eadem arena appellentibus ab anno Domini 1040. usque ad annum 1090.‘

‘Tempore Willielmi Rui regis Herebertus episcopus Norwicensis quandam capellam super eandem arenam struxit pro salute animarum illic appellantium . . .’

(2) The ‘Manship MS.’ from C. J. Palmer’s print of 1847, pp. 7-8:

I have added in square brackets a few references to lines in order to call attention to special likeness of phrasing.

‘In the Tyme of the Reigne of Kinge Edwarde the Confessour the saide sand beganne to growe into sighte [1-2] at the lowe water, and to become more showder [2] at the mouth of the said Flodde called Hierus, and then there were channelles for Shippe and Fyshermen to pass and enter into that arme of the Sea for utterance of there Fishe and Merchandizes, which were conveyed to diverse partes and places aswell in the Countye of Norfolke as in the Countye of Suffolke, by reason that all the whole levell of the marshes and fennes which now are betwixte the Towne of Yermouth and the Citie of Norwiche, were then all an arme of the Sea, entering within the Lande by the mouthe of the Hierus. And this was about the yeare of oure Savior M and XL die and long before.'
In the tymes of the Reynges of Kinge Harrolde and of Kinge William y® Conqueror, the saide sande did growe [25] to be drye and was not overflowen by the Sea, but waxed in heighte, and also in greatnes, in so muche as great store of people of the Countyes of Norft. and Suffolke did resorte thither, and did pitche Tabernacles and Boothes for the entereteynenge of such Seafaringe men and Fishermen and Merchants as wold resorte unto that place, eyther to sell their Herringes, fish, and other commodities, and for provideng suche things as those Seamen did neede and wante. The which thinge caused great store of Seafaringe men to resorte thither; but especiallie the Fishermen of this Land; as also greate nombers of the Fishermen of Fraunce, Flaundres, and of Holland, Zealande, and all the lowe Contryses yerelie, from the feast of Sainte Michaell th Archangell untyle the feast of Sainte Martine [28-9], aboute [28] the takinge, sellinge, and buyeng of Herringes, and at other tymes in the yere aboute other kindes of fishe. And then in the tyme of the Reigne of Kinge William Rufus, Kinge of this Realme, one Herbertus, Bisshopp of the Sea of Norwiche [33] perceyvenye greate resorte and concourse of people to be daylie and yerelie uppon the said Sande, and intendinge to provide for there sowles healthe, did founde and bylyde uppon the said Sande a certen Chappell for the devotion of the people resortinge thither...''

2. *sholder* i.e. shallower; 'shold' is a variant of 'shoal'. See *Cent. Dict.*, s.v. shoal, which quotes Hakluyt's *Princ. Nav.* (ed. 1903–5, ii. 222. 1), 'shoaler and shoaler water'.

9–10 Something is evidently wrong with the text. The simplest emendation would be to read 'Madona Amphitrites fluctuous demeans', but the phrase is too clumsy to be quite satisfactory.

16. *Saint Winifrides Well* At Holywell, in Flintshire. Harrison refers to it in his *Descr. of Eng.*, i, cap. 24, ed. N.S.S. ii. (pt. 3) 164, as 'a medicinable spring called Schinant of old time, but now Wenefrides well, in the edges whereof dooth breed a verie odoriferous and delectable mosse, wherewith the head of the smeller is maruellouslie refreshed'. An unorthodox version of the story of the well is to be found in Deloney's *Gentle Craft*, ed. Lange, i. 4, &c.; cf. pp. xxxiii, &c., of Dr. Lange's Introduction.

17. *Towre-hill water at London* I cannot find any mention of a well on Tower Hill, though Stow speaks of several in the neighbourhood.

20. *Rutter* i.e. chart, or directions for sailing; O.F. *routier*.


29. *sutlers* Properly provision-sellers who accompanied an army.


P. 168, 3–23.] Practically all of this will be found in the Manship MS., ed. Palmer, pp. 8–9.

4. *Richard de corde Lyon* Nashe always uses this form of the name; cf. ii. 119, 35, iii. 20, 25.

5. *yalping* The precise application of the word, which seems to be a variant of 'yelping' (but cf. iii. 133, 30, 'yalp'), is not clear.

6. *Eastflege* The hundred including Yarmouth and the district immediately to the north of it.
13-14.] Hearne's transcript has merely 'Et hoc regimen duravit per centum annos ab anno Domini 1100'; Manship (p. 10, top) has 'beinge aboute the space of a hundrethe yeres, even untiile the tyme of Kinge John.'

17. soule Bell] i.e. passing-bell.

21-2. vnnder . . . met] i.e. it is unwilling to admit any equal, less than a minister or cathedral. The form 'minister' for 'minstir', common earlier, was antiquated at this date, but was perhaps possible.

23-4. whence Yarmouth roade . . . Saint Nicholas] The Hearne transcript has '& Rhoda de Yermouth ea de causa vocatur St. Nicholas Road'; in the Manship MS. there is nothing corresponding.

28. Anno 1209.] The date is given by Manship (p. 10, foot), 'Kinge John, in the nyneth yere of his reigne, which was A° dmi. 1209 . . .'; in Hearne the date—if any, which is not quite clear—is 1200.

32. Anno 1240.] The date of the town's being first governed by bailies is given in Hearne's transcript as 1200; no date in Manship MS.

34. vndermeale] i.e. afternoon sleep; see note on i. 209, 21.

seauen sleepers] Seven brothers martyred at Ephesus by the Emperor Decius in 251. Being shut in a cave they came to life many years later. Nashe's forty years seems to be merely an error. The Golden Legend says that they slept for 362 or 208 years; Hakluyt (ed. 1903-5, iv. 286), where Nashe perhaps read the story, 274 years.

35-164, 8] All in Manship, p. 10, but in 164.4 the king should be Edward II.

P. 164, 9-13] Cf. Hearne's transcript, 'Edwardus primus & Edwardus secundus concessere eisdem Burgensibus diversa privilegia, & appellaverunt aquam per nomen portus Yermemouth, & ibidem constituere Tronum, & Sigillum dictum Coquet, pro oneratione & exoneratione navium.' Manship speaks of large privileges being granted, but does not detail them.

13-17] See Manship, p. II. Hearne's transcript mentions the moat and ditch (dating them 1230), but not the prison.

17-29] In Hearne's transcript Peerbrown is mentioned merely as admiral of the northern navy in Edward III's reign, Laburnus not being referred to at all. In the Manship MS., pp. 12-13, however, we find the whole: 'Moreover Kinge Edwardd the 2 granted unto the sayde Towne of Greate Yermouth, sondrye liberties and prevelydges. And also by his Lres. Patentes, dated xiiij of Maye, in the sixt yere of his reyne, did constitute two Lord Admiralles for the newaye of this Realme of England, the one called the Lord Admirall of the northerne newaye, which streched from the Temes' mouthe to the northe ptes. of this Land, and the other called the Lord Admirall of the western newaye, which streched from the Temes' mouthe to the westward. And of this northerne newaye, John Perebrown, one of the Burgesses of Greate Yermouth, was constituted Lord Admirall, whoe occupied that office sixe yeres together after his first election. In the which tyme one St. Roberte Laburnus, Knighte, was also Lord Admirall of the western newaye.

'Then after thend of these sixe years, the said John Perebrowne
conteynewed his place and office thirtene yeres more, even unto thend of the saide Kinge Edward the Seconde's Reigne. . . .

'Afterwards also yt appeyth by like Recordes in the Tower, That Kinge Edwarde the Thirde, in the firste yere of his Reigne, did appoynte and contynew the said John Perebrowne in his former place and office.'

20. Thames] The 'thames' of Q appears also in l. 22 and at 170. 8.

24. John Peerbrowne] He was thirteene times bailiff of Yarmouth between 1312 and 1339. In 1317, and again in 1321, he was appointed admiral of the king's fleet north of the Thames, and in 1321 and 1324 he was elected M.P. for Yarmouth. See Palmer's note on him in his edition of the Manship MS., pp. 64-5, and D. N. B.


30, &c.] See Manship, p. 16. He does not mention that the fleet consisted of 'foure-hundred saile'.

35. drumbler] i.e. a small fast vessel used as a transport, N. E. D.

P. 165, 2-4] Given both in the Hearne transcript and by Manship. The former says that Kirkley was distant from Yarmouth 'sex leucas', while Manship (p. 13 foot) says simply 'neere'.

3. Kirkley] i.e. Kirkley, one mile south of Lowestoft.

5. hayned] i.e. raised.

7-13] This corresponds more closely to the Hearne transcript, which gives 1385 as the year of Richard's visit. Manship (p. 17, foot) says 1382.

19. Chara deum soboles] Verg. Ecl. 4. 49 'Cara . . .'

24. the clarke of the markethippe] See Manship, p. 29. The clerk was a royal officer attending at faires and markets to keep the standard of weights and measures and punish misdemeanours; also an officer appointed by city or town corporations, N. E. D. Yarmouth had been given certain rights as to the appointment of this clerk.

31. seaven thousand and fifty] See quotation from Camden in note on 161. 32. Hearne's transcript says 7000; Manship, 'seven thousand persons and more.' See also Creighton, Epidemics, i. 130, where are references to Itineraria, &c., ed. Nasmith, Cantab., 1778, p. 344, and Weever, Funeral Mon., p. 862 (from Stow, Annals, ed. 1615, 246 e). See also Creighton, Epidemics, i. 130.

32. The newe building] See Manship, p. 15, foot. Nothing is said of the wooden galleries referred to overleaf.

34-5. the imperfit workes of Kingses colledge in Cambridge] The original plans were only partially carried out, for lack of funds, and at this time there were to be seen the unfinished portions of the east side of the quadrangle; cf. Willis, Arch. Hist. Camb., ed. Clark, i. 551-2, and the cut on the latter page, where a piece of the wall is shown.

35. or Christ-church in Oxford] Alluding to the unfinished condition in which the college had remained since the fall of Wolsey, its founder; see Wood, Hist. and Antiq. of Colleges and Halls . . . of Oxford, ed. Gutch, 1786, pp. 447, 424.

P. 168, 4. a neerer way to the woode] A frequent proverbial expression; cf. Stukely in Simpson's Sch. of Sh., vol. i, l. 303; also 'the wrong way to wood' in Heywood's Proverbs, ed. Sharman, p. 156.

8-31.] This description of the town is not in Manship.
9. wistly] i.e. attentively.
14. underfonging] i.e. supporting or guarding from beneath (Cent. Dict.), which has the present example alone with this signification.
24. procerous stature] I suppose that ‘full height’ is meant.
32-3. S. Toolies in Beckles water] Apparently a corruption of St. Olave’s, a place about two miles north-west of Herringfleet, where was a bridge over the Waveney. This is given by Manship (p. 36) as one of the bounds of the Yarmouth liberties, the others being the same as those mentioned by Nashe. Manship also states that it is ten miles from Yarmouth, though it is really much less; nor is it near Beccles, though on the way thither.
34. Hardlie crosse] At the junction of the Chet and the Yare, one mile south-west of Reedham station.
35. Waybridge] On the Bure, one mile north-east of Acle.
13. snibd] i.e. checked, snubbed.
15-16. tooke my bowe and arrowes and went to bed] The late W. J. Craig pointed out to me an instance of the phrase in Greene’s Menaphon, ed. Arber, p. 34; Wks., ed. Grosart, vi. 54, ‘she blubbered and he sightesh (sic) ... so that amongst these swaines there was such melodie, that Menaphon tooke his bow and arrowes and went to bedde.’ See also As You Like It, IV. iii. 4-5. Its origin is unknown.
17. with a recumbentibus] i.e. with a knock-down blow. Examples in N. E. D. from c. 1400. Can it be from Mark 16. 14 in the Roman service of exorcism (cf. Mapes, De Nug. Cur., ed. Wright, 70. 18)?
21. bate me an ace of] i.e., apparently, not come up to. Cf. N. E. D. s. v. ace 3 and bate v., 6 d.
27. the Kentish mens gauill kinde] See Harrison, Descr. of Eng., ed. N. S. S., i. 202; but he says nothing of the sons inheriting at fifteen.
8. moneths minde] See note on ii. 252. 16.
13. dusky Cornish diamonds] Save at iii. 332. 23, I know no other reference to these, but they must, I think, have been of the same nature as the frequently mentioned ‘Bristowe diamonds’; cf. Lodge, Wit’s Misery, 1596, F1, where the fraudulent sale of ‘Bristow Diamonds set in gold’ for genuine ones is referred to; also Heywood, Wise Woman of Hogsdon, III. ii, ‘this jewel—a plain Bristowe stone, a counterfeit.’
32-3. with poundage and shillings to the lurched] I do not understand this, but it seems as if Nashe were referring to some contribution to the poor-rate, or possibly to a special fund appropriated to the relief of those whose ships had met with disaster; cf. N. E. D., s. v. Lurch, sb. 3. a, where the word is explained as ‘discomfiture’. In the
NOTES [III. 168]

quotation given from Peck's Jests, Hazlitt, Sh. Jest-Books, ii. 307, 'hauing many of these lurches' seems rather to mean having often been tricked. In ii. 70. 29 'lurch' is used for 'stole'.

33-4. the Bailifes foure and twentye, and eight and fourtie] Read rather 'Bailifes, fowre...' 'The four and twenty' was the regular designation of the Aldermen of Yarmouth, 'the eight and forty' of the Common Council.

P. 169, 4. to] Equivalent, I suppose, to 'to it'.

6. the enemies] One would expect 'their enemies'; but cf. iii. 255. 712.

7. liberties,) The parenthesis is perhaps meant to continue to 'times' in l. 11.

17-24. By the furnishing... ] Grammatically this belongs to the preceding paragraph, but all editions begin the new paragraph here, and I have therefore made no change.


24-5. shew of knitters] On the occasion of Elizabeth's visit to the city in August, 1578. See Holinhed, Chron., 1807-8, iv. 384, or Nichols' Progresses, ii. 144. A stage, 40 feet long and 8 feet broad, had been built in St. Stephen's Street. On this 'there stood at the one end eight small women children spining worsted yarde, and at the other end as manie knitting of worsted yarde hose: and in the middest of the said stage stood a pretie boy richlie apparelled, which represented the common wealth of the citie.' It does not appear that the stage was particularly high.

P. 170, 29-31. The hauen hath cast in these last 28. yeares... five pence] See Palmer's notes to Manship, p. 119. Nashe's figures were probably taken from the same 'Haven Book' which is there referred to. From this it appeared that the expenditure from 1548 to 1613 was nearly £50,000.


34. voyage to Cales] The expedition under the Earl of Essex and Lord Effingham which took Cadiz in 1596.

P. 171, 1. Dunkerkers] i.e. Dunkirk pirates, called 'Dunkerks' at 225. 12; cf. Dekker, 2 Hon. Wh., i. i, and Wks., ed. Grosart, iii. 164. Frequently referred to.

2. Wafting] I do not understand this. The word ordinarily meant 'passage' or 'passage-money'.

27. East surprised Gades or Cales] This seems to make no sense. Cadiz was taken by the Spaniards in April, 1596, and retaken for the French by the Earl of Essex on June 21 of the same year. But it does not seem that there was any surprise.

32-3. flatte... at the top] Cf. Hakluyt, Princ. Nav., ed. 1903-5, iv. 255, 'every house [at Cadiz] was... altogether flat-roofed in the toppe.'

36. side-wasted] Apparently 'broad-waisted' or simply 'broad' is meant.


6. droppe vie] A gambling term which I cannot accurately explain. To 'vie' was to wager.
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17. trauailers, from] The comma, which is in the quarto, makes it appear that ‘from our owne Realme’ belongs to ‘I haue not trauald farre’, thus implying that Nashe had been out of England. The punctuation is, however, too irregular throughout for evidence depending upon it to have much value.

20. Buchanan] Presumably the Rerum Scoticarum Historia, 1582, is referred to.

22. inland partes] i.e. inner parts of the records.

23-4. middle walke in Poules] A frequent meeting-place of gallants; cf. Dekker, Gull’s Hornbook, cap. 4, Wks., ed. Grosart, ii. 230. 17, &c., also his Dead Term, Wks., iv. 51; B. Jonson’s Every Man out of his Humour, III. iii. i (scene divis. of folio).

32. Prester John] The well-known fabulous Eastern ruler hardly requires a note, but those interested may be referred to the elaborate dissertations on the subject by F. Zarncke, Leipzig, 1874 and 1875, for knowledge of which I am indebted to Professor Bang.

34. mayhaps to] Evidently a confusion between ‘haps’, adv. (＝perhaps, as at 176. 6), and the verb ‘hap’ (=happen).

P. 178, 2. heaking time] Grosart’s reading ‘breaking’ ought perhaps to have been given, as it may not be a mere misprint. N. E. D. explains as ‘Time to draw in the Haking, or the fish caught in it’. No other instance is recorded. ‘Haking’ is defined as ‘a kind of net, or apparatus with net attached, used for taking sea-fish’.

4. Sophy] In Hakluyt, Princ. Nav., this name is frequently given to the Persian monarch; cf. ed. 1903–5, iii. 29, ‘the sayd Sophy, otherwise called Shaw Thomas.’

10–11. sterne-bearer] i.e. rudder-bearer, ship.

11. Meridian, Mercurial] It should perhaps have been noted that the quarto punctuates ‘Meridian: Mercurial’ (so also Gro.); hence, no doubt, the difficulty which editors seem, by their punctuation, to have felt in understanding the passage.

11–12. Mercurial brested] Apparently alluding to the aptitude for commerce with which those born under Mercury were supposed to be gifted (see N. E. D., s. v. Mercurial, a. 3).


accepted] Apparently influenced in sense by ‘excepted’, or perhaps a mistake for that word.

26. impetrable] Explained in N. E. D. as ‘capable of obtaining or effecting something, successful’, the present being the only example of this sense. Cf. Plautus, Most. v. 2. 40 ‘non potuit venire orator magis ad me impetrabilis’, and Merc. iii. 4. 20.

27–30 marg. the adamant molfide with... bloud] Pliny, H. N. xx. 1 and xxxvii. 15. The blood had to be that of a he-goat. Frequently referred to; cf. Euphues, Lyly, ed. Bond, i. 210. 28, and note. Several times also in Greene; see Grosart’s index (List of Plants, &c.), s. v. adamant.

P. 174, 3. antient] i.e. ensign.

16. Ticklecob] I know nothing of the word.

Magister fac totum] The origin of the phrase ‘fac totum’ does
not seem to have been determined. In the *Adagia* of G. Gentius in Erasm. *Adagia*, 1574, ii. 624 b “Facere totum,” pro, vim potestatemque omnem habere’ is given as from Justinian (*Dig.* xxviii. 5. 35. 3). Both with and without ‘magister’ the phrase was common. Cf. note on ii. 318. 5 and Hakluyt, *Princ. Nav.*; ed. 1903-5, iii. 474, ‘Bodan Belscoy the Emperours chiefest favourite, and Domine fac totum’.

17. red ruddocks] i.e. gold coins. Very frequent, generally with the qualifying word ‘red’; cf. *Horistes*, ii. 36, 678; *Misogonus*, II. iv. 185; *Gentle Craft*, ed. Lange, ii. 19, ‘He looks for a golden girl, or a girl with gold, that might bring him the red ruddocks chinking in a bag’.

grummell seed] The seed of a plant allied to borage, at present usually spelt ‘gromwell’. Generally used as equivalent to ‘gain’; cf. *Respublica*, ed. Brandl in *Quellen*, I. i. 23-4, ‘The name of policie ys praised of echone, But to rake grumle sede Avaryce ys a Lone’. One of the characters of T. Wilson’s *Discourse vpon Usury*, 1572, is a usurer called ‘Gromel gayner, the wrong merchant or enill occupier’.

19. the city of Argentine] One would naturally suppose some reference to the Rio de la Plata, but I cannot learn that there was any town there so called—or that the name ‘Argentine’ was ever given to the country at this date. Possibly Strasburg, the Roman ‘Argentario’, or, as Coryat has it, ‘Argentina’ (*Crudities*, ed. 1905, ii. 184), may be meant, and the reference to silver be merely a jest on the name.

29. peace] The suppression of the possessive termination in words ending in an s-sound is of course frequent.

32. giues not the wall to] i.e. confesses not the superiority of.

P. 176, 1. Vintiquater] I suppose that the aldermen of London are meant, but from the year 1550 onwards there were twenty-six of them. The designation of ‘vinti quater’ may, however, have persisted from earlier times when the number was twenty-four, as it was until the reign of Richard II. But perhaps the speaker merely meant the body at London corresponding to the Yarmouth ‘four and twenty’; cf. 168. 33-4 and note.

or] This must be a misprint for ‘of’, and should have been corrected.

23. March brewage] Beer brewed in March was considere to be the best. Cf. iii. 391. 11; also Marlowe’s *Faustus*, vi. 154 (ed. Breyman, l. 775), and Mr. Bullen’s note on the passage.

24-5. wine of Falernum, ... fourty yeere] The usual statement is that it would keep for about twenty years (Athenaeus i. 48), and I do not know whence Nashe took this.


P. 176, 8-9. galingale, which Chauer ... encomomizeth] The only reference to it is in the *Prol. to Cant. Tales*, l. 381, where it is mentioned with ‘poudre-marchant’. It was a spice, not a confection, but seems to have later come to mean a cake flavoured with the spice.

14. wamble] i.e., apparently, roll, but I know no other example of this sense at the date.

17-18. through thicks and thinne] Not, I believe, very common

The composition of *encomia* on unworthy or ridiculous subjects was, it need hardly be said, a common exercise of the scholars of the later renaissance. These were sometimes mere excursions of wit or fancy, but they frequently had a serious purpose—as, for example, the *Encomium Moriae* itself. It was, further, almost traditional in the preface to a book upon a light subject to give a list of such works, as affording some justification or excuse for one’s own attempt—witness, for example, the reference of Statius to the *Culex* and the *Batra-chomyomachia* in the dedication of his first book of *Sylvae*—and Nashe is here only following a well-established precedent. Such lists are numerous; I need only refer here to the one in the dedication of the *Encomium Moriae* (see note to 151. 24), to one in André Pasquet’s preface to *Les Bigarrures du Seigneur des Accords*, and to Harington’s *Metamorphosis of Ajax*, ed. 1814, xiii. For other mentions of works of the kind see Castiglione’s *Courtier*, ‘Tudor Trans.’, p. 123; Wilson’s *Art of Rhetoric*, ed. 1560, fol. 4r; and Harvey’s *Works*, ed. Grosart, ii. 244, foot; lastly there is a long, but not particularly accurate, list in a piece entitled *Iucunda de Osculis*, printed with the *De Arte Bibendi* of Obsopaeus and other *facetiae* at Leyden in 1754, p. 223. Among the collections of sixteenth-century works of this class may be mentioned *The Argumentorum Ludicrorum et Amoenitatum Scriptores Varii*, 1623, and *Admiranda Rerum Admirabilium Encomia*, Nimeguen, 1666 and 1676. I have little doubt that Nashe took most of this list in a piece from somewhere, but have failed to discover the source.

It seems necessary to mention the popular collection of *Paradossi*, *Cioè, Sententia fuori del comun parere* of Ortensio Landi, of which there were many editions from 1543 onwards. They appeared also in French as *Paradoxes, ce sont propos contre la commune opinion* (1553 and later), said in B. M. Cat. to be ‘Imitated by C. Estienne from the Italian of O. Landi’, but most of them are practically translations. From French the book was translated into English by A. Munday as *The Defence of Contraries*, 1593 (Camb. Univ. Lib.), which I have not seen. Among the thirty paradoxes are included the praise of poverty, imprisonment, death, ill-health, and banishment, all which are subjects included in Nashe’s list, but nevertheless I think he is referring not to a collection of this sort but to individual pieces. Cf. also the collection of poems by Berni and others mentioned in the note on ‘the asse’ in l. 31.

*rats and frogs... the Gnat, the Flea*] These, of course, are the *Barphæuswæci*; the *Culex*; and the *De Pulice*, attributed to Ovid. The *Encomium Pulicis* of Celio Calcagnini (1479–1541) is in prose.

*the Hasill nut*] The *Nux* of Ovid must, I think, be meant; though its subject was a walnut. Wilson, in his *Art of Rhet.*, ed. 1560, fol. 4r, speaks of those who ‘of fruite... commende Nuttes chiefly, as Ouid did’.

*the Grashopper*] Probably the Anacreontic poem commencing *Μάκαρισσοιον σε, τίττικ*.

*the Butterfly*] Mr. Bullen suggests that Nashe alludes to Spenser’s


Mucopotmos, but the context seems to demand a poem in a classical tongue.

the Parrot] Probably either the poem of Statius, Silv. ii. 4 'Psittacus Aedific Melioria', or that of Ovid, Amores, ii. 6, is meant.

22-3. the Popinjay] Usually 'popinjay' was equivalent to 'parrot', but here perhaps, as occasionally, it may stand for the woodpecker. I know of no poem on the subject.

23. Philipp sparrow] Probably the well-known poem of Catullus is referred to, but there may be a side allusion to Skelton's Phylip Sparrowe or Gascoigne's Praise of Philipp Sparrowe.

the Cuckowe] The only verse in praise of the cuckoo known to me is a Maying song called The Cuckowe's Comendation, mentioned by Chappell, Pop. Mus. 774, but this is presumably much too late. A ballad 'Full merely synges the Cowckcowe' was entered to W. Griffith in 1565-6.

24-5. on their mistris gloue ... pantofle] Probably no particular poems are referred to.

26. Johannes Secundus] Born at the Hague in 1511, died in 1536. His Latin poems, including the Basia, were published in 1541.

28. pouertie] It is difficult to say what is referred to. 'The Defence of pouertie against the Desire of worldlie riches Dialogue wise collected by Anthonie Mundaye' was entered to J. Charlewood, Nov. 18, 1577, but seems to be now unknown. One may guess it to have been a translation, but I have been unable to discover any foreign work.

28-9. imprisonment] Perhaps the work by Odet de la Noue (d. 1618), entitled Paradoxe que les adversitez sont plus necessaires que les prosperitez et qu'entre toutes l'estat d'une estroite prison est le plus doux et le plus profitable, La Rochelle, 1588; later this was translated into English by I. Sylvester as The profit of imprisonment. A paradox, 1605.


sicknesse] Not found.

banishment] O. Landi in his paradox on exile refers to Boccaccio as having said in a letter to a Florentine gentleman all that there is to be said on the subject. This is the letter to Messer Fino de' Rossi, who was banished in 1360. It is, however, like the De Exilio of Plutarch, rather a letter of consolation than an encomium of banishment.

baldnesse] The Calvitii Encomium of Synesius is referred to; cf. iii. 7. 33. There is also the curious poem of the monk Hucbaldus, or Hugbaldus (fl. 880), entitled Ecloga de Laudibus Calvitii (printed in Migne, Patr. Curs. 132, col. 1041, &c.), every word of which begins with the letter c. This was dedicated to Charles the Bald.

30. the bee] Possibly Varro, De Re Rustica, iii. 16, &c., is referred to, or Vergil, G. iv. We need not, I think, attach much importance to Nashe's calling these authors 'philosophers'.

the storke] The bird is of course frequently praised for its supposed piety towards its parents; cf. Erasmus, Adagia, chil. i, cent. 10. 1,
a number of such allusions, but I cannot learn of any piece entirely devoted to it.

30. the constant turtle] Nothing of the sort is known to me. There can hardly be a reference to the lost poem of Arruntius Stella on the dove (columba) of his mistress; cf. Martial, Epig. i. 8.

31. the horse] No special work in praise of the horse is known to me, though there is a short poem (16 lines) entitled ‘De Equo Elogium’ in Buchanan’s Silvae. Pliny also mentions a poem by Germanicus Caesar on the erection by Augustus of a tomb to his horse (H. N. viii. 64), but the nature of this is unknown.

the dog] Perhaps the Canis Laudatio of Theodore Gaza (printed in Migne, Patr. Curs., Ser. Grec. 161) is meant. In a sense the Cynegestica of Gratius Faliscus and of Nemesianus might be said to have the dog for principal subject, and there is also the Alcon, sive de Curá Canum Venaticorum of Girolamo Fracastoro (1483–1553), as well as other pieces of a like sort. Cf. also note on iii. 254. 670, &c.

the ape] Unknown to me.

the ass] A more common subject of encomium. The Noblenesse of the Asse, by A. B., had appeared in 1595 (see Mr. Hazlitt’s Hand-Book, 261, where it is attributed to Daniel Heinsius—not, I presume, the famous scholar of the name who was born in 1580). Either this or the Encomium Asini which forms the penultimate chapter of C. Agrippa’s De Incert. et Van. may be meant, or possibly the similarly named piece of Jean Passerat (1534–1602). There is also an Italian poem attributed by some to F. Berni (1490–1536), In Lode del Asino. See Delle Rime Piacevoli del Berni, Casa, &c., ed. 1603, i. fol. 51, also note on fol. 42, where Berni’s authorship of it is denied. This collection includes a vast number of such pieces in praise of trivial subjects. It may also be mentioned that a work described as ‘the noblenes of the Asse by Atta Balippa of Peru a province in the Newe World’ was entered in the Stationers’ Register on Oct. 12, 1595, but I cannot learn whether it was ever printed. The work was evidently a translation of La Nobiltà dell’ Asino, di Attabalippa del Perù [i.e. Adrianio Banchieri, 1592.

the fox] I cannot say what is referred to—not, surely, the Roman de Renard.

32. the ferret] Nothing of the sort is known to me.


Panaceae] The supposed universal medicine of this name is often referred to, but I cannot learn of no work exclusively devoted to it. There was also a herb called by the name; see N. E. D.

34. Guiacum] Probably the well-known work of Ulrich von Hutten, entitled De Guiac Medicina et Morbo Gallico, 1519; but there were doubtless other treatises on the same drug.

gisters] Burton, Anat. of Mel., ed. Shilleto, ii. 299, mentions the praise of clysters by Trincavellius and Hercules de Saxonia, but not in separate works.

triaclae] There was a work by T. Erastus, entitled Examen de Simplicibus quae ad Compositionem Theriacae Andromachi requiruntur, a drug discussed by Cardan in the De Subtilitate (cf. Burton, u.s. ii.
also a Booke of the natures and vertues of Tiacles, newly corrected and set forth againe, annexed to W. Turner's Book of Wines, 1568.

35. mithridates] See note on ii. 179. 15-16. There was an English work on the subject, entitled A Discourse of the medicine called Mithridatium, declaring the first beginnings, the temperature, the noble vertues, and the true use of the same, 1585. It is anonymous, but see Mr. Hazlitt's Coll. &c. Notes, 4th Ser. 18, where it is attributed to W. Bailey.

36. Rubarbe] No special work on it is known to me.

Stibium] i.e. antimony. See Burton, Anat. of Mel. ii. 262-3, where many who have praised it are referred to.

P. 177, i. cornugraphers] Apparently a nonce-word of Nashe's invention. With the list of works which follows compare iii. 277. 1394-1416. Also Harington's Metamorphosis of Ajax, ed. 1814, xiii, 'Sure I am that many other countrymen, both Dutch, French, and Italians, with great praise of wit, though small of modesty, have written of worse matters. One writes in praise of folly; another in honour of the pox; a third defends usury; a fourth commends Nero; a fifth extols and instructs bawdry; the sixth displays and describes Puttana Errante, which I hear will come forth shortly in English; a seventh ... [see Rabelais, i. 13].'

2. sodomtrie] The work of Giovanni della Casa (1503-56), Archbishop of Benevento from 1544, entitled Il Capitolo del Forno, must be referred to. It was first published in his Capitoli, 1538. See a sufficient discussion of its meaning and the accusations to which it gave rise in Bayle, Dict., ed. 1734-8, v. 422, note E. The book is referred to by Holinshed, Chron., ed. 1807-8, iv. 76.

2-3. the strumpet errant] i.e. La Puttana Errante, formerly attributed to Pietro Aretino.

3. the goute] There were works in praise of the gout by Bilibaldus Pirckheimer (1470-1530), published in 1522, and by Cardan, published in 1566 in his Opuscula Medica et Philosophica.


3-4. the dropsie, the sciatica] Not known to me.


drunkenness] Nashe is probably referring to the Ars Bibendi of V. Obsopaeus, 1536 (cf. iii. 277. 1406-7), though this cannot properly be said to be in praise of drunkenness. There was also the Encomium Ebrietatis of Chr. Hegendorff, 1519.


5. cocking] i.e. pert, swaggering.


6. primmer editions] I do not know what is meant.

Imprimea iour duy] Standing, of course, for Imprimer a l'aurjourd'hui, but I am doubtful how the text should be corrected.

7. conducible] This probably, if not certainly, stands for 'conducibleness', i.e. advantageousness, but the earliest example of the word in N.E.D. belongs to 1647, and then it is not used absolutely, but with 'for'. Nashe has 'conducible' at i. 201. 26.
Poco] i.e. of course, the Morbus Gallicus. The work referred to is unknown to me, unless it be the poem by M. Bino (ft. 1530), 'In lode del Malfrancese,' printed in Delle Rime Fiacevoli del Berni, Casa, &c., ed. 1603, i. 121. That Nashe is speaking of French authors is of little consequence. Cf. also Paradoxes or Encomions in the Praise of Being Lowsey ..., by S. S., 1653, pp. 12–16, where is a poem 'In praise of the French Pox.' This is evidently of much later date, but may have been translated from, or based on, an earlier piece. It appears to have no connexion with Bino's poem. The famous poem of G. Fracastoro, Syphilis, sive Morbus Gallicus, 1530, should perhaps be mentioned, but it can hardly be the work referred to by Nashe, unless he was quite ignorant of its nature. Cf. also quotation in note on l. 1.

The verbal joke, such as it is, may be paralleled by a passage in the Epistle prefixed to Greene's Perimedes the Blacksmith, 1588, Wks., ed. Grosart, vii. 8–16, 'such mad and scoffing poets, that have propheticall spirits, as bred of Merlins race, if there be anye in England that set the end of scollarisme in an English blanck verse, I thinke either it is the humor of a nouicethat tickles them with selfe-loue, or to much frequenting the hot house (to vse the Germaine prouerbe) hath sweat out all the greatest part of their wits, which wast Grada-tim, as the Italians say Poco à poco.'

8-12. the prescript lawes of Tennis or Balonne ... Panados] I can identify none of these.

13. calinos] Only instance in N.E.D. It is suggested that the word may have some reference to the 'calino custure me' song, but as an alternative, and surely more probable, explanation we are referred to the French calin, 'a beggarly rogue or lazy vagabond that counterfeits disease' (Cotgr.).

13–14. the excellence of the browne bill and the long bowe] I doubt whether any particular work is referred to. There was some discussion at the time as to the comparative importance of the bow and the musket, and several works were written on each side. Among others may be mentioned that of R. S., 'A briefe Treatise to prooue the necessitie and excellence of the use of Archerie,' 1596. I can learn of no special work on the brown bill.

15–16. the noble science of defence] I presume that the reference is to the work entitled Giacomo De Grassi his true Arte of Defence, plainlie teaching ... how a man ... may safelie handle all sorts of Weapons as well offensive as defensive ... First written in Italian by the foresaid Author, and Englished by I. G., 1594 (Hazlitt, Coll. and Notes, II. 688).

17. the nature of white-meates] 'White-meats' were milk, butter, curds, and cheese. I cannot discover the work referred to.


20–1. of an enflamed heale to copper-smithes hal] The meaning of these words has not yet dawned upon me. For 'copper-smithes hal' see note on iii. 393. 2.

21. of the diuersitie of red noses] There are a number of references to some book or ballad on red noses, but nothing seems to be known about it. It was perhaps Elderton's 'parliament of noses' referred to.
by Nashe at i. 258. 18-19; but this gives us no further information. Some book of the kind seems to be pointed at by Webbe in his *Discourse of English Poetry*, 1586, in Prof. Gregory Smith's *Elis. Crit. Essays*, i. 246. 26-9, 'every one that can frame a Booke in Ryme, though for want of matter it be but in commendations of Copper noses or Bottle Ale, wyll catch at the Garlande due to Poeta.' The book is also referred to by J. Taylor in his *Praise of Hempseed*, 1620, B 1 (in *Wks.*, 1630, Ff 2*), but the whole passage is probably taken from the present one. Among works on trivial subjects it includes *Lenten Stuff* itself.

