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ELIZABETHAN  
CRITICAL ESSAYS

*EDITED WITH AN INTRODUCTION*

BY

G. GREGORY SMITH  
"

*VOLUME II*

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<sup>1</sup> See note, p. 407.



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# GEORGE PUTTENHAM

(*THE ARTE OF ENGLISH POESIE*)

1589

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 The copy also contains eight unnumbered pages on the 'Device' and 'Anagram' (see p. 105), which were withdrawn while the volume was passing through the press: and it has the substituted passage in Book III, chap.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

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



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

# THE FIRST BOOKE OF POETS AND POESIE

## CHAP. I.

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

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

And this science in his perfection can not grow but by  
{ some diuine instinct—the Platonicks call it *furor*; or by excellencie of nature and complexion; or by great subtiltie of the spirits & wit; or by much experience and obseruation



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



our Princely purse, favours, and countenance,  
and what ye list, the poore man rich, the  
armed, the coward courageous, and vile both  
valiant: then for imitation no lesse, your  
most cunning counterfeiter lively representing  
maintenance, in life *Dionis*, *Pallas* for govern-  
ment in all honour and regall magnificence.

## CHAP. II.

IT MAY BE ASKED OF OUR ENGLISH POESIE,  
AS THERE IS OF THE GREEKE AND LATINE.

There was no art in the world till by experience  
if Poesie be now an Art, & of all antiquitie  
among the Greeks and Latines, & yet were  
by studious persons fashioned and retained  
of rules and precepts, then no doubt may  
like with vs. And if this Art of Poesie be  
appertaining to *ritorice*, why may not the  
vs as well as with them, our language being  
low, pitie, and signifyinge them things, our  
same, and our wits no lesse apt to devise  
then theirs were? If againe Art be but a  
of rules prescribed by reason, and gathered  
e, why should not Poesie be a vulgar Art  
ell as with the Greeks and Latines, our  
mitting no fewer rules and nice diversities  
but peradventure more by a peculiar, which  
hath in many things differing from theirs;  
the generall points of that Art, allowed to  
in with them: so as if one point perchance,  
of feete whereupon their measures stand, and  
of the beautie of their Poesie, and which feete  
nor as yet never went about to frame (the



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

### CHAP. III.

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

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



## Of Poets and Poesy

waiting or fit to redresse and eadise the cruell  
courage of man then it. And as these two P  
Linas before them, and Muscus also and Al  
Greece and Arimonia, so by all likelihood had  
done in other places and in other ages but  
though there be no remembrance left of them,  
of the Records by some accident of time per  
failing. Poets therefore are of great antiquitie  
forasmuch as they were the first that entend  
to observation of nature and her works, and so  
the Celestiall courses, by reason of the continu  
of the heavens, searching after the first manner,  
thence by degrees coming to know and consid  
substances separate & abstract, which we call  
15 intelligences or good Angels (Demones), they  
first that instituted sacrifices of placation, with  
and worship to them, as to Gods; and in  
established all the rest of the obseruances and  
of religion, and so were the first Priests and  
to the holy misteries. And ~~because for the better~~  
of that high charge and ~~function it behoued~~ th  
chast, and in all holines of life, and in contin  
and contemplation, they came by instinct diu  
deepe meditation, and much abstinence (the sam  
15 ing and refining their spirits) to be made apt t  
visions, both waking and sleeping, which made  
prophecies and foretell things to come. So  
they the first Prophetes or seers, *Valentes,* &  
Scripture teacheth them in Latine after the Hel  
to and all the oracles and answers of the gods were  
meter or verse, and published to the people  
direction. And for that they were aged and g  
and of much wisdom and experience in th  
the world, they were the first lawmakers to th  
15 and the first politicians, devising all expedien



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

#### CHAP. IV.

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

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



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



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

## CHAP. V.

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

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



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

## CHAP. VI.

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

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



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

## CHAP. VII.

20

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

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





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

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

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

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

*Vita palatina dura est animaeque ruina.*

And these written by a noble learned man.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

*O bone Calixte, totus mundus perodit te;  
Quondam Presbiteri poterant uxoribus uti;  
Hoc destruxisti postquam tu Papa fuisti.*

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

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

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

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

*Carmine clarissimae Cabus cantate comenae.*

And this was thought no small peece of cunning, being



in deed a matter of some difficultie to finde out so many wordes beginning with one letter as might make a iust volume, though in truth it were but a phantasticall deuise, and to no purpose at all more then to make them harmoni-  
call to the rude eares of those barbarous ages. 5

Another of their pretie inuentions was to make a verse of such wordes as by their nature and manner of construction and situation might be turned backward word by word, and make another perfit verse, but of quite contrary sence, as the gibing Monke that wrote of Pope *Alexander* 10  
these two verses.

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

Which if yé will turne backwards, they make two other good verses, but of a contrary sence, thus, 15

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

And they called it *Verse Lyon*.

Thus you may see the humors and appetites of men how diuers and chaungeable they be in liking new fashions, 20  
though many tymes worse then the old, and not onely in the manner of their life and vse of their garments, but also in their learninges and arts, and specially of their languages.

## CHAP. VIII. 25

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

For the respectes aforesayd in all former ages and in 30  
the most ciuill countreys and commons wealthes, good Poets and Poesie were highly esteemed and much faouored



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



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



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



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





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



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

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

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



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

## CHAP. IX.

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

Wherefore, the Nobilitie and dignitie of the Art considered aswell by vniuersalitie as antiquitie and the naturall excellence of it selfe, Poesie ought not to be abased and employed vpon any vnworthy matter & subiect, nor vsed to vaine purposes; which neuerthelesse is dayly 10 seene, and that is to vtter conceits infamous & vicious, or ridiculous and foolish, or of no good example & doctrine.

[ Albeit in merry matters (not vn honest) being vsed for mans solace and recreation it may be well allowed, for, as I said before, Poesie is a pleasant maner of vtterance, 15 varying from the ordinarie of purpose to refresh the mynde by the eares delight. Poesie also is not onely laudable, because I said it was a metricall speach vsed by the first men, but because it is a metricall speach corrected and reformed by discreet iudgements, and with 20 no lesse cunning and curiositie then the Greeke and Latine Poesie, and by Art bewtified & adorned & brought far from the primitiue rudenesse of the first inuentors: otherwise it may be sayd to me that *Adam* and *Eues* apernes were the gayest garmentes, because they were 25 the first, and the shepheardes tente or pauillion the best housing, because it was the most auncient & most vniuersall; which I would not haue so taken, for it is not my meaning but that Art & cunning concurring with nature, antiquitie, & vniuersalitie, in things indifferent, 30 and not euill, doe make them more laudable. And right so our vulgar riming Poesie, being by good wittes brought



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

## CHAP. X.

## THE SUBJECT OR MATTER OF POESIE.

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



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

## CHAP. XI.

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

As the matter of Poesie is diuers, so was the forme of their poemes & maner of writing, for all of them wrote not in one sort, euen as all of them wrote not vpon one matter. 10 Neither was euery Poet alike cunning in all, as in some one kinde of Poesie, nor vttered with like felicitie. But wherein any one most excelled, thereof he tooke a surname, as to be called a Poet *Heroick*, *Lyrick*, *Elegiack*, *Epigrammatist*, or otherwise. Such therefore as gaue 15 themselves to write long histories of the noble. gests of kings & great Princes entemedling the dealings of the gods, halfe gods, or *Heroes* of the gentiles, & the great & waighty consequences of peace and warre, they called Poets *Heroick*, whereof *Homer* was chief and most 20 auncient among the Greeks, *Virgill* among the Latines: Others who more delighted to write songs or ballads of pleasure, to be song with the voice, and to the harpe, lute, or citheron, & such other musical instruments, they were called melodious Poets (*melici*), or, by a more common 25 name, *Lirique* Poets: of which sort was *Pindarus*, *Anacreon*, and *Callimachus*, with others among the Greeks, *Horace* and *Catullus* among the Latines. There were an other sort, who sought the fauor of faire Ladies, and coueted to hemone their estates at large & the perplexities of loue 30 in a certain pitious verse called *Elegie*, and thence were called *Elegiack*: such among the Latines were *Ouid*,