24. *maulkins*] Mops, especially those used to wipe out bakers' ovens.

24-5. *a strong dozen of poyntes* I know nothing of this, unless it be an earlier edition of 'A Godly new Ballad intituled, a Dozen of Points,

A dozen of Points you may here read. Whereon each Christian's soul may feed.'

This was printed without date for F. Coles, T. Vere, and W. Gilbertson; see Mr. Hazlitt's *Handbook*, p. 103. Vere and Gilbertson do not appear as booksellers before about 1640.

29-30. *a Tobacco pipe* I cannot learn of any book in praise of tobacco at this date, though there were several later. Mr. Hazlitt, however, records as in the Chalmers sale a work described as 'Tobacco [Woodcut of a man Smoking.] Lond. 1595. 12 mo.' (Handbook, 608.) I know nothing of it. Cf. Maunsell, *Cat.*, ii. 24*.

32. *in commendation of daunsing* i.e. the poem of Sir John Davies, entitled *Orchestra, or a Poem of Dauncing*, 1596.

33. *offers sacrifice to the goddess Cloaca* Referring, of course, to the works of Sir J. Harington, the *Metamorphosis of Ajax*, &c., 1596.

P. 178, 2. *Tosted turues against famine* I suppose that there is an allusion to Sir Hugh Plat's *Sundrie new and artifciall Remedies against Famine*, 1596, where among means of allaying hunger which the author does not warrant but includes because he has found them in good authors, is '1. And first of all Paracelsus himselfe affirmeth, that a fresh turfe or clod of earth, applied every daie vnto the stomach of a man, will preserue him from famishing for some smal number of daies' (B 1). It will, however, be noticed that the turf was not to be toasted, so possibly this may not be the passage really referred to.


7. *the french Academy* i.e. the work of Pierre de la Primaudaye which was translated into English by T. B. in 1586 as *The French Academie, wherin is discoursed the institution of maner, and whatsoever els concerneth the good and happie life of all estates and callings. It is a miscellaneous collection of examples of virtues and vices, gathered from a great variety of sources. As has been shown by Mr. H. C. Hart in *Notes and Queries*, 1906, it was much used by R. Greene.
the Cornucopia of a cow] i.e., I suppose, the plenty to be derived from a cow, with, of course, an allusion to its horns. So far as I know the book never appeared. Taylor, in the passage referred to in the note on 177. 21, refers to it thus:

'A nothers humour will nothing allow
To bee more profitable than a Cow;'

but he probably derived his knowledge of it from the present passage of Nashe. One might here be tempted to read 'or the Cornucopia', and suppose a reference to the Cornucopia, or divers Secrets of Thomas Johnson, printed in 1595, save for the fact that this is by no means a 'bigge garbd' treatise, but a thin quarto.

10. sifting] i.e. fussing, from the sense of 'file', to elaborate.

12. in Laud of a bag-pudding] I know nothing of this.

16. right Sheffield] I suppose this means of good quality metal, a sconce being either a helmet or a head. The town seems then, as now, to have been famous for cutlery; 'Sheffield kniues' are referred to in The Cobbler of Canterbury, ed. 1608, F 2v, and elsewhere.

18. Quot capita tot sententiae] Cf. Terence, Phorm. ii. 4. 14 'quot homines tot sententiae,' and Erasm. Adag. chil. i, cent. 3. 7. Nashe's substitution of 'capita' for 'homines' may possibly have been caused by his recollection of the somewhat similar saying of Horace, Sat. ii. 1. 27, also frequently quoted, 'Quot capitum vivunt, totidem studiorum Millia.'


22. in a frosty morning] The phrase, used again at iii. 315. 32-3, is a mere expletive.

24-5. Totaliter ad oppositum] The meaning is evidently 'keeping to the point'. I have not met with it elsewhere, but the contrary, ad oppositum, is used by Whitgift in Def. of Ans. to Adm., 1577, pp. 88, 282.

30. which Polidore Virgill calls Ver aureum vellus] See the Angl. Hist., ed. 1570, 13. 25 "Hoc vellus veræ aurei est." From 12. 43 onwards much is said about the English wool. Harrison, Descrip. of Engl., ed. N. S. S., ii. 6. 1-2, perhaps borrowing from the same source, says that if Jason had known how good was the wool of the English sheep he would never have gone to Colchis to look for anie there.'

33. Grana paradisi] The capsules of Amomum Melegueta, a kind of pungent spice brought from Africa; cf. Hakluyt, Princ. Nav., ed. 1903-5, 175 and 147. See Cent. Dict. and N. E. D., s.v. 'Grains of Paradise.' It was an ingredient of spiced wine.

P. 178, 11. about Isemborough] I suppose Eisenburg in Hungary is meant; a town of the name in Saxe-Altenburg does not seem to be remarkable for iron.

22. hosted] Apparently a form of the verb derived from 'oast', a kiln—properly for drying malt or hops; but I can find no instance of its use in connexion with the smoking or curing of fish.

27. for babies] i.e. as dolls or toys.

27-8. every mans money] i.e. every one buys it.

29. goodman Baltrop] The name is unknown to me.

32. dinnier] i.e., of course, the coin 'denier,' penny—not 'dinner', as some appear to have thought.
Leather pillice] i.e. leather coat, frequently referred to as the dress of a labourer.

laboratho] This might possibly be intended as a Spanish form of 'labourer', but I can find no justification for the word.

33. mouse] The 'mouse-piece' of beef was the part below the round; cf. Lyly's Sapho and Phao, I. iii. 11 (Nares, Gloss.); but the context here seems to require 'mouse' to mean a morsel.

35. smudging . . . chapmanable] i.e. smoking it so as to render it an article of merchandise.

P. 180, 3. Questman] A parish official of apparently somewhat indeterminate functions, or a person appointed by the parish to inquire into abuses or irregularities.

7. squamy] i.e. scaly; cf. 'squamosum pecus' in Plautus, Rud. iv. 3. 5.

15. handfuls] i.e. I suppose, as much as they can do with.

IVoades] Used for dyeing. Harrison, Descr. of Brit., c. 18, Hobins. ed. 1807-8, i. 187, speaks of woad, with madder, as no longer produced in England, not because the ground is unable to produce it, 'but that the people are negligent . . . as men rather willing to buie the same of others that take anie paine to plant them here at home.' Cf. Hakluyt, Princ. Nav., ed. 1903-5, v. 235, where 'the high price of forraine Woad (which devoureth yeerely great treasure)' is spoken of. It is also mentioned as an import ('Woode') in W. Stafford's Exam. of Complaints, ed. N. S. S., 16 foot.

16. salt] Though, as indicated in ll. 10-11, it was largely produced in England, much was also imported; cf. Stafford, Exam. of Complaints, N. S. S., 49.

Vitre] I suppose that glass is meant, but have not found the word elsewhere.


23. slop] The loose garment called a slop seems to have been commonly worn by sailors; cf. note on l. 172. 16. Nashe, I suppose, means no more than 'every single rope-haler'.

28. poor John] i.e. salted hake.

29. without . . . mustard] Mustard seems to have usually been eaten with poor John; cf. l. 171. 5-6.

no ho] i.e. no stopping; cf. Misogonus, ed. Brandl in Quellen, II. iii. 55, 'past whoo', and Dekker, 1 Hon. Whore, V. ii. (ed. Pearson, ii. 79), 'O I, a plague on 'em, ther's no ho with 'em, they're madder then March hares'. The phrase is very common.

35. fine and fwe] For the form of the expression cf. Histriomastix (Simpson's Sch. of Sh. ii), VI. 197, 'two and two to an egg'.

P. 181, 11. Leopald.] The point of the allusion is unknown to me.

12-21 marg. That is . . . headlong] Apparently not in Hakluyt.

15. in his Schoolemaster] See Ascham, Engl. Wks., ed. Wright, p. 295. Nashe's reference is either to the edition of 1570 or to that of 1571, which correspond page for page. The quotation is approximately correct, but should run 'Varro...doth not enter there in to...' and Ascham has 'him selfe', not 'by himselfe'.

16. are] The insertion of the word is unnecessary; cf. 188.13.

24-5. for seven yere together lacking a quarter] See the Introduction as to Nashe's residence at St. John's College.

30-1. give their heads for the washing] The phrase was not uncommon in the sense of 'submit to insult'. Mr. Crawford refers me to Beaumont and Fletcher's Cupid's Revenge, IV. iii. 18-19, and to Hudibras, pt. I. c. 3. l. 256.

34. soundeth] i.e. implies.

P. 182, 15. Randevowe] With various spellings 'rendevous' seems to have been in common use from 1591.

21. port-sale] i.e. public sale, auction.

23. Ultima Theule] The identity of Vergil's 'ultima Thule' (G. i. 30) is discussed in Hakluyt, ed. 1903-5, iv. 102-3. It seems generally to have been taken to mean Iceland.

24-5. Pallamede don pedro de linge] I can suggest no reason for this name given to the ling, unless, which seems quite unlikely, there be some jesting reference to the Mediterranean fish 'pelamidy' (Ital. palamita), a young tunny. Hakluyt, Princ. Nav., ed. 1903-5, v. 81, describes the 'Palomide' as something like a mackerel, but much larger.

26. trundle-taile] i.e. curly-tailed; cf. Deloney, Gentle Craft, ed. Lange i. 62, where mention is made of a shoe 'very sharp at the toe, turning up like the tail of an Island dog'.

shaugh] The same as 'sholt', a kind of rough-haired dog; cf. Harrison, Descr. of Eng., N. S. S. ii. 48, 'Besides these also we have sholts or curs dailie brought out of Iseland, and much made of among vs, because of their sawcinesse and quarrelling'. Spelt 'shault' in Def. of Cony-Catching, Greene's Works, ed. Grosart, xi. 65. 20.

32. cinque ace] A throw at dice of 5 and 1; apparently a throw of special significance in some game.

P. 183, 12. firking as flight swift] 'Firk' is used of any rapid movement. A 'flight' was a long light arrow; cf. Sol. & Pers. I. iii. 42, 'our swift flight shot.'

14. early] Perhaps a form of 'yarely'.

16-18. light-foot tripper...kernel] See Ovid, Metam. x. 654-5, said of Atalanta and Hippomenes; but I suspect that Nashe was really thinking of the description of Camilla in Aen. vii. 808-11, especially of the words ' nec teneras cursu laesisset arasitas'.

16. Metamorphisis] Hardly a misprint; cf. 'metamorphized' at iii. 74. 24 and note.

20. crab-tree fact'] i.e. sour-faced.


30. crash] Cf. 220. 27; generally a piece of music or a dance; cf. Misogonus, ed. Brandl in Quellen, II. iv. 260, 'What say yow to dauncinge, shall we daunce a little crashe?' and Deloney, Gentle Craft, ed. Lange, ii. 101, 'Will you not have a crash ere you goe?', where 'crash' means a tune on the fiddle.
Huniades] Probably 'chieftain' or 'conqueror' is meant. 'Huniades' is the usual Latin form of the name of John Hunyade, or Corvin, c. 1400-56, who as vaivode of Transylvania gained great renown against the Turks, being especially known for his defence of Belgrade against Mahomet II in 1456. See for this form of the name the Turkish history of L. Chalcocondylas (Lat. trans.) and Burton's Anat. of Mel., ed. Shilleto, i. 398, ii. 164.

P. 184, 5. Shroft-tusday] I cannot parallel the form, which, however, seems not impossible.

6. weare candles-ends in their hattes at midsommer] Possibly butchers were in the habit of wearing candles in this way simply for the purpose of light—it would obviously be a convenience in selecting joints of meat hung from the rafters—and no more is meant than that they would be so busy that they would forget to take them out, though in the lighter months they would not be required. But I only suggest this in default of a better explanation.

7. prickes] i.e. skewers—used, among other purposes, for pinning fat to lean meat in order to make it more saleable, and also, it would appear, in some process of causing meat to swell and so appear more plump. Cf. The Will of the Denyll (in Jyl of Breyfords Testament, ed. Furnivall, 1871), 71-2, 'I geue to the Butchers ... prickes enough to set vp their thynne meate, that it may appeare thyncke and well fedde'; Greene's Quip, Wks., ed. Grosart, xi. 273, foot-274; Def. of Cony-Catching in Greene's Wks., u. s. xi. 69. 17-19; Massinger, Virgin Martyr, II. i, tenth speech.

8. Domingo Rufus] For 'Domingo' cf. iii. 264. 971. 'Rufus' presumably refers merely to the red herring.

Sacrapant herring] There seems to be no special point in the name. Sacrapant is a character—a magician—in Peele's Old Wives' Tale, and, spelt Sacripant, in Greene's Orlando Furioso. The name comes originally from Ariosto, Orl. Fur., canto 1, st. 45, &c.

12-13. counterpoysyon of the spitting sicknesses] Presumably because of the 'vis sicca et astringens' of the salt; see A. de Villeneuve's commentary on the Schola Salernitana, cap. 52, as to the supposed action of this on the humidities of the body.

14. Beser] i.e. bezoar, calculi found in the intestines of certain animals, supposed to be efficacious against poison. For a full account see Joyful News out of the Newfound world, N. Monardes, trans. by J. Frampton, ed. 1580, fol. 120°-32.


19. Lippitudo Atticæ] The reference is, I suppose, to the statement in Aristotle, Rhet. iii. 10, that Pericles used to call Aegina ἕιμην τοῦ Πιραύως, the eye-sore of the Piraeus. The phrase does not, so far as I can learn, occur in any Latin author of classical times.

23-4. old Sarum plaine song] Presumably Nashe is referring to the 'Sarum use', i.e. the form of liturgy superseded by Edward's first prayer-book of 1549, which was, however, largely based on it. He probably regarded the older service as less elaborate than the more modern one.

26. Lady Lucar] i.e. lucre. The name of a character in R. Wilson's Three Ladies of London.


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Was this the face that launcht a thousand shippes,
And burnt the toplesse Towres of Ilium?

but perhaps merely the 'mille rates' of Ovid, *Metam.* xii. 7, Sabinus, i. 106, iii. 74, and many others.

33. *in the meane while*] i.e. all the same, for the matter of that; cf. *N. E. D.*, s.v. mean while, sb. 1c, and mean time, sb. 1b, for examples of the use, which seems somewhat uncommon. In *Darius*, ed. Brandl in *Quellen*, i. 800, 'A good chyld in the meane tyme thou arte,' the sense is exactly as here.

35. *Eloquious*] i.e. eloquent. The earliest example in *N. E. D.*

36. *dwarfe*] Cf. iii. 293. 1901.

P. 185, 1-2. *of whome it is Iliadizd...honye*] Should not this refer to Nestor? Cf. //i. 249 to τον και ἄνω γλώσσης μέλιτος γλυκίων δέναι. *Natalis Comes*] The *Mythologiae* of Natalis Comes (Noël Conti), a Milanese scholar (+1582), was the standard work on its subject throughout the Elizabethan period.

4-7. *marg. In olde time they used to wring out at any miracle*] Cf. quotation from More's *Dialogue...of the Veneration...of Images* in Stone's *Shakspere's Holinshed*, p. 254, where it is stated that on the restoration of his sight to a certain blind man 'a myracle [was] solemnly rongen'.

5-6. *Piemont Huldrick Herring*] 'Piemont' I do not understand. 'Huldrick' is Saint Ulric, on whose day (July 4) fish was offered in the churches; see *The Popish Kingdom*, book iv, l. 789, in Stubbes's *Anatomy*, ed. N. S. S., i. 339.

13. *Froysard*] See Bourchier's translation, ed. 1812, ii. 718.

16. *Zenos*] For Zeno of Elea and his argument of the unreality of motion see Aristot. *Nat. Ausc.* vi. 9 (14). The story alluded to in the next line refers not to him but to Zeno of Citium; it is told by Wilson, *Rule of Reason*, 1551, B 3": 'Zeno beyng asked the difference betwene Logique and Rethorique, made answere by Demonstration of his Hande, declaring that when his hande was closed, it resembles Logique, when it was opē & stretched out, it was like Rethorique' (See Cicero, *Orator*, 32. 113). Cf. *Almond*, iii. 370. 28, where it seems to be implied that he was in the habit of using his fists in another way in order to drive home his arguments; but this may be due to a mis-understanding of the story.

17. *sinnow*] i.e. 'to knot or bind strongly', *Cent. Dict.*, which quotes 3 Hen. VI., II. vi. 91, 'So shalt thou sinew both these lands together' ['sinow' *F.* i.]. Here, to clench the fist.

22. *flud bickerers and foame-curbers*] The only examples of these words in *N. E. D.*

24. *spittle-positis*] 'Spittle' seems to be the ordinary word (=hospital), used in a vaguely derogatory sense—as 'bedred'.
27. yeare of Jubile in Edward the thirds time] This must be the Jubilee held by Clement VI in 1350. The source of the statement is unknown to me. Matteo Villani, I. i, cap. 56 in Muratori, Script. Rerum Ital. xiv, speaks of the great number of pilgrims.

29. roamed to Rome] Cf. 1 Hen. VI, III. i. 51: 'Winchester: Rome shall remedy this. Warwick: Roam thither, then.'

30. veniall] Apparently used in the sense of 'pardoning', instead of 'pardonable'. Perhaps a Latinism; cf. Amm. Marc. xxviii. 5. 3; 'ut...signorum aquilarumque fulgere præstricti venealem poscerent pacem'—they begged for pardon and peace.

32. cruchet or crouchant friers] The canons regular of the Holy Cross, so named on account of an embroidered cross which they wore on their 'garments'; Cent. Dict. The usual form of the name is 'cruchet' or 'crouched'.

P. 186, 2. a hoppe on my thumbe] Instances in N. E. D. from 1530; cf. Deloney, Genile Craft, ed. Lange, ii. 11, 'Againe, he is but a dwarfe in respect of a man, a shrime, a wren, a hop-of-my-thumbe, such a one as a baby might hide in a wrinkle of their buttocks'.

4. elevante] Probably a misprint for 'eleuate'.

5. Gogmagognes] i.e. greatness—not in N. E. D.


18. diminutiuest] Probably a misprint for 'diminutivest'.

21. rundlet] i.e. small barrel; cf. iii. 247. 434.

impe] The usual sense is to engrase feathers into the wings of a bird in order to strengthen its flight. Here it seems to mean to add power to.

22. Holy S. Taurbard] I have no idea who is meant by this.

23. watchet] i.e. pale blue.

27-8. Smill, the Prince of the Crims & Nagayans] From Hakluyt, Princ. Nav., 1589, p. 349 (ed. 1903-5, ii. 454), 'Departing from Perouolog...we saw a great heard of Nagayans...: that Hord was belonging to a great Murse called Smille, the greatest prince in all Nagay, who hath slaine and driven away all the rest, not sparing his owne brethren and children.' Cf. also p. 350 foot (457), 'the aforesayd Tartar prince called Murse Smille.' The 'Crimmes, Nagians, and the whole nation of the Tartarians' are referred to on p. 343 (438) of the book, and frequently.

31. Robin hooide and little John] I have not met elsewhere with this equivalent of 'Tom, Dick, and Harry'.

P. 187, 5. consistorians or settled standers] The first word is explained in N. E. D. as 'settled inhabitants'—no other instance. For 'stander' cf. Dampier's Voyages, II. i. 49, as quoted in Cent. Dict., 'They [the Dutch] are the longest standers here by many years: for the English are but newly removed hither from Hean, where they resided altogether before.'

8-10. as the Sweetkin Madams did about valett S. Walter Manny] Apparently not from Froissart, who, however, mentions his vow to be the first that should enter France (Bourchier, i. cap. 36) and the knights and gentlemen who closed up one of their eyes (cap. 28), to whom Nashe alludes in l. 29.

10-11. he that built Charterhouse] See Stow's Annals, 1615, 245-6; during the plague of 1349, fearing that there might not be
room to bury all the people who died, Manny bought thirteen acres of land to be used as a churchyard, and later, in 1371, founded a house of Carthusian monks there. Cf. also Creighton's *Hist. of Epidemics in Brit.*, i. 126-8.

12-13. *win the horse or lose the saddle*] In various forms the proverb is common. Cf. ii. 200. 32 and Greene, *Wks.,* ed. Grosart, x. 100 foot, 'what they got in the bridle they lost in the saddle.'

34. *S. Magnus corner*] St. Magnus's church was just at the end of London Bridge, and the corner was regarded as an important centre, proclamations, &c., being read there (cf. Stow, *Annals*, ed. 1615, 740 b). Perhaps considered as the typical end of a sea-voyage, but the returning traveller would more naturally land at the Billingsgate stairs, a little further east, the usual resort of the Gravesend watermen.

**P. 188, 6. harbing*]] i.e. (?) lodge, receive.

9. *non est inuentus*] See note on ii. 315, 18.

10. *Jockies or Redshanks*] 'Jockey', used more or less contemptuously for 'lad', 'fellow', &c., is properly Scotch, as being a diminutive of 'Jock', but does not seem to have been restricted to Scotchmen at this date. The term 'Redshanks' was, according to *N. E. D.*, applied to the Celtic inhabitants of the Scottish Highlands and of Ireland, in allusion to the colour of the bare legs reddened by exposure. Nashe's explanation is of course burlesque.


**Robert de Breaux**] I do not know whence Nashe took this form of the name of Bruce. Holinshed (1807-8, v. 320, 339, &c.) seems invariably to call him Robert Bruse. So also Stow, *Annals*, 1615, p. 209.

14-15. *sent his deare heart to the haly land*] See Froissart, ed. 1812, i. 29 (cap. 20).

21. *sacklesse*] i.e. innocent, a word much used by Greene.

30. *beare palme*] i.e. win credit or applause (not necessarily the most credit, as at present).

31-2. *sixe hundred Scotish witches executed in Scotland*] I can learn nothing of this—surely imaginary—affair.

35. *ternados*] Mentioned, with this spelling, by Hakluyt, ed. 1903-5, vi. 388 and elsewhere. For 'furicanos' cf. iii. 20, 5.

**P. 189, 3. lower region**] The classical aether as distinguished from aether, the upper air, which was unaffected by storms, Lucretius, v. 501-4.


20. *Hydra herring*] I can give no reason for the name.


26. *above eti*] See note on i. 268. 8.

27. *rutilant*] i.e. shining, glittering.

**Heralius**] I do not know who is meant.

29. *the goats iumpe*] See note on i. 61. 27.

**IV**

**D d**
31. lavoltas] The lavolta was a lively dance.
33. skincoat] Frequently used for 'skin'; cf. Greene's James IV, Induct. II. 44–5, 'engraued the memory of Bohan on the skin-coate of some of them,' i.e. wounded them; also King John, II. i. 139.

P. 190, 2–3] The punctuation is difficult. I have followed the quarto, but possibly 'him, such . . . dayes: they' would be better.
7–32] I cannot discover where Nashe 'snatcht vp' this tale.
18. at host with] Cf. i. 40. 23.
20. baft] i.e. barked—probably imitative.
25. summer setted] i.e. 'somersaulted'. The expression appears in numerous forms, but almost always as a single word.
flipflapt] In N. E. D. there are instances from 1676 of 'Flip-flaps'—a kind of somersault in which the performer throws himself over on his hands and feet alternately. The noun does not seem to have been found earlier. Here we should probably read 'flipflapt'.
27. lagman] Given in N. E. D., s. v. lag, a. B 2, as equivalent to last man, one who brings up the rear.
30. white leather] Leather of a light colour prepared with alum or some other substance which does not darken it, instead of by the usual process of tanning.
35–6. propound veale for one of the highest nourishers] Cf. Elyot, Castle of Health, 1572, E 4", 'Kidde and veale of Galen is comended next vnto porke, but some men do suppose, y in health and sicknes they be much better than Porke, the juice of the both being more pure.'
P. 191, 2. to livery with] The form of the phrase appears to be unusual. I cannot find 'with' used elsewhere to introduce the matter of the 'livery'.
3. Hurrey, Hurrey, Hurrey] i.e. apparently 'harrow!'
4. marg. Vrrey] I can learn of no fishing place of the name. Urray in Ross-shire, at the head of Inverness Firth, is five miles inland.
15. intenerate] i.e. tender. This seems a solitary example of the adjectival use, though the verb occurs occasionally.
20. old dog] Cf. iii. 7. 7.
21. becollow] i.e. dirty.
32. clumme] The meaning of the word is far from clear; cf. Digby Myst., E.E.T.S., 157. 522–3, 'than farewele, consciens, he were clumme, I shuld haue all my wyll.' The word is explained in the glossary as 'benumbed, hence, rendered useless'. In Harsnet's Popish Impost.
34. 'Clum quoth the Carpenters wife and clum quoth the Friar', some explain 'clum' as a note of silence (=mum!) others as representing the muttering of the paternoster (N. E. D.).
8. Fumados] The name given to them, of course, when smoked.
III. 194] NASHES LENTEN STUFFE

14-15. that fish...wet] Hakluyt, Princ. Nav., ed. 1903-5, xi. 153, says of flying fishes that they 'fly as long as their fynnes continue moyst; and when they bee dry, they fall downe into the sea againe'. Also, and perhaps rather, iv. 244.

18-19. walkes his stations] Cf. Dekker's Old Fortunatus, II. ii, Wks., ed. Pearson, i. 117, And.: 'Faith father, what pleasure haue you met by walking your stations?' The meaning is, I suppose, 'goes his rounds.'

27. with his Dove] See note on i. 351. 8.

31. troubled with the falling sickness] Perhaps from the Strange and Memorable Things out of Seb. Munster, 1574, fol. 63 (12), where it is stated that Mahomet 'throughe intemperantly luying and continuall dronkennes, fell at the lengthe into the fallinge sicknes', to cloak which he pretended that he was cast into a trance by the brightness of the angel Gabriel who visited him. Also, with the story about the dove, in H. Smith's God's Arrow, ed. 1637, p. 44.

33. ab inferno nulla redemption] The phrase is often quoted, but I do not know its origin; Harington, Met. of Ajax, ed. 1814, 70, says, 'As for that scripture, ex inferno nulla redemption, I have heard it oft alleged by great clerks; but I think it is in the Epistle of St. Paul to the Laodiceans, or in Nicodemus' Gospel: for I never yet could find it in the Bible.' In Hickscorne, l. 784-6, it is attributed to Job. he is falne backward into hell] Alluding to his promise that three days after his death he would rise again and ascend to heaven.

P. 193, 2. Turbanto] I have not found this form elsewhere. Hakluyt has 'tolipane' and 'turbant' (ed. 1903-5, iii. 21; v. 345, 351): Puttenham, Art of Poesy, ed. Haslewood, p. 259, 'tolibant.'

groutheads] i.e. blockheads.

2-3. hang all men by the throates on Iron hookes] I have found no mention of this elsewhere.


11. fable of Midas] Nashe as usual follows the Ovidian form of the story; see Metam. XI. 85-145.


trillild] The word 'trillill' is more often used as an exclamation, generally having some reference to the act of drinking; cf. Lodge, and Greene's Looking Glass, 1686-8, 'Come, let vs to the spring of the best liquor: whilst this lastes, trill-lill'; see Prof. Collins's note on James IV, 1134-5, in his edition of Greene's Works, where some further examples are given; also Peake's Old Wives' Tale, l. 491-2, 'Well, weele to the church stile, and have a pot, and so trill lill.' Cf. also iii. 265. 1009, and the use of 'trilled' in Almond for a Parrot, iii. 363. 15.


14. Scaliger] There seems to be no point in this besides the very crude pun.

16. hay-cromes] i.e. a kind of hay-rake.

17. afterwards a schoolemaster] Cf. note on i. 312. 7.

18. had plaied the coachman to Plato] I do not know what is referred to, unless perhaps his sending a chariot to meet Plato on his arrival in Sicily, Plutarch, Dio, 13.
21. *budgely* i.e. formally.
23. *with a wenion* See iii. 53. 20.
25. *demy or mandillion* A 'demii' was a kind of short coat or vest; a 'mandillion' a loose sleeveless coat.
26. *pudding house* Cf. iii. 100. 34.
31-2. *play the Schoolemaister* Cf. l. 17 above.

**P. 195. 3. *Ismael Persians Hotly, or Mortus Alli*** Cf. iii. 19. 7-8, and note. 'Ismael' alludes, I suppose, to one of the Shahs of the name, Ismael I (1500-1523) or Ismael II (1576-8); unless possibly to Mahomet's supposed descent from Ishmael.
7. *his hairie tuft or lous Locke* See Hakluyt, Princ. Nav., ed. 1903-5, iii. 162, 'although they [i.e. the Persians] shave their heads most commonly twice a weeke, yet leave they a tuft of haire upon their heads about 2. foote long. I have enquired why they leave the tuft of haire upon their heads. They answer, that thereby they may easiler be carried up into heaven when they are dead.'
10. *fopperly* i.e. foolish; the only example in *N. E. D.*
11. *church-booke* i.e. parish register. *N. E. D* quotes Massinger, City Madam, i. i. 64. There should, perhaps, be a comma after 'booke'.
18. *Kit Marlow* The first two sestials of *Hero and Leander* were published in 1598.
23. *pinckany* Used here, as pigsney, for darling. Properly a small, narrow, or peering eye. The earliest instance in *N. E. D.* of this sense.
26. *a long arme* The earliest example of the phrase in *N. E. D.*, though 'Kynge haue longe handes' is found in 1539.
28. *at wrig wrag* The expression 'wrig wrag' is only known to me in Skelton, who uses 'Syr Wyrge wrag' several times as a proper name, apparently for an unstable person, or perhaps a Jack of both sides; cf. *Wks.*, ed. Dyce, i. 131, 149, 150.
32. *didopper* Cf. note on i. 256. 36.

**P. 196. 1. *blindmans holiday*** No earlier instance seems to have been found; later in common use for dusk.
2-3. *one of our Irish castles* i.e. the 'round towers'.
4. *ierr* A variant of 'jerk'; cf. iii. 261. 893.
13-14. *Fate is a spaniel that you cannot beate from you* Cf. Lyly's *Euphuies, Wks.*, ed. Bond, i. 249. 7-8, 'the kinde Spaniell, which the more he is beaten the fonder he is'. Dr. Landmann quotes *Mids. N. Dr.*, II. i. 203-4.
30-1. *swame or bracke* Both words mean 'fault' or 'defect'. They seem here to be used for 'check'.
31-3. *three things . . . a bawd, a witch, and a midwife* Evidently proverbial, but I have not met with it elsewhere.

**P. 197. 12. *frambold* i.e. turbulent, peevish.**
14. *coquet* i.e. a warrant delivered by the officials of a custom-house to certify that a merchant has complied with the legal requirements, and so authorising the removal of his goods.
15-16. *for curwitting any more to the mayden tower* It is perhaps
not too fanciful to suggest that Nashe remembered Surrey's well-known lines in his poem on his imprisonment at Windsor:

'The large grene courtes where we were wont to houe,
With eyes cast vp into the mayden tower,
And easie sighes, such as folk draw in Loue.'

17-18. leman or orenge] The joke upon 'lemon' and 'leman' seems to be almost inevitable. There are many instances of it, but it will suffice to refer to Henry Buttes' *Diets Dry Dinner*, 1599, C 5, 'All say a Limon in Wine is good: some thinke a Leman and Wine better,' and to Gascoigne's *Wks.*, ed. Hazlitt, i. 48–9, where are some punning verses on the subject.

20-1. the rheume ... a signe ... of some drowning] I have not met with this idea elsewhere.

23. checkestone] i.e., presumably, 'chuckiestanes'—but was the game ever English? As played in Scotland it consisted in throwing a pebble or shell into the air and picking up or arranging a certain number of others before it fell and was caught again.

31-2. the glowing and blistring of our braines ... are dreames] Cf. i. 355. 30, &c., also 10–11.

P. 198, s. lukes] i.e. a casement. Only one other instance in N.E.D., i.e. '1564, Bullyn, Dial. agst. Pest. 21 b, Drawe the Curtaines, open the lukette of the windowe.'

16-19. even as Semiramis ... Babilon was taken] Cf. Val. Max. ix. 3. ext. 4; Babylon had not been taken, but had revolted, and Nashe elaborates the details. 'Lye' was a cosmetic for the hair; see N.E.D.

27-9. The gods ... applewife] From the second 'gods' this reads like a quotation from some song, but I have been unable to identify it. It is just possible that the popular ditty 'cuckolds all of a row', the words of which seem to be lost (see Chappell, *Pop. Mus.*, 340), may have been related to it as a parody or otherwise. I have no idea what is meant by 'bread and crow'.

P. 199, 3. Hurrie currie] The only example in *N.E.D.*

9–11. trees of the Sunne and Moone ... that spoke to Alexander] See Mandeville, cap. 7, ed. 1900, p. 34, 'Men say also, that the balm growtheth in Ind the more, in that desert where Alexander spake to the trees of the sun and of the moon ...' Also cap. 32, p. 196, 'within those deserts were the trees of the sun and of the moon, that spake to King Alexander, and warned him of his death'.

14. tooke bread ... eate it] Cf. note on iii. 69. 1.

31. pagled] i.e. pregnant.

34. Fabian] I do not understand the allusion; it seems impossible to suppose any reference to the writer of the Chronicle.

Palmerin of England] A translation of this romance, originally written in Spanish by Luis Hurtado, was licensed to Charlewood in 1581–2, but no edition earlier than 1596 seems to have been seen in modern times (see Mr. Hazlitt's *Handbook*, 436).

34-5. Cadwallader Herring] Nashe's allusions are sometimes so far-fetched that I venture to suggest—in default of a better explanation—that he had perhaps chanced upon a sidenote in Holinshed's *Chronicle*, ed. 1807–8, i. 633, 'Cadwallader constreined to forsake the
land'—in reference to the migration of him and his people to Armorica—and therefore thought his name might appropriately be applied in jest to a 'king of fishes'.

P. 200, 4. mother Mampudding] Presumably a fanciful name for an old woman, perhaps from 'mump', i.e. chew (cf. l. 12) + pudding. Cf., however, Stow's London, ed. Strype, 1720, bk. ii, p. 52, where a certain tavern or provision-shop for sailors in Petty Wales, Thames Street, is described. He says 'Amongst others, one Mother Mampudding (as they termed her) for many Years kept this House, or a great part thereof, for victualling'. The passage appears in the first edition, 1598.

19-20. shrewish snappish] Cf. iii. 29. 31-2, 'shrewish snappish mustard'.


28. tanned wainscot hue] The mustard used at table was perhaps what is now called 'brown mustard'. At any rate it seems not to have had the clear yellow hue which is now associated with it. Readers of John Taylor will remember his story of the Highlanders who came to England, and were served at a tavern with beef and mustard, and how one of them, never having seen the condiment before, partook of it too liberally, 'but it was so strong, that it was no sooner in his mouth, but it set him a snuffing and neesing, that he told his Friends (Duncan and Donald) that hee was slaine with the grey Grewell in the wee-dish' (Taylor's Feast, 1638, B 4). Such expressions as 'wainscot-faced' for 'brazen' were frequent; cf. Martin's Epistle, ed. Arber, 31. 8; Cooper's Admon. to People of Eng., ed. Arber, 71. 22; Hay any Work, ed. Petheram, 65. 10, and Greene, Wks., ed. Grosart, xii. 114. 20-1.

31. lowing-land] The name of the hundred extending from just south of Yarmouth to Lowestoft.

P. 201, 2. because Elstred was drownd there] There is some confusion here. It was in the Severn that 'Estrildis, daughter to Humber, otherwise called Cumbrus or Vmar', who was overthrown by Locrine, was drowned. See Harrison, Descr. of Brit., cap. 13; Holins. Chron. 1807-8, i. 117. It was Humber himself who was drowned in the river which bears his name, Holinshead, u. s., i. 157, 444.

6. Whippet] Apparently the same as 'whip', which was later in use as an exclamation, in the sense of 'at once', 'all of a sudden'. At iii. 107. 17, 'whippet' seems to mean a contemptible person.

7. John for the King] Cf. iii. 84. 20 and note.

8-9. upon a time and tide, ... holiday] Obviously altered from the opening words of some ballad, but I have not identified it.

11-12. giving them stones to cast & scour] I. e. to cause vomiting and purging.

P. 202, 9. trigger] A form of 'trudge'.

14. bache-friends] Usually meaning feigned friends, but here, exceptionally, 'backers'.