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



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

## CHAP. XII.

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

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





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acknowledge but one God Almighty, euerlasting, and in euery respect selfe suffizant, *autharcos*, reposed in all perfect rest and soueraigne blisse, nor needing or exacting any forreine helpe or good, to him we can not exhibit overmuch praise, nor belye him any wayes, vnlesse it be in abasing his excellencie by scarsitie of praise, or by misconceauing his diuine nature, weening to praise him if we impute to him such vaine delights and peeuish affections as commonly the frailest men are reprobued for: namely, to make him ambitious of honour, iealous and difficult in his worships, terrible, angrie, vindicatiue, a loue, a hater, a pitier, and indigent of mans worships, finally, so passionate as in effect he shold be altogether *Anthropopathis*. To the gods of the Gentiles they might well attribute these infirmities, for they were but the children of men, great Princes and famous in the world, and not for any other respect diuine then by some resemblance of vertue they had to do good and to benefite many. So as to the God of the Christians such diuine praise might be verified; to th'other gods none, but figuratiuely or in misticall sense, as hath bene said. In which sort the ancient Poets did in deede giue them great honors & praises, and made to them sacrifices, and offred them oblations of sundry sortes, euen as the people were taught and perswaded by such placations and worships to receaue any helpe, comfort, or benefite to them selues, their wiues, children, possessions, or goods. For if that opinion were not, who would acknowledge any God? the verie *Etimologie* of the name with vs of the North partes of the world declaring plainely the nature of the attribute, which is all one as if we sayd good, *bonus*, or a giuer of good things. Therefore the Gentiles prayed for peace to the goddesse *Pallas*; for warre (such as thriued by it) to the god *Mars*; for honor and empire to the god *Iupiter*; for riches & wealth to *Pluto*; for 31



eloquence and gayne to *Mercurie*; for safe nauigation to *Neptune*; for faire weather and prosperous windes to *Eolus*; for skill in musick and leechcraft to *Apollo*; for free life & chastitie to *Diana*; for bewtie and good grace, 5 as also for issue & prosperitie in loue, to *Venus*; for plenty of crop and corne to *Ceres*; for seasonable vintage to *Bacchus*; and for other things to others. So many things as they could imagine good and desirable, and to so many gods as they supposed to be authors thereof, in 10 so much as *Fortune* was made a goddesse, & the feuer quartaine had her aulters: such blindnes & ignorance raigned in the harts of men at that time, and whereof it first proceeded and grew, besides th'opinion hath bene giuen, appeareth more at large in our bookes of *Ierrotekni*, 15 the matter being of another consideration then to be treated of in this worke. And these hymnes to the gods was the first forme of Poesie and the highest & the stateliest, & they were song by the Poets as priests, and by the people or whole congregation, as we sing in our 20 Churches the Psalmes of *Dauid*, but they did it commonly in some abadie groues of tall tymber trees: In which places they reared aulters of green turfe, and bestrewed them all ouer with flowers, and ypon them offred their oblations and made their bloody sacrifices (for no kinde 25 of gift can be dearer then life) of such quick cattaille, as euery god was in their conceit most delighted in, or in some other respect most fit for the misterie: temples or churches or other chappels then these they had none at those dayes.

30

## CHAP. XIII.

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

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



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



r life, and to bring the law to amendment by these  
of poeings; wherupon the Poets inventions of  
his were called Satyras.

CHAP. III.

THE WAS APPROVED RECORDED BY TWO OTHER  
OF BOOKS, BEINGE RECORDED WITH THE SATYRE,  
AND THE FIRST WAS CALLED, THE SECOND

when these manner of solitary speeches and recitals  
the, waered by the small gods out of bushes and  
scemed out to the finer heads sufficiently perswasive,  
popular as if it were reduced into action of many  
s, or by many voyces lively represented to the eare  
g, so as a man might thinke it were even now a  
the Poets devised to have many parts played at  
y two or three or foure persons, that debated the  
s of the world, sometimes of their owne private  
s, sometimes of their neighbours, but never meddling  
y Princes matters nor such high personages, but  
y of merchants, souldiers, artificers, good honest  
lders, and also of vntility youtnes, yong damels,  
rres, hawds, brokers, ruffians, and parasites, with  
like, in whose behaviors lyeth in effect the whole  
and trade of mans life, and therefore tended al-  
r to the good amendment of man by discipline and  
le. It was also much for the solace & recreation of  
nnon people by reason of the pageants and shewes.  
his kind of poeme was called Comedy, and followed  
fter the Satyre, & by that occasion was somewhat  
and bitter after the nature of the Satyre, openly &  
resse names taxing men more maliciously and im-  
ly then became, so as they were enforced for feare



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

## CHAP. XV.

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

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



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



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

## CHAP. XVI.

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

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





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



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

## CHAP. XVIII.

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

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











And all this may be true, for before there was a shepherd keeper of his owne or of some other issues Sinne, there was none owner in the world, quick called being the property of any forreine possession. I say errone, cause alway men claimed property in their apparell and armour, and other like things made by their owne trade and industry, nor thereby was there yet any good town or city, or Kings palace, where pageants and pompes might be shewed by Comedies or Tragedies. But for all this I do deny that the *Eglogue* should be the first and most ancient forme of artificiall Poesie, being persuaded that the Poet devised the *Eglogue* long after the other dramatick poems, not of purpose to counterfeit or represent the rusticall manner of loves and communication, but under the vaile of homely persons and in rude speeches to insinuate and glaunce at greater matters, and such as perchance had not bene safe to have bene disclosed in another sort, which may be perceiued by the *Eglogues* of *Virgill*, in which are treated by figure matters of great importance then the loves of *Titirus* and *Corydon*. The *Eglogues* came after to containe and enforme morall discipline, for the amendment of mans behaviour, as be the *of Mantuan* and other moderne Poets.

## CHAP. XIX.

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

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



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



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





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

## CHAP. XX.

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

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



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



## CHAP. XXI.

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

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

## CHAP. XXII.

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

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



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

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## CHAP. XXIII.

## THE FORME OF POETICALL REIOYSINGS.

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



Maiestie (my most gracious Soueraigne) haue shewed your selfe to all the world, for this one and thirty yeares space of your glorious raigne, aboue all other Princes of Christendome, not onely fortunate, but also most sufficient, vertuous, and worthy of Empire. An other is for iust & 5 honourable victory atchieued against the forraine enemy. A third at solemne feasts and pompes of coronations and eninstallments of honourable orders. An other for iollity at weddings and marriages. An other at the births of Princes children. An other for priuate entertainments in 10 Court, or other secret disports in chamber, and such solitary places. And as these reioysings tend to diuers effects, so do they also carry diuerse formes and nominations; for those of victorie and peace are called *Triumphall*, whereof we our selues haue heretofore giuen some example 15 by our *Triumphals*, written in honour of her Maiesties long peace. And they were vsed by the auncients in like manner as we do our generall processions or Letanies, with bankets and bonefires and all manner of ioyes. Those that were to honour the persons of great Princes 20 or to solemnise the pompes of any installment were called *Encomia*; we may call them carols of honour. Those to celebrate marriages were called songs nuptiall or *Epithalamies*, but in a certaine misticall sense, as shall be said hereafter. Others for magnificence at the natiuities of 25 Princes children, or by custome vsed yearely vpon the same dayes, are called songs natall, or *Genethliaca*. Others for secret recreation and pastime in chambers with company or alone were the ordinary Musickes amorous, such as might be song with voice or to the Lute, Citheron, 30 or Harpe, or daunced by measures, as the Italian Pauan and galliard are at these daies in Princes Courts and other places of honourable or ciuill assembly; and of all these we will speake in order and very briefly.



## CHAP. XXIV.

## THE FORME OF POETICALL LAMENTATIONS.

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



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





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honorable, by presenting of ioyfull songs and ballades, praying the parentes by prooffe, the child by hope, the whole kinred by report, & the day it selfe with wishes of all good successe, long life, health, & prosperitie for euer to the new borne. These poemes were called in Greeke 5 *Genet[h]liaca*; with vs they may be called natall or birth songs.

## CHAP. XXVI.

### THE MANER OF REIOYSINGS AT MARIAGES AND WEDDINGS.

As the consolation of children well begotten is great, no 10 lesse but rather greater ought to be that which is occasion of children, that is honorable matrimonie, a loue by al lawes allowed, not mutable nor encombred with such vaine cares & passions, as that other loue, whereof there is no assurance, but loose and fickle affection occasioned for the 15 most part by sodaine sights and acquaintance of no long triall or experience, nor vpon any other good ground wherein any suretie may be conceiued: wherefore the Ciuill Poet could do no lesse in conscience and credit, then as he had before done to the ballade of birth, now 20 with much better deuotion to celebrate by his poeme the chearefull day of mariages aswell Princely as others, for that hath alwayes bene accompted with euery countrey and nation of neuer so barbarous people the highest & holiest of any ceremonie apperteining to man; a match 25 forsooth made for euer and not for a day, a solace prouided for youth, a comfort for age, a knot of alliance & amitie indissoluble: great reioysing was therefore due to such a matter and to so gladsome a time. This was done in ballade wise, as the natall song, and was song very sweetely 30 by Musitians at the chamber dore of the Bridegroom and Bride at such times as shalbe hereafter declared, and they were called *Epithalamies*, as much to say as ballades at the



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



the onset and first encounters of that amorous battaile, to declare the comfort of children, & encrease of loue by that meane cheifly caused: the bride shewing her self euery waics well disposed, and still supplying occasions of new lustes and loue to her husband by her obedience and 5 amorous embracings and all other allurementes. About midnight or one of the clocke, the Musicians came again to the chamber dore (all the Ladies and other women as they were of degree hauing taken their leaue, and being gone to their rest). This part of the ballade was to refresh 10 the faint and weried bodies and spirits, and to animate new appetites with cherefull wordes, encoraging them to the recontinuance of the same entertainments, praising and commending (by supposall) the good conformities of them both, & their desire one to vanquish the other by such 15 frendly conflictes; alledging that the first embracementes neuer bred barnes, by reason of their ouermuch affection and heate, but onely made passage for children and enforced greater liking to the late made match; that the second assaultes were lesse rigorous, but more vigorous 20 and apt to auance the purpose of procreation; that therefore they should persist in all good appetite with an inuincible courage to the end. This was the second part of the *Epithalamie*. In the morning when it was faire broad day, & that by liklyhood all tournes were sufficiently 25 serued, the last actes of the enterlude being ended, & that the bride must within few hours arise and apparrell her selfe, no more as a virgine but as a wife, and about dinner time must by order come forth *Sicut sponsa de thalamo* very demurely and stately to be sene and acknowledged 30 of her parents and kinsfolkes whether she were the same woman or a changeling, or dead or aliue, or maimed by any accident nocturnall, the same Musicians came againe with this last part and greeted them both with a Psalme of new applausions, for that they had either of them so 35