10-11. Aequora nos ... image] Ovid, Metam. xi. 427 'Aequora me terrent, et ponti tristis imago.'
23-4. quarrell from them, having] Qy. either read 'for them' or punctuate 'quarrell, from them having ...'

28. John indifferent] Apparently the same as 'Jack o' both sides'.

32. wasserman] 'A male sea-monster of human form; a sort of merman', Cent. Dict., which quotes the Faery Queen, ii. 12. 24,

'The griesly Wasserman, that makes his game
The flying ships with swiftnes to purswe'.

P. 203, 1. deraine] i.e. draw up; cf. 3 Hen. VI, II. ii. 72.

10. delegatory Scipio] By 'delegatory' Nashe apparently means 'appointed as a delegate'—not autocratic. I am doubtful which of the Scipios—or what particular incident—was in his mind.

Petito] I cannot explain the allusion.

11. the heire of Laertes per apheresin, Vlysses] With respect to this puzzling expression, Professor Moore Smith remarks that ἐν ἀφαίρεσις means in Logic 'in the abstract', 'by abstraction' (Aristot. Anal. Post. i. 18. i), and that Cicero jokes on the term, Epist. ad Att. vi. i. 2. He understands the phrase to mean that Ulysses was the heir of Laertes in the abstract, because during Laertes' old age his property had melted away (cf. iii. 27. 2-4). I do not feel certain that this is the correct explanation, for the joke would surely not have been understood by many of Nashe's readers—but it is at least better than any alternative that I have to offer.

21-3. the Playse and the Butte ... have wry mouthes ever since] Cf. Dekker, 2 Hon. Whore, II. i., ed. Pearson, ii. 113, 'if I had had it, I should ha made a wry mouth at the world like a Playse'. Also Foxe, Acts & Mon., ed. Townsend, v. 152, where it is related how Stephen Gardiner made 'a plaice-mouth with his lip' in annoyance at Bonner obtaining the bishopric of Hereford.

25-6. had the worst end of the staffe] i.e. got the worst of it; cf. Heywood's Proverbs, ed. Sharman, p. 100, and Gam. Gurt. Needle, i. iv. 32; also, with opposite signification, 'best end of the staff', Horestes, 168.

26. iourney] i.e. day's fighting.

canzuadado] i.e. a sudden attack; see N. E. D.

32-3. Alvensus] i.e. Moses Sephardi (1062-1110), a Jewish physician, who being converted to Christianity took the name Petrus Alfunsi. He wrote a number of works, the best known being a collection of thirty-three tales intended for the instruction of young clerics and entitled Disciplina Clericalis (see the Jewish Encyclopaedia). Certain of these, or adaptations of them, were printed with Aesop's fables, by Caxton and in later editions, as the fables of 'Alfonce'. The collection also includes certain fables of Poggio.

P. 204, 13. Poldauier] i.e. poledavy, a coarse linen.

17. in decimo sexto] Frequently used to mean 'small'; cf. Lyly, Mother Bomby, II. i. 44-6, 'looke where Halfeponie, Sperantsus boy, commeth; though bound vp in decimo sexto for carriage, yet a wit in folio for coosnage' [i.e. he is little, but very artful].

24. make all smoake] i.e., apparently, dissipate all they have.

27. white as whales bone] The comparison was extremely frequent in earlier times, but this must be one of the latest instances. It occurs in Love's Lab. Lost, V. ii. 332, in a note to which many
instances are given by the Variorum editors. The ‘whale’s bone’ was the tusk of the walrus.


8–9. the Nashes of Herefordshire] See the general introduction as to Nashe’s family.

15–16. Bede and Maister Camden] Camden is quoting, with acknowledgement, from Bede.

18. Furseus] A misprint in Q for ‘Fursæus’, to which it should have been corrected. See Camden, u.s., p. 357, and Holinshed, Chron., ed. 1807–8, i. 619.

24. tartered] The reading of Harl. is probably correct. Camden has ‘lacera moenia’.

27. and boies and anchors] Nashe’s addition to Camden. The digging up of anchors at several places near Yarmouth, but not at Burgh Castle, is mentioned by Manship (p. 40 note).

36. Herring Fleece] A village about four miles from the coast, midway between Yarmouth and Lowestoft.

P. 206, 5. Vigilius] Pope 537(8)–555. The statement about the institution of vigils seems to be merely a piece of popular etymology, their observation dating from the earliest times of the Church.

11. ambry] i.e. store; more usually, storehouse.

13. Turkie] i.e. turquoise.

14–15. thicke tagged ... Arsadine] The sense is evidently ‘with an ornamental border’. ‘Arsedine’ is imitation gold, Dutch metal. The word ‘theaming’ is unknown to me.

23–207, 32.] The idea at the root of this story—the destruction of part of what is offered for sale and the demand of the same or an enhanced price for the rest—is of course frequent, the classic instance being the story of Tarquinius Superbus and the Sibylline books in Aulus Gellius, i. 19.


P. 207, 6. halperd] i.e. went backward and forward, hesitated to come to an agreement; cf. iii. 72. 23, the only other example of the word in N. E. D.

13. mulleigrums] i.e. ill-temper, properly colic.

24. fadge] i.e. succeed, ‘do.’

31. geremumble] Cf. i. 321. 22. Explained in N. E. D. as ‘?to garbage (fish)’; the only example. The curious phrase ‘three sorts of cosen garmombles’ in Merry Wives, Q I. xv. 56 (Cambr. ed.), altered in later eds. to ‘three cosen-germans’ (IV. v. 78), perhaps affords another—of course as a malapropism.

P. 208, 11. loggerhead] i.e. thick-head, stupid. There appears to be no special sense of the word—nor of ‘sowter’ (i.e. shoemaker) in the following line—which suits the context here.

P. 209, 2. true latine] Faex being feminine.

3–4. congruity] Apparently an unusual word. In Kemp’s Nine Days’ Wonder, Camden Soc., 1840, p. 4, the phrase ‘It stands not with the congruity of my health’ is jested at, Kemp declaring that he does not know what ‘congruity’ means.
5. *queased* i.e. choked, smothered. See *N.E.D.*, s.v. *queasom.* The word is of obscure origin.

*Cf.* i. 239. 34 and note.

5-6. *that took both Bell and Baram...that day* Evidently two lines from some song or ballad, but I have been unable to identify it, nor can I say who Bell and Baram were.

20. *epitasis* The main action of a drama.

21. *swartrutter source* This also looks like a reminiscence of some song or ballad. A swart-rutter was a member of certain bands of irregular troopers in the Low Countries.

23. *Aegus* i.e. Augeus. Perhaps to be regarded as a misprint.

25. *the Pope it popt under boord* I am not sure of the meaning of this, but there is of course a pun on Pope. Possibly 'popt' is 'pooped', said of a sea breaking over a ship from the stern, the word being used here for 'overwhelmed'. I take 'it' to be the subject and 'Pope' the object of the verb.


27-8. *harpies...Phineus* The story is referred to, but not told at length, in Ovid, *Metam.* vii. 2-4.

P. 210, 2. *Lanterneman* Explained by *N.E.D.* as specifically 'one who empties privies by lantern-light, a nightman'. The explanation seems to be based on the present passage.

5. *ringoll* i.e. apparently 'ringle', a little ring.


7. *coniured to appeare in the center of it* Cf. note on ii. 169. 12-13; also 218. 5-6 below.

8-9. *surdo...sordidi* The source of this is unknown to me.

10. *frier Pendela* I can learn nothing of any such person.

12. *neither in Hull, Hell, nor Halifax* A fairly common proverbial expression of I believe, unknown origin, for 'nowhere'. Mr. Crawford writes (Oct. 1907) that the proverb 'is still in common use in the West Riding of Yorkshire, where a belief popularly prevails that it has relation to three stations on the Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway, viz. Hull, Elland, Halifax. Of course this is a delusion. I heard a man make use of the proverb only just now...'.

16-20. *who, being long in Purgatorie...Elisium* Cf. *Faustus*, vii. 74-7 (ed. Breymann, 891-5), where the Pope while at dinner is tormented by Faustus, who is invisible. *Card. of Lorraine.* My lord, it may be some ghost newly crept out of Purgatory, come to beg a pardon of your Holiness. *Pope.* It may be so. Friars, prepare a dirge to lay the fury of this ghost.'

25-6] *Hart.* reads 'accompanying both, under'; the other editions follow Q in having no comma.

P. 211, 3. *saint Gildarde* His festival was on April 1.

10. *Celina Cornificid* Presumably a name of Nashe's invention.

13. *the jewish lumbarde* 'Lombard' is found much earlier for a native of Lombardy engaged in the business of a banker or pawn-
broker, but this is one of the first instances of its use for his place of business. The *N.E.D.* gives no example before 1609, where it is equivalent to 'bank'.

16. *cobs*] Apparently the heads of the two herrings; cf. 231. 21.
18–19. *a sleeveless answer*] More usually in the phrase ‘a sleeveless errand’, i.e. a useless errand, generally one contrived in order to get a person out of the way; cf. *Tr. and Cres.*, V. iv. 9, and Dekker, *Wks.*, ed. Grosart, i. 214. 17. For the present phrase cf. Greene, *Card of Fancy*, *Wks.*, ed. Grosart, iv. 78. 18–22, ‘Gwydonius perceiving that Castanias parle was nothing to the purpose, and that shee toucht not that point whereof bee desired moste to bee absoluted; but meant to shake him off with a sleevelessse answere, beganne . . .’ Cf. also Lyly, *Euphues*, *Wks.*, ed. Bond, i. 253. 17, ‘sleeuelesse excuse’, and Mr. Bond’s note on iii. 405. 17, where he explains the phrase as having reference to the custom of messengers carrying a sleeve on the hat as a token of their employment, and quotes in illustration a passage from Lady Guest’s trans. of the *Mabinogion* (Dream of Maxen Wledig). Cf. i. 322. 24, ‘a sleevelesse feast’.

21. *cobbing*] i.e. perhaps, cheating, in which sense *cop* seems to have been used. The usual meaning of ‘cob’ is strike or beat.
22. *riche Cobbes*] i.e. wealthy persons, or misers. Examples in *N. E. D.* from 1548, and in common use at this date.

32–3. *Confur streete*] i.e., I suppose, Conisford Street; see map in Blomefield’s *Norfolk*, vol. iii.

P. 212, 1. *bawwaw, quoth Bagshaw*] Evidently a proverbial saying, but I have not met with it elsewhere. In *Misogonus* (ed. Brandl in *Quellen*), IV. i. 57, ‘Bow wow’ seems to be meant as a contemptuous exclamation.

2. *drowlacheth*] i.e. sneaks, shuffles, or lags behind, *N. E. D.*, the only example of the verb.

6. *Guilding crosse*] There was an area called Gilden-croft in the north-west of Norwich; see Blomefield’s *Norfolk*, iv. 478, but I can learn nothing of the cross.
15–23. *the iest of a Scholler in Cambridge . . . before them*] Cf. the story told of Antony’s fishing and the salt-fish hung by Cleopatra’s diver on his line, *Ant. and Cleo.*, II. v. 16–18, from Plutarch, *Ant.* 29. 2. But the same jest is, I believe, found elsewhere. There is some allusion which I do not understand in the bell about the herring’s neck; cf. *Marriage of Wit and Science*, II. i (Dodsley’s *Old Plays*, ed. Hazlitt, ii. 336):

‘Lusty like a herring, with a bell about his neck,
Wise as a woodcock: as brag as a bodylouse;’

and *Roxburghe Ballads*, i. 72, where in a ballad entitled ‘A Bill of Fare’ we find, among other fantastic dishes,

‘A shoaile of Red-herrings with bels ’bout their neckes,
Which made such rare sport that I neuer saw such;
They leaped and danced, with other fine tricks;
A man may admire how they could doe so much.’

25. *the bubbling of Moore-ditch*] I can learn nothing of this or of the ‘bedlem hatmakers wife’ in ll. 30–1.
P. 213, 3-4. gudgeon dole] 'Gudgeon' was in common use for a person easily gulled—see N. E. D., s.v.; cf. also the phrase 'to swallow a gudgin' in Greene's James IV, II. i. 86 (l. 763).

P. 214, 3. mingle mangle cum purre] For this odd phrase see Latimer's Third Sermon before Edward VI (Sermons in Dent's 'Everyman's Lib.', p. 126), 'They say in my country, when they call their hogs to the swine-trough, "Come to thy mingle-mangle, come pur, come pur": even so they [the Germans] made mingle-mangle of it [i.e. religion].'

Latimer again refers to the same thing, though without giving the words 'come pur' in his Sermon at Stamford, Nov. 9, 1550, Sermons, u.s., p. 252. In N. & Q., 10th S. vi. 323, Mr. C. B. Mount gives another instance of the phrase from Thomas Becon's Displaying of the Popish Mass [I quote from ed. 1637, M 3v, p. 270], 'But yee tarry for no man, but having a Boy to helpe you to say Masse, ye goe to your mingle-mangle, and never call purre to you. For yee eate and drinke up altogether alone, being much worse than the swineheardes.'

He states that purr = pig, and that the 'Dialect Dictionary' gives as one sense of the word 'a call to pigs'. I have not found this: E. D. D. gives 'pur' as 'a call to turkeys', but that is not the same thing. I am not sure that Nashe quite understood the meaning of the phrase which he used.

P. 215, 5-6. as a principall agent...complaineth] Not identified.

P. 216, 5-6. a tale of a poore man and an advocate] I have not met with this tale elsewhere.

16. Fitzherbert] i. e. Sir Anthony Fitzherbert (1470-1538), judge.
Several legal works are attributed to him, but only the Grande Abridgement seems certainly to be his.

23. pressed to death for obstinate silence] See Harrison, Descr. of Eng., ed. N. S. S. 228, 'Such fellows as stand mute, and speake not at their arraignment, are pressed to death by huge weights laid vpon a boord, that lieth over their breast, and a sharpe stone vnder their backs, and these commonlie hold their peace, thereby to saue their goods vnto their wiues and children, which, if they were condemned, should be confiscated to the prince.' The law was enforced in England in 1731 and in 1735, and in Ireland as late as 1740. Lecky's Eng. in 18th Cent., iii, quoted in Cent. Dict., s. v. press, v. i.

33-4. untaynted . . . corruption] For the inversion cf. i. 262. 25-6 and note.

P. 216, i. Lopus] Lopez was arraigned on Feb. 28, 1594, in the Guild Hall of London. Nashe was therefore, it would appear, in London on that date.

9-10. Neyer Ouid nor Ariosto . . . induced to study the Civil law] See Ovid, Tristia, iv. 10; I cannot learn that Ariosto ever studied the civil law; does not Nashe mean Tasso?

13. sow] Equivalent to 'pig' in 'pig-iron'. The roughly-shaped lumps or bars in which the metal is first cast.

16. lawing] i. e. arguing.

23. neither rime nor reason] In common use, as it still is; cf. Harvey, Wks., ed. Grosart, i. 46 foot.

29. cropshin] A form of 'copshen' or 'corpion', meaning an inferior quality of herring (or, as one authority explains it, a herring which has lost its head). N. E. D.

32. Erra Paters Almanacks] 'Erra Pater' was, it is believed, a purely fictitious personage. An almanac arranged so as to serve for any year was published about 1535 as The Pronostycacion for euer of Erra Pater: A Iewe borne in Iewery, a Doctour in Astronome, and Physycke. Profitable to kepe the bodye in helth. And also Ptholomeus sayth the same. There were numerous later editions of it. The book is a miscellaneous collection of astrological data, rules of health, &c. Cf. N. &* Q. 10th S, viii. 518.

35. calander] A kind of lark; earliest instance in N. E. D.

P. 217, i. Colossus of the sunne] The Colossus at Rhodes; see Pliny, H. N. xxxiv. 18.

2. tumidus Antimachus] Cf. Catullus, 95. 10 'At populus tumido gaudeat Antimacho.'

Adelantado] A Spanish title of the governor of a province.

3. tusiaffatie] A kind of taffata (a silk or linen fabric apparently of a somewhat indefinite nature) woven with a pile like that of velvet, arranged in tufts or spots. Cent. Dict.

7. Megaras] i.e. Megaera's; cf. iii. 113. 30.

8. a fooles head and garlick] I do not know if there is any special allusion in this; 'a sheep's head and garlic' is mentioned in the Taming of a Shrew (corresponding passage to IV. iii. 17-30 of The Shrew), as if a usual dish.

10-11. though thunder were lights on Phobus tree] i.e. the laurel; see Pliny, H. N. xv. 40. Frequently referred to.

16. miniature] It is not very easy to understand the word here,
unless Nashe means beauty of colouring—a sense in which it could not properly be used. Miniature is, of course, painting in red—but there is nothing red about a turbot.

20. *spirable odor* . . . *audience* This seems to have no meaning whatever.

22. *Erimanthian beare* i. e. Callisto of Arcadia, who was turned into a bear and placed in the sky as Arctos. Probably familiar to Nashe from Ovid, *Tristia*, iii. 4. 47 and i. 4. 1; ‘extreme lineaments’ is perhaps from Cicero, *Or.* 56. 186, but there seems no possible sense in the expression here.

22–3. *privy fistula of the Pierides* I can only suggest that Nashe is joking on a passage in Cicero’s *De Orat.* iii. 60. 225, where it is stated that C. Sempronius Gracchus had a slave who, when he spoke ‘staret occulte post ipsum’ and gave him the correct pitch upon an ‘eburneola fistula’ (cf. Aul. Gel. i. 11).

25. *French-hood of a cowsharde* Cf. i. 163. 1–2. Probably some form of flat cap or head-dress was supposed to resemble one.

28. *With this, in* The insertion of the comma seems to give the better sense. I doubt whether ‘to be in a rage with (i. e. at) a thing’ was an allowable expression.


9. *currat rex, vulgar lex* The saying ‘vivat rex, currat lex’ was not uncommon, but the source is unknown to me.

28. *breath, if* Either some phrase such as ‘they bring him a tale of treachery, whereas, in reality’ has dropped out here, or the ‘when’ of l. 27 should be transferred to l. 28 before ‘it is’.

33. *wayters* i. e., apparently, guards.

P. 219, 16. *disquisition* i. e. investigation, inquisition; earlier than instances in *N. E. D*.

P. 220, 6–7. *the Case is altered* Ben Jonson’s play cannot, according to Collier, have been written before the publication of Meres’ *Palladis Tamia* (ent. *S. R.* Sept. 7, 1598). See Collier, *Hist. of E. Dr. P.*, 1831, i. 355, and Mr. Fleay’s *Biog. Chron.* i. 357. This passage, therefore, must have been written very near the end of 1598.

8. *I will speake a proude word* An almost proverbial expression; cf. Jonson’s *Ev. man in his Humour*, Qto. 1601, l. 578.


11. *the greene Knight* Not identified. It can have nothing to do with the well-known fourteenth-century poem. The only Elizabethan Green Knight known to me is the one with whom are concerned the opening poems of Gascoigne’s *Weeds*. It is not impossible that these may be referred to, though hardly, I think, likely.

20. *Bernardus non vidit omnia* See note on iii. 126. 32.

27. *crash* See note on 183. 30.


P. 221, 6–9. Cornelius Agrippa ... booke of Alcumy written vpon it] De Incert. et Van., cap. 90, trans. 1559, fol. 1587. Yet there are some which think that the skinne of the golden fleese was a booke of Alcumie vritten vpö a skinne after the manner of the auncients, wherein was conteinde the knowledge to make golde.'

21. cobbe] Apparently, head; cf. 211. 16; but 'cob' seems also to mean young herring; cf. ii. 200. 21.

24. kickshawes] From Fr. quelque chose, used at this date for a dainty, or fancy dish in cookery, which is probably the sense here. The earliest instance, in any spelling, given in N. E. D. is 1597. 2 Hen. IV, V. i. 29. Cf. Cobbler of Canterbury, ed. 1608, G I'T, 'com-manded them to lay the cloth, that they might have some quelque chose for a reare supper'. I have not seen the first edition (1590).

25–6. Jacke Cade . ... cades] The same play upon the name is found in 2 Hen. VI, IV. ii. 33–6.

28. cede] i.e. to pack in cades (i.e. kegs holding 720 herrings)—the only instance of the verb in N. E. D.


36. Graça fide] Cf. Erasm. Adagia, chil. i. cent. 8. 27. He quotes Ausonius, Epist. 10. 41-2 and 22. 24, and Plautus, Asin. i. 3. 47. The sense, in the latter case at least, is 'cash down', without credit.

P. 222, 6–8. Gentleman Jacke Herring . ... wearing] I have not met with the proverb elsewhere. It seems to allude to the dressing of herrings with the tail in the mouth—as fried whittings are served at present; cf. 216. 32.

9. Nere a barrell better herring] This, in slightly varying forms, is frequent and means 'one is as good as another', 'they are as like as different herrings taken from the same barrel.' Cf. note on iii. 61. 7.


11. drie forth] Cf. i. 270. 23.

15–16. plucke a crowe] The phrase is common; see N. E. D., s. v. Pluck, v. 9, and Crow, s. d. 3 b.

16. patre halec] Martial, iii. 77. 4 'et putri cepas halece natantes,' but halec there means a kind of fish-sauce, not a herring.


P. 228, 7. (quatenus horses)] Nashe apparently means 'for horses', 'considering that they are horses.' For the ordinary logical use cf. Plain Percveal, ed. Petheram, 27. 20, 'You had best saie now I speake against good men: quatenus they are good, Martin, I am their Orator . . . to extoll them'—[I only speak against the evil which is in them].

12. Haunce Vanderuecke] Possibly a well-known merchant of the day, but I can learn nothing of him.

20–2. lurcones or epulones . . . (as one . . . enstilath vs English md)] Not found.

24–6. as the Cameleon . . . nourished] See the Carminum Pro-verbias, loci communes of S. A. I, ed. 1579, p. 10: Animalia sine cibus viuisenia.

Quattor ex puris vitam ducunt elementis:
Chameleon, talpa, maris halec, & salamandra.
Halec vnda fouet, ignis pascit salamandram,
Talpam terra nutrit, aer quoque chameleontem.
III. 224] NASHES LENTEN STUFFE 415

For the chameleon see note on i. 36. 7, and for the salamander ii. 46. 27.

29. as Diogenes said to his weary Schollers] See Diog. Laert. vi. 2. 6. 38. It was not the cynic himself who was reading, but another.


34. Ericthonius] See Pliny, H.N. vii. 57, and Vergil, G. iii. 113-14. It was the quadriga that he invented, not the biga.

P. 224, 4-6. Nimium ne credite ponto . . . Periurij poenas repetit ille locus] I do not find either of these in Ovid, but they may be incorrect reminiscences of two lines in the epistle of Dido to Aeneas, Heroid. vii. 54, 58:

Experta et totiens, tam male, credis aquae!
Perfidiae poenae exigit ille locus.

Would it be too fanciful to suggest that Nash may have been thinking of Vergil's oft-quoted 'nimium ne crede colori', Ecl. 2. 17?

16. cowthring] 'Cowther' is stated in N. E. D. to be a variant of 'quither' (not given, but see E. D. D.), i.e. to tremble, to be 'all of a shake'.

12-14] The lines are from Rudens, ii. i. 11-13:

Cibum captamus e mari: sin eventus non venit,
Neque quicquam captum est piscium, salsi lautique pure
Domum redimus clanculum, dormimus incoenati.

19] See Rudens, ii. 2. 5, 6. The words are spoken by Trachalio, a slave:

Salvete, fures maritimi, conchitae, atque hamiotae,
Famelica hominum natio! quid agitis? ut peritis!

20. gubbins] i.e. parings or fragments of fish.

23. Viuimus . . . sitiis] The answer of the 'Piscatores', Rudens, u.s., l. 7 'Ut piscatorum aequum est, fame, sitiis, speque.'

27-9. the louzie riddle . . . Homer . . . to drowne hyme selfe] See the Vita Homeri formerly attributed to Herodotus, in Homer's Il. et Od., 1541, ii. 390; the Pseudo-Plutarchan Vita et Poesis Homeri, i. 4. 3; Val. Max. ix. 12, ext. 3. I do not know who attributes it to 'another Philosopher', nor who is the authority for the mode of death here mentioned. The story—as given by Brusoni, Facetiae, ed. 1560, p. 305, is as follows: 'Homerum literarum principem, ait Plin. quum Ioniam in insulam nauigasset, in piscatores incidisse, qui pediculis se purgabant, rogasseque nunquid haberent? illi vero, se perdissent quod ceperant, responderunt: quod vero non cepissent (ad pediculos alludentes) habent, aenigmatis difficultate concussum animam exhalasse'. The Pseudo-Herodotus denies the common report that the riddle was the cause of his death. The riddle is given in two hexameter lines in the Carm. Prov. of S. A. I, ed. 1579, pp. 3-4, the origin not being mentioned.

30. supernagulum] See i. 205 marg.
NOTES [III. 224]

31-2. *kickshiwishes* i.e. fantastic devices, whims; see *N. E. D.*, s. v. *Kicksey-winssey*. Apparently suggested by ‘*kick and wince*’ (see note on ii. 113. 32), but, as observed in *N. E. D.*, the recorded senses seem to connect it with ‘*kickshaws*’.

P. 225, 4-5. *for your selling smoake you may be courtiers*] Cf. Greene’s *Farewell to Folly*, Greene’s *Works*, ed. Grosart, ix. 343 . . . as Alexander Severus handled his secretarie, who . . . selling the verie favourable lookes of his maister for coyne, promising poore men to prosecute their sutes, when he neuer moued their cause: at last in requittal of this treacherous dealing was tied to a post and choaked with smoake, hauing a proclamation made before him by sound of trumpet, that they which sell smoake shoulde so perish with smoake’: cf. also ‘to buy smoake’ in Greene, u. s. xii. 10. 25. Greene perhaps borrowed the story from Whetstone’s *Enemy of Unthriftiness*, ed. 1586, F 2v. See Lampriidus, *Alex. S. Ev.* 35-6.

8. *huffe-cappeste* i.e. strongest. For this and other names given to strong ale cf. Harrison’s *Descr. of Eng.*, ed. N. S. S. i. 295.

12. *the Dunkerks*] See note on 171. 1.

17. *recommendums*] i.e. ? praise. The only instance in *N. E. D.*.

18-19. *sweete Oliuers*] Apparently a name for ‘good fellows’; possibly derived from the ballad of ‘O sweate Olyuer, Leaue me not behind the’, which was licensed to R. Jones, Aug. 6, 1584. Cf. *As You Like It*, III. iii. 101 and the notes of the commentators.

P. 226, 3. *Meonian*] I do not understand the point of the epithet.

12. *Saint Laurence feuer*] Alluding of course to his martyrdom by broiling. I cannot learn that there was any particular form of fever to which this name was applied.


SUMMERS LAST WILL AND TESTAMENT

1. Place and Date of Performance.

The allusions in ll. 1830 and 1873 to Croydon, in l. 621 to ‘Dubbers hill’, and in l. 202 to Streatham as to a place known to the audience, make it certain that the piece was performed  at or near Croydon.

It was acted in a private house, not in a public theatre or inn; cf. ‘my Lords tyle-stones’ in ll. 205-6. Apparently it was played before the owner of the house; cf. the references to ‘my Lord’ in ll. 17-18, 208, 1897.

The allusion in l. 1879 to Lambeth suggests that the ‘Lord’ in question was the Archbishop of Canterbury, a suggestion which is perhaps supported by Winter’s words to Bacchus in l. 1012—‘Fye, drunken sot, forget’st thou where thou art?’—his language and general behaviour being certainly out of place before a dignitary of the Church.

The house in which it was played was ‘lowe built’ (l. 1884), a description which applies to the Archbishop’s palace at Croydon, while there seems to have been no other nobleman’s house in the neighbourhood which was similarly situated. It may therefore be concluded, with probability, if not certainty, that it was performed before Whitgift.

1 Or written for performance. We have no evidence that it was ever actually played. What follows must all be regarded as subject to this qualification.
in his palace at Croydon (see Nashe’s *Wks.*, ed. Grosart, vi. xxviii–xxx, where there is a full discussion by B. Nicholson, who was, I believe, the first fully to work out the locality).¹

The year of writing—and, presumably, of first performance—was apparently 1592, but the evidence on the point seems to me to be much less clear than some have supposed.

The chief indications of date are (1) the allusion in l. 1881 to ‘the want of Terme’, i.e., doubtless, the holding of the (Michaelmas) law-term elsewhere than at London, on account of the plague; (2) the statement in ll. 543–6 that the Thames was, at the time of writing, exceptionally empty of water; and (3) the references in ll. 133–6 and 1843–6 to the Queen being on a progress.

The first of these was considered by B. Nicholson (Nashe, ed. Grosart, vi. xxvi) to point to 1593, while Mr. Fleay regards it as fixing the date in 1592, neither being apparently aware that the Michaelmas term was removed from London in both years, in 1592 to Hertford, and in 1593 to St. Albans.² It thus appears that the ‘want of Terme’ might equally well be lamented in either year.

Our second indication seems at first sight conclusive, for the reference must surely be to the drying up of the Thames recorded by Stow as taking place on Sept. 6, 1592, and lines 543–6 undoubtedly imply that

¹ Dr. Lee, however, in *D.N.B.*, says that the piece was ‘privately acted about Michaelmas at Beddington, near Croydon, at the house of Sir George Carey’. I am not aware what are the grounds for this statement, but surely Beddington belonged, not to Sir George Carey, but to Sir Francis Carew, a member of an entirely different family, and one with which Nashe has not been shown to have had any connexion.

² As to the 1592 removal there is no question. See Stow’s *Annals*, ed. 1615, p. 764, and *Acts of the Privy Council*, from which we learn that the term, which should have commenced on Oct. 9, was first deferred (*Acts, New. Ser.* xxiii. 221—Oct. 1) and finally removed to Hertford (173–4, 276—Oct. 30), where it began on Nov. 3. Unfortunately, however, the records of the Privy Council from Aug. 26, 1593, to 1595 are missing; and Stow, though he tells us that on July 19, 1593, the court of assize for Surrey was held in St. George’s field, three days’ work being finished in one day, ‘for the justices ... made hast away, for fear of being infected with the pestilence,’ says nothing of the Michaelmas term of that year. Circumstances would in any case have permitted little business to be done at a season when plague was so severe and so widely spread, and this may account for there being fewer references to the term’s removal, but the fact is clear enough. We find, for example, three ballads on the subject entered in the Stationers’ Register, (1) Oct. 2, 1593, ‘a sorrowfull songe of Londons lamentacon for the losse of the terme &c.;’ (2) Oct. 31, ‘the Cuntrymenes sorrowe to see the terme kepte at Sainte Albons’; and (3) Nov. 28, ‘The cuntrymens Report of the vaige of them at Saint Albons Terme.’ Still more positive evidence may be found in the *Calendar of MSS. of the Marques of Salisbury at Hatfield* (Hist. MSS. Com.), vol. iv. p. 439, where Benjamin Beard, writing on Dec. 5, 1593, to Sir R. Cecil about the imprisonment of a Mrs. Jane Shelley, mentions that the Wardens of the Fleet, ‘he being at St. Albans at the term, caused one Parry to write from thence a letter to her’ [Mrs. Shelley]. The letter in question was sent to Cecil (see p. 434) and is given in the *Calendar* on p. 413. It is dated at St. Albans, Nov. 11, 1593. We learn also that Dr. Cesar, judge of the Admiralty Court, was residing at St. Albans on Nov. 3 (Creighton, *Epidem. in Brit.* i. 356), and much other evidence might be given.

IV
the drought was quite recent, if not still continuing, and thus seem with certainty to fix the date of composition as early in September of that year. Curiously enough, however, in ll. 562–3 we have an allusion to 'the yeare...when that the Thames was bare', as if to one already past. It is obviously impossible to reconcile the two passages, and unless we suppose something wrong with the first—and for this I see no justification—we must, I think, conclude that the second is either corrupt or is a later addition.

The third group of indications, the allusions to the Queen's progress, also involves us in difficulties. She was on a progress during the late summer and autumn of 1592, returning to Hampton Court on Oct. 10 (see note on l. 136), while in 1593 she apparently remained at Windsor from August 1 to November. This seems to rule out the later year and to fix the date as 1592. If, however, we consider the two passages in which this progress is referred to, we shall, I think, find it difficult to date them later than August of the year in which they were written—summer for a month has lain languishing a-bed (l. 130), and autumn with its ripened fruits is yet to come (l. 1847). Surely such language would not be natural to one writing after Sept. 6, the date of the drying up of the Thames, while even Sept. 6 seems an impossibly early date for the 'want of Terme' (which was not due to begin until Oct. 9) to be lamented. Thus it appears impossible to reconcile the allusions to the Queen's progress with the other indications of date, which point unmistakably to a later time of year. There is, I think, but one way out of the difficulty—to suppose that we have a play written at one date and revised, probably for another performance, some years later.

If we neglect these references to the Queen's progress, there is little difficulty in fixing the time of year. It was after harvest (l. 125), and winter was approaching (ll. 1874–6). The reference to the drying of the Thames inclines one to date the play as soon after Sept. 6 as possible, but the 'want of Terme' can hardly have been referred to before Oct. 1, when it was definitely postponed. On the whole, if we suppose the play to have been written in September and the first half of October, 1592, and to have been performed towards the end of October, we shall probably not be far wrong.

Whitgift may have been at Croydon almost any time during the autumn of 1592. We find him attending meetings of the Privy Council at Nonesuch on Aug. 6, and at Hampton Court on Oct. 11, 12, 22 and Nov. 1, 5, 19, 26, and it is quite likely that in all the longer intervals when he was absent from meetings, such as Aug. 7 to Oct. 10, Oct. 13–20, 23–30, Nov. 6–18, he returned to Croydon. He was certainly there on Oct. 30, when he dated a letter from that place (Cal. of State Papers, Dom. Add. 1580–1625, p. 341).

The time of day when the piece was acted has been discussed by B. Nicholson. He refers to the mention of night in l. 2, to Will Summers' complaint that he has not yet supped in l. 5, and to the allusions to bedtime in ll. 587, 1892–3. All these seem to make it clear

1 It is true that as early as Sept. 12 there was talk of the term being removed to Hertford or Reading (see Nichols, Progresses of Q. Eliz. iii. 150—letter of E. Jones), but l. 1881 certainly implies that it was term-time, though no term was being held in London.
that it was performed in the evening after supper, which was normally about 9 o’clock.

To recur now to the references to the Queen. B. Nicholson has argued at length (Nashe, ed. Grosart, vi. xxxiv–xxxvi) that Elizabeth must have been present at the performance. He bases his opinion on ll. 124–38, 388–403, and 1840–62, and I certainly do not see how it is possible to resist the conclusion. But there is no reason for thinking her to have been at Croydon in 1592. Shall we suppose the play to have been written in expectation of her coming—the expectation being never fulfilled? Hardly, I think, for in that case it would surely not be the entry of ‘my Lord’ which would cause Summer to check his foolery (ll. 17–18), but of the ‘most sacred Dame’ herself. To ignore her presence in such a connexion would, I imagine, have been an unpardonable slight. Is it not more natural to suppose that the play was originally written for performance before Whitgift in October, 1592, and that then on a later occasion, perhaps on Aug. 14, 1600, when the queen visited the archbishop at Croydon, it was brought out again, somewhat revised, and two or three speeches in praise of the queen added? It is possible that in the acting copy of the play other slight changes may have been made, which it was not thought worth while to incorporate in the copy sent to the printer. I put this forward merely as a suggestion, in default of anything better. It seems to me to be a possible explanation of the difficulties: I should hesitate to maintain that it is even a very probable one.

The question by whom the play was acted I would willingly leave to those better acquainted with the history of the theatrical companies. Collier conjectured ‘that it was performed either by the children of St. Paul’s, of the Queen’s Chapel, or of the Revels’ (see note on l. 625); Mr. Fleay says the Chapel children (Biog. Chron., ii. 148). B. Nicholson attempts to prove that in any case the actors were professionals. He points to the statement in the Prologue (ll. 36–7) that the actors [or is it after all the author who is meant] ‘have ceased to tune any musike of mirth to your eares this tweluemonth’, notes that the Epilogue apparently plays on the actors ‘travelling’ and ‘travelling’, l. 1920, and that when the spectators went to bed the actors were going to a tavern (l. 1892–3), which suggests that they were not inmates of the house. Probably Toy himself was a professional (see note on l. 1068), but it seems to me possible that most of the others were servants of the household. In any case it is quite unlikely that a privy councillor in frequent attendance at Court should have risked infecting his household with plague by entertaining actors from London at such a time.

1 I am not certain that l. 401 would have altogether pleased the Queen.
2 B. Nicholson was of opinion that her visit to Croydon was unofficial, or incognito, that, in fact, her presence was, at her own desire, ignored, and that the direct references to her were due to the poet’s ‘reverence and love seeming to carry him away beyond himself’. But is there evidence that at any time Elizabeth went about in this way?
3 I suggest that the added passages are ll. 130–9, 1840–62, and, possibly, 388–403, while there may also, of course, have been other minor changes, as in l. 563.
4 He would have remembered the trouble into which his predecessor Grindal got by sending to the Queen a present of grapes at a time when there was
2. Sources.

There is nothing to say under this head. The notes will show evidence of much the same reading as Nashe's other work of the date, but the general plan may well have been his own invention.

P. 227, 12. Burres.] It is impossible to say whether the stop is a very dirty full stop or a damaged comma. In the copies which I have seen it most resembles the former, though in the facsimile on p. 231 one would take it for a comma.

P. 288, heading. Enter Will Summers] Not much is known with certainty about Henry VIII's famous jester. He seems to have been a native of Shropshire, to have been installed Court fool about 1525, and to have died in 1560 (D.N.B.). His name appears as Sommers (D.N.B.), Summers, and Summer. Collier quotes the description of him in Armin's Nest of Ninnies (ed. J. P. C. for Shakespeare Soc., 1842, pp. 41-2), and refers to the late chap-book A pleasant History of the Life and Death of Will Summers, 1676, reprinted by J. Caulfield (Collier says Harding) in 1794. Mr. Hazlitt (Handbook, 47) says that this is simply Scoggin's Jests 'in a new coat', but it seems really to be compiled from many sources, including this and the Jests of Peele. Collier mentions also that Summers plays an important part in S. Rowley's When you see me you know me, 1605. See also Rowlands' Good News and Bad News, 1622, A 3°. His name was almost a general term for a fool; thus in Misogonus, l. i. 199, &c., the fool is addressed as Will Summers. Allusions to him are very numerous.

1. Noctem pecatis ...] Horace, Epist. i. 16. 62, Coll.


9. within] i.e., of course, in the tiring room, as 'without' in l. 14 means on the stage. Cf. stage direction at head, 'comming out', and l. 436, 'come out in', wrongly altered by Collier to 'come in in'.

11-12. without a hat-band] The hat-band seems to have been a somewhat important article of attire; see, for example, Dekker's Gull's Hornbook, Wks., ed. Grosart, ii. 234. Cf. also the 'gold cable hat-band' in Jonson's Every Man out of his Humour, IV. iv. (quoted in Stubbes's Anatomy, ed. N. S. S., p. 246, top). To wear a hat without a band was a mark of eccentricity; see Rowlands' Letting of Humours Blood, 1600, C 1.

14. Dick Huntley] As remarked by Collier, this was evidently the name of the prompter. Nothing seems to be known of him.

P. 284, 30-3. At a solenne feast ... to view] Probably from C. Agrippa, De Incert. et Van., cap. 24, trans. 1569, fol. 35v, 'And accordinge as the same Authour [Pliny] saithe, in a solene election of the Triumuiiri, it was seene for a proufe, that the Birdes ceased to singe, by reason of a painted Serpente'. See Pliny, H. N. xxxv. 38. It was neither at a feast nor an election; the painting (of a draco) was hung up because Lepidus complained that the birds kept him awake at night.

44-6. Politianus speakeith of a beast ... creature] From C. Agrippa, supposed—though, it seems, wrongly—to be plague in his house. See Nichola's Progressus, i. 286, note 1. There is abundant evidence of the very stringent precautions taken to prevent any danger of infection being brought to the Court.
De Incert. et Van., cap. 22, trans. 1569, fol. 33", 'that beast, which Politian speaketh of, who whilst that he is cut on the table, drinketh: and representeth the motions and voices [ed. 1575 noyces] of a liuinge creature'. The 'Mathematicians experiments' in II. 59-62 are from the same chapter of Agrippa.

50. Didymus] See note on iii. 60. 11-12.

54-5. Socrates ... daunced] Mentioned by C. Agrippa, De Incert. et Van., cap. 18, trans. 1569, fol. 31, 'Yea Socrates who was judged by the Oracle the wisest of all men ... was not ashamed to learne it [i.e. dancing].' See Plutarch, De Sanitate, 6; Lucian, De Saltat. 25, and others; constantly referred to.

P. 235, 55-6. Scipio and Lelius] See Cic. De Orat. ii. 6. 22 and Val. Max. viii. 8. 1, but they collected shells and pebbles rather than 'played at peeble-stone'. If there was a game so called it may have been similar to the 'checkestone' mentioned at iii. 197. 23.

56-7. Semel insaniimus omnes] Mantuanus, Ecl. i. 118. Also quoted at iii. 79. 27.

57-62. with Archimedes ... goares] Compare the very similar passage in Strange News, i. 331. 19-22, and notes.

62. goares] The reading 'gourdes' is undoubtedly correct. See note on i. 331. 19-20.

Poeta] Grosart notes that Q has Poetæ, but in copies seen the last letter is certainly a.

63. Placeat ... ] Cf. Ovid, Metam. xiii. 862-3 'Ile tamen placeatque sibi, placetaque licebit, Quod nollem, Galatea, tibi'.


68. quips in Characters] The meaning is evidently personal allusions.

70-1. As the Parthians ... away] Cf. Agrippa, De Incert., cap. 8, trans. 1569, fol. 23, 'accordinge to the use of the Parthians they [i.e. certain sophisters] fighte flyinge awaie'.

76. the ligge of Rowlonds God-sonne] A first and second part of 'Rowlandes godson moralized' were entered in the Stationers' Register to John Wolf on April 18 and 29, 1592. The 'ligge' itself was presumably earlier, but nothing seems to be known of it.

78-9. Gyllian of Braynfords will] See the reprint Jyl of Bruymtords Testament, by Robert Copland, Boke-Fryneter, The Wyll of the Denyil and his Last Testament ... Edited by F. J. Furnivall, Printed for Private Circulation, London, 1871. A collection of pieces; the first reprinted from Bodl. 4to, C. 39, Art Seld., printed by W. Copland. (For list of the contents of this most interesting volume (now split up) see Brit. Bibl. i. 61-5.) The 'score' of bequests was really twenty-five. Collier refers to the play of Friar Fox and Gyllian of Branford in Henslowe's Diary (ed. Greg, fol. 53*). Gyllian is fairly often referred to; Collier notes a mention of her in Westward Ho! (Dekker, ed. Pearson, ii. 347); see also Harington's Ulysses upon Ajax, ed. 1814, p. 13, and Nashe's other references in index. 'Branford' seems to have been the usual spelling of Brentford; cf. Dekker, Wks., ed. Pearson, ii. 311, 312; Wks., ed. Grosart, iii. 130; and Jests of G. Peele, in Hazlitt's Sh. Jest-Books, ii. 264, and foot-note.

80-1. the plague raignes ... summer] Collier quotes Camden's Annals of Elis. regarding the plague of 1592-3, in which he says
17,890 persons died; cf. Creighton, Hist. of Epidemics, i. 351-6. See notes on i. 153. 21-2, 155. 12.
83-4. *little tattle Tom boy*] The meaning, if any, is unknown to me; 'little tattle,' i.e. nonsense, occurs at iii. 350. 29.
84. *God give you good night in Watling street*] I do not know whether 'in Watling Street' has any special meaning, but 'God give us good night!' seems to have been used in some such sense as 'worse luck!' or 'it is a bad thing for us'; cf. Jacob and Esau, i. iv, in Dodsley's Old Plays, ed. Hazlitt, ii. 204.

**P. 236, 94. the knave in cue**] Grosart remarks "the knave in cue" is the knave in humour or temper—still in dialectal use (Glos.).

104. S. D. *Vertumnus*] Collier notes at his entry that he was provided, as appears afterwards [ii. 1569-70], with a silver arrow.
109. *away*] It is not impossible that the correct reading is 'hence', as in i. 115. The use of 'away' would be a metrical sophistication hardly, I think, in keeping with the period or with Nashe's style.

**P. 237, 117. Will.**] As throughout the play the speakers' names are kept in the form given by Q, it has seemed better to leave the stop after 'Will' or 'Wil' wherever it occurs. But, save for the D. N. E., I doubt if any one ever called him 'William Summers'.

119. *green men*] i.e. men dressed up with greenery to represent wild men of the woods, N. E. D., which has no example earlier than 1638.

120. *Jowhers*] I can learn of no song of the name, which may be intended for 'Jew Ben' (cf. Williams, Spec. of Elia, Dr. 474-5).
129. *Omnibus una manet... lethi*] As noted by Collier, from Horace, Od. i. 28. 15-16.

136. *her toyfull progresse*] During the autumn of 1592 Elizabeth was on a progress in the midland counties, being at Newbury on Aug. 24, at Cirencester on Sept. 3, at Woodstock on Sept. 19, and at Oxford on Sept. 26. She returned to Hampton Court by Oct. 19, and stayed there some months (see Acts of the P. C.). In 1593 she remained at Windsor from Aug. 1 to November (Nichols, Progresses of Q. Elis, iii. 227).

**P. 238, 145. O, he is mard, that is for others made**] See Arcadia, 1590, fol. 89v. In later editions, altered to 'O wretched state of man in selfe diuision'.

151-4.] For clearness I give this passage as it stands in Q:

'And of the wealth I gaue them to dispose,
Know what is left. I may know what to giue
Vertumnus then, that turnst the yere about.
Summon ...'

The legacy is of course not to Vertumnus, as it appears from this reading, but to the world in general.

159-60. *by the name of... court*] The ordinary formula; cf. Holinshed, Chron., ed. 1807-8, iii. 737-8, the trial of Q. Katherine.

*lose a marke in issues*] i.e. be fined a mark for non-attendance. Cf. '1562 J. Heywood, Prov. & Epigr. (1867) 205, 'Thou lostst a marke in issews, criers say', and '1752 J. Louthain, Form of Process (ed. 2), 184, A. B. come forth, or you lose 100s. in Issues' (N. E. D.); also Mother Bomby, V. iii. 48, 'as they cry at the Sizes, a marke in issues'.

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[III. 241] SUMMERS LAST WILL

164. to witta woo] The more usual form of owl's cry seems to be 'to whit to whoo' as in Mother Bomeby, III. iv. 54; Dekker's Hon. Wh. Pt. ii, Wks., ed. Pearson, ii. 131, 'Two wooes in that Skreech-owles language?'

P. 239, 177. bent[,] I should have noted that Q has 'bent,'(comma), for if we take 'but' as 'unless' and suppose 'harmlesse' to be used much as 'innocent', we shall get a different sense, namely 'Unless you are intentionally playing the fool, one might take you for an idiot'. Vertumnus is evidently not paying attention to what is going on; see ii. 180-9.

182. Falangtado] Collier (Add. notes) quotes Harvey's New Letter of Notable Contents (Harvey, ed. Grosart, i. 282) to show that Falantado or Falanta was the burden of a song or ballad at the time. Harvey says 'Let him [a raider] be the Falanta downe-didle of Ryme; the Hayholidday of Prose, the Walladay of new writers... my battiring instrument is resolute, and hath vowed to bray the braying creature to powder'. Cf. 'falangtedo' at i. 275. 32.

the blacke and yellow] I do not know what is signified by the colours.

196. Summa totalis] Read probably, as Mr. Fleay suggests, Summ' tot'; cf. iii. 108, 19, 20.

P. 240, 199. bable] I am by no means certain that this emendation is correct. In public performances at least, a ladle was carried to collect money, either by the hobby-horse or by the fool. See Mr. E. K. Chambers's Mediaeval Stage, i. 197, top of first col. of notes. Cf. i. 83. 18.

200. O braue hall!] 'Hall, the taborer, mentioned in Old Meg of Herefordshire, 1609. See the reprint in Miscellanea Antiqua Anglicana, 1816, Hazl. This Hall in 1609 was ninety-seven years of age (extracts from Old Meg, in Brit. Bibl. iv. 330); so it seems at least doubtful if he is here referred to.

201. for the credit of Wostershire] We must presume that the dancers, or some of them, were Worcestershire men, for there seems to have been no special connexion between the morris dance and that county, though Worcestershire was famous for bagpipes (Old Meg in Brit. Bibl. iv. 328), an instrument, by the way, of which the archbishop was fond (Def. of Ans. to Admonition, 707). Whitgift had been Bishop of Worcester before his elevation to the primacy in 1583, and it is quite likely that he should have brought some of his old servants to London with him.

225. nam quo habui, perdidi] Cf. Terence, Eun. ii. 2. 6 'miser, quod habui, perdidi.'

P. 241, 229. giving wenches greenegownes] i.e. throwing them down on the grass. The phrase is of frequent occurrence; cf. Dekker's Hon. Wh. Pt. ii, i. i. beginning; Wks., ed. Pearson, ii. 95, 'a morning to tempt Ione from his Ningle Ganied, which is but to glueairy Wenches greenegownes as they are going a milking'. See also Greene's Wks., ed. Collins, ii. 370, top, where several instances are given.

235-6. in lute strings and gray paper] Cf. note on ii. 93. 9-10.
242. none but Asses line within their bounds] Cf. ii. 231. 1-2.
249. to goe] A not infrequent phrase in the sense of 'is off',
generally with a sense of going hurriedly; cf. Impatient Poverty, l. 418, 'He to go and she after', Erasmus's Apophthegms, trans. N. Udal, 1542, T 7" (quoted in Brydges' Restituta, ii. 73), 'Demosthenes ... cast shilde and all awaye from hym, & togoo as fast as his legges might beare hym', and Merry tales of Skelton in Mr. Hazlitt's Sh. Jest-Books, ii. 30, 'he tooke the preest on his backe, & locked the church dores, and to go'. Also quotation in note on i. 118. 23.

250-1. the horses lately sworne to be stolne] 'Some case of horse-stealing, which had lately taken place, and which had attracted public attention'. Hsi.

256-9. the horses lately sworne to be stolne] 'Some case of horse-stealing, which had lately taken place, and which had attracted public attention'. Hsi.

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256-9. the horses lately sworne to be stolne] 'Some case of horse-stealing, which had lately taken place, and which had attracted public attention'. Hsi.
quod huic sufficit, non satis est curiositati'; so Seneca, *Epist.* 16. 6 'Exiguum natura desiderat, opinio immensum'. Collier says: 'Nash seems, from various parts of his works, to have been well read in what are called, though not very properly in English, the burlesque poets of Italy. This praise of poverty in the reply of Ver to the accusation of Summer is one proof of his acquaintance with them. See 'Capitolo sopra l’ Epiteto della Puerità, à Messer Carlo Capponi,' by Matteo Francesi, in the *Rime Piacenvoli del Berni*, *Copetta*, Francesi, &c., vol. ii. fol. 49*'. Edit. Vicenza, 1609:

"In somma ella non hà si del bestiale,
Com' altri stima, perche la natura
Del poco si contenta, e si preuale, &c."

301-3] Probably from C. Agrippa, *De Incert. et Van.*, cap. 54, trans. 1569, fol. 74*, 'Herillus the Philosopher, Alcidamus, and many of Socrates secte, supposed that science was the soueraigne good'.

304. paupertas omnes perdocet artes] Cf. Plautus, *Stichus*, i. 3. 24 'Nam illa [sc. paupertas] omnes artes perdocet, ubi quem attigit'. See also many similar sayings in Erasmus's *Adagia*, chil. i. cent. 5. 22 'Paupertas sapientiam sortita est', and the *Adagia* of G. Cognatus (Erasm. *Adag.* 1574, ii. 459), under 'Egestas artes docet'.


314. [i.e. he] When we should read 'a [i.e. he] never had'.

315–16. That young man of Athens] Aelian, *Var. Hist.* ix. 39. Probably from C. Agrippa, *De Incert. et Van.*, cap. 64, trans. 1569, fol. 98*–99, 'the image of fortune, wherof Eianne maketh mention, was so fervently loued of an Athenian yonge man, y' when he coulde not buye it for mony, died by it.'

P. 244, 344. æ] The letter is damaged. In copy æ it resembles æ, in copy o it is more like a.

359–60] It would, I now think, have been safer to let the reading of the quarto stand, but in any case I cannot accept the punctuation of the modern editors. No one would say 'Without, peace there below!' As the piece was performed not in a theatre, but in a private house, it is quite likely that the actors, instead of entering from a tiring-room at the back of the stage, would come in by a side door, perhaps passing through the audience. In such a case it seems not impossible that 'without' might be used to mean outside the hall, thought I am very doubtful. Properly speaking the direction should be 'cry within', or 'within'. Cf. S.D. at head of piece, p. 233, 'comming out', and note on l. 9.

P. 245, 357. dayes eyes] Collier quotes from *The Flower and the Leaf* to illustrate the use of 'day’s eye' for 'daisy'; cf. also Chaucer, *Legend*, l. 184.

361. Inter utruncq tene, medio tutissimus ibis] Collier notes that the second half of the line is from Ovid, *Metam.* ii. 137; the first half is from l. 140 of the same.

P. 246, 359. friends favor] Collier’s 'friends, favour' is probably, I think, correct.
NOTES

421-3. *Eye . . . body* Possibly intended as four lines of rough verse.

P. 247, 428. *scales* i.e. kayles, the pins used in the game so called, a kind of ninepins or skittles; cf. Strutt’s *Sports and Pastimes*, ed. Cox, p. 220, s. v. Loggats.

434. *rundlet* i.e. a small barrel.

435. *prodigall childe* Mr. Hazlitt notes ‘A common subject at shows’. Dr. Ward sees a probable allusion to Ingelein’s *Disobedient Child* (*Eng. Dr. Lit.* i. 250, note). Mr. Fleay states that it refers to Acolatus, ‘as if still on the stage’ (*Biog. Chron.* ii. 149).

439-40. *in grace and vertue to proceed* Cf. ii. 209, 27-8 and note.

441. *will . . . vs?* The full stop of Q is perhaps right, for in all other cases Summer’s directions to Vertumnus are in the form of commands. Possibly we should read ‘will *Sol* to come’, but the ‘*to*’ is not absolutely necessary.

443. *S.D. noyse* i.e., as usual, company.

446. *big* i.e. truculent; ‘to look big’ is to swagger.

453. *eye-sore* ‘Some play on words is here probably meant. *Eyesore quasi eye-soar,* Hazlitt.

P. 248, 461. *for some respect* i.e. on terms, for a consideration.

476. *sonne* Hazlitt’s note that the old copy has ‘sonne’ seems to show that he did occasionally refer to it—unless, indeed, he guessed this spelling from Collier’s ‘son’. In nearly all other cases Hazlitt’s readings of the ‘old copy’ seem to be taken from Collier. See p. 228.

P. 249, 491-3 The lines are probably corrupt, but no emendation has been proposed.

499. *baddest* No emendation seems necessary, as this was quite an accepted form at the date.

505 i.e., I suppose, Guilt has gained the name of martyrdom.

509-11 The sense of the lines is obscured in Q by bad punctuation. I take them to mean ‘You bred the excrements, and I devour them, in order to rid the earth of them. The “grosse carriage” of my beams is therefore due to you’. Cf. ll. 481-4. It matters little whether we take 510 with the preceding or the following line.


530, footnote Collier has ‘word’s eloquence’, but as he explains it to mean ‘the eloquence of words’, I presume that the position of the apostrophe is accidental. Grosart has no apostrophe.


531-5 I have left these lines as they stand in Q, not because they are satisfactory, but because I do not see that they are improved by any of the emendations proposed.

544. *Whose waues thou hast exhaust for winter shoures* See Stow, *Annals*, ed. 1615, 764 b, ‘Wednesday the sixt of September [1592] the wind west and by south, as it had bene for the space of two dayes before very boystrous, the riuer of Thamis was made so voyde of water by forcing out the fresh and keeping backe the sault, that menne in divers places might goe 200 paces ouer, and then fling a stone to the land. a collier on a mare, rode from the north side to y* south, and back againe, on eyther side of London bridge but not without daunger of drouning both waues.’ Collier quotes from
Camden, giving the date as September 5. See note on ll. 562-3, and introductory note on the date.

548. Which like to Nilus... head] Possibly something has been lost before this line, though Nashe is, I think, still speaking of the Thames; cf. Harrison in Holinshed's *Chron.*, ed. 1807-8, i. 79, 'the Thames... of whose fountaine some men make as much ado, as in time past of the true head of Nilus, which, till of late (if it be yet descried) was neuer found.'

549. Some few yeares since... walks] Hazlitt mentions the flood of 1579, referring to Stow's *Annals*, ed. 1615, p. 686 (but I see no mention here of the Thames being in flood), and the entry in the Stationers' Register of January 25, 1579-80, of a ballad on the great floods. He also mentions the flood of 1571. I cannot learn of any noteworthy flood about this time, but Holinshed's *Chron.*, u.s.i. 81, speaks as if the flooding of the low ground near the Thames was of common occurrence in January and February.

550. the horse-race] Presumably some stretch of land by the Thames, but save at Smithfield I can hear of no horse-racing in the neighbourhood of London at this date.

553. When... droupt] Hazlitt says 'Persons who had drunk the Thames water fell ill'.

P. 251, 562-3. in the yeare... bare] This seems inconsistent with ll. 543-5, which clearly point to a drought at the time of writing; see introductory note on date. In any case the present passage is not very satisfactory, for surely there are few years without an eclipse of the moon; and further l. 562 is unmetrical.

564. perhaps] Hazlitt explains his reading 'perhaps' as 'guesses', but it is surely more natural to take 'perhaps' here as meaning the word 'perhaps'.

567-72] Cf. C. Agrippa, *De Incert.et Van.*, cap. 48, trans. 1569, fol. 62r, 'Yea and that the passinge learned Pythagoras did oftentimes vse this pastime, that he wrote with bloude in a glasse suche thinges as he thought meete, which when it was turned directly againste the newe Moone, shewed to them whichestoode behinde him thinges writen in the circle of the Moone.' The Latin has 'ad pleniluminis lunae orbem'.

P. 262, 588-9. riffe raffe of the rumming of Elanor] Collier notes the reference to Skelton's *Tunning of Elinor Rumming*. The expression 'riffe raffe' was equivalent to rubbish; cf. *Misogonus*, ed. Brandl, II. iii. 51, ' Tauke thou of rubbinge horses and of such riffe raffe.' I suspect, however, that the sense had been influenced by Chaucer's (and Gascoigne's) name for alliterative verse, ' rum, ram, ruff,' which seems to have come to mean rude verse of any kind; cf. *Old Wives' Tale*, ed. Gummere in Gayley's *Repr. Eng. Com.*, ll. 625-6, ' Ile nowe set my countenance and to hir in prose; it may be this rim ram ruffe is too rude an encounter'.

594. Histieus] Collier quotes the story from Aulus Gellius, xvii. 9, and also from Herodotus, v. 35, noting that the former account is here followed. This alone mentions the defective sight of the servant, which is important as giving Histieus an excuse for shaving his head.

612. Peter Bales] Collier has a long note on Peter Bales and brachygraphy, which he maintains to have been the invention of
Dr. Timothy Bright (1551?-1615). The point, however, seems to be somewhat doubtful, Bales (1547?-1610) being a few years Bright's senior, and apparently practising some kind of stenography before 1575 (see D. N. B.), while the first dated example of Bright's method appears to belong to 1586 (see D. N. B., art. Bright). But indeed there is no reason for supposing that the first idea of such writing in modern times originated with either of them. Collier refers for mentions of shorthand to the trial scene in The Devil's Law Case (IV. ii), and to Heywood's Dialogues and Dramas (p. 249, ed. Bang, II. 8462-3), where he complains that one of his plays had been taken down by stenography. Bales is frequently referred to; see among others Holinshed, Chron., ed. 1807-8, iv. 330; Stow, Annals, ed. 1615, 680.; Rowlands, Letting of Humours Blood, 1600, A 3.

614. Murrions] i.e. Moor's, or rather blackamoor's; cf. Lyly, ed. Bond, ii. 89. 12-13, 'a faire pearle in a Murrians eare cannot make him white.'

615. his Richmond cap] I cannot discover what precisely this was. See note on iii. 6. 33.

617 marg. Imberbis Apollo] In some copies of the present edition the s of 'Imberbis' has fallen out during the printing.

P. 258, 621. Dubbers hill] i.e. Duppa's hill, lying to the west of Croydon.

625. my good children] 'From what is said here, and in other parts of the play, we may conclude that it was performed either by the children of St. Paul's, of the Queen's Chapel, or of the Revels.' Coll., who refers to 'the diminutive urchins' in l. 792-3, and the little boy who speaks the epilogue.

641. Hireus] Hyrieus is correct, but the error may well be Nashe's.

P. 254, 649. (no dog but hath his day,) An allusion, as Hazlitt points out, to the common proverb.

652. meteors] i.e. the ignis fatuus; cf. N. E. D. a.v. meteor 2 b. The word could be used of practically any atmospheric phenomenon.


670—256, 735] The whole of this comes ultimately from the Pyrrhonias Hypotyposes of Sextus Empiricus, though not, of course, directly from the Greek, nor even, I believe, from the Latin translation of Henri Étiéenne. In 1591 Nashe spoke of the works of Sextus having been 'latelie translated into English for the benefit of vnlearned writers' (iii. 332. 31-4), and in i. 174. 4 and 185. 8, where, quoting from him, he wrongly substitutes 'ashes' for 'asses' and 'bones' for 'beans', we seem to have evidence that he was himself using such a translation, and an incorrect print or copy of it. I have, however, failed to discover any early Englishing of the work.

The present discourse about dogs gives us still stronger evidence of the existence of an English version, but at the same time brings us face to face with a problem which only the discovery of the translation
itself can completely solve. In the tract—one might almost call it a compilation—by S. Rowlands, entitled *Greene's Ghost Haunting Conycatchers, 1662, D 3°-4°*, we again meet with the whole of this passage from Sextus, under the heading 'A notable Scholerlike discourse upon the nature of Dogges'. Now comparing Rowlands' prose with Nashe's verse, we are struck by the extraordinary similarity of phrasing; for example Nashe's l. 677, 'They barke as good old Saxon as may be,' occurs in precisely the same words in Rowlands—while naturally there is nothing corresponding in the Greek. So too 'hunting and conie-catching' (l. 691) are mentioned also by Rowlands, while the Greek only refers to hunting; and there is nothing in Sextus to correspond to ll. 692-7, though this is found in Rowlands (see end of extract below). Again, the 'outward' speech of dogs is dealt with by both the English writers before the 'inward'. The original discusses it at the end of the whole description. A comparison of the extract given from Rowlands below will show several other points of resemblance. A natural inference would of course be that Rowlands simply turned the passage of Summer's Last Will into prose, but this is at once shown to be impossible by a further comparison with the original, for Rowlands translates many passages which Nashe omits; and in that corresponding to ll. 698-720 follows Sextus in giving the example of Argus before the reference to Chrysippus, while Nashe reverses the order. Hence it seems that either (1) There existed a translation of Sextus into English, or rather a free paraphrase—as many Elizabethan translations were—and both authors used this, Nashe following the language closely in such passages as he selected, Rowlands perhaps simply copying the whole word for word—as indeed he often did when borrowing from other authors. Or (2) Rowlands had before him a different text of Summer's Last Will. A third possibility, that he used Nashe's work, but knew and referred to its source, is not worth discussing, for one can hardly imagine Rowlands doing any such thing. There can, I think, be little doubt that the first explanation is the correct one, but we must for the present be content to leave the matter open. As the works of Sextus are not in every English scholar's library it may perhaps be useful to give the passage in the Latin of Etienne, printing in italics those parts of which Nashe made no use—though Rowlands did. *(Pyrr. Hypot. i. 14. 64-71; ed. 1569, p. 416)* 'Sensu ergo nos antecedere hoc animal [sc. canis], ore uno fatentur omnes Dogmatici. [672-4] nam odoratum agis quam nos percipit, per hunc feras quas non videt, indagans: et oculis celerius cernens quam ipsi possimus. Sed et acuto aurium sensu praeditus est. *Iataque ad sermonem veniamus, qui intrinsecus et in animo situs est, aut enuntiatus. videamus igitur primum de intrinseco, hic certe secundum eos qui maxime nobis adversantur nunc, dogmaticos Stoicos, in his videtur agitari, videlicet in eligendis iis quae ad naturam nostram accommodata, et in fugiendis iis quae aliena sunt: item in cognoscendis quae ad hoc conferunt arbitus, in percipiendo iis quae ad proprium naturam pertinent virtutibus, quae circa affectiones versantur. Canis ergo (quod unum ex brutis in exemplum offerre libuit) [683-7] eligit quae sibi sunt comoda, et fugit quae noxia: quaecunque esculenta sibi esse cognoscit, quaerens et persequens,

I now give an extract from Rowlands, as a specimen of what I believe to be really Nashe's original [Green's Ghost, D 3", corresponding to 671-681]: 'first and formost, there is no man of experience that will deny but dogs do excell in outward sence, for they will smell better then we, and therby hunt the game when they see it not. Besides, they get the sight of it better then we, and are wonderfull quicke of hearing. But let vs come to speech, which is either inward or outward. Now that they haue outward speech I make no question, although we cannot vnderstand them, for they bark as good old Saxon as may be; yea they haue it in more daintie maner thâ we, for they haue one kind of voice in the chase, and another when they are beaten, and another when they fight. [Not in Nashe:] That they haue the inward speech of mind, which is chiefly conversant in those things which agree with our nature, or are most against it, in knowing those
things which stand vs most in steed, & attaining those vertues which
belong to our proper life, and are most conuersant in our affections,
thus I proue: first and formost [683-91] he chooseth those things that
are commodious vnto him, and shunneth the contrarie: He knoweth
what is good for his diet, and seeketh about for it. At the sight of
a whip he runneth away like a theef from a hue and crie. Neither is
he an idle fellow that liues like a trencher Flie vpon the sweat of
other mens browes, but hath naturallie a trade to get his liuing by, as
namely the arte of hunting and Conicatching, which these late books
go about to discredit. [692-7—Not in Sextus :] Yea, there be of them
as of men of all occupations, some Cariers, and they will fetch; some
watermen, and they will diue and swim when you bid them; some
butchers, and they will kill sheepe; some cookes, and they turne the
spit. [Not in Nashe :] Neither are they void of vertue . . .

P. 255, 683-4 Collier quotes a parallel from Machiavelli, Dell'
Asino d' Oro, cap. 8.

712. the enemies] 'their enemies' would seem more natural; but
cf. iii. 169. 6.

714. as Homer witnesseth] Od. xvii. 300, &c.
P. 256, 739. They . . . invented vomiting] Pliny, H. N. xxix. 14
'Vomitiones quoque hoc animal monstrasse homini videtur'.

750. There is no blood-letting] Generally speaking, blood-letting
was considered inadvisable in time of great heat or great cold, and
would therefore not be practised during the dog-days.

751-5. Physicians with their Cataposis . . . triacles] Perhaps
suggested by C. Agrippa, De Incert. et Van., cap. 83 (ed. 1609, Cc 2)
deinde magna iactantia [medicus] praescribit medicamina; Recipe
catapotia, mitte sanguinem, fiant clysteria, fiant pessi, fiant uctiones,
fiant cataplasmata, dentur elinctoria, dentur masticatoria, fiant
gargarismata, fiant sacculi, fiant fumi, dentur condita, dentur syropi,
dentur aquae, exhibeantur teriacalia.' The translation of 1569 has
'pitche clothes' for 'pessi', but cannot have been the source of the
present passage, as it has English equivalents for most of the terms.

P. 257, 753. Masticatorum] Read, probably, 'Masticatoria.'

764. Nihil violentum perpetuum] The saying, in various forms,
was common; cf. Professor Moore Smith's note (and addendum) on
Pedantius, l. 1556. In Aristotelis Sententiae . . . Selectissimae, 1556,
p. 71 'Nullum violentum est perpetuum' is given as from De Caelo,
lib. ii. I presume that cap. 3. 1 οδηγη γαρ παρα φωνιν αδιον, is referred
to; cf. also cap. 14. 1. As explained by Professor Moore Smith, the
saying refers to the distinction of motus naturalis and motus violentus
or praeter naturam.

777. prandium caninum] See Erasmus, Adagia, chil. i, cent.

779. ship of foolers] Collier remarks upon the obvious allusion to
the Stultifera Navis of Brandt.

P. 258, 783. Ned fool] Presumably the name of the household
fool; possibly, however, a mere general term, like 'Tom-fool'.

784. sixpence] Grosart, or rather B. Nicholson, took this as the
nickname of a page (Nashe, Wks., vi. xxix); but, unless I am mis-
taken, I have seen the word used as a name for a dog, which would
give the better sense here.
786. *The foxe, though he weares a chayne*] B. Nicholson thought there was reference to a tame fox which ran about the house.

799-800] I print this as prose, being doubtful how much, if any, is intended as verse.

804, &c.] Collier quotes the chorus of the Second Three-man's song, prefixed to Dekker's *Shoemaker's Holiday*, 1600: 'Trowle the boll, the ily Nut-browne boll, And here kind mate to thee . . .' and says 'It seems probable that this was a harvest-home song, usually sung by reapers in the country: the chorus or burden, "Hooky, hooky," &c., is still heard in some parts of the kingdom, with this variation:

"Hooky, hooky, we have shorn,
And bound what we did reap,
And we have brought the harvest home,
To make bread good and cheap."

Which is an improvement, in as much as harvests are not brought home to town.'

806. *with a poupe and a lerry*] Apparently a meaningless phrase suggested by 'liripoop', for which see note on ii. 309. 21.

P. 289, 823. *Anon, anon, sir*] Collier refers to Francis, the drawer in *Hen. IV.*, ii. iv. 29, 41, &c.


826. *mowe*] There is apparently the same pun on the two senses of 'mow' in Dekker's *Gull's Hornbook*, Wks., ed. Grosart, ii. 227. 11.

P. 286, 836. *almes*] Disyllabic here, but cf. 286. 1676.

838-40] The meaning is, I suppose, that the hinds and beggars only cry for small beer and coarse bread, but even that is denied. Hazlitt (not Collier) has 'the hind's and beggar's cry' — perhaps a misprint.

845. *my elbows eat wheate*] 'This expression must allude to the dress of Harvest, which has many ears of wheat about it in various parts. Will Summer, after Harvest goes out, calls him, on this account, "a bundle of straw"; and speaks of his "thatched suit"' (II. 941, 953), Collier.

852. *Sicke, sicke, and very sicke*] See Chappell, *Pop. Mus.* 226. The tune (which was in print in 1597) probably belongs to a ballad entitled *Captain Car*, dealing with events which occurred in the year 1571, of which four lines are 'Sick, sick, and very sick, And sick and like to die; The sickest night that I abode, Good Lord, have mercy on me.' Apparently alluded to in *Much Ado*, III. iv. 41-2.

860. *pose*] Apparently joking on two meanings of the word, (1) a cold in the head, (2) a state of perplexity, but *N. E. D.* has only a single example of the noun in the latter sense, in 1616; as a verb it occurs in 1593.

860-1. *blow your nose, master constable*] An almost meaningless phrase of the same type as 'blurt, master constable'.

865. *O man in desperation*] See note on i. 265. 18-19.

867. *attract*] i.e. take in, 'swallow'; cf. ii. 168. 26 and i. 226. 31.
P. 261, 868. "nought seeke, nought have"] Doubtless proverbial, but I can give no other early instance.

872. [stable table] Possibly Harvest is intended to say 'at my stable', and then to correct the last word to 'table'.

873. [you heare with your harvest eares] Cf. Heywood's *Proverbs*, ed. Sharman, p. 154, "You had on your harvest eares, thicke of hearing." Mr. Crawford also compares Bacon's *Promus*, No. 674 (ed. Mrs. Potts, p. 252), "Harvest ears (of a busy man)."

882. *the Bakers loafe, that should waygh but sixe ounces*] I do not know what is meant by this; the weight of loaves was, of course, fixed by law, but it varied according to the price of wheat, and according to other considerations.

882-9. *Eat me ... will*] 'In allusion to the ears of corn, straw, &c., with which he was dressed,' Hazlitt.