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



## CHAP. XXVII.

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

But all the world could not keepe, nor any ciuill ordinance 5 to the contrary so preuaile, but that men would and must needs vtter their splenes in all ordinarie matters also, or else it seemed their bowels would burst: therefore the poet deuised a prety fashioned poeme short and sweete (as we are wont to say) and called it *Epigramma*, in which 10 euery mery conceited man might, without any long studie or tedious ambage, make his frend sport, and anger his foe, and giuc a prettie nip, or shew a sharpe conceit in few verses: for this *Epigramme* is but an inscription or writting made as it were vpon a table, or in a windowe, 15 or vpon the wall or mantell of a chimney in some place of common resort, where it was allowed euery man might come, or be sitting to chat and prate, as now in our tauernes and common tabling houses, where many merry heades meete, and scribe with ynke, with chalke, or with 20 a cole, such matters as they would euery man should know & descant vpon. Afterward the same came to be put in paper and in bookes and vsed as ordinarie missiues, some of frendship, some of defiaunce, or as other messages of mirth. *Martiall* was the cheife of this skil among the 25 Latines, & at these days the best Epigrammes we finde, & of the sharpest conceit, are those that haue bene gathered among the reliques of the two muet *Satyres* in Rome, *Pasquill* and *Marphorius*, which in time of *Sede vacante*, when merry conceited men listed to gibe & iest 30 at the dead Pope or any of his Cardinales, they fastened them vpon those Images which now lie in the open streets, and were tollerated, but after that terme expired they were



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

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

Which I haue thus Englished :

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

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

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

Thus :

*Sic vos non vobis*  
 30 *Sic vos non vobis*  
*Sic vos non vobis*  
*Sic vos non vobis*

And there it remained a great while because no man



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

*Hos ego versiculos feci: tulit alter honores.*

And then finished the foure half metres, thus:

Fibres of verses	<i>Sic vos non vobis</i>	<i>nidificatis aues.</i>
	<i>Sic vos non vobis</i>	<i>vellera fertis oues.</i>
	<i>Sic vos non vobis</i>	<i>mellificatis apes.</i>
	<i>Sic vos non vobis</i>	<i>fertis aratra boues.</i>

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

## CHAP. XXVIII.

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

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





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I finde mans frailtie to be naturally such, and alwayes hath beene, that he cannot conceiue it in his owne case, nor shew that patience and moderation in such greifs, as becommeth the man perfite and accomplisht in all vertue: but either in deede or by word he will seeke reuenge 5 against them that malice him, or practise his barmes, specially such foes as oppose themselues to a mans loues. This made the auncient Poetes to inuent a meane to rid the gall of all such Vindicatiue men: so as they might be awrecked of their wrong, & neuer bely their cnemie with 10 slaunderous vntruthes. And this was done by a maner of imprecation, or as we call it by cursing and banning of the parties, and wishing all euill to alight vpon them, and, though it neuer the sooner happened, yet was it great easment to the boiling stomacke. They were called *Dirae*, 15 such as *Virgill* made against *Battarus*, and *Ouide* against *Ibis*: we Christians are forbidden to vse such vncharitable fashions, and willed to referre all our reuenges to God alone.

## CHAP. XXX.

20

## OF SHORT EPIGRAMES CALLED POSIES.

There be also other like Epigrammes that were sent vsually for new yeares giftes, or to be Printed or put vpon their banketting dishes of suger plate or of march paines, & such other dainty meates as by the curtesie & custome 25 euery gest might carry from a common feast home with him to his owne house, & were made for the nonce. They were called *Nenia* or *apophoreta*, and neuer contained aboue one verse, or two at the most, but the shorter the better; we call them Posies, and do paint 30 them now a dayes vpon the backe sides of our fruite trenchers of wood, or vse them as deuises in rings and armes and about such courtly purposes.



So have we remembered and set forth to your Maiestie very briefly all the commended formes of the auncient Poetrie, which we in our vulgar makings do imitate and use under these common names: entrecode, song, ballade, caroll, and ditty; borrowing them also from the French, as sauing this word 'song' which is our naturall Saxon English word: the rest, such as fine and usurpation by custome have allowed vs out of the primitive Greeke & Latine, as Comedie, Tragedie, Ode, Epitaphie, Elegie, Epigramme, and other more. And we have purposely omitted all nice or scholeasticall curiosities not meete for your Maiesties contemplation in this our vulgar arte, and what we have written of the auncient formes of Poemes we have taken from the best clerks writing in the same arte. The part that next followeth, to wit of proportion, because the Greeks nor Latines never had it in use nor made any obseruation, so more then we doe of their fault, we may truly allowe to have bene the first devisers thereof our selves, as chivaliers, and not to have borrowed it of any other by learning or imitation, and thereby trusting to be holden the more excusable if any thing in this our labours happen either to mislike or to come short of the authors purpose, because commonly the first attempt in any arte or engine artificiall is unworkable, & in time by other experiences is reformed. And so no doubt may this devise of ours be, by others that shall take the penne in hand after vs.

**CHAP. XXXI**

**WHO IN ANY AGE HAVE BEEN THE MOST COMMENDED WRITERS IN OUR ENGLISH POESIE, AND THE ACYTESSES  
30 CENSURE GIVEN UPON THEM**

It appeareth by many records of bookes both printed & written that many of our countreye e painfully



trauelled in this part: of whose works some appeare to be  
 but bare translations, other some matters of their owne  
 inuention and very commendable, whereof some recitall  
 shall be made in this place, to th'intent chiefly that their  
 names should not be defrauded of such honour as seemeth 5  
 due to them for hauing by their thankfull studies so much  
 beautified our English tong as at this day it will be found  
 our nation is in nothing inferiour to the French or Italian  
 for copie of language, subiltie of deuice, good method and  
 proportion in any forme of poeme, but that they may 10  
 compare with the most, and perchance passe a great many  
 of them. And I will not reach aboue the time of king  
*Edward* the third and *Richard* the second for any that  
 wrote in English meeter, because before their times, by  
 reason of the late Normane conquest, which had brought 15  
 into this Realme much alteration both of our langage and  
 lawes, and there withall a certain martiall barbarousnes,  
 whereby the study of all good learning was so much  
 decayd as long time after no man or very few entended  
 to write in any laudable science: so as beyond that time 20  
 there is litle or nothing worth commendation to be founde  
 written in this arte. And those of the first age were  
*Chaucer* and *Gower*, both of them, as I suppose, Knightes.  
 After whom followed *Iohn Lydgate*, the monke of Bury,  
 & that nameles, who wrote the *Satyre* called *Piers Plow-* 25  
*man*; next him followed *Harding*, the Chronicler; then, in  
 king *Henry* th'eights time, *Skelton*, (I wot not for what  
 great worthines) surnamed the Poet *Laureat*. In the  
 latter end of the same kings raigne sprong vp a new  
 company of courtly makers, of whom Sir *Thomas Wyat* 30  
 th'elder & *Henry* Earle of *Surrey* were the two chiestaines,  
 who hauing trauailed into Italie, and there tasted the  
 sweete and stately measures and stile of the Italian Poesie,  
 as nouices newly crept out of the schooles of *Dante*,  
*Arioste*, and *Petrarch*, they greatly polished our rude & 35



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



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



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



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





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Musike, or that of melodious instruments, as Lutes, Harpes, Regals, Records, and such like. And this our proportion Poeticall resteth in five points: Staffe, Measure, Concord, Scituation, and Figure, all which shall be spoken of in their places. 5

## CHAP. II.

### OF PROPORTION IN STAFFE.

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



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

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

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

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

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



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

### CHAP. III.

#### OF PROPORTION IN MEASURE.

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



and therefore to every *bissillable* they allowed two times, & to a *trissillable* three times, & to every *polisillable* more, according to his quantitie, & their times were some long, some short, according as their motions were slow or swift.

5 For the sound of some sillable stayd the eare a great while, and others slid away so quickly, as if they had not bene pronounced; then every sillable being allowed one time, either short or long, it fell out that every *tetrasillable* had foure times, every *trissillable* three, and the *bissillable* two, by which obseruation every word, not vnder that sise, as he ranne or stood in a verse, was called by them a foote of such and so many times, namely the *bissillable* was either of two long times, as the *spondeus*, or two short, as the *pir[is]chius*, or of a long & a short as the *trocheus*, or of a short and a long as the *iambus*; the like rule did they set vpon the word *trissillable*, calling him a foote of three times, as the *dactilus* of a long and two short, the *molossus* of three long, the *tribracchus* of three short, the *amphibracchus* of two long and a short, the *amphimacer* of

10 two short and a long. The word of foure sillables they called a foote of foure times, some or all of them, either long or short: and yet, not so content, they mounted higher, and, because their wordes serued well thereto, they made feete of sixe times; but this proceeded more of

15 curiositie then otherwise, for whatsoever foote passe the *trissillable* is compounded of his inferiour, as every number Arithmetically aboue three is compounded of the inferiour number, as twice two make foure, but the three is made of one number, videl. of two and an vnitie. Now because

20 our naturall & primitiue language of the *Saxon English* beares not any wordes (at least very few) of moe sillables then one (for whatsoever we see exceede commeth to vs by the alterations of our language growen vpon many conquestes and otherwise), there could be no such obser-

25 uation of times in the sound of our wordes, & for that



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



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

## CHAP. IV<sup>1</sup>.

### HOW MANY SORTS OF MEASURES WE VSE IN OUR VULGAR.

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

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

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



trissillable and one monosillable, thus, *Soueraigne God*; or two bissillables, and that is plesant, thus, *Restore againe*; or with foure monossillables, and that is best of all, thus, *When I doe thinke*. I finde no fauour in a meetre of three sillables, nor in effect in any odde; but they may 5 be vsed for varietie sake, and specially, being enterlaced with others, the meetre of six sillables is very sweete and delicate, as thus,

O God, when I behold  
 This bright heauen so hye, 10  
 By thine owne hands of old  
 Contriud so cunningly.