891. [hadst] Collier apparently took 'thriue' in l. 901 as determining the time, and was therefore led to alter all past tenses in the passage to the present. But the past tenses predominate.


P. 262, 911. and not to be spoken of] Cf. iii. 90. 11.

929-30. *a hisse for a largesse*] i.e. 'a sss—for a large S.'

P. 268, 931. [Lundgis] i.e. 'a long, slim, awkward fellow; a lout', also 'a laggard, a lingerer', N. E. D., which has examples from c. 1560. Collier notes that the word occurs in Baret's *Alveary*, 1580.

932. [charitiewaxethcold] A phrase that may be regarded as proverbial. I suppose from Matt. xxiv. 12, but B. V. (1584) and G. V. both have 'love'. Cf. Dekker, *Wks.*, ed. Grosart, ii. 222. 7-8, 'the morning, like charity waxing cold . . .'

933-4. *but up our piper*] Cf. ii. 222. 11.

945. *Yeomans*] Probably Collier's reading is correct, but 'Yeoman' or 'Yeomans' may possibly be a proper name.

956-7. *the nature of let to draw straw unto it*] Collier compares Sir T. Browne, *Pseud. Epid.*, b. ii. c. 4. Any number of allusions could of course be found.

P. 264, 968-71. *Monsieur Mingo . . . Domingo*] In Rowland's *Letting of Humours Blood*, 1600, A 4, 'Monisier Domingo' is a name for a drunkard. Mr. Fleay, in *Biog. Chron.* ii. 145-6, commenting on the fact that at iii. 184. 8 'Domingo Rufus and Sacrapant [red-faced] Herring are made synonomous,' says 'Domingo or Domine Mingo is therefore a herring [cf. *Summer's Last Will*, Monsieur Mingo, and 2 Henry IV, V. iii. 79, "Sa[n] Mingo. Is't not so?"]', the great provocative to drink.' (The brackets are Mr. Fleay's.) The commentators on the Shakespearian passage state that Saint Domingo was the patron saint of topers, but I do not know on what evidence. Collier refers to the Shakespearian passage, and adds that 'to do a man right' was a technical expression in the art of drinking. It was the challenge to pledge.

976. *animus in patinis*] Terence, *Eun.* iv. 7. 46; 'his mind is on his dinner' as Bernard translates it.

IV
NOTES [III. 265]

P. 265, 984, 988. *giue . . . Giue* i.e. if you give; not, as Hazlitt and Grosart seem to have taken it, an imperative.

991-2. *vinum esse fomitem . . . virtutisque* See Aulus Gellius, xv. 2. 1, with 'incitabulum' instead of 'incitabilem', also, with 'ignitabulum' for the same word, in Macrobi. Sat. ii. 8, § 4. See Plato, Laws, ii, pp. 666 and 671.

992-3. *Nulla est . . . dementia* Aristot. Problem. 30 (beginning); cf. Seneca, De Tranq. An. 15. 16 'sive Aristotelis [credimus] Nullum magnum ingenium sine mixtura dementiae fuit.' Probably from C. Agrippa, De Incert. et Van., cap. 101 (Latin text), where it is quoted as from Aristotle in the words used by Nashe, 'Nullam magnam esse scientiam abaque mixtura dementiae'.

995-6. *Qui bene vult fomen . . . fynyen* Cf. iii. 321. 30-1. I have not met with the saying elsewhere.

996-7. *Prome, . . . prome* Apparently a line from some drinking song.

997-8. *Nunc est bibendum . . . pulsanda* Hor. Carm. i. 37. 1-2, Coll. Rendouow] Grosart, s.v. in Gloss. Ind., says that 'Rendouow', which Collier printed, gives no sense, and that he has therefore 'printed 'Rendez vous'', supposing it addressed to the butler or attendant who brings him the wine—"give it me"'. As a matter of fact, he has printed 'Rendouow' in brackets after the original reading. That the reading which he proposes could not bear the interpretation which he puts upon it, is, of course, no argument that it was not intended to do so, but it seems more probable that the word as here used was connected with some drinking custom.

1003. *Facundali calices . . . disertum* Hor. Epist. i. 5. 19. *aut efi, aut abi* I do not understand 'epi'. The usual form of the saying is 'Aut bibat, aut abeat'; cf. Cic. Tusc. v. 41. 118, and Erasmus, Adag., chil. i. cent. 10. 47. Erasmus also gives the form *hōthi, hē strēb*, which he uses in his Colloquia, 'Conviv. Prof.' (ed. 1676, E i*). The phrase was inscribed—in what language is not stated—in or upon the Dolphin Inn at Cambridge; see Mercurius Britanicus, The Discovery of a New World [1620 ?], p. 65 margin. Among these see especially Isid. Etymol. xx. 3.

1007. *Vinum quas venenum* For a large collection of instances of the bringing together of these words—sometimes in jest, sometimes seriously—see T. Gataker's Adversaria Miscellanea, 1659, pp. 50-1.

1009. *Try-lill* See note on iii. 194. 1.

1009-10. *the huters hoop*] See i. 205. 7.

1010-11. *Alexander . . . an arrant drunkard* Cf. Athenaeus, x. 45, Pliny, H. N. xiv. 7. Others seem not to regard him as an habitual drunkard, though of course several drinking-bouts are recorded.

1014. *Our vintage was a vintage* Something must be wrong with the text, but I can propose no emendation.

1014-15. *work upon the advantage* i.e. have a good chance, or take all possible advantages. Cf. i. 348. 21-2.

P. 266, 1020-1. *a good fellow . . . purse* 'A line out of a ballad', Hazlitt. Rather, I think, a modification of some such phrase as 'a man is a man, though he have but a bone on his head'; cf. i. 307. 10.

1023. *Proselite* Apparently used in the limited sense of a convert to Judaism.
III. 267] SVMMPERS LAST WILL

1026. *A fabis abstinenendum*] This is, of course, one of the group of enigmatical precepts supposed to have been given by Pythagoras to his disciples. A long discussion of this and the other "symbola" will be found in the *Adagia* of Erasmus; see chil. i, cent. i, 2, § 8. Referred to several times by Plutarch (see *De Educ. Puer.* 17); also Diog. Laert. viii. 1. 18. 19, Pliny, *H. N.* xviii. 30, Au!. Gell. iv. 11, and by many others.

1031. *built like a round church*] Cf. i. 200. 1. Perhaps we should read 'that belly, built'.

1035. *mycher*] i.e. truant, petty thief—used in various somewhat vague contemptuous senses. Examples in *N. E. D.* from before 1225. Cf. notes on i *Hen. IV*, II. iv. 450.

1038. *stand me*] Possibly 'stand to me'.

1039. *vpsy freese, crosse, ho, super nagulu*] Cf. i. 205. 7–8. I cannot learn whether 'crosse' belongs to 'vpsy freese' or whether it should be regarded as an altogether separate term. Hazlitt explains 'upsy freeze' as Friesland beer, referring to *Pop. Antiq.* ii. 259. For 'super nagulum' Collier refers to Jonson's *Case is Altered*, IV. iii; and Hazlitt to his *Proverbs*, 1869, p. 271.

1042. *give me the disgrace*] By refusing to pledge him; cf. i. 205. 15–16.

1044. *cold beere makes good bloud*] A parody of the current saying 'good wine makes good blood'; cf. note on ii. 308. 12–13.

1051. *Pupillonian*] Grosart notes 'from Latin *pupillo*—one who cries like a peacock'. This seems to require proof.

1052. *cast of martins & a whiffe*] I do not know what is meant by this. 'Cast' is, of course, a couple—properly of hawks, but used occasionally of other creatures; 'martin' may be a kind of monkey; cf. i. 207. 34.

1053. *Captaine Rinocerotry*] Grosart says 'I presume that W. Summers being a lean man, he calls him so by way of playfully drunken irony. Cf. Armin's *Nest of Ninnies*, "Capt. Rhinoceros". I cannot find the expression in Armin—nor does Grosart's explanation seem satisfactory.


1068. *Toy*] Collier remarks: 'From the insertion of *Toy* in this
song instead of Mingo, as it stands on the entrance of Bacchus and his companions, we are led to infer that the name of the actor who played the part of Will Summer was Toy: if not, there is no meaning in the change. Again, at the end of the piece, the Epilogue says in express terms: "The great fool Toy hath mar'rd the play," to which Will Summers replies: "Is't true, Jackanapes? Do you serve me so?" &c. [Cf. also l. 10 where Will Summer seems to jest on the name.]

Excepting by supposing that there was an actor of this name, it is not very easy to explain the following expressions by Gabriel Harvey, as applied to Greene, in his Four Letters and certain Sonnets, 1592, the year when Nash's Summer's Last Will and Testament was performed: "They wrong him much with their Epitaphs, and other solemnne deuises, that entitle him not at the least, The second Toy of London; the Stale of Poulies..." [G. H., Works, ed. Grosart, i. 189]."

P. 268, 1074. *damn'd-borne* Hazlitt's reading 'horn drunkenness' is, I suppose, intended as a nonce-compound made on the analogy of 'horn madness'. It is ingenius and certainly gives a kind of sense, but I much doubt if the expression is a possible one.

P. 269, 1103. *Nipitaty* See note on i. 255. 11.

P. 269, 1102. *white wine* Cf. i. 327. 32-3 and note.

P. 269, 1109. *snuffe* Cf. i. 208. 17-18, and note.

P. 270, 1140. *locks* Cf. i. 207. 12.

P. 270, 1141. *Non peccat quiung;...negare* Ovid, Amores, iii. 14. 5 '...queacunque...'.

P. 271, 1173. *Dumbe swannes...pies* From Astrophel and Stella, sonnet 54, 'Dumb swans, not chattering pies, do lovers prove.' 

P. 271, 1174. *trace* i.e., apparently, raise; the word is not otherwise known to me.

1170-1. *like...cries* See note on iii. 58. 1. 

P. 271, 1173. *Dumbe swannes...pies* From Astrophel and Stella, sonnet 54, 'Dumb swans, not chattering pies, do lovers prove.'
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fol. 58v, 'and because Women be more desirous of secrets and lesse
advised, and inclined to superstitions and be more easily begiled,
[therefore they [i.e. the Devils] sooner appeare to them,—ed. 1575]
and do great miracles'. Cf. i. 16. 30 and note.

1200. everyl Hazlitt's 'envy' is probably right.

1203. Simon] It is hardly necessary to refer to the constant use in
Elizabethan literature of the name of Simon as that of a typical traitor;
cf.—among many instances—Sol. and Pers. II. i. 95, V. ii. 79, and

P. 272, 1214. Servos fideles liberalitas facit] From a supplementary
scene to Plautus's Aulularia (ed. Valpy, 1829, p. 319, ll. 31-3):

'Sic servitutem ulciscuntur servi mali
Risu iociisque. Sic ergo concludo, quod
Servos fideles liberalitas facit.'

The immediate source is probably C. Agrippa, De Incert. et Van.
(Latin text), cap. 67 (ed. 1609, V 5v-6).

1219-22] See i. 359. 34, but I cannot learn of the existence of the
practice in Ireland. Did Nashe perchance write 'Iceland'?

1223. wind] See note on i. 359. 32-3.

xxvii. 2; but he does not say that ink was made from it.


P. 274, 1272-91.] There is some general resemblance—though of
course the tone is quite different—to Puttenham's Art of Poesy, i. 4,
'How Poets were the first Philosophers, the first Astronomers and
Historiographers', &c.

1282-3.] Cf. C. Agrippa, De Incert. et Van., cap. 49, trans. 1569,
fol. 63v-4, 'The Poetes firste professed this [i.e. the investigation of
nature], of the which they say that Prometheus, Linus, Museus,
Orpheus and Homer were the firste inventours'. A good deal of this
speech, with the two speeches of Winter that follow, may be derived
from Agrippa.

NOTES

1315. *souldiers* Cf. ii. 155. 34, &c. Collier notes that such soldiers, or pretended soldiers, are frequent characters in our old comedies, and instances Lieutenant Maweworm and Ancient Hautboy in *A Mad World, my Masters*, and Captain Face in *Ram-Alley*.

1332. *lowe gods* i. e. dii minores—Hazlitt.

1338. *buy gape-seede* i. e. go sight-seeing. Mr. Crawford refers me to the *Entertainment to the Queen at Harefield*, printed in Lyly's *Wks.*, ed. Bond, i. 497. 14 'Gods my life, what make you here, gadding and gazing after this manner? You come to buy gape-seede, do you?' and to Florio's *Montaigne*, ed. Morley (1886), iii. 9, p. 462, 'such as gather stubble (as the common saying is) or looke about for gape-seed.' Still in use; cf. W. B. Maxwell, *Vivien* [1905], pp. 87, 9, 131 foot.

F. 276, 1341. *times, cunning* So punctuated in Q and by modern editions. Perhaps we should read 'times' cunning'. Neither gives a quite satisfactory sense.

1343. *Fediers French* i. e. as Collier notes, the cant language used by vagabonds. Examples in *N. E. D.* from 1530.

1351. *farré* Grosart reads 'faire', and in his glossary, under 'faire ("day after the faire") has the curious explanation 'Blacke Prince [faire]—q.y. named after some London hotel?'

1369. *That will for twelve pence make a doughtie fray* Cf. the 'little swaggerer, called Blacke Davie, who would at sword and buckler fight with any gentleman or other for twelve pence'; *Tarlton's Jest* in Mr. Hazlitt's *Sh. Jest-Books*, ii. 197.

F. 277, 1377. *inkehornetermes* Collier has a long note on the expression, in which he quotes from Churchyard's *Choice*, E e 1, and from Wilson's *Art of Rhetoric*, 1553, fol. 86 (ed. 1560, fol. 83), but it is too common to need illustration. The *N. E. D.* has examples from 1543. See also Fulwood's *Enemy of Idleness*, 1568, B 4°; Ascham's *Schoolmaster*, Engl. Wks., ed. Wright, p. 260 (on Hall's *Chronicle*); Rowlands' *Letting of Humours Blood*, 1600, D 8; also index to Prof. Gregory Smith's *Eliz. Crit. Essays*.

1380. *Fismenus non nasatus* Nashe doubtless took this from the *Philoiinus* of Brian Melbancke, 1583, a work from which he quoted several passages in the *Anatomy of Absurdity* (i. 15–16), see K 1°, 'Fismenus non Nasatus, who hauing no smell, was hired for a wager to liue a whole yeare in a paire of lakes.' Nashe's 'nasatus' is evidently a mere misprint, which I should have altered had I found the source in time. The ultimate authority for the story is unknown to me.

1386. *Hunc os fatinum* Cf. i. 189. 1. For 'Hunc' a friend suggests 'Huit'.

1397–1416.] Cf. iii. 177. 1–4.

1400. *Cortigiana* It would be natural to suppose that Pietro's play of this name is meant; yet, especially if we adopt Hazlitt's emendation of 'teacheth', the *Ragionamenti*, particularly pt. 2, day 3, seems to fit the description better. Nanna, the chief speaker in the dialogue, is an old courtesan. Cf. also C. Agrippa, *De Incert.et Van.*, cap. 63, trans. 1569, fol. 95, 'I haue newly seene and reade a booke written in the Italian tongue, intituled *La Cortigiana*, and printed in Venice, a Dialoge of the Arte of Whoores, most dishonest of all others...'. Agrippa cannot, however, be referring to Pietro's work, as neither of the above-mentioned pieces was in print at the date.
I believe Hazlitt's emendation to be correct, but leave the old reading as being possible.

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**toucheth**] I believe Hazlitt's emendation to be correct, but leave the old reading as being possible.

1403. **Platina**] i.e. Bartholomaeus Sacchi, whose work called *Opusculum de Obsomis ac Honesta Voluptate*, and afterwards *De Tuenda Valutudine, Natura Rerum et Popinae Scientia*, was frequently printed from 1475 onwards. He is mentioned by Agrippa, op. cit. fol. 154°.


1408. **sloth**] I cannot say what is referred to, unless perhaps the little collection of pithy sayings, &c., entitled *The Lord Marques Jdlenes*, published in 1586, by William Paulet, Marquis of Winchester—but of course this was not in praise of sloth. Hazlitt suggests the *Image of Idleness*: see his *Handbook*, pp. 291, 693.

1410. **praise of nothing**] Hazlitt supposed Dyer's work to be meant; cf. note on iii. 177. 19-20. Collier thought the allusion was to a poem of Francisco Coppetta, 'Capitolo nel quale si lodano le Noncovelle.'

1412. **baldness**] See note on iii. 176. 29.

1414-15. **Slovenerie... Sodomtrie**] See notes on iii. 177. 4, and 2. Della Casa was never actually a Cardinal though he made great efforts to become one.

1415-16. Cf. C. Agrippa, *De Incert. et Van.*, cap. 63, trans. 1569, fol. 95, 'albeit the greate Aristotile dothe comméde it.'

1418. **tales** Should we not read 'tables'?

1419. Mr. Crawford, noting that the saying is a commonplace, refers me to 2 Hen. VI, III. ii. 45, 'Hide not thy poison with such sugared words.'

1426. **Vox populi, vox Dei**] The saying is older than the eighth century, but its actual source is unknown; see Mr. W. F. H. King's *Class. and For. Quotations*. It is quoted by C. Agrippa in *De Incert. et Van.*, cap. 55 (ed. 1609, O 6T), whence it was perhaps borrowed by Nashe.

1428-9. *Yet Tully saith... differentia*] See Cn. Planc. 4. 9, with 'diligentia', not 'differentia'. Perhaps taken from C. Agrippa, u.s. (O 8-8T).

1431-6. **Themistocles... learned**] Cic. *De Orat*. ii. 74. 299 and 86. 351; *De Fin*. 32. 104. Perhaps by way of C. Agrippa, op. cit. cap. 10.

1437-9. **Cicero... learning**] See C. Agrippa, op. cit., cap. 1, trans. 1569, fol. 4, 'Valerius saith, that Cicero him selfe, the moste abundant welspringe of Learninge, despised it at length.' Not, I think, in Val. Max.


1448. **sluggards**] The first character is probably a broken s in Q.

1467. **spanne Counter**] A game in which one player having thrown a counter to a certain distance the other tries to throw his near it, or at least within the distance of a span. See Strutt's *Sports and Pastimes*, ed. Cox, p. 304.

1467-8. **Jacks in a boxe**] The name of some gambling game. The only other example of this sense in *N. E. D.* dates from 1664.
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1470. squitter-booke] Collier quotes from The Two Ital. Gent., and from This World’s Folly, by I. H., 1615; cf. note on ii. 248. 27.

1476. In speech] See note on i. 305. 18.


1506. Back-winter] i.e. a return of winter after the regular time. In N. E. D. the earliest example is from Lenten Stuff, iii. 155. 29.

1507. slippery] The first character is probably a broken Q in Q.

1511. pinch-back] N. E. D. explains ‘one who pinches his own or another’s back, by stinting it of proper clothing’, the present example being the only one given. But is it not rather a form of, or an error for, ‘pinch-beck’ or ‘-beke’, a miserly, close-fisted person, of which N. E. D. has examples in 1545 and 1552?

P. 281, 1517. none] i.e. own, very common earlier, but at this date limited more or less to familiar affectionate phrases as the present. Cf. N. E. D. s. v. own a. i. a and b.

1518. like...taketh) i.e., apparently, takes after him.

1523. goodneere] Cf. ii. 84. 2, ‘goe good and neere to out-shoulder them’, i.e. very near.

1533-41. This is not from the Biblical account of Nebuchadnezzar, and I have been unable to discover its source. The Jewish Encyclo-
pedia, however, mentions some analogous legends of the exhumation by Evimerodach of his father’s body, for the purpose of assuring the populace of his death. Perhaps taken by Nashe from C. Agrrippa, De Incert. et Van., cap. 44, trans. 1569, fol. 56v., ‘whose [i.e. Nebuchad-
nezzar’s] body after his death, Evilmoradath [Evimerodach in Lat. ed. 1609] his sonne gaueto the rauens to be deuoured, leste at any time he might rise from death, who of a beast became eftsoones a man.’ Also, from Agrippa, in Scot’s Disc. of Witchcraft, 1584, 102.

1543. Cauailiere] i.e. a swaggering fellow. Cf. Greene’s Quip, Wks., ed. Grosart, xi. 217. 18-19, ‘certain Italianate Contes, humorous Cauailiers, youthful Gentlemen, and Inamorati gagliardi.’ In common use, both in a good sense (as a soldier) and a bad.


P. 283, 1548. wilde oates] Examples in N. E. D. from 1576.

1567. Harry Baker] Collier points out that this must have been the name of the actor who played Vertumnus. Possibly a joke on his name is intended in l. 1716.


P. 288, 1590. ayre] It is to be hoped that Nashe meant ‘ayre’, but I cannot help strongly suspecting that the true reading is ‘hayre’, which gives a more obvious, but far inferior, sense.
P. 284, 1622. batch] Collier remarks, somewhat unnecessarily, that the joke consists in the similarity of sound between 'dispatch' and 'batch'.

1629. pad] i.e. toad, borrowed from the phrase 'a pad in the straw'; see note on i. 123, 11-12.


1646-7. Sybarites ... ] Cf. iii. 189. 21, margin, and note.

1652-3. a city that was vnderminde ... by Mowles] Cf. Lyly's Euphues, Wks., ed. Bond, i. 249. 27-9, 'there was a Towne in Spayne vndermined with Connyes, in Thessalia, with Mowles, with Floggges in Fraunce, in Africa with Flyes.' See Pliny, H. N. viii. 43, as noted by Mr. Bond.

1654.] Possibly we should read 'bid me a whole faire of beggers to dinner every day'. If not 'bid me to dinner' must mean 'demand dinner from me'. The passage seems to have been variously interpreted by editors.

1655. making legges] Collier considered that the expression was appropriated to the awkward bowing of the lower class. He quotes The Death of Rob. E. of Hunt., III. v (Dodsley's Old Plays, ed. Hazlitt, viii. 284), where one Will Brand, a vulgar assassin, being introduced to the king, the stage direction is 'Make Legs'. The examples in N. E. D., s. v. leg, sb., 4, do not seem to indicate that any special awkwardness was implied.

P. 286, 1678. sherrifes tub] Apparently a tub kept for the reception of leavings of food, &c., to be distributed among the poor. Cf. Massinger's City Madam, i. i. 115, where 'the sherriff's basket' is mentioned. Cf. the 'wast beere in the almes tub' at 269. 1135.

1688-94.] The list given by Aulus Gellius, vii. 16, from Varro is quoted by C. Agrippa, De Incert. et Van., chap. 89, and perhaps forms the basis of this passage, though the differences are considerable.

1697. Liberalitas liberalitate perif] See ii. 274. 6-7 and note.

1697-8. love me a little and love me long] Hazlitt notes that this occurs in Heywood's Epigrams, 1562. It is also in his Proverbs, ed. Sharman, p. 98. Mr. Crawford refers me to The Jew of Malta, IV. vi. 29.

1698. feede] Professor Moore Smith suggests 'fende', which gives a far better sense and is, I think, almost certainly correct.

1702-3. three halfe-pence] It is surely unlikely that no price would be given for the first item, and that the price for the second should stand before it. I suppose that Christmas breaks off suddenly without giving the price of the second.

P. 287, 1722. snudge] i.e. miser. Collier quotes Wilson's Art of Rhet., 1553, fol. 67 (ed. 1560, fol. 62), 'a snudge or pyne-penny,' and fol. 86 (82*), 'Some richesnudes, having great wealth, go with their hose out at heles, their shoes out at toes, and their cotes out at both elbowes ...'

1731. breathe] i.e. let it out into the open air.

P. 288, 1745. Lito] i.e. idle, lazy (Ital.), Collier.

1752. What, should] Hazlitt omitted the comma, perhaps intentionally. Grosart in Gloss. Index, s. v. stand, says that he retains it as not sure that an equivoque was intended. Possibly Vertumnus speaking the words 'Stand forth' with emphasis, as a crier, and perhaps
also with outstretched hand, Back-winter takes him to say 'Stand! Forth!'—two contradictory orders. A poor jest, but I can perceive no other.


1795. *Hippotades* There can, I think, be no doubt that this is the correct reading, though the misprint is a curious one. Hippotades was a name of Aeolus, as being a descendant of Hippotes. Cf. Ovid, *Metam.* iv. 663, and elsewhere.

P. 289, 1802] Mr. Crawford points out that, save for two words, this repeats *Edward II*, V. v. 71, 'I see my tragedy written in thy brow.'

1814-15. *Let there be a few rushes laide*] Collier refers for the rushes to *Romeo and Juliet*, I. iv. 36, and says that it is evident that Back-winter makes a resistance before he is forced out, and falls down in the struggle.

1820. *hold the bookew well*] Collier refers to the mention of the 'book-holder', i.e. prompter, in *Cynthia's Revels*, Induction.

P. 290, 1802. Mr. Crawford points out that, save for two words, this repeats *Edward II*, V. v. 71, 'I see my tragedy written in thy brow.'

1884. *This lowe built house*] B. Nicholson (Nashe, ed. Grosart, vi. xix-xxx) quotes a remark of Henry VIII that a certain house (Otford) 'standeth low and is rheumatick, like unto Croydon, where I could never be without sickness'. Pictures of the palace are given by Nichols, *Progresses of Q. Eliz.* i. 385, 331. What with damp and smoke the whole district of Croydon seems to have been far from pleasant at this date; see Patrick Hannay's *Songs and Sonnets*, song 8 (Nightingale, &c., 1623, R 2*-3).

P. 298, 1894-3. *to get him audacity*] Cf. Heywood's *Apology for Actors*, ed. Sh. Soc., 1841, p. 28, where, speaking of the acting of plays at Cambridge, he says 'This it [qy. is] held necessary for the emboldening of their junior schollers to arme them with audacity against they come to bee employed in any publicke exercise. . . . It teacheth audacity to the bashfull grammarian . . .'

1898. *poutch*] 'Name of some game,' *N. E. D.*, with no other example.

1901. *Vlisses, a Dwarffe*] Cf. iii. 184. 36, where he is called 'the prudent dwarfe of Pallas'.

1902-3. *Pigmee . . . Cranes*] It is perhaps hardly necessary to refer to H. iii. 3-6, and Pliny, *H. N.* vii. 2.

1908-9] Possibly we should read 'by me (the agent) for their imperfections', but I think the sense is 'the person who acts on behalf of these bunglers'.

1915. *Sweetings*] i.e. sweet apples as distinguished from crabs.

LATIN VERSES ON ECCLESIASTICUS 41. 1.

P. 298. In cases where the facsimile differs in punctuation from the printed text the latter is correct.

P. 299. Not much need, or can, be said about the ten scholars of the Lady Margaret foundation whose poems have been preserved with those of Nashe. A few particulars may, however, be gathered from two lists of the graduates and undergraduates resident in Cambridge in the years 1581 (Oct. 29) and 1588, preserved in Lansdowne MSS. 33. 43 and 57. 92. Unfortunately one is too early and the other too late to include all the students, and, as surnames alone are given, the identification is in some cases doubtful, even though the names are arranged by colleges. The persons mentioned below are of course all members of St. John's.

1. Joannes Archer] Undergraduate in 1581, studying Dialectica under Mr. Johnes.
2. Guilielmus Bailie] 'Mr. Baily' was under Dr. Whitaker, Regius Professor of Divinity, in 1588.
3. Joannes Conierus] A 'Conyers se.' and 'Conyers iun.' were both studying under Mr. Gould, Professor of Rhetoric, in 1581, as undergraduates. In the Calendar of State Papers this name is given as 'Comer', but, I think, wrongly. I can find no student of the name of 'Comer' or 'Comers'.
4. Lionel Ducket] A 'Mr. Ducket' was Professor of Dialectics in 1588. He is presumably the Lionel Ducket of Westmorland who was born c. 1565; matr. 1579; scholar on the Lady Margaret's foundation Nov. 5, 1579; performed in Legge's tragedy of Richard III in 1579-80; B. A. 1582-3; fellow of Jesus College, 1585; M. A. 1586; died 1603 (Cooper, Ath. Camb. ii. 354, 553).
5. Guilielmus Harris] A 'Harris' attended the lectures of Mr. Johnes in 1581, and the name occurs also in the list of those under Mr. Gould in the same year. In 1588 a 'Mr. Harris sen.' and a 'Mr. Harris iun.' were both studying under Dr. Whitaker.
6. Robertus Mills] I cannot find this name in the lists.
7. Rodolphus Smithe] There are two undergraduates and a Master of Arts in the 1581 list and a 'Do Smith' in that of 1588.
8. Guilielmus Mottershed] A 'Do Matershed' was in 1588 attending philosophy lectures under Mr. Rowly.
9. Thomas Nashe] In 1588 he was also attending philosophy lectures.
10. Guilielmus Orwell] In 1588 he was attending the same lectures as Mottershed and Nashe.
11. Thomas Wilsonus] In 1581 a 'Wilson' and a 'Wilson iun.'
were studying Rhetoric under Mr. Gould. The one here mentioned
is presumably the Thomas Wilson who was B.A. of St. John's College
in 1583 and M.A. at Trinity Hall in 1587. He translated G. de Monte-
mayor's _Diana_ in 1596, and was Keeper of the Records at Whitehall
from 1606 until his death in 1629. He was knighted in 1618 (D.N.B.)

Heading of verses _Eccle._] It may be questioned whether the final
character of the word should not be transliterated as _ss_ , 'Ecclus.'
being the usual abbreviation; so perhaps the 'Nashe' of the signature
should be 'Nashus'; in the word 'Fundatrice', however, the same
character evidently stands for a simple _e_. The stop after 'Eccle' is
in the original; in the facsimile on p. 298 it has been omitted.

2 _rapide_] This should read 'rapide', i.e. rapidae.

7. _Quos_] For Nashe's use of the accusative after 'fauet' cf. i.
158. 21 marg. 'Fortuna fauet fatuos.'

8. _percuit_] As all the other verbs are in the present tense one
is tempted to read 'percuit' here, but the MS. certainly has _i_.

Signature _Nashe_] Possibly to be read 'Nashus;' as noted above.

PREFACE TO R. GREENE'S 'MENAPHON'.

_Date of Composition._

In his _History of Eng. Dr. Poetry_, 1831, iii. 150, Collier says, 'We
may conclude that Greene's _Menaphon_ , printed in 1587 . . . appeared
early in that year, because in Greene's _Euphues, his Censure to
Philautus_, of the same date, it is mentioned as already in print'.
Unfortunately he does not quote the passage, nor say where it occurs;
neither, so far as I am aware, has anyone ever found it. On the other
hand, in Greene's Epistle to the Readers before _Menaphon_ (Wks., ed.
Grosart, vi. 7. 13-15), *Euphues his Censure to Philautus* is mentioned
as not only published but as having been well received. Until some-
one identifies the passage referred to by Collier it seems not unreason-
able to suppose his statement to be a mere error, and the edition of
_Menaphon_ published in 1587 to be entirely imaginary. The reference,
at 324. 27, to the _Anatomy of Absurdity_ (ent. S. R. in 1588) as forth-
coming need not disturb us, for that work was not published until
1589, most probably not until the end of the year, or even Feb.
or March 1589-90 (see p. 1); nor need Grosart's argument (Greene's
_Wks.,_ i. 104) that 'If _Menaphon_ 1589 had been the first edition, it
would have had "Utriusque Acad. in Art. Mag."', a statement which
is disposed of by a glance at Mr. Fleay's list of titles in _Biog. Chron._
i. 253.

In any case, as I have already said (iii. 306, note 1), there seems no
reason whatever for thinking Nashe's _Preface_ to have been written in
1587, while there are strong reasons for dating it 1589.

_P. 300_] I have called the work 'Preface to "Menaphon"', though
it is properly an 'Epistle', simply to avoid the ambiguity of the term
'The Epistle to Menaphon'.

_P. 311, 14-29._] The sense of these lines I take to be as follows.
Our age is now grown so 'learned' that every common workman or
ignorant boor tries to speak elegantly and adorns his language with
tags of Latin; and this not because of the perfection of arts, i.e. not that these men are grown really learned, but because they imitate playwrights (or actors) whose sole care is fine language. But I do not blame these ‘mechanical mates’ so much as I do the tragedians whom they imitate, for these with their bragging blank verse think themselves superior to all other writers.

20. Tragedians] Probably writers of tragedy, but actors may be meant; similarly ‘action’ in the next line may mean the conduct of the plot, or acting.

23-4. If they but once get Boreas by the beard and the heavenly Bull by the dew-lap.] It was pointed out by Simpson, School of Sh., ii. 356, that this refers (or seems to refer) to Menaphon itself (Greene, ed. Grosart, vi. 119; ed. Arber, 74): ‘Wee had, answered Doron, an Eaw amongst our Ramms, whose fleece was as white as the haires that grow on father Boreas chinne, or as the dangling dewlap of the siluer Bull.’ He also remarks that in The Taming of A Shrew, Sc. ii, Kate is described as ‘whiter than icy hair that grows on Boreas’ chin’. See Mr. Fleay, Biog. Chron. i. 257 and ii. 32–3 for other possible allusions in the same passage of Menaphon.

26. Art-masters] A good deal turns on the significance of this word. It cannot, I think, here stand for ‘Masters of Art’, nor indicate that the persons attacked were members of a university. If this had been the meaning Greene himself—whose fondness for the use of his degree did not pass unnoticed—would have been included with those who are attacked. The ordinary sense of the word is one skilled in, or a professed master of, any art (cf. N. E. D. s.v. arts-master, and Stow’s London, ed. Strype, bk. ii. p. 127, where a will of 1624 is quoted, leaving money to place boys ‘with a Master or Art-Masters, as Glovers, Pinners, Shoomakers, or any other Occupation or Art’); here, I think, merely the masters who are imitated by the ‘mechanical mates’. At 312. 26 it evidently means professed rhetoricians. With this passage compare i. 10. 3–4, ‘they that obtrude themselues vnto vs, as the Authors of eloquence and fountains of our finer phrases.’

28. better penes] Not, I think, better playwrights, but better writers generally. Nashe is, I believe, attacking tragedians and playwriting as a whole; cf. 312. 5–7, and especially the verses of ‘Thomas Brabine’ prefixed to Menaphon (Greene, vi. 31), which seem to be most important as explaining the general purport of Nashe’s Preface:

‘Come forth you witts that vaunt the pompe of speach,
And striue to thunder from a Stage-mans throte:
View Menaphon a note beyond your reach;
Whose sight will make your drumming descant doate:
Players auant, you know not to delight;
Welcome sweete Shepheard; worth a Schollers sight.’

Hence I do not think that in the words ‘the swelling bumbast of bragging blanke verse’ Nashe is attacking particularly writers of blank-verse plays, as opposed to those in riming couplets, but that he is using ‘blank verse’ for dramatic writing generally. He may perhaps have been allured by the fascination of an alliterative phrase, but it must be remembered that practically the sole use of blank verse was in the drama.
Believing this I must of course abandon the widely received theory that the passage is an attack upon Marlowe. The general relation of Nashe to Marlowe, the affectionate language in which he refers to him, and his statement that he never abused him in his life (iii. 131. 15-16), render it necessary that we should have very strong reasons before assuming Marlowe to have been the object of attack. Two things, at least, we must prove: (1) that the use of blank verse for dramatic purposes was a subject of discussion at the time, and (2) that Marlowe was regarded as representative of the movement in its favour. As to the first of these, I greatly doubt whether blank verse was at first recognized as different in kind to rime verse, for the purposes, at least, of play-writing. If it had been, and had there been any sort of antagonism between the two kinds of verse, we should not have expected to find so many plays in which both are employed, nor perhaps should we have had the occasional rime couplets or triplets which we find in Tamburlaine and other plays almost wholly in blank verse. Secondly, as to Marlowe himself; though we may now recognize the superiority of his blank verse to that of other writers of his day, this is by no means the same thing as showing that he was the leader of the movement. The lines prefixed to Tamburlaine, which have so often been quoted as a sort of declaration of war against rime (see, for example, Collier's Eng. Dr. Poet., 1831, iii. 116; Dr. Ward’s Eng. Dr. Lit. i. 326), seem to me to have nothing whatever to do with the matter. They are:

‘From yygging vaines of riming mother wits,
And such conceits as clownage keepes in pay,
Weele lead you to the stately tent of War...’

not, mark it, ‘Weele lead you to a statelier prosody’ or ‘to a better kind of verse’. The opposition is surely between the farcical play, or jig, and the serious drama dealing with heroic themes, and the prologue may well have been intended for a performance of Tamburlaine which succeeded an entertainment of a lighter sort, or the phrase may be merely a hit at a rival company of players. The word ‘rime’, though often used in its present sense, had also, more frequently, perhaps, a depreciatory meaning, being indeed simply equivalent to rude or bad verse; cf. i. 26. 14-15, where ‘rime’ is contrasted with ‘poetry’.