The meter of seuen sillables is not vsual, no more is that of nine and eleuen; yet if they be well composed, that is, their *Cesure* well appointed, and their last accent which 15 makes the concord, they are commendable inough, as in this ditty, where one verse is of eight, an other is of seuen, and in the one the accent vpon the last, in the other vpon the last saue on.

The smoakie sighes, the bitter teares, 20  
 That I in vaine haue wasted,  
 The broken sleepes, the woe and feares,  
 That long in me haue lasted,  
 Will be my death, all by thy guilt,  
 And not by my deseruing, 25  
 Since so inconstantly thou wilt  
 Not loue, but still be sweruing.

And all the reason why these meeters in all sillable are allowable is, for that the sharpe accent falles vpon the *penultima* or last saue one sillable of the verse, which doth 30 so drowne the last, as he seemeth to passe away in maner vnpronounced, & so make the verse seeme euen: but if the accent fall vpon the last and leaue two flat to finish





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vsuall; with the auncient makers it was not so. For before Sir *Thomas Wiats* time they were not vsed in our vulgar; they be for graue and stately matters fitter than for any other ditty of pleasure. Some makers write in verses of foureteene sillables, giuing the *Cesure* at the first 5 eight; which proportion is tedious, for the length of the verse kepeth the care too long from his delight, which is to heare the cadence or the tuneable accent in the ende of the verse. Neuerthelesse that of twelue, if his *Cesure* be iust in the middle, and that ye suffer him to runne at 10 full length, and do not as the common rimers do, or their Printer for sparing of paper, cut them of in the middest, wherin they make in two verses but halfe rime, they do very wel, as wrote the Earle of Surrey, translating the booke of the preacher,

15

Salomon Dauids sonne, king of Ierusalem.

This verse is very good *Alexandrine*, but perchaunce woulde haue sounded more musically if the first word had bene a dissillable or two monosillables, and not a trissillable: hauing this sharpe accent vppon the *Ante- 20 penultima* as it hath, by which occasion it runnes like a *Dactill*, and carries the two later sillables away so speedily as it seemes but one foote in our vulgar measure, and by that meanes makes the verse seeme but of cleuen sillables, which odnesse is nothing pleasant to the eare. 25 Iudge some body whether it would haue done better if it might haue bene sayd thus,

Robóham Dauids sonne, king of Ierusalem,  
letting the sharpe accent fall vpon *bo*; or thus,

Restóre king Dáuids sónne vntó Ierúsaléní.

30

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



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

## CHAP. V.

## OF CESURE.

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



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



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



be vsed for a commodious and sensible distinction of clauses in prose, since euery verse is as it were a clause of it selfe, and limited with a *Cesure* howsoeuer the sence beare, perfect or imperfect, which difference is obseruable betwixt the prose and the meeter. 5

3

## CHAP. VI.

OF PROPORTION IN CONCORD, CALLED SYMPHONIE  
OR RIME.

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



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

## CHAP. VII.

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

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



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





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

## CHAP. IX.

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

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



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

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



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

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

## CHAP. X.

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

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



make the large and commanding measure of  
time be dark and to the same end as  
then popular, and yet therein is not to be  
for respects that shall be remembered in some other place of  
his books.

Note also that rime or measure is not necessarily  
red both in the end and middle of a verse, since it is  
in loyes and willing Poets, for it sheweth a certain  
lightness either of the matter or of the manner here  
what these common rimes are it must be, as I say  
before, like as the Symphonie is a verse of great length  
is, as it were, but by looking after him, and yet may the  
note be very grave and steady, as on the other side  
both the over basic and the quality nature of the same  
of time too much annoy it, as it were, glistering and  
it be in small & popular Musicks sung by these Cant-  
boys upon benches and barrels heads, where they have  
none other audience than boys or country fellows that  
passe by them in the streets, or else by blind beggers or  
such like tawerne minstrels that give a fit of mirth for  
a groat, & their matters being for the most part stories of  
old time, as the tale of Sir Iohn, the exploits of John  
of Southampton, Guy of Warwick, Adam Bell, and Gylgost  
of the Clough, & such other old Romances or historical  
rimes, made purposely for recreation of the common  
people at Christmas times & holidays, and in taverns  
& alehouses, and such other places of low resort; also  
they be used in Carols and rounds and such light or  
lasciuious Poemes, which are commonly more commo-  
diously vttered by these buffons or vices in playes then  
by any other person. Such were the rimes of Skelton  
vsurping the name of a Poet Laureat, being in deed  
but a rude rayling rimer & all his doings ridiculous: he  
used both short distaunces and short measures, pleasing  
only the popular eare: in our courtly maker we banish



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

## CHAP. XI.

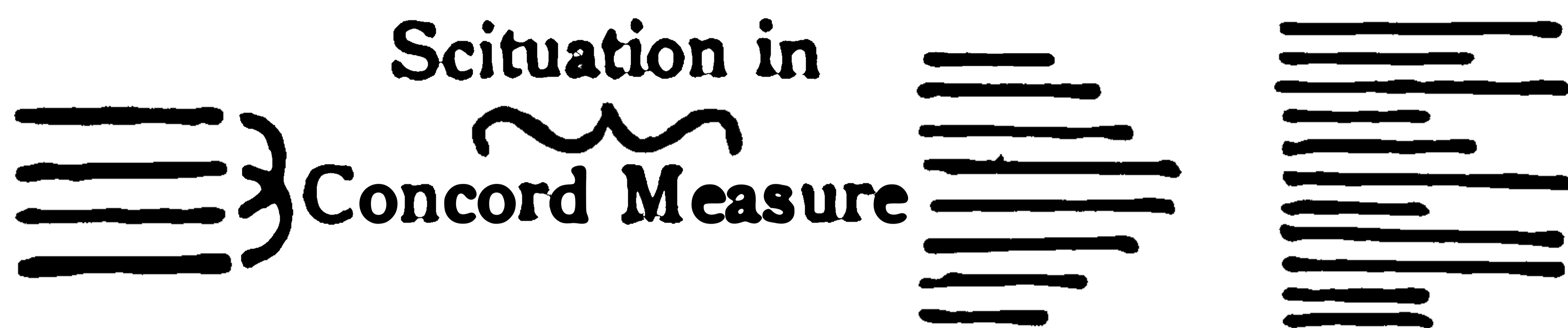
4

### OF PROPORTION BY SITUATION.

This proportion consisteth in placing of euery verse in a staffe or ditty by such reasonable distaunces as may best serue the care for delight, and also to shew the Poets art and variety of Musick. And the proportion is double: 10 one by marshalling the meetres, and limiting their distaunces, hauing regard to the rime or concorde how they go and returne; another by placing euery verse, hauing a regard to his measure and quantitie onely, and not to his concorde, as to set one short meetre to three long, or 15 foure short and two long, or a short measure and a long, or of diuers lengthes with relation one to another, which maner of *Situation*, cuen without respect of the rime, doth alter the nature of the Poesie, and make it either lighter or grauer, or more merry, or mournfull, and many wayes 20 passionate to the care and hart of the bearer, seeming for this point that our maker by his measures and concordes of sundry proportions doth counterfait the harmonically tunes of the vocali and instrumentall Musickes. As the *Dorien*, because his falls, sallyes, and compasse be 25 diuers from those of the *Phrigien*, the *Phrygien* likewise from the *Lydien*, and all three from the *Eolien*, *Miolidien*, and *Ionien*, mounting and falling from note to note such as be to them peculiar, and with more or lesse leasure or precip[itation]; cuen so by diuersitie of placing and scituation 30 of your measures and concords, a short with a long, and by



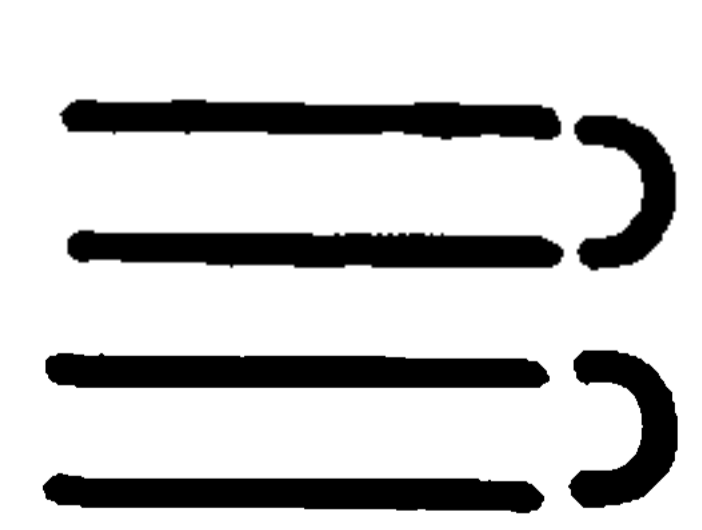
narrow or wide distances, or thicker or thinner bestowing of them, your proportions differ, and breedeth a variable and strange harmonie not onely in the care, but also in the conceit of them that heare it; whereof this may be an ocular example.



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

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

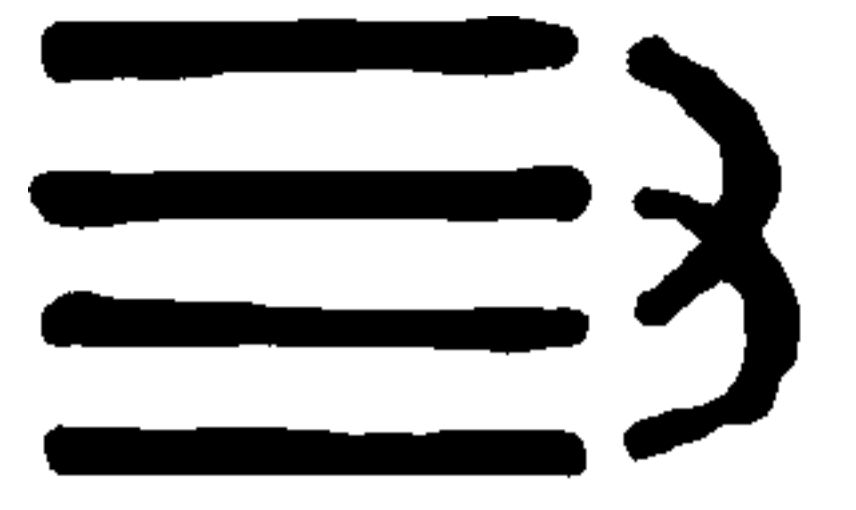
And the first distance for the most part goeth all by *distick* or couples of verses agreeing in one cadence, and do passe so speedily away and so often returne agayne, as their tunes are neuer lost nor out of the care, one couple supplying another so nye and so suddenly: and this is the most vulgar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



Second distance is when ye passe ouer one verse, and



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

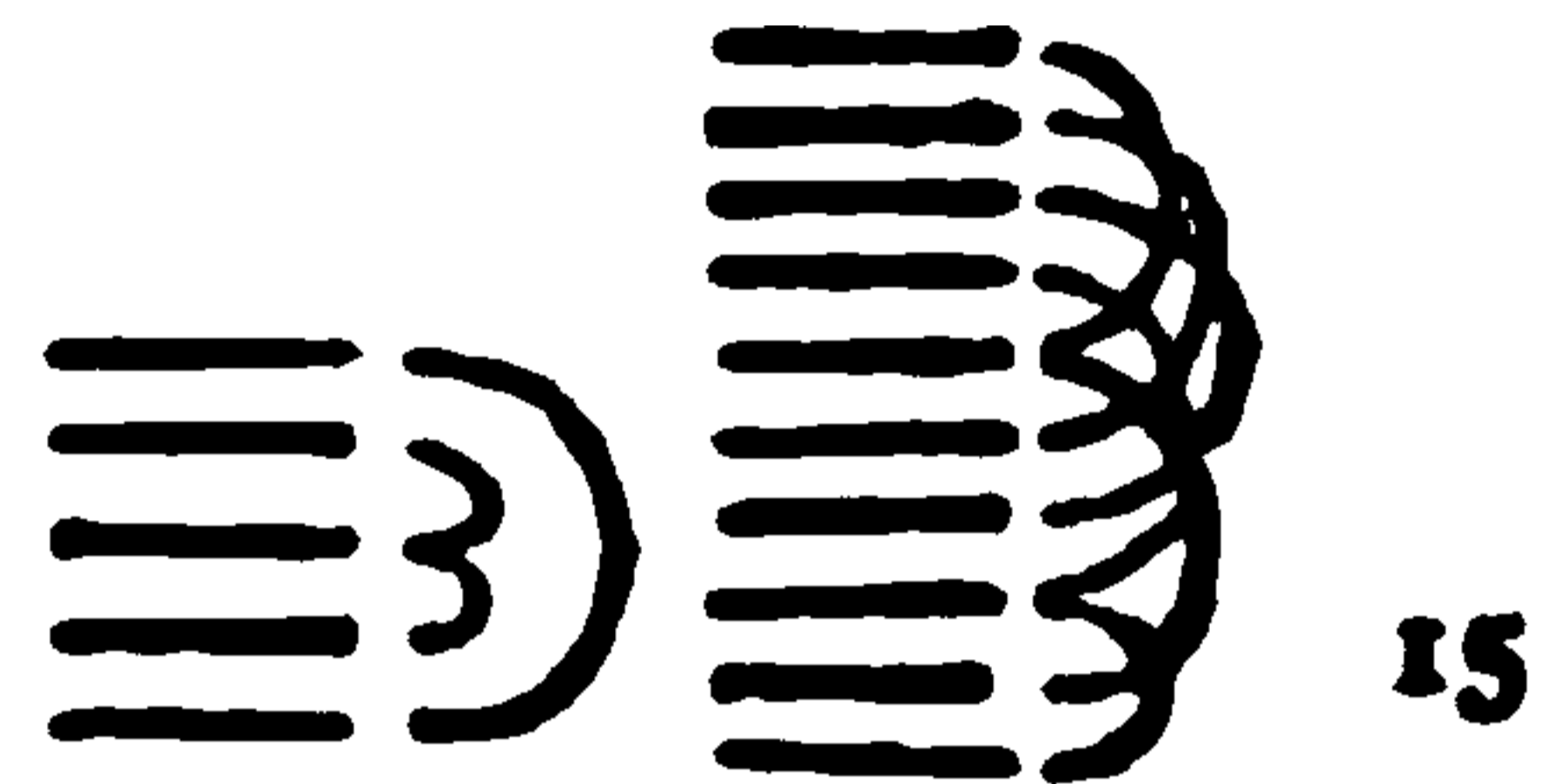


Third distaunce is when your rime falleth vpon the first and fourth verse, ouerleaping two: this maner is not so common, but pleasant and allowable inough.



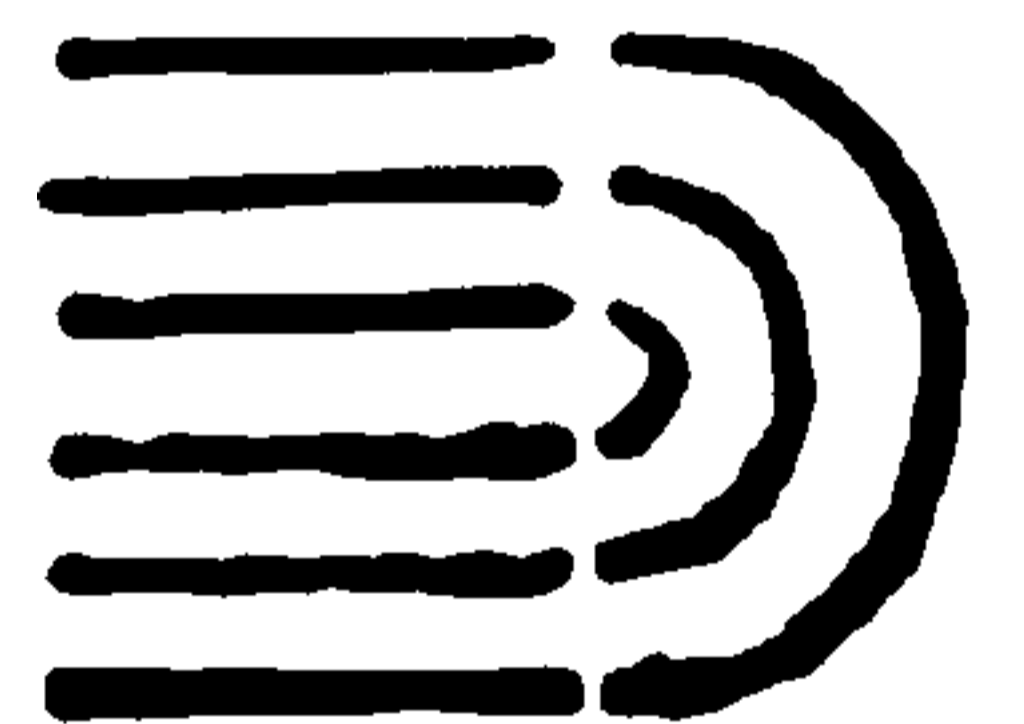
In which case the two verses ye leaue out are ready to receiue their concordances by the same distaunce or any other ye like better.