Joseph Hall’s Virgidemias, 1597, i. 4. 1-4, where the ‘rhcmeless numbers’ of ‘tragick poesy’ are attacked as ‘too popular’, affords an interesting parallel to this passage of Nashe, but is too late to throw any light on his meaning.

P. 812, 5. drumming decasillaborium] Cf. ‘drumming descant’ in T. Brabine’s verses quoted above. In ‘drumming’ there is, I think, a side allusion to the drums used to announce theatrical performances.

7-8. Schoolemen or Grammarians] I am not sure that the addition of ‘Schoolemen or’ in 1610 (or after 1589) is an improvement. By ‘Grammarians’ is evidently meant one who has not got beyond grammar; cf. i. 25, 1-2, ‘a little Countrey Grammer knowledge.’ The addition of ‘Schoolemen’ makes the jest less apparent.

like a recollection of De Offic. i. 1. 3 'vis enim maior in illis dicendi; sed hoc quoque colendum est aequabile et temperatum orationis genus'.

22. pilfries i.e. thefts, plagiarisms.

24-6 Alluded to, with ll. 32-3, in Chettle's Kind-Heart's Dream, ed. N. S. S. 61. 13-14 ('Robert Greene to Pierce Pennilesse'), 'Once thou commendedst immediate conceit, and gauest no great praise to excellent works of twelve yeres labour.'

32-3. Maroës twelue yeeres toile] I can learn of no authority for the twelve years; the pseudo-Donatus says 'Aeneida partim in Sicilia partim in Campania undecim annis confecit', Vergil, ed. Valpy, 1819, i. 12. Can Nashe have been thinking of Statius? Cf. Theb. xii. 811-12 'O mihi bissenos multum vigilata per annos Thebai'.

33. Aeneidos] The use of 'Aeneidos' as if a nominative case was not uncommon; cf. Eliz. Crit. Essays, ed. Gregory Smith, ii. 211. 14-15 (Harington), 'And what worke can seruethis turne so fitly as Virgils Aeneidos.' It is presumably due to the 'Aeneidos...libri xii' of title-pages. Here, however, it seems not improbable that the word is a misprint for 'Aeneides'.

P. 313, 1. Peter Ramus] Cf. note on i. 43. 34.

6. present] i.e. (?) ready.

16. Nil dictum quod non dictum prius] Terence, Eun. prol. 41 'Nullum estiam dictum, quod non dictum sit prius'. Cf. the Adagia of G. Cognatus in Eras. Adag. 1574, ii. 409, for other examples of the use of the phrase, which was 'iactatum per Gallica compita dictum'.


29-31. (as Strabo reporteth)] Strabo, xvi. 4. 19.

P. 314, 7. sublimedicendigenus] The expression is Quintilian's in Inst. Or. xi. 1. 3.

9. Gothamists] Cf. i. 10. 16. Mr. Fleay (Biog. Chron. ii. 124) seems to see in this, as well as in the 'Goates beards' of l. 6, an allusion to Kyd.

15. Ioane of Brainfords will] Ioane, or Ihon (ijSq) is evidently a slip of the pen for Gillian; see note on iii. 235. 78-9.

16. the unlucky frumenty] There is an imperfect copy of this poem in the same volume of tracts at the Bodleian as Gillian of Brainford's Will. At the end is 'Finis, quoth G. Kyttes'. Nothing seems to be known of him.

19-20. the Glowworme] See note on i. 260. 25.

24. their labour for their travell] A fairly common saying; cf. Tr. and Cres., i. 1. 70, and Heywood's Fawmeson, 1624, p. 306, l. 25. Also 'theire labour for their paines', as in the Speeches to the Queen at Sudeley, Nichols, Progr., iii. 143.

25-9. the Panther... enterprise] Probably taken by Nashe from the Parabolae of Erasmus (in Lycosthenes' Apophthegmata, 1574, p. 1229), 'Panthera sic auida est excrementorum hominis, ut si in vaso suspendatur altius quam possit attingere, enecat sese defatiagit or rectum corporis: ita nonnullis quod est foedissimum, id dulcissimum est'. From Pliny, H. N. viii. 41.
31. by What does you lacke? i.e. by merchandise, shop-keeping.
32. quadrants] In N. E. D. this quotation is given under quadrant, sb. 2 c, a contemptuous sense derived from Latin quadrans, the fourth part of an as. One might suggest, however, that Nashe is also hinting at 'quadrant' as used for the court of a college. He is contrasting the uneducated merchant class with the pretentious university wit.

crepundios] See N. E. D., s. v. crepundian, 'a rattler or empty talker'. From Lat. crepundia, a rattle. Cf. i. 370. 17.
33. ergo] Cf. Harvey's supposed fondness for the word, iii. 66. 28, &c.

P. 315, 1. dogged] i.e. as usual, envious.

2-3. Martin or Momus] The conjunction of the names is of course natural enough, but Nashe had probably read Cooper's Admonition (ed. Arber, p. 45), 'Martin with his bitter stile of malicious Momus dipt in the gall of vngodlinesse'; also p. 56, 'Martin Momus will say the contrary'.
5. friplers] i.e. old-clothes dealers; more usually 'frippers'. For the use of lavender by pawn-brokers, &c., see N. E. D. s. v. lavender sb. 2.
10. expose] The reading of 89, 'oppose', is probably due rather to confusion than to a misprint; cf. iii. 352. 25; the same fluctuation between the words occurs at 324. 19, where T has 'oppose', and in King Lear, IV. vii. 32, where Qq. have 'exposed' and F 'oppos'd' (N. E. D.). Cf. also 'oppose' at i. 210. 28.
16-17. come to correct common-weales] I doubt if any special work is referred to.
19. the world turned upside downe] Nashe seems to mean that this was a common alehouse sign. For 'table' cf. i. 181. 2.
20. the child beateth his father] The idea is probably based on Aristophanes, Nubes, 1321, &c., 1408, &c. Cf. T. Wilson's Rule of Reason, 1551, X 1, where the scene is referred to.
22. Nimis curiosus in aliena republica] Cf. Cic. De Off. i. 34. 125 'Peregrini autem atque incolae officium est nihil praeter suum negotium agere, . . . minimeque in aliena esse republica curiosum.'
23. a sort] i.e. a group, company, gang—not a kind. Prof. Hatchere drew attention to this point in Mod. Lang. Notes, xx1, June 6. The phrase has, I believe, been generally misunderstood.
26-7. runne through every Art . . . none] Cf. 2 Ret. from Parnassus, II. i. 59 (567), 'Running through every trade, yet thrive by none'; also V. iv. 21 (2132).
27. the trade of Nouerint] i.e. the trade of a scrivener. The passage which follows is probably the best known and most discussed of all Nashe's writings.
29. neck verse] See note on ii. 259. 29. The verse seems always to have been printed in Latin (see N. E. D.).
30. English Seneca] It is uncertain whether Nashe is referring to the collection of translations from Seneca, edited by Thomas Newton in 1581 as Seneca His Tenne Tragedies, Translated into English, or whether by 'English Seneca' he means some contemporary writer. The first seems the more natural view, but no one has, I believe, found the phrase 'Blood is a beggar' in that volume. It is, however,
perhaps not intended as a quotation from 'English Seneca', but merely as exemplifying the language used by 'Senecan' writers. The idea is, of course, one of frequent occurrence; cf., for example, Gorboduc, IV, chorus, 17, 'Blood asketh blood', and Belvedere, 1600, F 7 foot, 'Blood spilt by wrong, calls vengeance scourge by right.

Several other parallels have been noticed, including Richard III, ed. Barron Field, p. 31, 'Blood is a threatener and will have revenge' (quoted by Prof. Schick, Span. Tr., xi).

30-1. by Candlelight] I can only suppose the meaning to be that the plays derived from such a pillaging of Seneca olent lucernam.

32-3. in a frostie morning] A meaningless tag; cf. iii. 356. 11; also Massinger's Bondman, II.i.36. Fairly frequent.

33. Hamlets] See note on 316. 4-5.

P. 316, 2-3. let blood] i.e. pillaged, alluding, of course, to the mode of Seneca's death.

4-5. which makes his famished followers to imitate the Kid in Æsop] It has been pointed out by Prof. Koeppel (Engl. Stud. xviii, p. 130) that this story was taken not from Aesop, but from the Shepherds' Calendar, where it occupies the second half of the May eclogue (cf. especially l. 276, 'enamored with the newell'). In his 'Glosse' E. K. remarks: 'This tale is much like to that in Æsops fables, but the Catastrophe and end is farre different.' It is perhaps from this statement that Nashe took his idea of the authorship of the fable, though it would indeed have been natural to attribute it to Aesop in any case. I cannot find any similar tale told of a kid in the Aesopic collections of the period.

This is, of course, the passage upon which, taken together with ll. 30-5 of the preceding page, is founded the theory that Thomas Kyd was the writer of a pre-Shakespearian play of Hamlet (315.33); see particularly Mr. Boas's edition of Kyd's Works, pp. xx-xxix, and Mr. Fleay, Biog. Chron. ii. 124—some other discussions are referred to below. This view, that Nashe is here referring to—and attacking—Kyd as the author of a 'Senecan' tragedy of Hamlet seems to have been widely accepted, and since much work has been based upon the assumption of its correctness, it would be pleasant to be able to agree with it, but to me it seems impossible to recognize the validity of the arguments which have been put forward in its favour. It is certainly quite possible that Kyd was one of the 'sort' of dramatists who are attacked, and for anything that we know to the contrary he may have written a Hamlet; this even seems on general grounds by no means unlikely; but I cannot see how it is to be deduced from Nashe's words. Let us first consider this particular reference to the Kid in Aesop.

We must remember that this is not the only fable to which Nashe refers in this Preface. Two pages earlier, at 314. 19-20, he speaks of 'the Glow-worme mentioned in Æsops Fables'. There happens to have been no writer of the name of 'Glow-worm' (luckily Dr. Sparke was not a dramatist!) and therefore no attempt has been made to give a personal application to the passage. Here, in a precisely similar way, he speaks of 'the Kid in Æsop'; is the fact that there happens to have been a person of the name of 'Kyd' any justification whatever for seeing in this case a personal allusion, when it is
acknowledged that there is none in the other? Had the original story been told of a dog or a lamb or some other animal, and had Nashe deliberately altered it (as Prof. Sarrzin thought), and substituted a kid, it would have been an entirely different matter; but this is not the case. Nashe wished to illustrate the way in which the Senecan writers had, in their search for something new, turned, to their own undoing, to translation from Italian; he happened to know one fable (and can any one suggest a better one, or even simply another?) which was suitable, and he used it. What more natural? The interpretation put upon the passage may well remind one of Nashe's own complaint (i. 154, 21-4), 'In one place of my Booke, Pierce Penilesse saith but to the Knight of the Post, I pray how might I call you, & they say I meant one Howe, a Knave of that trade, that I never heard of before.'

But, it will be said, the other indications contained in the passage agree better with what is known of Kyd than with any other writer. He was the son of a scrivener (cf. Mr. Boas's edition, p. xv)—but Nashe elsewhere refers contemptuously to novoerint-writers as if representative of the lowest class of work connected with the pen; cf. i. 240, 2-3, 'Not a base Ink-dropper, or scurvy plodder at Novoerint, but...,' and i. 341, 30-1, 'some vnskillfull pen-man or Noverint-maker'. I see no reason for supposing any more special allusion in the present case than in these others. Again, it is said that Kyd had shortly before this time produced a translation from Italian, The Householder's Philosophy, 1588. The translator's initials alone, T. K., are given, but the attribution may be regarded as, on the whole, probably correct (see Mr. Boas, lxii–iii). This is certainly the strongest of the arguments in favour of Kyd, but it must be remembered that even if he was the translator of The Householder's Philosophy, he was by no means the only translator from Italian.

It will be well to discuss here also the three further marks by which are indicated the persons whom Nashe is attacking. (1) They 'thrust Elisium into hell' (l. 15). Mr. Boas (p. xxix), following Prof. Schick, sees here an allusion to Span. Trag., I. i. 73, 'where Kyd represents the "faire Elyzian greene" as one of the regions in the nether world beyond Acheron, and the abode of Pluto and Proserpine.' I must confess that I cannot see that the passage thrusts Elysium into hell, any more than does the Vergilian description upon which, as Mr. Boas notes, it is based. The topography is certainly somewhat vague, but it seems at least as good as that of Locrine, where Albanact says (IV. iv. end), 'Back will I post to hell-mouth Tænarus, And pass Cocytus, to the Elysian fields.' But surely there must have been some other meaning in the phrase than this literal one; cf. Faustus, iii. 62–3, 'This word "damnation" terrifies him not, For he confounds hell in Elysium,' where the sense is apparently that Faustus regards the ancient Elysium, the abode of the old philosophers, with whom he wishes his ghost to dwell, as part of the Christian hell.

To pass to (2), they 'haue not learned, so long as they haue lived in the Spheres, the just measure of the Horizon without an hexameter' (ll. 15-17). Mr. Boas says that this 'is directed (with a probable pun upon the various senses of "measure") at Kyd's borrowing the details of his picture of the lower world from the Sixth Book of the Aeneid.'
But, I would ask, what has 'the Horizon' to do with 'the lower world', and secondly what reason could Nashe have to object to Kyd's borrowing his description from that vision of Aeneas upon which was modelled, as Professor Conway writes, 'for many centuries, if not for all time, the whole Christian conception of the after-world' (Virgil's Messianic Eclogue, 1907, p. 31)? Indeed, from what better or what other source could he have taken it?

It is indeed extremely difficult to attach any clear meaning to Nashe's phrase. It has, I believe, been suggested that there is some reference to the attempts to introduce the classical metres into English prosody, but with this I cannot agree. The subject was not in 1589 especially to the fore, nor was Nashe then, so far as we know, the enemy of any of those who practised this kind of verse, while to several, including Greene himself, he was undoubtedly well disposed. Further, the movement was distinctively a 'learned' one, and in no way connected with the class of writers whom he is attacking. Again, it might be questioned whether the point does not lie in the peculiar pronunciation of the word 'horizon' itself—with the penultimate syllable short—which was current, or at least common, at the date, and which to one who professed any classical knowledge might seem objectionable. But this again seems unlikely, for Greene used the pronunciation himself in Orlando Furioso, l. 19 (see Prof. Collins' note). That Nashe by 'hexameter' probably means Latin verse is suggested, though by no means proved, by his use of the word as a general term at i. 285, 35, but we must, I think, confess that the correct explanation of this charge—as of the last—is yet to be found.

The last mark by which these writers are to be distinguished is their bodging up a blank verse with ifs and ands (ll. 17–18). Prof. Sarrazin considers that this alludes to the four lines beginning with 'And' in Spamm. Trag., II. i. 120–3, and the three with 'If' at III. xiii. 99–101 (T. Kyd und sein Kreis, 1892, p. 101), while Mr. Boas with, it seems to me, too much confidence, says 'The reference... is to The Spanish Tragedy, II. i. 77, where Lorenzo cries to Pedringano 'What, Villaine, ifs and ands?' An explanation earlier put forward by Prof. Koeppel in Engl. Stud. xviii. 131. I can only say that, if this is the passage meant, Nashe's criticism is so obviously unjust as entirely to defeat its own ends. The expression, which is common enough, occurs here with perfect propriety, and there is no question of 'bodging'. Nashe evidently refers to some padding with small unnecessary words, in order to eke out the metre, which was characteristic of the persons attacked, in the same way as was later, according to Jonson (Sad Shep. 80–1), the use of 'ah' and 'oh' of writers of pastoral, though Jonson's point is rather the melancholy tone of the compositions than the actual use of the words themselves.

To sum up. Nashe is, I think, speaking not of one writer, but of a group—probably, but not certainly, of dramatists. He did know of a Hamlet play, but the passage throws no light upon its authorship. There is no reason for supposing either Kyd or the Spanish Tragedy to be referred to.

Since Malone in discussing this passage (Var. Sh., 1821, ii. 371–2) first suggested Kyd as the author of an early Hamlet play, much has been written about it (see Hamlet, ed. Furness, ii. 5–7). I have only
space to refer briefly to some of the more recent work. Mr. Fleay in
his Biographical Chronicle, 1891, ii. 124, considers Kyd to be certainly
alluded to. In Thomas Kyd und sein Kreis, 1892, pp. 99, &c., Prof.
Sarrazin argues that Kyd is clearly indicated, laying much stress on
Nashe’s alteration of an Aesopic fable of an ape and a fox in order to
introduce the kid. The two stories are, however, by no means identi-
cal, and, as already mentioned, Prof. Koeppel in reviewing Sarrazin’s
work in Engl. Stud. xviii (1893), p. 130, showed that Nashe almost
certainly borrowed his from Spenser’s Shepherds’ Cal., May, esp.
il. 274-7. In his edition of the Spanish Tragedy, 1898, p. xi, Prof.
Schick says ‘The “Kidde in Æsop”—this is indeed, I think, calling
things by their names; surely Nash points here with his very finger to
the person of Kyd’.

He, however, says at p. ix, ‘At the same time, I am bound to add that it is not absolutely certain that the passage
refers to Kyd,’ though his discussion makes it perfectly clear that it is
his belief that it does. Mr. Boas, in his edition of Kyd’s Works, takes
it as certain that Kyd is the person attacked, pp. xxi, xxviii, &c.
In the same year, 1901, in An English Miscellany presented to Dr.
Furnivall, Prof. M. W. MacCallum maintained that, though the
reference is by no means certain, Nashe seems rather to point to Kyd
than to any one else; see also Prof. Thorndike’s review of Mr. Boas’
edition in Mod. Lang. Notes, xvii. 290. The whole passage was
again thoroughly discussed by Prof. A. E. Jack in the Publications
of the Modern Language Association of America, xx (New Ser. xiii),
Prof. Jack’s conclusion is: ‘1st, Nash has not Kyd in mind in this
paragraph, nor indeed any dramatist at all; 2nd, this paragraph
throws no light upon the authorship of the Ur-Hamlet, nor indeed
is it perfectly clear that Nash knew of a Hamlet drama.’ Prof. Jack’s
view is controverted by Prof. J. W. Cunliffe in Purb. Mod. Lang.
Assoc. of Am., xxi (New Ser. xiv), No. 1, March, 1906, pp. 193-9;
he considers that Nashe had a dramatist or dramatists in mind, and
knew of a Hamlet drama. He does not make clear whether he
considers Kyd to be alluded to. Lastly, in Mod. Lang. Notes, xxi,
No. 6, June, 1906, pp. 177-80, Prof. O. L. Hatcher argues that Nashe
had not merely a dramatist in view, but a group, ‘a sort’, Kyd being
one among the number. The passage may serve as corroboratory
testimony if all other evidence indicates Kyd’s authorship of an Ur-
Hamlet, but taken alone it proves nothing definite, not even that
Nashe knew of a Hamlet drama. He points out that, whether or not
the ‘Kydde in Æsop’ is a direct allusion to Kyd, it has not any
necessary connexion with the reference to Hamlet.

6. forsooke all hopes of life] Cf. Greene’s Groatsworth of Wit, in
‘he forsooke all other hopes of life, and fell to be a notorious Pandar.’
The expression is fairly frequent.

6-7. leape into a newe occupation] This use of ‘leap’ is common;
Com. viii. 335-8), ‘thou . . . wert prentenise to a tailor half an age, and . . .
leapest from the shop board to a blew coate.’

10-11. prouensall men . . . Articles] I can offer no suggestion as
to the meaning of this phrase.
20. Peripatetick path] From Dekker's *Westward Ho!* II. i, *Wks.*, ed. Pearson, ii. 293, 'I was so stiffe, and so starke, I would ha sworn my Legs had bee woorden pegs: a Constable new chosen kept not such a peripatetick gate,' the phrase would seem to imply stiff or stately walk.

22. in turning ouer French Dowdie] The phrase has been variously interpreted. Prof. Schick, in his edition of *Span. Trag.*, p. xiii, thinks that the meaning is that the derided author, got up and attired in his best, goes to the City, to one of its noble houses, where French plays are translated; the "Dowdy" may refer to a play with the title "Didon"—Jodelle's, for instance (cf. "Dido a dowdy," *Romeo and Juliet*, II. i. 45)—or, in Nash's jocose language at least, to Garnier-Kyd's *Corinthis* or *Porcie*, or the Cleopatra of Lady Pembroke's *Antonia*. Mr. Boas (xxix) says that Nashe 'may be referring to Kyd's imitation in the Lord General's narrative (*Sp. Tr.*, I. ii. 22 ff.) of the Messenger's account in *Corinthis*, Act V, of the battle of Thapsus'. But the imitation does not seem to amount to much, nor is it explained why Garnier should be called 'Dowdie'. By others an entirely different view has been put forward, namely that Nashe is charging the persons attacked with frequenting brothels. Cf. Mr. Fleay's *Biog. Chron.*, ii. 31-2, where he parallels this passage by the reference in the Epistle before Greene's *Perimedes* to 'frequenting the hot house' (cf. note on iii. 177. 7-8). The phrase is, however, so used—Greene professes to be quoting a German proverb—that it is doubtful if it is meant to be taken literally. This view of the meaning of 'French Dowdie' was also taken in a careful and scholarly review of Mr. Boas's edition in the *Athenaeum* of Dec. 14, 1901, and in that by Prof. Thorndike already alluded to (*Mod. Lang. Notes*, xviii). So also Prof. M. W. MacCallum in *An Eng. Misc. pres. to Dr. Furnivall*, p. 293, says 'it looks as though some much less respectable lady [than Cornelia] was intended', apparently thinking that some special person is referred to as 'Dowdie'. It seems to me very difficult to decide between the two views. Certainly 'turning over' is an expression which Nashe would naturally have used if he meant a book; cf. iii. 172. 17-18, 'I haue turnd ouer venerable Bade', and iii. 73. 4-5, 'your vnsaurable ouerturning of Libraries'. It must also be remembered that 'dowdy' was by no means a usual appellation of a mistress or prostitute, though two cases are known to me in which the word has somewhat similar sense; see Dekker's *Westward Ho!* *Wks.*, ed. Pearson, ii. 307. 14, 'the Lob has his Lasse, the Collier his Dowdy, ... the Seruing-man his Punke,' and N. Breton's *Pasquils Pass* and Passeth not, 1600, E 1r, 'When filthy Dowdes will leaue to paint their faces ... I feare me doomes day will not be farre off.' Mr. W. W. Greg refers me also to Ford's *Lady's Trial*, III. i. 5. Generally speaking the women of this class were, as we know, far from being dowds. It may also be questioned whether there were many French women of loose character in London at this date, though I believe that I have seen one or two allusions to them. But much the strongest evidence against the view that this form of immorality is meant is the reference to 'the inner parts of the Citie'. Though, as Nashe says at ii. 148. 12, uncleanness had in 1593 crept
into the heart of the City, it is unnecessary to remind Elizabethan students that it is the suburbs which are always referred to as the particular haunts of loose women, while the inner parts of the City were far more suggestive of booksellers' shops.

If then, as I think, we cannot take 'French Dowdie' to be a generic term for a harlot, the explanation of the phrase must lie between supposing it to be a name for some particular notorious woman of the day, and concluding that the allusion is of a literary nature. Between these I see no way of deciding, but at any rate the literary explanations hitherto put forward seem far from satisfactory.

32. **Philip Melancthon** He published translations from Euripides, Lucian, Pindar, and Plutarch, but of course the bulk of his work was theological.

32. **Sadolet** Jacopo Sadoleto (1477–1547) was secretary to Popes Leo X and Clement VII, and made a cardinal by Paul III in 1536. His *De liberis recte instituendis*, 1533, and *Phaedrus sive laudes philosophiae*, 1538, were both widely known, and he was held in high esteem as a scholar, but he does not seem to have published any translation.

32. **Plantin** Presumably Nashe means Christoffel Plantin, the printer (1514–89), but it has been questioned whether he was a scholar at all, some even denying to him any knowledge of Latin. Nashe may, however, mean to include him on account of the number of scholarly works which issued from his press.

P. 317, 3. **William Turner** He was M.A. of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, in 1533, a friend of Ridley and Latimer, and a strong Protestant; Dean of Wells in 1550, during Mary's reign deprived and compelled to live abroad, reinstated in 1560, suspended for non-conformity in 1564, died in 1568. He published translations, chiefly theological, and other works, among the latter being *A Book of the nature of the Baths of England,* and *A new Book of the nature of all Wines... used here in England.* He is best known as the author of the first important *Herbal*, 1551. Nashe's apparent objection to him is perhaps based on his extreme Protestant, or Puritan, views.

21–2. **the University Orator** i.e. Ascham, who succeeded Cheke as Public Orator in 1546, holding the office until 1554, though during much of the time he was absent from Cambridge. Nashe appears to be thinking of a passage in the *Schoolmaster* (Engl. Wks., ed. Wright, 280), 'Yea S. Iohnes did thë so flourish, as Trinitie college, that Princely house now, at the first erecti, was but Colonia deducta out of S. Iohnes...'. He perhaps confused this with one in a letter of Ascham to the Duke of Somerset on Nov. 21, 1547 (*Works of Ascham*, ed. Giles, i. 138, letter 76), on behalf of St. John's: 'Primum alimus optima ingenia optimis disciplinis et moribus: deinde, ex nostro coetu profisciscuntur, qui reliqua fere singula collegia explent et ornant.' The phrase 'colonia deducta' does not seem to be used anywhere in the letters.

24–5. *Vmo partu in rempublicam prodiere* There should be no stop after *prodiere*. Source not found.

25–8) This passage seems to have given offence, it being considered that Nashe was not a sufficiently old and tried scholar thus
to appraise the work of others. See R. Harvey's Epistle before his *Lamb of God*, in Appendix B, a 27, and i. 195. 27-30.

25-6. *sir John Cheeke* He became a Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, in 1529; was Professor of Greek at Cambridge 1540-51, and Public Orator 1544. The most famous Greek scholar of his time in England.


27. *sir John Mason* Presumably the Sir John Mason (1503-66) who was Chancellor of Oxford from 1552 to 1556 and 1559 to 1564. He was, however, more of a diplomat than a scholar, and I cannot learn that he was in any way connected with Cambridge.


*Redman* John Redman (1499-1551). After studying for a time at Oxford and Paris he went to St. John's College, Cambridge, becoming B.A. 1525-6 and M.A. 1530. Public Orator 1537, Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity 1538. From 1542-6 Master of King's Hall, and from 1546 to his death the first Master of Trinity College.

28. *Grindall* i.e., I suppose, William Grindal (d. 1548), tutor to Queen Elizabeth. He became a Fellow of St. John's in 1543. Edmund Grindal, Archbishop of Canterbury, seems to have had no especial connexion with St. John's.

*Leuer* Presumably Thomas Lever (1521-77). He was B.A. of St. John's 1541-2, M.A. 1545, Fellow 1548, and Master 1551-3. He supported Queen Jane, and was therefore obliged to go into exile during Mary's reign. In 1563 he was made Master of Sherburn Hospital, Durham, and a year later canon of the cathedral. A brother of his, Ralph Lever, author of *The Art of Reason*, 1573, was also a Fellow of St. John's.

*Pilkinton* It seems doubtful whether James Pilkington or his brother Leonard is referred to. Both were persons of note. The former (1520-76) was elected Fellow of St. John's College in 1539, was Master 1559-61, Regius Professor of Divinity, 1559, and Bishop of Durham 1561-76. Leonard Pilkington (1527-99), B.A. of St. John's College 1541, was elected Fellow 1546, ejected as a Protestant in 1553, but subsequently re-elected Master of the college 1561-4.

P. 318, 1-2] Cf. the simile at i. 46. 35-6.

2-3. i.e. 'their studies ouer-fraught with trifling compendaries'; a curious inversion, for which compare i. 262. 25-6. Complaints of the growing use of epitomes or analyses, instead of the study of the original authors, are frequently met with; see, for example, Ascham, *Engl. Wks.*, ed. Wright, 259 foot.


14-15. *Pater noster ... in the compasse of a penie* Peter Bales, the famous writing-master, wrote 'within the compasse of a penie in Latine, the Lords praiere, the creed, the ten commandements, a praiere to God, a praiere for the queene, his posie, his name, the daie of the moneth, the yeare of our Lord, and the reigne of the queene'. He set it in a ring and presented to her majesty on August 17, 1576, with 'an excellent spectacle by him devised for the easier reading thereof'. See Holinshead's *Chron.*, ed. 1807-8, iv. 330, and Stow's *Annals*, ed.
1615, p. 680. The ‘penny’ was of course of silver—some nine sixteenths of an inch in diameter.


18–22. the Scythians . . . their stomachs] Aulus Gellius, xvi. 3, on the authority of Erasistratus.


13–14. though . . . the necessitie of rime] i.e., I suppose, his rime caused him, in Campion’s phrase, ‘to abjure his matter’.

15–16. aged Arthur Golding] If the dates of his life generally given (1536?-1605?) are correct, he was only about fifty-three, but his translation of the *Metamorphoses* had been published as long ago as 1565-7.

17–18. other exquisite editions of divinitie] He executed a great number of translations, especially from Calvin, Marlorat, and Beza.

19. M. Phaer] Thomas Phaer (1510?-1560). His translation of the *Aeneid*, of which he finished books i-ix and part of x (1555-60), was completed by Thomas Twyne.

20–1. had it not beene blemished by his hautie thoughts] Possibly Nashe refers to the liberties taken by Phaer in his translation; he is hardly likely to have objected to the rapidity of execution, of which Phaer made so much boast, stating at the end of every book the number of days (from 7 to 30) spent upon it.

22. insulted in] i.e. boasted of, vaunted.

29. varietie] Nashe seems to be using the word for rhythm or music, but I can find no other example of such a meaning.

P. 320, 1–4. Then . . . bouncing] The lines are made up of scraps taken from the ‘Other Poetical Devices’ at the end of Stanyhurst’s translation of *Aen*. i–iv:

‘A clapping fyerbolt (such as oft, with rounce robble hobble, 
*ton* toe the ground clattreth)’ (ed. Arber, p. 137).

‘now grislye reboundings
Of ruffe raffe roaring, mens herts with terror agrysing,
With peale meale ramping, with thwick-thwack thirlery thundring’
(p. 138).

Stanyhurst’s hexameters were of course constantly derided; cf. *Old Wives’ Tale*, ll. 607–14, and Hall, *Virgideliae*, i. 6. Massinger, in his *Virgin Martyr*, IV. ii (before entry of Dorothea), has ‘I’ll come upon her with rounce, robble-hobble, and thwick-thwack-thirlery bouncing’, which looks like a reminiscence of the present passage.

8. *triobulare*] i.e. worthless, from Lat. *homo trioboli*. Cf. Harvey, *4 Let.* D 2, G. H. i. 190. 5, ‘a Triviall, and triobular Autor.’


12. Maister France] The translation was published under the

23-4. march inequippage] Cf. W. Browne, Britannia's Pastorals, i. 2. 711-12, 'his work not seeming fit To walk in equipage with better wit', and Mr. G. Goodwin's note, where he quotes Marston's verses 'in praise of his Pigmalion' (1598) and Shakespeare, Sonnet 32. 12.

25. Haddon] i. e. Walter Haddon (1516-72). Regius Professor of Civil Law at Cambridge, 1551, Master of Trinity Hall, 1552. His Latin poems were published under the editorship of T. Hatcher in 1567 and 1576.

27. Car] i. e. Nicholas Carr (1524-68). An original Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1546, and Regius Professor of Greek, 1547. Practised as a physician.


30. position Poets] Nashe apparently means writers of short poems on fixed subjects, epigrams, sonnets, &c., as opposed to long epics; I have not met with the expression elsewhere. In the N. E. D. it is explained as 'a poet who composes short pieces containing definite statements (as in commendation of a person)’—no other example.

P. 321, 1. efficient] i. e. cause: cf. i. 5. 25.

11-13. that beast . . . sacrificed to . . . Epaphus . . . skin] Epaphus is Apis, but there seems to be some confusion. It was the sacred bull Apis itself which was spotted; cf. Lyly, Wks., ed. Bond ii. 19. 4; 24. 22 and notes.


22. tam Marti, quam Mercurio] Cf. i. 169. 5-6.

23. fecundicalices] Hor. Epist. i. 5. 19.

26. his moist nose-cloth] I cannot parallel the expression. Nashe seems to mean a drink.


P. 322, 1. Pernasus] Cf. i. 192. 31.

8. Theonino dente] Hor. Epist. i. 18. 82.

11. equality] i. e. (?) mediocrity; but no such sense is recognized in N. E. D. As there are 'many Gentlemen' Nashe can hardly mean 'from being equalled'.

16-17. Si nihil attuleris . . . foras] Ovid, Ars Am. ii. 279.

20. Petrarch] The spelling of 1589, 'Petrache,' may possibly have been regarded as allowable. 'Petrach' occurs in Ascham's Schoolmaster (Engl. Wks., ed. Wright, p. 304, note on 290, l. 13 from foot; it is corrected by the editor).

Essays, ii. 319. 3, where Livio Celiano is mentioned with Dante, Boccacio, Petrarch, Tasso and Ariosto; but his Rime, published in 1587, are almost forgotten now.

27. vaunted] A common use of the word; cf. 323. 33, i. 299. 4, and Marlowe's Faustus, Prologue i. 6, 'Intends our Muse to vaunt his heavenly verse.'

30-1. otherwhile vacations] i.e. I suppose this to mean 'recreations at odd times'.

P. 323, 12. the only swallow of our Summer] Referring, of course, to the ancient proverb, 'one swallow does not make a summer'. See Aristot. Eth. Nicom. i. 7 [6]. 16 μία γάρ χρυσαυτόν τορο οὐ ζωι (W. F. H. King, Class. Quot.) and Erasm. Adag. ch. i, cent. 7. 94 'Una hirundo non facit ver'. Fairly common in English; cf. Heywood's Proverbs, ed. Sharman, p. 121; Pettic's Petite Palace, ed. n.d [?1586], I 3°; Greene, Wks., ed. Grosart, ix. 191. 22-3.

18. Mathew Roydon] Little is known of his life. His 'Elegie, or friends passion for his Astrophill' was first printed in the Phoenix Nest, 1593, and again in Spenser's Colin Clout, 1595.

Thomas Acklow] Nothing seems to be known of his life, but he evidently enjoyed a considerable reputation as a poet. At least a dozen extracts from his poems are included in England's Parnassus. From the preface to Belvedere we learn that he was dead in 1600. Prof. Gregory Smith in Eliz. Crit. Essays notes the reference to him in Dekker's Knight's Conjuring, 1607, as 'ingenious Atchlow'.

P. 324, 1. taffatyfooles] Nashe is, of course, referring to actors, for whom the 'sweete Gentlemen' have written plays.

2. peaceporredgeordinary] The 'pottageordinary' is mentioned in Fletcher's Wit Without Money, IV. i. 20. It was evidently one of the cheapest class. See note on i. 170. 9.

6. Tolossa...sacked] This looks like a proverb, but I have not met with it elsewhere. The sack alluded to is presumably that of B.C. 106, by Q. Servilius Caepio, which gave rise to the saying 'aurum Tolosanum' for ill-gotten gain which brings misfortune to its possessor. None of the later sieges, of which there were several, approached this in celebrity.

7-8. foot-back] A humorous analogue to 'horseback'; it occurs in the same passage of the Groatsworth of Wit as the reference to Delphrigus quoted above (ed. N. S. S. 23. 22, and ed. Grosart, 131. 17), 'I was faine to carry my playing Fardle a footbacke.'

14. blankes] i.e. blank verse.

17. Albions] The title of the poem is, of course, Albion's England. Nashe's name for it is perhaps modelled on the 'Aeneids' of Virgil.

20. In speech] See note on i. 305. 18.

27. my Anatomie of Absurdities] As to the date of this see p. 1.
PREFACE TO SIDNEY'S 'ASTROPHEL AND STELLA'.

Date of Composition and Publication.