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

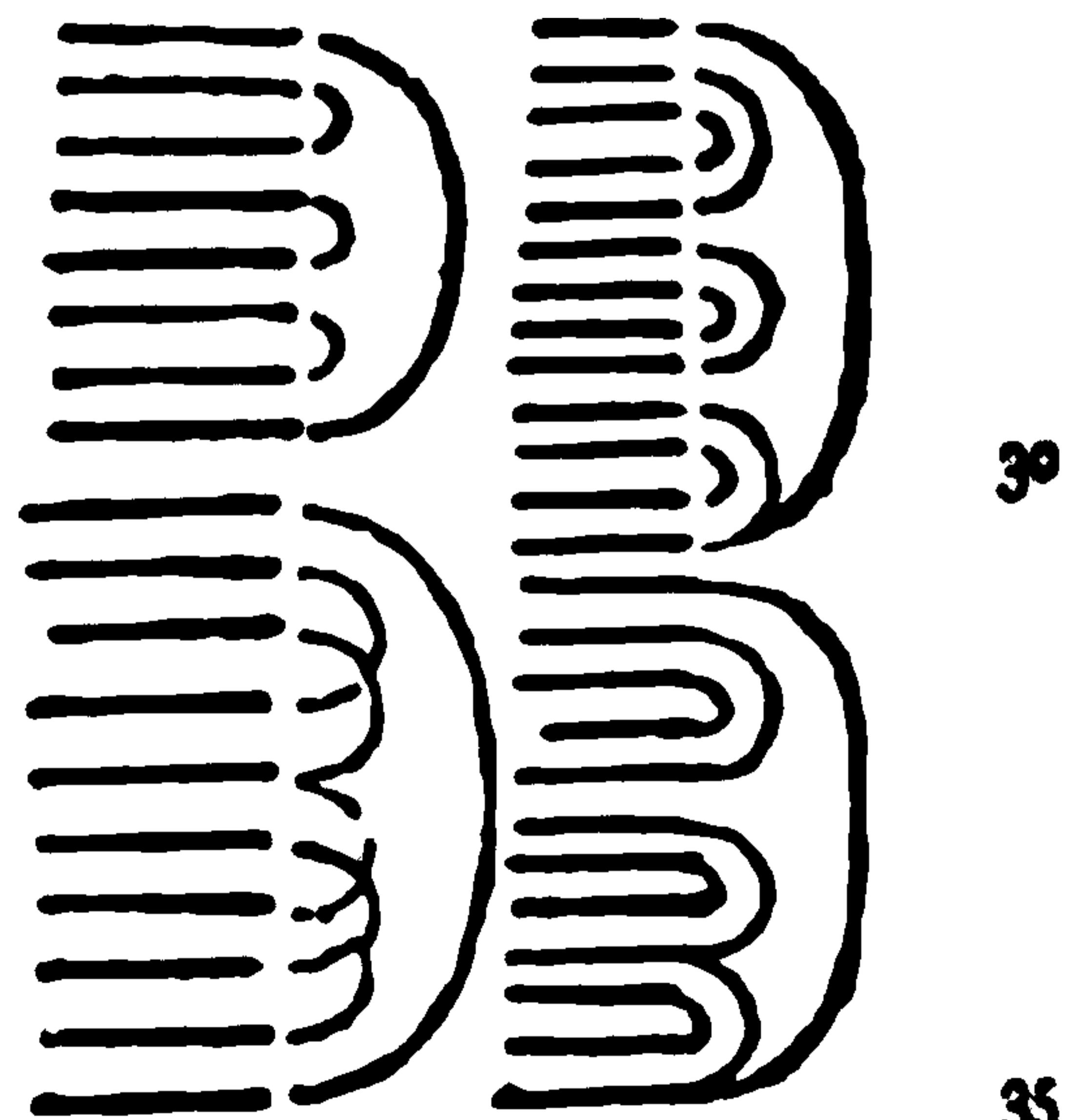


“, „, „, „, „, „, „, „, „, „

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



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







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The staffe of fve hath seuen proportions, as



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

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



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



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

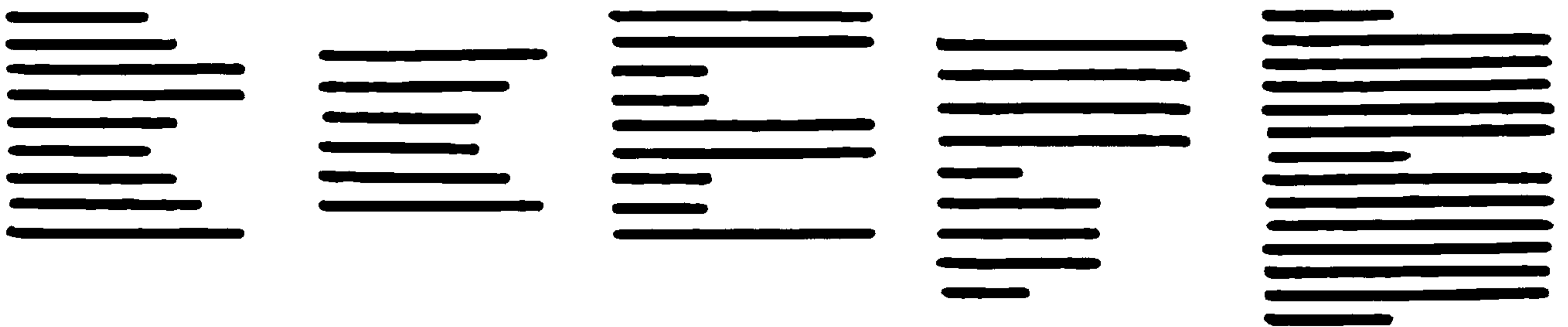
The staffe of nine verses hath yet moe then the eight, and the staffe of ten more then the ninth, and the twelfth, if such were allowable in ditties, more then any of them all, by reason of his largenesse receiuing moe compasses and enterweauings, alwayes considered that the very large distances be more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



Now ye may perceiue by these proportions before described that there is a band to be giuen euery verse in a staffe, so as none fall out alone or vncoupled, and this band maketh that the staffe is sayd fast and not loose; 5 euen as ye see in buildings of stone or bricke the mason giueth a band, that is a length to two breadths, & vpon necessitie diuers other sorts of bands to hold in the worke fast and maintaine the perpendicularitie of the wall: so, in any staffe of seuen or eight or more verses, the coupling 10 of the moe meeters by rime or concord is the faster band, the fewer the looser band, and therefore in a *huiteine* he that putteth foure verses in one concord and foure in another concord, and in a *disaine* five, sheweth him selfe more cunning, and also more copious in his 15 owne language. For he that can find two words of concord can not find foure or five or sixe, vnlesse he haue his owne language at will. Sometime also ye are driuen of necessitie to close and make band more then ye would, lest otherwise the staffe should fall asunder and seeme 20 two staues: and this is in a staffe of eight and ten verses: whereas without a band in the middle, it would seeme two *quadreins* or two *quintaines*, which is an error that many makers slide away with. Yet *Chaucer* and others in the staffe of seuen and sixe do almost as much a misse, 25 for they shut vp the staffe with a *disticke*, concurring with none other verse that went before, and maketh but a loose rime, and yet, bycause of the double cadence in the last two verses, serue the care well inough. And as there is in euery staffe band giuen to the verses by concord more 30 or lesse busic, so is there in some cases a band giuen to euery staffe, and that is by one whole verse running alone throughout the ditty or ballade, either in the middle or end of euery staffe. The Greekes called such vncoupled verse *Epimonie*, the Latines *Versus intercalaris*. 35 Now touching the situation of measures, there are as



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



Which maner of proportion by situation of measures giueth more efficacie to the matter oftentimes then the concords 5 them selues, and both proportions concurring together as they needes must, it is of much more beautie and force to the hearers mind.

To finish the learning of this diuision, I will set you downe one example of a dittie written extempore with this 10 deuise, shewing not onely much promptnesse of wit in the maker, but also great arte and a notable memorie. Make me, saith this writer to one of the companie, so many strokes or lines with your pen as ye would haue your song containe verses; and let euery line beare his 15 seuerall length, euen as ye would haue your verse of measure. Suppose of foure, fise, sixe, or eight, or more sillables, and set a figure of euerie number at th' end of the line, whereby ye may knowe his measure. Then where you will haue your rime or concord to fall, marke 20 it with a compast stroke or semicircle passing ouer those lines, be they farre or neare in distance, as ye haue seene before described. And bycause ye shall not thinke the maker hath premeditated beforehand any such fashioned ditty, do ye your selfe make one verse, whether it be of 25 perfect or imperfect sense, and giuc it him for a theame to make all the rest vpon. If ye shall perceiue the maker do keepe the measures and rime as ye haue appointed him, and besides do make his dittie sensible and ensuant





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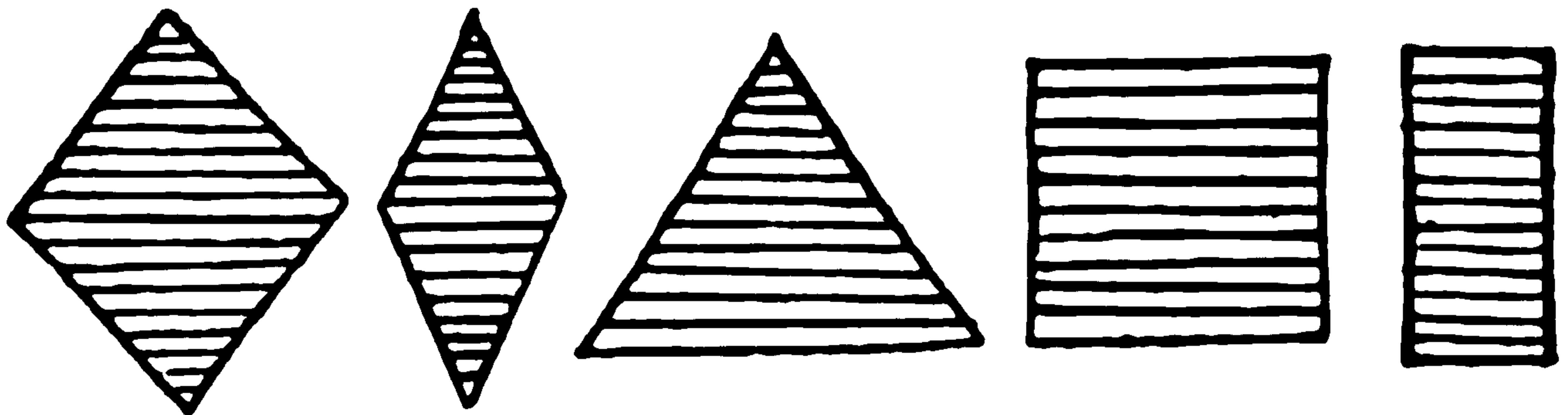
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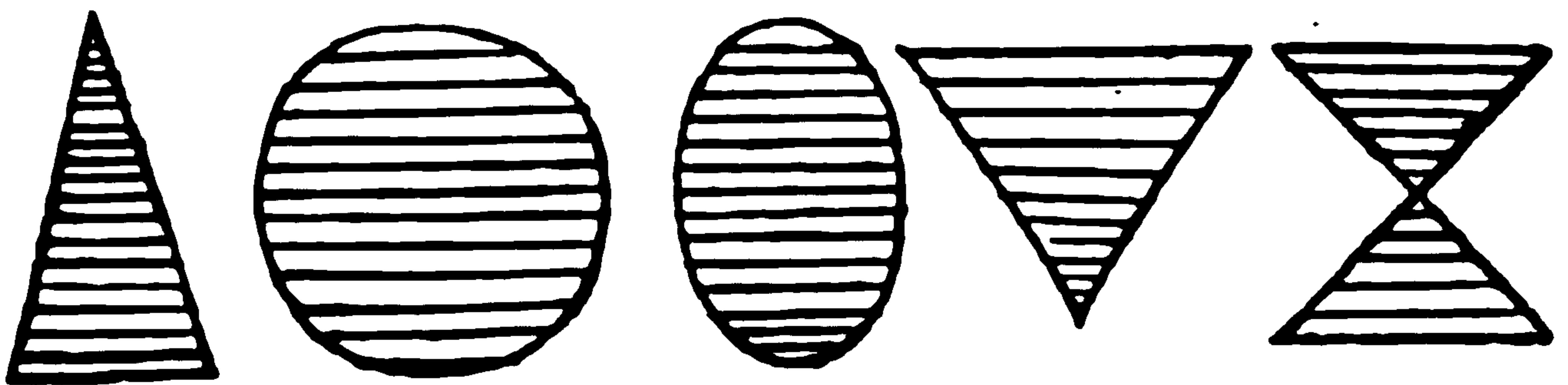


much as we do in long tedious descriptions, and therefore when they will vtter any pretie conceit, they reduce it into metricall feet, and put it in forme of a *Losange* or square, or such other figure; and so engraue in gold, siluer, or iuorie, and sometimes with letters of ametist, rubie, emeralde,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

The Lozange, called Rombus.      The Fuzie or spindle, called Romboides.      The Triangle or Tricquet.      The Square or quadrangle.      The Pillaster or Cillinder.



The Spire or taper, called piramis.      The Rondel or Sphere.      The egge or figure ouall.      The Tricquet reuerst.      The Tricquet displayed.

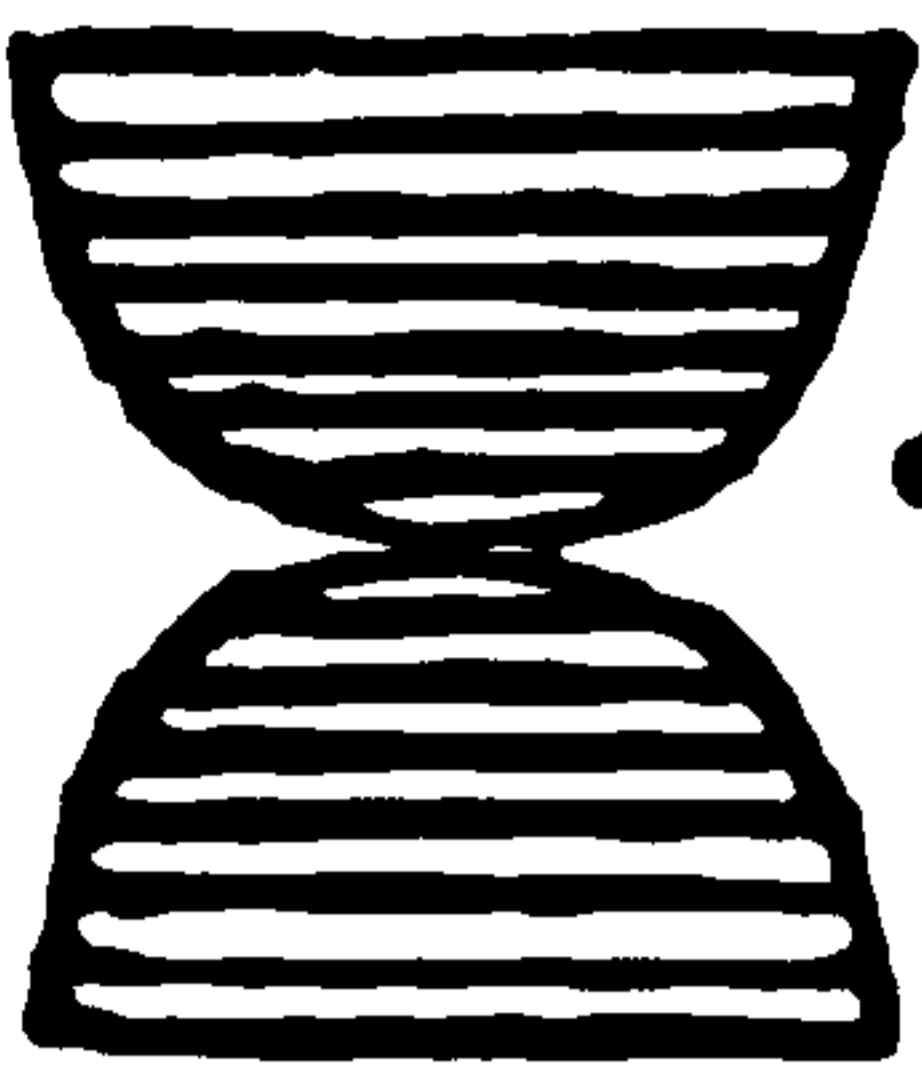




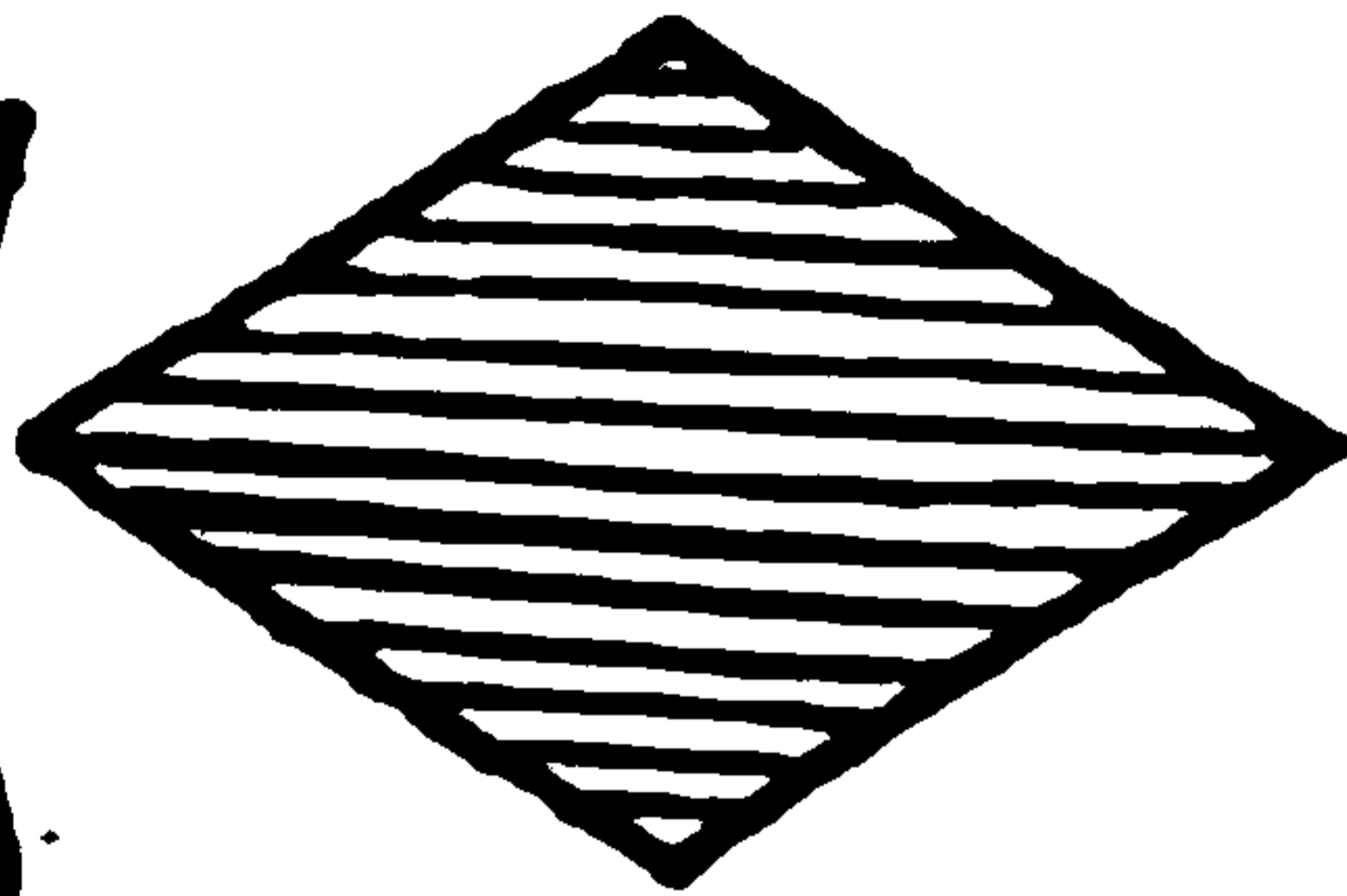
The Taper  
reuerſed.