The only thing that it seems possible to say concerning the date of this preface is that it must have appeared fairly early in 1591, for Newman had time to issue another altogether different edition of Astrophel and Stella in the same year. For the relationship between the two see the editions of that work by Mr. A. W. Pollard, 1888, pp. xxxv-vi, 230-2, and Dr. Ewald Flügel, 1889, pp. lxxiv-viii. The undated reprint of Astrophel and Stella by M. Lownes does not contain Nashe's preface.

P. 329, 3. Tempus . . . venit] Ovid, Amores, iii. 2. 44.

3-12] Prof. Gregory Smith, in his notes on this piece (Eliz. Crit. Essays, ii), says that there is here probably some reference to a recent play, and suggests Lyly's Midas. He suggests also that 332. 12-13 may perhaps allude to (a) the Euphuistic vocabulary generally, and (b) to Midas, especially Act i. Sc. 1. The friendly relations of Nashe and Lyly seem, however, to render this unlikely.

15. frame] Was this a term for some part of the stage?

21. linguis animisque suaete] Ovid, Amores, iii. 2. 43; cf. Metam. xv. 677, Fasti, i. 71.


P. 380, 5. Quid petitur . . . ] Ovid, Ars Am. iii. 403.


7. president bookes] i. e. ? note books, collections kept by would-be poets for imitation.

31-2. to the Chaundlers] Cf. i. 192. 22-3.

32-3. brokè your legs] I have not met with the phrase elsewhere in this sense.

P. 381, 9. sole prolocutor to the Gods] Mr. Crawford compares 1 Tamb. i. ii. 209, 'Not Hermes, prolocutor to the gods'. Cf. also iii. 273. 1260.

23-4. as the Patronesse of their inuention] Most of the numerous works dedicated to the Countess of Pembroke are of later date. See, however, Fraunce's Countess of Pembroke's Iwy-church, 1591, Spenser's Ruins of Time (in Complaints, 1591). Other works such as Breton's Pilgrimage to Paradise and Daniel's Delia, published in 1592, may have been already presented to her. There is also a sonnet to her before the Faery Queen.

28-9. emptie handed Homer] Cf. iii. 322. 16-17.


P. 383, 3-4. oh my louse . . . gone] Presumably a snatch from some song or ballad, but I cannot identify it.

6. Almond leape verse] Prof. Gregory Smith notes that Almond
Almain, i.e. German, and compares Cotgrave, s.v. Saut, 'Trois pas & un saut', The Almonde Leape, also Jonson, The Devil is an Ass, I. i. 104. I do not understand whether he identifies it with the dance known as the Almain, which is generally said to have been a slow and stately measure.

16. retail the cinders of Troy] Cf. i. 319 2-4, 'Do I ... rake vp any new-found poetry from vnder the wals of Troy?' Apparently alluding to some play or poem of Troy which Nashe considered old-fashioned. Collier in his edition of Pierce Penilesse for the Sh. Soc., p. xxvi, thought this a pretty obvious hit at Peele and his Tale of Troy, 1589; but cf. the eulogistic reference to him at iii. 323. 18-31.

17. broken trunchions] Alluding apparently to literature of the type of the metrical romances, which dealt chiefly with fighting; cf. iii. 99. 2.


24. stateman] The word is divided at the end of a line and perhaps 'state man' was intended, as at i. 79. 22. It is, I think, unusual to find it as one word without the medial s.

25-6. vpseuant muffe] 'Muffe' would seem from this passage to be equivalent to 'Muscovite', but the only other example of the word known to me is in 2 Tamb. I. i. 32 where 'Slauonians, Almans, Rutters, Muffes, and Danes' are mentioned. The first part of vpseuant is, I suppose, op zijm, as in 'upsee-Dutch', 'upsee-English', &c., in the Dutch (English) fashion; see Cent. Dict. under these words. What 'uant' means I cannot say. Prof. Gregory Smith interprets the phrase differently, taking 'muffe' to be the Russian or Polish cap called 'Yermolka', which resembles a muff in appearance.

31-2. as Sextus Empiricus affirmeth] A rough summing up of the philosophy of the Sceptics. I do not think the statement, in so many words, will be found in Sextus.

33. translated into English] See note on iii. 254. 670, &c.

P. 388. 2-3. wits waxe karnell] Apparently an allusion to some book, but I cannot identify it. Cf. Dekker's Old Fortunatus, I. i, Wks., ed. Pearson, i. 88-9. 'I am full of nothing, but waxing kernels, my tongue speaks no language but an Almond for Parrat and cracke me this Nut.'


18. talking ... in an other mans doore] This looks like a proverbial phrase, but I can quote no other example.

AN ALMOND FOR A PARRAT.

1. Date of Composition and Publication.

Though we cannot fix the date of this pamphlet with great exactitude it is evident that it was written in the winter (343. 11; 356. 26) of 1589-90.

From 347. 20-3 we learn that it followed Pappe with a Hatchet by 'not mony moneths'. Now Pappe was partly written after the appearance of Martin's Protestation (cf. Lyly's Works, ed. Bond, iii. 410. 20-9), and the Protestation appeared just about the time of the completion
of *The Return of Pasquil* (cf. i. 101. 23), which is dated October 20, 1589. *Pappe*, therefore, as Mr. Bond says, cannot have appeared before the second or third week in October (third, at least, I think), while it must have been issued before November 5, the date of Harvey’s *Advertisement* (Harvey’s *Wks.*, ed. Grosart, ii. 221; Lyly, ed. Bond, iii. 392).

Assuming then that *Pappe* appeared towards the end of October, 1589, we have to consider what ‘not many months’ after can mean. Hardly, I think, less than three, which gives the end of January, 1590, as the earliest possible date for the *Almond*. The fact that it nowhere mentions Penry’s *Treatise of Reformation*, published probably about the end of May, 1590 (replied to on July 2, in Pasquil’s *Apology*), makes it almost certain that it appeared before this work. All things considered, perhaps February—March, 1590, is the most likely date.

2. Authorship.

See the Introduction, on the Martin Marprelate Controversy, also notes on 369. 38 and 372. 1.

3. Source.

There is, of course, no definite source for the work, but it may be remarked that it is in general style very similar to *Pappe*, and that no doubt its publication was to some extent induced by that work.


13. *hicket*] i. e. hiccough.

15. *Assignes*] The last letter but one is clearly e in the original.

P. 341. 4-5. *Ghost of Dicke Tarlton*] He died in 1588.

13. *curtaine of your countenance*] Mr. Fleay (Biog. Chron. ii. 126) says, ‘This, I now think, indicates that Kempe, and therefore L. Strange’s men, were in 1590 acting at the Curtain’.

15-16. *have thankes . . . for their paines*] A common complaint of the period, frequently brought forward by Nashe; cf. i. 241. 15, &c., iii. 147. 20, &c.


26-7. *dedicated most of his workes to the soule of the old Queene of Nawarre*] The third book of *Pantagruel*, published in 1546, is dedicated ‘à l’esprit de la Royne de Navarre’. Queen Margaret did not, however, die until Dec. 1549; cf. note in W. F. Smith’s translation, i. 369.

31-34. 1. *Midas habet aures asininas*] Mr. R. W. Bond takes this and 367. 19-21 as allusions to Lyly’s *Midas* (cf. also Mr. Fleay, Biog. Chron. ii. 126). They may be, but I hardly see the necessity for it. The phrase was proverbially suspect; cf. Suetonius (?), *Vita Persii*.

P. 342. 6-7. *as Scipio was called Africanus . . . Africa*] I do not know whence this is taken.

16. *Francatrip’ Harlicken*] The first word is evidently *It*., francatetrippe, an idle person, sluggard; cf. Harington *Ulysses upon Ajax*, ed. 1814, 68, ‘a bon drole or francatetrip’. ‘Harlicken’ is ‘harlequin’. On the reference here to Bergamo *N. E. D.*, notes that ‘the arlecchino...
is said, in Italian Dictionaries, to have originally represented the simple and facetious Bergamese man-servant. Cf. the stage Irishman. At this date the name was specially applied to the famous comedian Tristano Martinelli (1556–1631), a native of Mantua. As, however, the earliest recorded reference to him as ‘Arlecchino’ seems only to date from 1588 (L’Epistolario d’Arlecchino, Jarro, Firenze, 1896, p. 6), it is perhaps too soon for him to have been thus known in England.

19. representations] i.e. rappresentazioni, the usual word for plays.

20. Parabolano] i.e. ceaseless talker, prattler. A character in Pietro Aretino’s Cortigiana is thus named.

21. Chiariatano] i.e. ciariatano, a mountebank.


P. 344, 2. from the dead] In allusion to the publication early in October, 1589, of Martin’s Protestation. He had been supposed dead; cf. note on i. 59. 6–7.

5. grout-headed] Cf. groutheads, i.e. blockheads, at iii. 193. 2.

9. Dame Law.] i.e. Lawson. See note on i. 83. 13.

12–13. Cliffe, the ecclesiastical cobler] He is referred to in Hay any Work, ed. Petheram, 64, as ‘an honest and a godly cobler, dwelling at Battell bridg’ and a story is told of his reproaching the Archbishop of Canterbury with the words of a Jesuit at Newgate who had declared that, should Popery come again, the Archbishop would be made a Cardinal.

14. brotherly love-meeting] The hyphen should perhaps be deleted; cf. 374. 15–16.

16. backe side of a bulke] I am not quite clear what is meant; a ‘bulk’ was usually a framework projecting from the front of a shop, or a stall.

20. tanquam culeolo insutus] The second word should be ‘culeo’, but it hardly looks like a misprint; possibly the author may have meant ‘a little bag’ on the model of ‘gladiolus’. There is a word ‘culiola’, the rind or shell of some sort of nut, but this is too rare to be easily confused with ‘culeus’. The allusion is to the punishment of parricides; cf. Erasmus, Adagia, chil. 4. cent 9. 18 ‘Culleo dignus: aut, Non uno culleo dignus’, Cicero, Rosc. Am. 25. 70, and note on ii. 277. 17.

P. 345, 1–2. cum privilegio . . . ] Of course parodying the ‘cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum’ on copyright books.

2–16. And in deede . . . Ahab] In the quarto there are no stops except commas in this amazing sentence. I have omitted some of these and added some semicolons, but the sentence defies punctuation. The meaning is, however, fairly clear.

8. ministers angels] i.e. ministering angels.


18–19. as the Northen mans mile, and a waybitte] The comma should be omitted; the author alludes to the northern use of the expression ‘a mile and a waybit’, i.e. a mile and a bit over, in giving distances of which the speaker is uncertain. Cf. Howell’s Letters, iv. 28. ‘Ours [i.e. our miles] have but eight [furlongs], unless it be in Wales, where they are allowed better Measure, or in the North Parts,
where there is a Wea-bit to every Mile' (Cent. Dict.). All who know Scotland know how long the 'bit over' is apt to be. The Scotch mile was itself longer than the English (see N.E.D. s.v. mile), but that is not the point here.

24. one period of uniformity in T.C.] See the Admonition, ed. Arber, perhaps p. 13, but there is much to the same effect.

P. 346, 1. it] In b, but not in a, the / of 'il' somewhat resembles a broken f, but Petheram's reading is impossible.

3-4. Chron. 2 and tenth Chap.] 2 Chron. 18. 10 seems to be meant; cf. also 1 Kings, 22. 11.

4. with Achitophell] See 2 Sam. 17. 23.


17. Herostratus desire to be famous] Cf. ii. 109. 2 and note. him] i.e. the devil.

20. to an end] The omission of 'come' or a similar word in such phrases is not uncommon; cf. ii. 293. 4.

21. more] i.e. rather, too; cf. 365. 37.


29. Jewishly] i.e. spitefully.

30. vensureal] This can, I think, only be an error for 'vneniall'.

31. Battle bridge] A bridge over a small stream falling into the Thames from the south side a short distance below London Bridge; there is still a Battle Bridge Lane. It was presumably a haunt of Puritans; cf. note on 344. 12-13, and perhaps 351. 10-13.

38. trenchour Aristippus] i.e. one who flatters a patron for a dinner. Cf. i. 7. 22 note.

P. 347, 4. wicked by comparison] See the Protestation, A 2 (p. 3), 'were I as wicked as our Bb are'.

5. as thou protest] See the Protestation, A 2 (p. 3), 'These events [i.e. the seizing of his press, &c.] I confess doe strike me, and give me just cause to enter more narrowly into myself, to see whether I be at peace with God or no.'

9-10. the painted ... devotion] 'In such a phrase as [this] we have the very Nash', Mr. R. W. Bond in Lyly, i. 56 n.

17. his last challenge] The Protestation. On the title-page Martin challenges the adherents of the bishops to appear and dispute publicly against him; see also B IV.

18. limping] Paget was lame. Cf. note on i. 83. 19.

21. Pasquin and Marphoreus] It is a little doubtful what is referred to. Probably, I think, Pasquill's Countercuff and Return and the Martin's Month's Mind of Marphorius. Possibly, however, Pasquill's Return alone, which has for running-title 'Pasquill and Marlorius'. The use of the form 'Pasquin' is somewhat strange, especially as he is called 'Pasquill' at 374. 24, but the writer may have recalled the dedication of Martin's Month's Mind where the form in n is used.

22-3. the pleasant author of Pap with a hatchet] Probably Lyly; see Mr. Bond's edition iii. 390-2.

24. from his downhill] Again at 369. 18.
NOTES

27-8. those runagate Printers] The three printers arrested at Manchester in August, 1589, while printing *More Work for Cooper*; cf. 355. 17, and Appendix C.

30. *a whole Textor of tyrannie* Alluding presumably to Martin's attack on the tyranny of the bishops (*Prot. A 4-B 1*), and to the well known *Epitheta* of Ravisius Textor; cf. iii. 14. 31.

31-3. *wicked Priests ... Inquisitors* See the *Protestation*, pp. 3, 18, 17, 19 (but 'arrant', not 'arrogant'); 4, 5, 15, 22; cf. 4.

33. *Lambethical*] Martin (*Prot. p. 15*) has 'Lambethetical', but as Lambeth was also spelt Lambeth (Hay *any Work*, ed. Peth. 19 mid.), Lambbeth and Lambhith, I have allowed this form to stand. Probably, however, it is a misprint for 'Lambethical'.

36. *burliebond*] Nashe has the word at i. 177. 26. It also occurs in Melbancke's *Philotimus*, 1583, V 2° foot, where 'burlie boned boisers' are said to be more stupid than little men.


2. *proud and pontificall*] Cf. 'popelike and pontificall' *Epit.*, ed. Peth. 53 foot.

2-3. *Patripolitians*] A mistake for 'Paltripolitans'; see *Epit. 53*. 18, *Epist. 2*. 3, 25, 2; cf. 24. 3. 'An opprobrious perversion of *metropolitan*; associating it with paltry,' *N. E. D.*

4-5. *meetetheminyourdish*] Fairly common; cf. Armin's *Nest of Ninies*, Sh. Soc., p. 27 foot, 'You heare ... how he is markt: if ye meetehim inyourpottage-dish,yet know him.'

4-5. *gun-powder papers*] Cf. *Martin's Month's Mind*, A 2°-3 (Nashe, ed. Grosart, i. 146-7), 'their purpose is to make some hot worke with vs, ... that have chosen a Saltpeter man for their foreman, and a gunne powder house (an hell on earth) for their printing shop. [marg. Martin makes gun powder.] But I hope they shall not want Matches to snidge them with their owne fire, and to blowe vp their powder and all about their eares.' Cf. 355. 17-18. The writer is referring to the discovery of the secret press at Manchester, evidently in a gunpowder house.


13-14. *Meg Law. ... foode*] I cannot explain the allusion.

17. *Maister Cooper ... Pauiles chains*] Cf. note on i. 50. 7.

20. *plackarde*] i.e. placket, here used for pocket in a skirt.

21. *hodie-peeles*] Given in *N. E. D.* under hoddypoll—i.e. simpleton, a rare word used by Skelton in Why come ye not to courte? 669-73, 'I wonder, How such a hoddypoule So boldly dare controule, And so malapertly withstande The kynges owne hand.' Nevertheless it seems equally likely that the word may be a misprint for the much commoner 'hoddypeke'; cf. i. 17. 24 and ii. 263. 28.

24-5. *which a ... brother of yours deside*] I know nothing of this.

26. *as*] Against my suggested reading 'an' it should be noted that the usual spelling until 1600 was 'and'; though 'an' is occasionally found.

27. *true-pennie*] i.e. honest fellow; see notes of commentators on *Hamlet*, I. v. 150.
31. **worming and launcing**] The allusion is to some scene in one of the plays in which Martin was ridiculed; cf. *Martin’s Month’s Mind*, E 3rd (Nashe, ed. Grosart, i. 175), where occurs the statement that Martin was ‘first drie beaten, & therby his bones broken, then whipt that made him winse, then worm’d and launced, that he tooke verie grievouslie, to be made a Maygame vpon the Stage’. To this there are side-notes ‘T. C. [i.e. the _Admonition_]. A whip for an Ape. The Theater’.

_Bul}_ See note on i. 319. 35.


35. **he**] i.e. man, not uncommon; cf. *N. E. D.*, and 3 _Hen. VI_, II. ii. 97.

P. 349, 1–2. **Butchers and Horseleeches**] Cf. 347. 32, note.

6. **quoth Martin**] See the _Protestation_, A 3 (p. 5).

11–12. **quest of faces**] Cf. 2 _Ret. from Parnassus_, II. vi. 65–7 (ed. Macray, II. 1000–1), ‘you should have seene him ... run through a iury of faces’. Similarly ‘alphabet of faces’ at i. 167. 34–5.

21. **Dic Ecclesias**] The allusion is to the words ‘And if he shall neglect to hear them, tell it to the church: but if he neglect to hear the church, let him be unto thee as an heathen man and a publican’, Matt. 18. 17, which words of Christ according to the Puritans implied his recognition of a certain fixed form of Church government. As Bancroft said in his celebrated Paul’s cross sermon of Feb. 8. 1588/9 Many ‘do affirme that when Christ used these words, _Dic ecclesias_, he ment thereby to establish in the church for ever the same plat and forme of ecclesiasticall government, to be erected in everie parish, which _Moses_ by _Iethroes_ counsell appointed in mount Sinaie: and which afterward the lewes did imitate in their particular synagogys.

‘They had (saie these men) in their synagogues their priests, we must have in every parish our pastors: they their Levites, we our doctors: they their rulers of their synagogues, we our elders: they their levitical treasurers, we our deacons’ (B 47–5; quoted by Maskell, _M. M. Controversy_, p. 219).

25–6. **simple T.C**] Both Cooper and Cartwright having the initials T. C., Martin says that in order to distinguish them he will call the former ‘profane T. C.’ and the latter ‘simple T.C.’ He of course means that he will use the initials T. C. alone, without any adjective, as in fact he does. See _Hay any work_, ed. Peth., 62. 4–8.

26–7. **soaking _Demonstration_**] From the mention of ‘discipline’ below it is evident that Udall and his _Demonstration of Discipline_ are referred to. By ‘soaking’ perhaps ‘boozing’ is meant, but I doubt if the use was so early. Cf. ‘soaker’ at i. 302. 7.

P. 350, 3–4. **a whole hoast of Pasquils**] The only tract under the name of Pasquil which followed this was the _Apology_. The controversy was fast drawing to an end.


8. **provide them to God-wards**] i.e., I suppose, make their peace with God; but compare the curious phrase ‘to God-ward of their prouant’ at ii. 225. 29–30.

IV
12. *dudgen* i.e. spiteful, or here, perhaps, captious.

13. *Wig.* i.e. Giles Wigginton; see note on i. 83. 17.

*Pag.* i.e. Eusebius Pagit or Paget; see note on i. 83. 19.

16. *Sir Peter nor Sir Paul* See note on i. 57. 7.

P. 351, 3. *Clif.* i.e. Cliffe; see note on 344. 12.

*New.* i.e. Humfrey Newman, a cobbler who was a chief agent in the distribution of the Marprelate books. Cf. Arber, *Introduc. Sketch* 131, and Sharpe's Deposition there reprinted, pp. 94–104, §§ 1, p, t, w, aa, &c.; also note on 363. 30.


11. *Batter* There seems to be no such place, while Battle Bridge was apparently a haunt of Puritans; see 346. 31. I do not know who is the 'reuerent Pastour' referred to.

16. *olde dogge* See note on iii. 7. 7.

30–1. *little Down.* i.e. Little Dunham. The rector was at this time one Thomas Repkin, of whom I can learn nothing.

32–3. *tenne skillings Sermons* I do not know what is meant.

P. 352, 4. *apes of all their extremities* i.e. imitators of all that they were compelled by misfortune to do.

25. *oppose* Cf. iii. 315. 10 and note.

32. *the Booke-binder, and his accomplishes at Burie* I can learn nothing of these.


7. *in an other place* *Hay any Work*, 25 mid.

23–33. *The humours . . . thee* Though it would be unsafe to build any argument upon it, there is, I think, a distinct resemblance in style between this passage and parts of Christ's *Tears*, especially the oration of Christ at ii. 21, &c.

P. 354, 8–9. *Sic morior . . .* The source, if any, is unknown to me.

15. *We must not reason from the success* *Protestation*, A 3r, 'Resone not frome the successe of thinges vntoe the goodnesse of the causse.'

21. *Will Tony* I can give no information about this person. One may safely infer that he was notorious for the scurrility of his language.

24. *King & colier* The phrase is unknown to me.

24–5] Cf. 'Sohow | brother Bridges' *Epistle*, ed. Arber, ii. 14:

'Wohohow | brother London', *Ep.* 33. 12; Aylmer is frequently referred to by Martin as 'John of London': 'Ha | ha | D. Copcot' *Ep.* 5. 1.

29. *make the comparison* See the *Protestation*, A 3r.

P. 355, 10–11. *perswaded that the Lord hath some speciall purpose* *Protestation*, A 3r, 'the Lord him selfe hath a specyll hand to trye it maye be who theye are, that with a double face, and who with a siuule [Qy. single or simple] hart doe affecte the cause.'

17–18. *saltpetermen* According to M. Sutcliffe's answer to Job Throckmorton printed in Prof. Arber's *Introductory Sketch*, p. 177, Hodgkin was a saltpeterman, and, as he adds, 'a good printer for such saltpeter and gunpowder works.'
18. Hodgkins, Tomlins, and Sims] The three printers hired by Penry after the defection of Waldgrave in April, 1589; see Appendix C.


22. my L. of Darbies men] See Arber, Intro. Sketch, 112. The Earl of Derby was Henry Stanley (1531–93) who had been Lord-Lieutenant of Lancashire since 1572. Since 1585 his son Ferdinando had acted as his deputy, but arrests would still presumably be made in his name.

31. goodman Spe.] I can learn nothing of him.


P. 356, 2. Masse Martin] Apparently an intentional misspelling of Mas. in order to connect it with the Roman mass.

3. ruffians hal] Cf. l. 187. 16 note.

6. crabtree stile] Joking on a crabtree cudgel; cf. iii. 48. 35.

9. Bumfeging] i. e. beating. Alluding to Martin’s threat: ‘ise so bumfeg the Cooper, as he had bin better to haue hooped halfe the tubbes in Winchester, thene write against my worshipspistles’, Hay any Work, ed. Peth. 24. No earlier example has been found.

11. in a frosty morning] Cf. iii. 315. 32-3.

16-19. age of Martinisme...last yeare of Lambethisme] Protestantation, A 3-4. ‘Let them be well assured it [i.e. Martin’s campaign] was not vndertaken to be intermitted at every blast of euill succese. Naye let them knowe that by the grace of god the last yeare of martinisme, that is, of the discrying and displaying of L Bb shall not be, till full 2 year after the last yeare of Lambethisme . . . ’

23-5. If they will needs . . . explore &c] Protestantation, A 4.

31. with a witnesse] Cf. note on i. 321. 28.

32. aged champion of Warwicke] i.e. presumably Thomas Cartwright, who about 1586 had been appointed master of a hospital founded by the Earl of Leicester at Warwick. He was some 54 years old.

33. Phil. Stu.] i.e. Philip Stubbes.

36. Egertons Sermons] The Puritan divine Stephen Egerton (1555?-1621?) must be meant. He was one of those suspended in 1584 for refusing to subscribe Whitgift’s articles.

Traversati] See note on Travers at i. 81. 1.


P. 357, 7. for ames ase and the dice] I do not understand the phrase, which probably refers to some particular game. It evidently means for the highest stake.

9. calleth them minstrel] Referring, perhaps, to Anat. 172, where Stubbes says ‘it weare better (in respecte of acceptation) to be a Pyper, or bawdye minstrell, then a diuine, for the one is loued for his ribauldrie, the other hated for his grauitie, wisdom, and sobrietie.’

10-11. the Reader in Cheshire] Nothing seems to be known about this readership in Cheshire.


38. a dreaming deuine of Cambridge] Mr. Crawford refers me to
Bacon's *Apophthegms* (No. 56 in Montague's collection and 106 in the Bohn Lib., *Works*): 'Mr. Marbury the preacher would say, 'That God was fain to do with wicked men, as men do with frisking jades in a pasture, that cannot take them up, till they get them at a gate. So wicked men will not be taken up till the hour of death.'" There are two Marburys in Hennessy's *Nov. Rep.*, but I can learn little about them. The parallel is interesting, but the idea might, I think, easily be suggested by the 'untamed horse' of Ecclus. 30. 8.

P. 358, 3. *Sunt oculos... tanquam*] An old riddle, which will be found in the *Carminum Proverbialium... loci communes* of S. A. I. (ed. 1579, p. 10), under 'Aenigma'; as:

'C. O. Q. C. S. T. S.

*Sunt oculos clari qui cernis sydera tanquam*:

*Dico grammaticum, versum quiconstruit istum*.'

The letters of the heading give the order in which the words should be placed in order to obtain sense, namely, 'Cernis oculos qui clari sunt tanquam sydera.'

Mr. Fleay (*Biog. Chron.* ii. 126) says, 'The Cambridge M.A. who challenged the degrees he never took for making claria passive at Wolf's printing-house, is, of course, Gabriel Harvey.' This seems to me extremely doubtful.

4. *put to your trumpets*] i.e. in a difficulty, obliged to play your best card. The phrase was fairly common. *Cent. Dict.* quotes Peele's *Ed. I*, iv, 'Ay, there's a card that puts us to our trump'. Cf. also Lyly's *Campeaste*, III. iv. 59-60, and Greene, *Ciceronis Amor*, Wks., ed. Grosart, vii. 131. 15.

17. *threatens to place in every parish*] See *Epistle*, ed. Arber, 37. 11-12.

24-5. *Inobedientia morbus...*] From the *De Claustro Animae* of Hugo de Folieto (printed by Migne in an appendix to the works of Hugo de S. Victore), bk. ii, chapters 11-23 of which have for subject 'Quod duodecim sunt abusiones claustri'. Of these the second 'De discipulo inobediente' begins 'Inobedientiae morbus ex superbiae tumore procedens, sicut sanies ex vulnere, sic ex ulcere contemptus emanat.' Migne, *Patr. Curs.* 176 (Hug. de S. Vic. 2), col. 1061. The marginal reference suggests confusion with an altogether different work, the *De duodecim abusionibus saeculi*, which has been ascribed both to Cyprian and to Augustine.

26. *madness*] Note the mistranslation of sanies. It should of course be 'pus'. But the confusion of 'sanies' and 'insania' looks more like carelessness than ignorance.

27-30. *Dum plus exquirunt...*] Though in the *Moralia*, both in book viii and elsewhere, there is much to the same effect (cf. especially xx. 8), I have been unable to discover this passage.

35. *Stans puér ad mensam*] A short Latin poem on table manners, said to be by J. Sulpitius Verulanus, or the English translation of the same attributed to Lydgate. See Dr. Furnivall's *Babees Book*, E. E. T. S., 1868, ii. 30, for the Latin, and i. 26, 27, for the English. Cf. also Rhodes' *Book of Nurture* in the same collection, which includes an expanded version of the poem.

36. *Qui mihi discipulus*] See note on iii. 13. 24-5.
P. 369, 1. saith Cassiodorus] I cannot discover the passage in his educational works.

5. Littleton] Sir Thomas Littleton (1402–81), author of a treatise on 'Tenures', which was the standard work on English real property law.


15–16. to compass the office of the Vice-chaunceelour-ship] I cannot find evidence of any such attempt or desire on Cartwright's part; but during the great dispute in 1570, which ended in his being deprived of his Lady Margaret professorship, he was supported by so strong a party at the university that his election to that office must at one time have seemed quite possible (cf. Mullinger, Cambridge, ii. 207–27, especially 221).


9–10. perit omne . . .] I have been unable to find this in S. Gregory; cf., however, Moralia, xxxiv, § 51; Migne, Patr. Curs. 76 (Gregory 2), col. 747 'solvi ergo ruinae crescit quod aedificant, qui ante molem fabricae humilitatis fundamina non procurant.'

15–17. Quae maior . . .] S. Bernard, Sermones in Tempore Resurrectionis, iii (ii), Migne, Patr. Curs. 183 (S. Bern. 2), col. 290 foot. With the corrections made in the text the quotation is accurate.


Antiochus] See 2 Maccabees 5. 17; 14. 2.

27. M. sauce malapert] 'Sir Sauce' or Jack Sauce' was a very common term for an impudent fellow, and Greene similarly uses 'Mounsieur malapert', Wks., ed. Grosart, xi. 225. 3. Possibly the term here used was suggested by Cooper's Admonition, ed. Arber, 37, where Martin's 'saucie and malapert behauiour towarde the Archbishopp' is spoken of.

35. in discordia nemo benedicit Dominum] Source not found.

P. 361, 1–2. Nullus est modus inimicitiis . . .] I cannot find this in St. Augustine.

3–5. Sicut nihil est deiformius . . .] Not found.

7. him] i. e. I suppose Cartwright, while 'his learninge' in the next line must be Whitgift's.

13–15. nil tam facile est . . .] Not found.

17–20. Mens praua . . .] Slightly varied from Moralia, xii. 34 (commentary on Job 15. 21); Migne, Patr. Curs. 75 (Gregory 1), col. 1007.

31. idem per idem] The phrase is used by Nashe at i. 282. 32.

34. Dunce or Dorbel] See note on i. 198. 13.

P. 362, 2. geering] i. e. jeering.


10–11. none of the straightest] Cf. note on i. 83. 19, also ii. 25–6 below.

18. groops] i. e. 'to handle (poultry) in order to find whether they have eggs', N. E. D.

27. Houns.] Not, I think, a person's name, but Hounslow, where according to the Just Censure, D 2, Pagit was then living; 'his maide' must be Pagit's own.

29. deprive] See note on i. 83. 19.

38. Ragdale] I can learn nothing of this person.

P. 368, 2. Giles Wig.] See note on Wiggenton at i. 83. 17.
3. Sedgwickes pack-priches] I cannot explain the meaning.
11. the Earle of Huntington] i.e. Henry Hastings (1535-95). He was, according to Camden, 'a zealous Puritan', and 'much wasted his estate by a lavish support of those hot-headed preachers' (from D. N. B.).
19. no barrell better herring] Cf. iii. 222. 9.
22. Glib. of Haustead] The allusion is to a tale told of 'an honest priest', one 'Gliberie of Hawsteade in Essex' in Hay any Work, ed. Petheram, p. 20-1. It would seem that while Gliberie was preaching, his eye happened to light on a boy with a red cap among the congregation. The sight of this unfamiliar object so confused him that he forgot what he intended to say, and could utter nothing but 'Take away red cap there, take away red cappe there'. The tale of John a Borhead at 364. 8-19 is, as is indicated, intended as a set-off against this.
25-6. in spite of midsUmermoone] Cf. Epit., ed. Peth., 14. 13-14. 'Midsummer moon' is explained in N. E. D. as 'the lunar month in which Midsummer Day comes; sometimes alluded to as a time when lunacy is supposed to be prevalent'. In the Epitome 'you may demand, whether it be midsommer Moone with him or no', clearly means you may ask whether he is not off his head. The present phrase seems equivalent to—in spite of the likelihood of driving Wiggenton mad. Cf. iii. 38. 7-8.
28. Land of little Wittam] 'Small Wittam' and 'little Brainford' are mentioned in Martin's Month's Mind, G 27-3 (Nashe, ed. Grosart, i. 192), as 'in the possession of Pag. and Wig.' I cannot identify 'little Wittam.'
29. Hicke, Hob, and John] Taken as typical names.
40.] Perhaps Newman, a Puritan who took an important part in the distribution of Martin's pamphlets, but he too was a cobbler, or 'souter'; cf. 351. 3 and note, also Martin's Month's Mind, H 1 (Nashe, ed. Grosart, i. 197. 3).
30-1. cum multis aliis quæ nunc prescribere longum est] From W. Lily's Grammar (Short Introduction of Grammar, 1577, E 6), where a list of 'feminina non crescentia' ends 'cum multis aliis, quæ nunc perscribere longum est'. The phrase is often quoted; cf. Greene's Notable Discovery of Cosenage, 1592, Wks., ed. Grosart, x. 38, where the verb is 'prescribere', as here; it occurs with 'perscribere' in Harington's Ulysses upon Ajax, ed. 1814, p. 10. Also 'cum multis aliis' alone in Chettle's Kind-heart's Dream, in Sh. Allusion-Books, N. S. S., 50. 9.
P. 384. 8. John a Borhead] He seems to be otherwise unknown, as does Claypham's wife mentioned in l. 13.
26. Vd. of Kingston] i.e. John Udall. He had been incumbent of Kingston-on-Thames from before 1584 to 1588, when he was deprived of his benefice for his antiepiscopal views. At this time he seems to have been at Newcastle-on-Tyne.
34. as you gave out in the pulpype] I can find no other reference to this.
13-14. Hone, Cottington, or Chatfield] The three are attacked by Martin in Epist., ed. Arber, 32, in connexion with the deprivation of Udall. Hone is called 'Cottingtons iourniman a popish D. of the budy court'. James Cottington was Archdeacon of Surrey, and Stephen Chatfield was Vicar of Kingston-on-Thames (see Epist., ed. Arber, xiv. and Intro. Sketch, 91-2).
21-2. net where he daunceth] The phrase 'to dance in a net' is frequent in the sense of to aim at or pretend concealment while actually visible.
23. Caelum te contegit ...] Probably adapted from Lucan vii. 819 'coelo tegitur, qui non habet urnam' (reference from Prof. Schick's note to Span. Trag., III. xiii. 19, 'Heav'n cov'reth him that hath no burial').
26. the Protestationer] i.e. author of the Protestation of Martin Marprelate.
Supplicationer] As author of the View of ... publicke wants & disorders ... in the service of God, within her Maiesties countrie of Wales, 1589, which has for running title 'A Supplication to the Parliament'.
Appellationer] Alluding to 'Th' Appellation of Iohn Penri, vnto the Highe court of Parliament, from the bad and injurious dealing of th' Archb. of Canterb. ...' 1589. See Arber, Intro. Sketch, p. 68, and as to the date of the pamphlet, which has been wrongly assigned to 1590, see an article by Mr. J. D. Wilson in the Library, Oct., 1907, pp. 337-59.
27. the father] i.e. Martin Marprelate.
the sonne] i.e. Martin Senior, the pseudonym of the author of the Just Censure.
Martin Junior] Cf. note on i. 57. 2.
28. Martin Martinus] So far as I am aware, nothing was issued under this name.
29-9. the scholler of Oxford ... Cambridge] i.e. M. Some laid open in his colers ... Done by an Oxford man, to his friend in Cambridge, [1588 ?].
29. totum in toto ...] Cf. Pedantius, ed. Moore Smith, l. 1437, the same editor's Fraunce's Victoria, l. 1953, and the illustrative quotations given in the notes. A formula of scholastic philosophy regarding universals, it seems at this time to have been often used to express the non-limitation of the soul to any particular part of the body. Cf. Masque before the Queene, 1592, in Nichols's Progresses of Q. Eliz., ii. 205, 'the harte of a woman is lyke a soule in a bodie: Tota in toto, et tota in qualibet parte. So that, although you had as manie louers as you haue fingers and toes, you might be one among them all, and yett wholly euerie ones'. Also 2 Hen. IV., V. v. 30-1, "Tis "semper idem", for "obsque hoc nihil est:" 'tis all in every part', and the parallels quoted by Malone and Ritson.
30-1. that house ... was maister] i.e. Peterhouse, Cambridge. Perne died on April 26, 1589, while on a visit to Whitgift at Lambeth.
37. more] i.e. too, very; cf. 346. 21.
monster of Cracovia] I can learn nothing of any monsters in Cracovia, though there were plenty in Northern Russia.

P. 366, 12-13. *Crine ruber, niger ore, brevis pede, lumine lustus*

Cf. Martial, *Epig.* xii. 54. 1. The last word appears in modern texts as 'laesus'.

15. *Puerilis* This school-book is mentioned in *Pappo with a Hatchet*, Lyly, ed. Bond, iii. 404, 22; see the editor's note. It seems uncertain to which of several works the name properly belonged. The *Sententiae Pueriles*, a collection of Latin phrases, mostly proverbial, may be meant.

16. *Aue Marie English* I can find no other example of the phrase. Presumably the writer means to suggest that Penry was brought up a Romanist; cf. ll. 20-4 and 367, 29.

18. *subsistership* Probably an intentional substitution for 'subsizarship'. A 'subsister' seems to mean a poor prisoner; cf. 'And now sir, to you that was wont like a Subsister in a gowne of rugge rent on the left shoulder, to sit singing the Counter-tenor by the Cage in Southwarke.' Chettle, *Kind-heart's Dream*, in Sh. Allusion-books, N.S.S., 70. 17-19. Penry does not appear ever to have been a subsizar.

20. *I. a P.* The a is doubtless intended for the Welsh ap. The name 'Penry' was originally 'ap-Henry' (D. N. B.).

21. *run a false gallop* Cf. l. 275, 7.

25-7. *be-baited his betters* . . . *superstition* See the *Epistle*, ed. Arber, 44.

28. *carrie a ring in his mouth* The late W. J. Craig referred me to Fenton's *Bandello*, ed. Henley, 'Tudor Translations,' 1890, 1, 151, 'The he bawd of London carryth a ring in his mouth, the she bawd, a basket'. Also *All's Well that Ends Well*, III. v. 95, 'And your courtesy, for a ring-carrier'.


5. *the Epidaurians* Not the Epidaurians, but the Epidamnians; cf. Plutarch, *Quaesit. Graec.* 29. This may have been taken from the Latin text of C. Agrippa, *De Incert. et Van.* cap. 72, where the same mistake occurs in relating the story. The English translation, 1569, fol. 118*, substitutes 'Slaunians' for the Latin 'Illyrici'.

29. *intus & in cute* Pers. iii. 30 'ego te intus et in cute novi'. See Erasmus, *Adagia*, chil. i, cent. 9. 89 'Intus & in cute notus, est modis omnibus cognitus'.

29-30. *first for a papist, then for a Brownist, next for an Anabaptist* The statement appears to be quite unsupported by evidence.

37. *Setons modalibus* Cf. *Pedantius*, ed. Moore Smith, 1494-6 'Vos habetis formalitates istas phrasium, sed non estis materiati, neque gustatis unquam de Modalibus.' The work referred to must be J. Seton's *Dialectica*, which, first published in 1572, ran through a number of editions and was for a considerable time a popular school book. It was in use in manuscript at St. John's College, Cambridge, some years before its publication (Mullinger, *Cambridge*, ii. 52). It is not at all clear why the book should be referred to as 'modalibus'. There is, as usual, a section 'De Modalibus' (ed. 1584, 1, 2, &c.), but no special prominence is given to it. Seton explains: 'Dialectici vocant propositionem modalem, quum haec vocabula adduntur, necesse,
impossibile, contingens, possibile: vt, necesse est, quae ortum habent, et finem habere. Impossibile est omne metallum liquescere,' &c.

P. 368, 2. Aristotle ... Ramus] See note on i. 43. 33-4.

8. for his new statutes] Presumably the new statutes of the University, which received the royal sanction in September, 1570, are referred to. They were drawn up by Whitgift, with the advice of Perne and other heads of colleges, and encountered strong opposition, not only among the Puritans, but also among the younger members of the University (see Mullinger, Cambridge, ii. 222-3, 231, &c.). Penry did not matriculate at Peterhouse until 1580, but the feeling against the new statutes continued for some years. Perne was also concerned in the drawing up of new statutes for St. John's College in 1576, but though these may have been to some extent distasteful to the Puritans, they do not seem to have been much discussed outside the college.

20-2. Puritane preachers ... Northfolke] Cf. the Puritan localities mentioned at i. 60. 26-35.

26. combes to choake bees] I am doubtful what is meant. Under ' coom ' = coal dust, N. E. D. gives a word which is explained by the following quotation from C. Butler's Feminine Monarchy, vi. (1623) O. ij, 'This kinde of honey ... after a while it corrupteth and ... becometh the sowrest, and the most unsauory of all things ... which, then they commonly call stopping or Coome'. (The words 'or Coome' are not in the edition of 1609, G 5.) Butler states that this decayed honey is so noxious to the bees that they forsake the hive, and possibly something of the sort is referred to here. The word is, I think, erroneously connected with 'coom': Butler's statement a few lines later that people regard and speak of this kind of honey as wax, seems to render it probable that his 'Coome' is merely 'comb'.

30. confutation of the Remish Testament] 'On the appearance of the Rhemish version of the New Testament in 1582 Cartwright was persuaded by the Earl of Leicester, Sir Francis Walsingham, and others (at the pressing instance, it is said, of Beza and some of the leading scholars at Cambridge) to prepare a criticism of the work' (D. N. B.). The undertaking was, however, not favoured by Whitgift, and the book was not printed until after Cartwright's death. This was, I suppose, 'Master Cartwright's Testament against the Jesuits', which Waldegrave intended to print in Devonshire in 1589; see Arber, Introd. Sketch, 99. 38-9. Martin laid down the permission for this to be printed as one of the 'Conditions of Peace' with the bishops, Epistle, ed. Arber, 35.

31. Saint Laurence his Monastery] The writer probably means Emmanuel College, founded in 1584, which was always strongly Puritan, the allusion being to the well-known Laurence Chaderton, its first Master. Cartwright left England in 1573, and was still abroad at the time of the foundation, but returned to England early in 1585. The site of Emmanuel was formerly occupied by a house of Dominican friars.

36. Lycosthenes] i.e. Conrad Wolffhart, whose collection of Apophthegmata (1555) was well known.

P. 369, 1. bugs] See note on i. 134. 23.

7. Ille ego qui quondam] Part of the first of four probably spurious lines prefixed to the first book of the Aeneid.
9. *straine curtesie* Cf. i. 163. 15.
10. *Northmen figures* Apparently alluding to the intentional rudeness of Martin's style.
12. *Archilochus* Cf. i. 285. 3-8, and for 'armour of lambicks', Horace, *A. P.* 79 'Archilochum proprio rabies armavit iambo'.
18. *Danus* This must certainly, I think, be 'Dauus'. The name was of course commonly used for a plain or ignorant fellow, in allusion to *Andria*, i. 2. 23 'Davus sum, non Oedipus'.
26-7. *hath subscribed our magistrates infants* Not, apparently, in the Protestant.
29. *the poverty of their fines* Can the phrase mean the poverty caused by fines paid for non-compliance with ecclesiastical law? But those who were proceeded against for their Puritan views seem generally to have been imprisoned.
32. *disputation* See note on 347. 17.
36. *Crepundio* Cf. iii. 314. 32.
38. *our University schooles at Oxford* Note this indication that the writer is an Oxford man. At the same time it must be confessed that in other passages he seems to show more knowledge of Cambridge; cf., for example, 368. 12-16.

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P. 370, 1. *puluere Philosophico* Nashe uses the phrase at i. 278. 22-3.
6. *about Bury* In *Hay any Work*, ed. Peth., 75, Martin speaks of having a register—apparently of his followers—at Bury, as if it was a centre of Puritanism.
11-12. *father of the act* i.e. the person who presided at a disputation.
20-3. *Some ... orderly* The sentence may, and probably should, be read as a question. Q has a full stop.
21. *Scar of Warwickshire* I can learn nothing of him or of Criarinl. 23.
26. *buttoned books* Presumably books fastened with a button and loop instead of the more usual clasps are meant, but I do not understand the special point of the allusion.
27. *Giles* i.e. Wiggenton; see note on i. 83. 17.
28. *like Zeno* Cf. iii. 185. 16-17.
37. *virtus laudata crescit* Cf. Ovid, *Ex Ponto*, iv. 2. 35-6 'laudataque vir- tue Crescit.'

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P. 371, 10. *to compare themselves with Jerome or Austin* On the small esteem in which Ambrose, Jerome, and Augustine were held by the Cambridge Puritans see Mr. Mullinger's *Cambridge*, ii. 299.
18. *a learned ministry* The same Puritan demand for a learned ministry is discussed in Pasquil's *Apology*, i. 119. 37, &c. See note on i. 120. 4-5.
35. *two and fifte thousand Parish churches* Perhaps taken from Simon Fish's *Supplication for the Beggars*, 1531, as given in Foxe's *Acts and Mon.* (ed. Townsend, iv. 659), 'There are within your realm of England 52,000 parish churches'. Foxe in a note denies that the parishes were in his time so numerous. Holinshed, *Chron.*, ed. 1807-8, i. 324, gives the number of parish churches in Edward IV's time as 45,120, but appears not to know the number in his own days (p. 326), though supposing it was much less. Harvey, in *Pierce's Supererogation,*
L 3, Q 2, *Whs.*, ed. Grosart, ii. 143, 195, also gives ‘about 52,000’ as the number. (Grosart’s ‘5200’ on p. 143 is an error.)

P. 372, 1. *Our Beadles*] Again showing that the writer was an Oxford man.

3-4. *three thousand: in Cambridge ... not so many by a thousand*] In 1569 the number of residents at Cambridge was 1630, and by the end of the century nearly 2,000; cf. Mr. Mullinger’s *Cambridge*, ii. 214. He states that the number proceeding B. A. at Oxford was throughout the latter half of the sixteenth century fully a third less than at Cambridge.

8-9. *because there is no more ... Universities*] Because so few of those who can preach agree with your doctrines.

13. *the cobler of Norwich*] I can learn nothing of him. St. Andrew’s is one of the parish churches of Norwich.

32. *the Pewteres pageant*] I cannot identify this pageant. Possibly the reference may be merely to some motto or device on a banner borne by the company at the preceding Lord Mayor’s Show or other civic festival, which may have excited amusement at the time.


P. 373, 1. *concerne*] It seems impossible to understand this word here. Perhaps ‘conceiue’ or ‘conceite’ was intended.

9. *hors-holy*] The only example of the word in *N. E. D.*, which compares the proverb ‘as holy as a horse’ (one instance alone, in 1530).

16. *he of Yarmouth*] Not identified. The wearing of a veil by women who came to be churched was strongly objected to by Puritans. See Whitgift’s discussion of the matter in his *Defence of the Answer to the Admonition*, p. 537.

34-5. *preaching brother in Bury*] Not identified. Trinity Hall was of course identified with the study of the Civil Law.

P. 374, 12. *Bull*] See note on i. 319. 35.

18. *Maw*] A game at cards, here of course used with an equivoque.

19. *by Primero*] i.e. with playing primo. The person was William Chaderton, Bishop of Westchester (i.e. Chester), 1579-95. See *Hay any Work*, ed. Petheram, p. 11.

20. *Noddy*] i.e. a game of cards—also a fool, simpleton.

21. *the ninth set*] Curryknave appears to mean that Martin’s last book—presumably the *Protestation*—is the ninth which has been refuted. The number is perhaps arrived at by adding to the seven works distinctively Martinist (*Epistle*, *Epitome*, *Mineral Conclusions*, *Hay any Work*, *Theses*, *Just Censure*, and *Protestation*), the *Supplication to the Parliament*, and *M. Some laid open in his colours*, which in 365. 26-8 he classes with the others. But there the *Demonstration of Discipline* and the *Appellation* seem also to be included.

23. *for calling him Iudas*] In Martin Senior’s *Just Censure ... of Martin Junior*, where there is a feigned ‘Oration of John Canturburie to the pursuants, when he directed his warrants vnto them to post after Martin’. After telling them that her Majesty’s Privy Council is well set up with such a company of messengers as they are, he continues (A2*), ‘Or, haue you diligently soght mee out Walde-grau the Printer, Newman the Cobler, Sharpe the bookebinder of Northampton, and that seditious Welch man Penry, who you shall see will prooue the Author of all these libelles? I thanke you Maister Munday, you are
a good Gentleman of your worde. Ah thou Judas, thou that hast already betrayed the Papistes, I thynke meanest to betray vs also. Diddest thou not assure me, without all doubt, that thou wouldest bring mee in, Penry, Newman, Walde-graue, presse, letters, and all, before Saint Andrewes day last. And nowe thou seest we are as farre to seake for them, as euer we were.'

false carding] i.e. false play.

24-5. Pasquill...legends] Cf. i. 61. 1 and note.


21. I leualted] The 'I' is presumably a misprint and should be omitted.

31. Cowdresser] i.e. cowherd.

32. lane of Ipswich] I can find no other reference to her.

P. 378, 2-3. for my brother...Repentance] i.e. Arthur Dent (d. 1607), M.A. of Christ's College, Cambridge, 1579, rector of South Shoebury, Essex, 1580-1607. In 1583 he published A Sermon of Repentance...preached at Lee in Essex, which was several times reprinted. In 1584 a petition was presented to the Lords of the Council by Dent and a number of others against the persecution which had followed their refusal to sign Whitgift's articles of 1583, asserting the validity of everything contained in the Book of Common Prayer. See B. Brook's Lives of the Puritans, 1813, ii. 111-12 and 274-5. I do not know if there is any special allusion in 'O sweet Margery', &c., in l. 5.

11. hold him tugge] i.e. oppose him, answer him.

12. blache booke] Apparently the author planned a work of the same kind as Greene; cf. i. 155. 5, note.

24. bon nute] i.e. bonne nuit; perhaps to be counted as a misprint.

A WONDERFULL STRANGE AND MIRACLOVS
ASTROLOGICALL PROGNOSTICATION.

1. Date of Composition and Publication.

This is to be inferred from the title-page, where the Prognostication is said to be 'for this yeer of our Lord God. 1591'. Cf. also 381. 6 'this yeere', 382. 2-3, &c. It was presumably intended to appear early in 1591.

2. Source.

While there is, of course, no particular source for this humorous prognostication, there was on the other hand no particular originality in the idea. One may mention the Prognostication Pantagrueline of Rabelais, which in its turn 'is freely adapted from two similar ones in Latin in the appendix to the Facetiae of Heinrich Bebel (?1470-1518)... One of these was borrowed by Bebel from the Italian, and the other translated from an anonymous German writer by Bebel's pupil, Heinrichmann of Sindelfingen' (Mr. W. F. Smith's note in his translation of Rabelais).

The book is one of a group of three published about the same time in real or pretended rivalry. The existence of the first is to be inferred from an entry in the Stationers' Register on Feb. 25, 1590-1, to W. Wright of 'A booke entituled ffrauncis fayre weather', taken
together with the passage of Florio quoted below. So far as I am aware no copy of it is at present in existence. The second is the Wonderful Prognostication here reprinted, while the third is Simon Smell-Knave’s Fearful and lamentable effects of two...Comets, which shall appear in the year...1591, the 25 of March. That this followed Adam Fowleweather’s production is shown by a reference to that work with which it opens. Some joking on the days of the week, in which Monday is said to be the best of all, perhaps suggests that Anthony Munday was the author (D27).

The three pamphlets are referred to together in John Florio’s dedication to Nicholas Saunter of his Second Fruits, 1591, A 2, where he mentions those that ‘pronosticate of faire, of foule, and of smelling weather’. Harvey, Wks., ed. Grosart, ii. 300, speaks of Perne as ‘a fayre Prognostication of fowle weather’, a phrase which may possibly have been suggested by a recollection of ‘Adam Fowleweather’, but even if it be so the allusion is entirely without significance.

3. Authorship.

See Introduction.

3. P. 382, 19-20. cheef gouvernor of floods] Mr. Crawford compares Mids. N. Dr., II. i. 103, ‘the moon, the governess of floods’.
3. 3. P. 384, 7. by digits] i.e. partially; a digit was a term for the twelfth part of the diameter of the sun or moon.
10. of the one accord] i.e. of their own accord; cf. N. E. D., s. v. own a., 2 b.
3. Peticote lane] The locality seems to have had no particularly bad reputation and the allusion to be merely a jest.
3. Peticote lane] Cf. i. 216. 6-7; 217. 5.
3. short held] i.e. wanton; Mr. Farmer in Slang Dict. quotes Chapman, Blind Beggar, Wks., ed. Shepherd (1874), 15, and May-day, IV. iv. See also Lyly, Wks., ed. Bond, iii. 137. 18 and note. Cf. ‘light-heeled’ and Impatient Poverty, 662, where of a ‘propre wenche’ it is said that ‘Her hele were not so brode as an ynche’.
37. while] i.e. till.
3. P. 385, 6-7. in the parrish of S. Brides] Joking, of course, on Bridewell.
16. fume and a reache] Cf. Lodge, Wils Misery, 1596, G 1, ‘This
NOTES

Deuill [i.e. Dicing] . . . ere he wil want mony for Come-on-fuue [a card game], he will haue it by fuue and a reach, or hang for it.'

18. from poste to piller] Cf. Liberality and Prodigality, II. iv (Dodsley’s Old Plays, ed. Hazlitt, viii. 349), ‘euerie minute tost, Like to a tennis-ball, from pillar to post’—a quotation which indicates the probable origin of this common expression.

19. beggars bush] ‘a tree notoriously known, on the left hand of the London road from Huntington to Caxton.’ Ray’s Proverbs, p. 244, ed. 1768, Dyce’s note to Fletcher and Massinger’s play of the name, i. iii. 151 (from Mr. P. A. Daniel’s ed., who give reference to Ray also as p. 206, ed. Bohn).

24. rough cast eloquence] Cf. the somewhat different use of the phrase at iii. 154. 9.

25. holyday woords] Cf. Lodge and Greene’s Looking-Glass, 591–4, ‘she [i.e. my wife] will call me Rascall, Rogue, Runnagate, Varlet, Vagabond, Slaue, Knaue. Why alasse sir, and these be but holi-day tearmes, but if you heard her working-day woords, in faith, sir, they be ratlers like thunder, sir.’

34. clause] i.e. conclusion, as Lat. clausula.

P. 386, 20–1. the Danes . . . giuentodrincke] Cf. i. 180. 16.


29. for drinking] i.e. ‘against drinking’. Cf. ii. 308. 27.

P. 387, 18. Squinancie] i.e. quinsy.

24. Person] i.e. parson. N. E. D. gives the e-form as in use till the eighteenth century.

Horne-Church] Near Romford.

28–9. hee that wypes his Nose . . . face] Cf. i. 181. 28, margin.

36. Pisces . . . governes the fees] Cf. Kalender of Shepherdes, ed. Sommer, ii. sig. g 7v (picture) and g 8—or almost any almanac of the time.

P. 388, 1. they slandered Ram alley] I do not understand the allusion. For ‘Ram Alley’ cf. i. 299. 33.

12. whatsoever Ptolomies sayes] It seems possible that this may allude to the odd phrase ‘and also Ptholomeus sayth the same’ on the title-page of the well-known almanac of ‘Erra Pater’; see note on iii. 216. 32.

34. with a Bason] Cf. note on i. 72. 9, end.

P. 389, 5. go woolward] Cf. Love’s Labour’s Lost, V. ii. 717, and Lodge, Wit’s Misery, 1596, I 4, top, ‘his common course is to go alwayes vntrust, except when his shirt is a washing, & then he goes woolward.’ (Paraphrased in Rowlands’ Letting of Humours Blood, 1600, E 4v.)

6. till] i.e. while; cf. 393. 4, and Greene, Wks., ed. Grosart, xii. 53. 3 and xi. 99. 5 (Defence of Conycatching). Used, I believe, only once by Nashe in this sense—at iii. 264. 974.

7. the olde Swanne] Presumably an inn or an early play-house on the Bank-side; the well-known theatre of the name was not projected until 1594.

14. Lacka a lent] A figure used for throwing at, an Aunt Sally. Earlier than examples in N. E. D. Curry-knave seems to be using it for ‘popery’, of which, indeed, the figure was evidently symbolical.
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Cf. in Foxe's Acts and Mon., ed. Townsend, vi. 35, 39, the references to a ballad current in 1547 called Jack of Lent's English Testament. Cf. iii. 94, 10 and note.


26. tambeake] i.e. thrash.

32. poules] A name applied to several kinds of fish, such as the bib, or whiting-pout; here of course with a pun.

P. 390, 10. Cephalogies] Of course a mistake—or possibly misprint—for cephalalgies.

34-5. laugh & wepe...winte] Mr. Crawford compares Venus and Adonis, ll. 413-14, 'For I haue heard it is a life in death, That laughs and weeps, and all but with a breath'; also l. 1142.

P. 391, 5. craftie knauers shall neede no Brokers] The saying was very common; cf. Heywood's Proverbs, ed. Sharman, p. 62, 'Two false knaves neede no broker'.


14. deuises] Qy. 'deuisers'.

16. sir T. Tiberne] I can offer no explanation of the T.

17. dunstable] i.e. simple, downright. Cf. Fuller, Worthies, Bedfordshire, "As plain as Dunstable road." It is applied to things plain and simple, without wolt or guard to adorn them, as also to matters ease and obvious to be found (Cent. Dict.). At ii. 263. 20 it seems to be used for the opposite of ceremonious, i.e. rude, rather than simple.

21. recognacies] It seems doubtful whether this should be considered as a misprint or as a mistaken form.

23-4] The writer perhaps means as many masterless men and cut-purses as there are terms in ten years (i.e. 40), or else merely that there will always be a sufficient supply.

31. rub their leeth with tallow] This practice, which is frequently alluded to, is described by Dekker in Lanthorn and Candle-light, Wks., ed. Grosart, iii. 299. The hostler steals down at night and removes all the hay . . . 'The poore Horses looked very rufully vpon him for this, but hee rubbing their teeth oneley with the end of a Candle (in steed of a Corrall) tolde them, that for their ladish trickes it was now time to weane them . . . and goes back to bed. In the morning early he comes again to the stable, 'giuing to euery lad a bottle of hay for his breake-fast; but al of them being troubled w't the greasy tooth-ach could eate none.'

34-5. hop a harlot] i.e. wrap (or hap) a rascal; from 'hopharlot', some kind of coarse covering for a bed; cf. Harrison's Descr. of Eng., N. S. S., i. 240. 8 (Holinhshed, Chron., ed. 1807-8, i. 317), 'our fathers ... haue lien full oft vpon straw pallets, ... vnder couerlets made of dagswain or hopharlots (I vse their owne termes)'. (Partly from Cent. Dict., which compares 'wrap-rascal'.)

P. 392, 9. change ... a groate] Cf. iii. 242. 291.

24. the worms of Saint Pancrēdē Church] The use of 'wormes' is curious. The writer is apparently referring to loose women. St. Pancras was a disreputable locality; cf. iii. 214. 24, and at this time the church was in a ruinous condition; see Norden's Speculum Britanniae, 1593, p. 38. Cf. Barnes' Devil's Charter, ll. 1532-3.
25. **Coleman hedge**] Wherever this was, it is evident that it was a resort of prostitutes; see the passage from *Cock Lorel's Boat* quoted by Steevens in his note to *Tr. and Cres.*, V. x (xli). 55, 'galled goose of Winchester'. He adds 'Hence the old proverbial simile—"As common as Coleman Hedge:' now Coleman Street.' References to Coleman Hedge are fairly numerous; the late W. J. Craig pointed out to me a curious instance in North's translation of Plutarch's *Lives*, Temple ed., i. 157, where νῆα πρὸς τὰς συνεισέφθησαν ἀκολουθεῖν (*Lucullus*, 19. 3) is given as 'incontinent men which are too busy with every rag and colman hedge'; cf. Harvey, *Wks.*, ed. Grosart, ii. 110, 112; Barnes, *Devil's Charter*, l. 1535, and probably 'The Hedge (Rogues hall)', in S. Rowlands' *Doctor Merry-man*, 1609, A 27, but none known to me says where it was. There was a Coleman Street ward in the City, north of Chepe ward—the one referred to by Steevens—and also, in Aldgate ward, a parish of St. Katherine Coleman, but I do not think that either of these can be meant. By Barnes, and in the present passage, it is connected with St. Pancras Church, while Harvey's two allusions link it with Primrose Hill.

30. *yearne*] i. e. earn. Cent. Dict. quotes Spenser, *F. Q.* vi. 7. 15; see also vi. 1. 40. It occurs four times in Greene's *Quip for an Upstart Courtier*.

P. 393, 2. **Coppersmiths hal**] A jocosce name for the hall of the imaginary corporation of ale-knights, from their copper noses. Cf. Prof. Collins's note on *Friar Bacon*, l. 537.


19. *adust*] The word was apparently supposed by the writer to be an astrological term, like 'combust' (in apparent proximity to the sun), but there seems no justification for such a use. It ordinarily means dry or fiery, but Libra was not a 'fiery' sign.

29-30. the *Tailler and the louse*] Alluding of course to 'prick-louse', the slang designation of a tailor.

33. *wardroppe*] i.e. wardrobe. The form with *p* was, I think, not uncommon. Cf. Greene's *Groatsworth of Wit* in *Sh. Allusion-Books*, N. S. S., 8. 34 (*Wks.*, ed. Grosart, xii. 106. 9).

P. 394, 3. *plurisies*] Prof. Moore Smith points out that the word is here falsely associated with *plus*, *pluris*, as in *Hamlet*, IV. vii. 118-19 and elsewhere; cf. *N. E. D.* s. v. 2.

34. *Bull*] See note on i. 319. 35.

P. 396, 5. **Cataphalusie**] I cannot suggest any derivation for this word.

VERSES FROM 'ASTROPHEL AND STELLA'.

1. Date of Composition and Publication.

As to the former nothing can be said. For the latter see the Introductory Note to Nashe's Preface to *Astrophel and Stella*, p. 459.

2. Authorship.

See Introduction.

P. 396, 2. *smokes of sighs*] Mr. Bond compares *Love's Metamorphosis*, IV. i. 11-12, 'my sighes couer thy Temple with a darke smoake.'
III. 408] CHOISE OF VALENTINES

It is, however, I think, more likely that the original is to be found, if anywhere, in Pettie's *Petite Palace of Pleasure*, [1576], T 3-3, "For if plaintes may proue my paine, I haue still continued in carefull cries: if sighes may shew my sorrow, the smoake of them hath reached to the skies: if teares may trie my truth, the water hath flowen as a fioud from my eyes." That Lyly borrowed from Pettie is more certain than that Nashe did, though it can hardly be supposed that he was ignorant of a work which seems to have been so popular.

THE CHOISE OF VALENTINES

**Authorship.** See Introduction—Doubtful Works.

P. 404, 4. *valetines* For the use of the word for 'sweetheart' see the notes of the commentators on *Hamlet* IV. v. 51.

7. *As Ale's* Read, I think, 'At Ale's.'

12. *Bachelrie of Maningtree* The plays at Manningtree, Essex, are mentioned in Manningham's Diary, Feb. 8, 1602, and Heywood's *Apology for Actors*, Shakes. Soc., p. 61 (E. K. Chambers, Mediaeval Stage, ii. 384), and by Dekker, *Seven Deadly Sins*, Wks., ed. Grosart, ii. 73, 'Crueltie hath yet another part to play, it is acted (like the old Morralls at Maningtree) by Trades-men.'

13. *flock-meale* i.e. in great numbers; cf. Chaucer, *Cant. Tales*, E. 86.

20. *upper-ground* An evident allusion to the street in Southwark so called. It ran parallel to the river, between the manor of Paris Garden and the Bankside, and from its proximity to the notorious 'Holland's Leaguer' may be supposed not to have enjoyed a very good reputation.

P. 405, 29. *foggie* i.e. fat, gross.


45. *by crankled wayes* Possibly a reminiscence of Ovid, *Metam.* viii. 161 'variarum ambage viauram'—of the labyrinth, where its windings are compared with Maeander.

48. *bounzing* i.e. bouncing.

P. 406, 56. *Francis* Possibly a typical name for women of the class; cf. S. Rowlands' *Letting of Humbles Blood*, B 5, 'Francke in name, and Francke by nature, Frauncis is a most kinde creature,' and the same author's *Whole Crew of Kind Gossips*, E 2, where a similar person is called 'Franke' and 'Mistris Francis'.

70. *gobbs* i.e. lumps (of anything).


99. *lyning* A friend suggests that the reading of D 'limmem' stands for 'leman'.

P. 408, 111. *bare out* Cf. ii. 261. 9.

120. *Jerusalem* It has been suggested that the saying has its origin in the well-known story of the death of Henry IV; see 2 *Hen. IV*, IV. v. 235-41. I doubt, however, if we need seek any particular allusion.

IV
124. with Ovid's cursed hemlock charm'd] Amores, iii. 7. 13. There are several borrowings from the same elegy in the poem.

P. 408, 143. wood] i.e. mad.

144. thack] i.e. strike.

149. with a gird] i.e. suddenly; cf. Marriage of Wit and Science, I (Dodson's Old Plays, ed. Hazlitt, ii. 331), 'great matters compass'd be Even at a gird, in very little time or none we see.' The phrase is common.

P. 410, 171, footnote. verry mappe] This use of 'map' is frequent; cf. Deloney, Gentle Craft, ed. Lange, ii. 76, 'the assured map of manhood,' and The Seven Champions of Christendom, 1668, p. 28 (sig. D 4"), l. 15, 'the very image of discontent, the mappe of woe, and the onely mirrour of sorrow.'

172. surquedrie] i.e. pride. Very common earlier, but, I think, going out of use at this date. It occurs in Soliman and Perseda, II. ii. 64; Greene, ed. Grosart, vii. 281; Selimus, ed. Grosart (1898), l. 739; Chettle, Kind-Heart's Dream, in Sh. Allusion-books, N. S. S., 51. 25.


193] Ithas been pointed out that this is probably a reminiscence of Terence, Eun. III. vi (v). 36-7, lines which seem to have been well known, for they are quoted or alluded to in Pedantius 739 and Fraunce's Victoria 945-6.

P. 412, 228. ouer-beare's the streame with ice] Cf. iii. 280. 1504, 'He ouer-barst the christall streames with yce.'

P. 413, 245. Saint Runnion] Presumably the 'ronyon', i.e. mangy wretch, of Merry Wives, IV. ii. 195, and Macbeth, I. iii. 6.

251. betwixt the bark and tree] The proverb, to put one's hand between the bark and tree, is fairly common; cf. Heywood's Proverbs, ed. Sharman, p. 98, and Lyly, Wks., ed. Bond, ii. 46. 30-1.

P. 414, 293. whipt with nettles ... geare] Cf. Lyly's Sapho and Phao, V. ii. 73-6, 'you shalbestript from toppe to toe, and whipt with nettles, not roses ... I will handle you for this geare.'

294. Cicely] I do not understand the allusion, but compare the 'poore shee captured Cicely' at ii. 263. 27.

P. 415, 301-4] Perhaps a confused recollection of C. Agrippa, De Incert. et Van., cap. 63 (ed. 1609, R 7) 'Sed maius illo est, quod poetae narrant de Hercule, illum quinqueaginta virgines una nocte omnes mulieres reddidisse. Narrat etiam Theophrastus, gravis auctor, herbulam quandam Indicam tantae virtutis, ut quidam, ea comesta, ad septuagesimum coitum processerit'. The latter part also in cap. 64 (S 8).

309. scott and lott] Cf. note on iii. 56. 2.

315. foot-note. ew'd're each one] Possibly the author, who uses some antiquated words, wrote 'everichone'.

317. Claudite] Should of course be 'Claudite'; cf. Verg. Ecl. 3. 111 'Claudite iam rivos, pueri: sat prata biberunt', but in any case the line as altered does not scan.
ADDITIONAL NOTES ON i. 15-19.

After the notes on the Anatomy of Absurdity had been put into pages, and when it was therefore too late to make any considerable additions, I discovered that certain passages were borrowed from Stephen Gosson's Ephemerides of Phialo, 1579, reprinted in 1586, and from Brian Melbancke's Euphuistic romance of Philotimus, 1583. The borrowings are of some interest as illustrating Nashe's habit of almost literal—but unacknowledged—quotation, and as the two works are rare, and neither has been reprinted in modern times, it would have been useless simply to give references. I have therefore thought it best to add these few notes. I quote from the 1586 edition of Gosson's work.

P. 15, 26-9. who also gave thanks . . . woman] From the Ephemerides of Phialo, 1586, A 8
   'I remember Phialo, that Plato gieuth hartie thanks to Nature, for making him rather a reasonable creature, then a brute beast, a man, then a woman, an Athenien, then a Theban.'

29-33. that of Aristotle . . . women] Cf. Philotimus, 1583, E 3, 'too timely marriage saith Aristotle in his Pol: fillest the common wealth full of dwarves, and women.'

33-5. Homer. . . Jupiter] Also Philotimus, E 3, 'Homer scares me from these matches, who brings in Jupiter and Juno euer brawling.'

36-16. 3. In some Countries . . . pleasure] Eph. of Phialo, K 1, 'In some countries the bride is crowned by ye Matros's a garland of prickles, & so deliuered unto her husband, that hee might know he hath tied himself to a thorny pleasure.'

P. 16, 3-5. The Massagets . . . night] Philotimus, E 3, 'the Massagets toold Pompey they lay with their wifes but once a weeke, bycause they would not heare their scowldinges in the daye, nor their pulinges in the night.'

26-7. Minerua . . . Adders] Philotimus, S 2, 'Minerua turned the haires of Medusa wh6 she hated into adders.'

32. Thebana Tyresia] The story is referred to both in Philotimus, B 3
   and in The Ephemerides of Phialo, B 8. It may be remarked that Melbancke was evidently familiar with Gosson's work.

P. 17, 3-10. Sabina . . . hayre] Eph. of Phialo, I 5
   'what is become of Sabina, which . . . usuallly bathed her selfe in the milk of fuye hundred Asses, to preserue her beautie? How is Galeriaes sight dazled with the pomp of this world, which scorned the golden palace of Nero, as not curious enough, to shrowde her carkase? Beware you seeke not so much to prank vp your selfe, that you forget God. Cleopatra was thought of some writers not to be slaine with venomous snakes [margin:—Xiphilinus], but with the same bodkin ye curled her haire.'

37-18. 4. In the same place . . . place] Eph. of Phialo, I 6, 'the Damselles of Boetia that day they were married, had ye Axeltree of their coaches burnet at their doores, that wanting the meane to carry them out, they mighte learene by the same to abyde at home.'
NOTES

P. 19, 13-14. *Menas* . . . *adulterie*] Perhaps suggested by *Philotimus*, O 1*, where the story is mentioned in connexion with the abuse of hospitality.

15-17. *Well worthy are the Essenians . . . siluer*] *Philotimus*, E 3, Among all sorts of conceyted fellowes, I reuerence the *Essenians*, as most cotinent in pleasures, & contented with nistles, for they abhor y* company of women, & detest y* possession of gold & siluer.*

ERRATA NOTICED IN VOLS. I-III

i. 27. 8 for werebetter read were better.
i. 131. 34 for thelike read the like.
i. 144. 25 for indicateread indicates.
i. 158. 30 for heir read their.
i. 174. marg. for a mans *ed. 92* reads mans.
i. 241. 20 for vponhim read vpon him.
i. 248. 18 for Hosier-Lane read Holier-Lane.
i. 355. 15 for have read haue.
i. 4. 12 for 1592 read 1593.
i. 132. 18 Dele kept.
   19 for in, then read kept in, then.
   26 for aftertruth read after truth.
i. 150. 6 for getgold read get gold.
i. 184. 5 for mustbee read must bee.
i. 367. 197 for danger read daunger.
i. 370. 294 footnote. for ] ye read ye].
i. 374. 2 for cleare read cleere.
i. 376. 37 for gloomy read gloomie.
i. 389. 82 footnote. ‘Exit. ’is not in Hurst.
i. 391. 160 footnote. Dele Hurst.
i. 59. 34 for citu read actu.
i. 133. 9 for the read the.
i. 171. 15 for sand will read sands will.
i. 252. marg. for Imberbi read Imberbis.

::* For notice of errata in *Dido* I am indebted to Mr. C. F. Tucker Brooke.