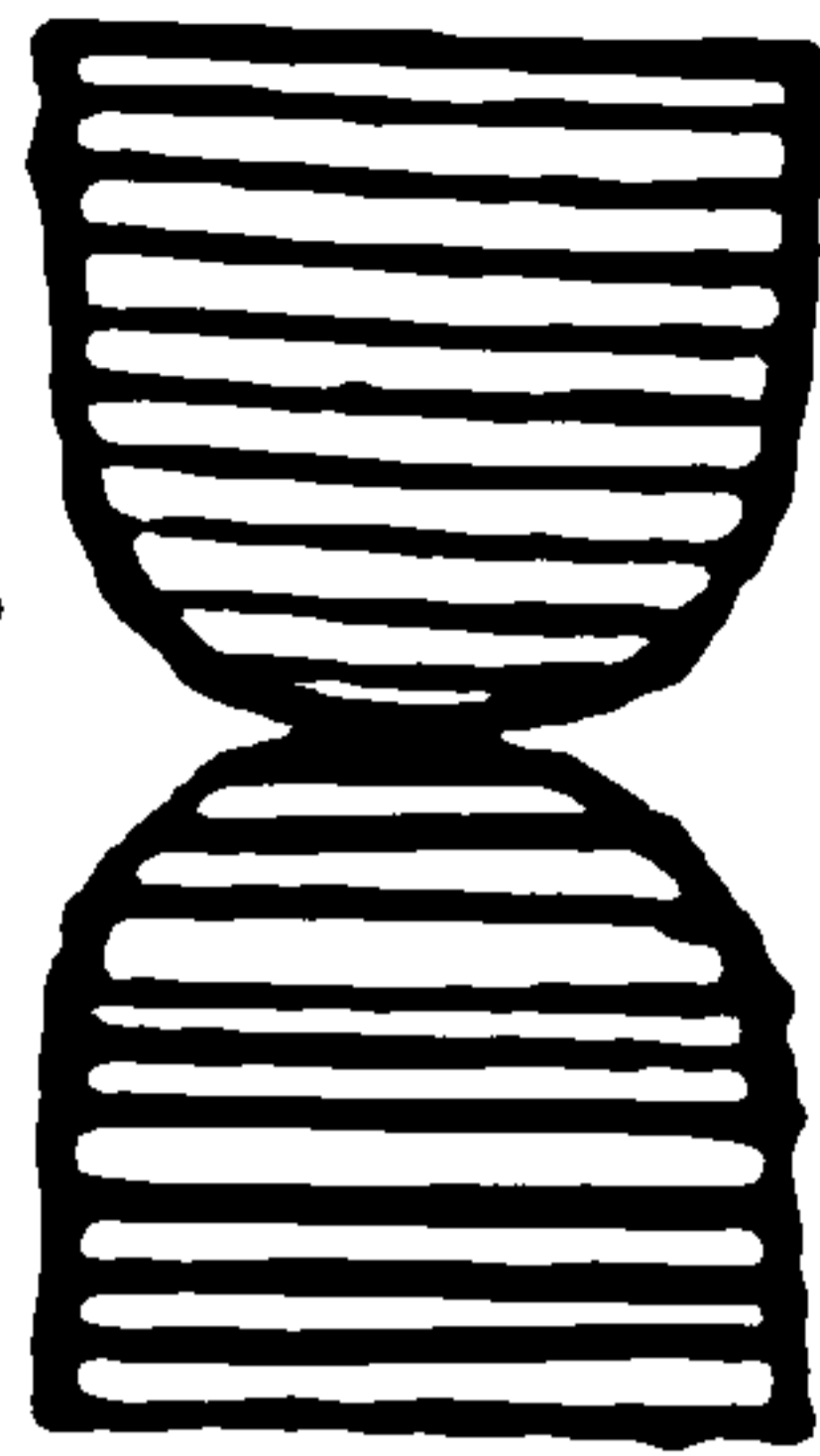
The Rondel  
displayed.



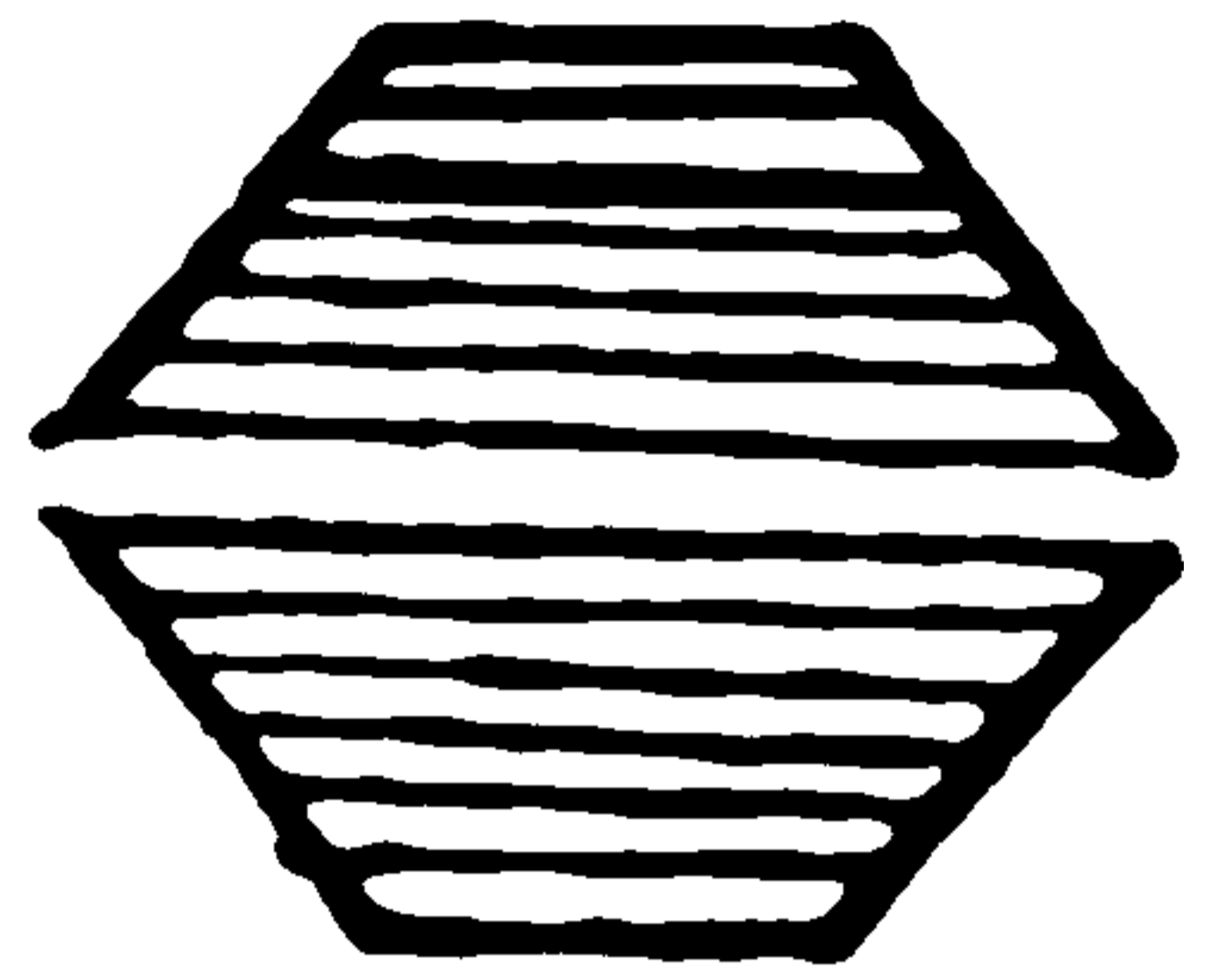
The Lozange  
reuerſed.



The egge  
displayed.



The Lozange  
rabbated.



Of the Lozange.

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

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



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

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

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

### *Of the Triangle or Triquet.*

The Triangle is an halfe square, Lozange, or Fuzie 5 parted vpon the crosse angles; and so, his base being brode and his top narrow, it receaueth meetres of many sizes, one shorter then another: and ye may vse this figure standing or reuersed, as thus.

A certaine great Sultan of Persia, called *Ribuska*, enter-<sup>10</sup> taynes in loue the Lady *Selamour*, sent her this triquet reue[r]st pitiously bemoning his estate, all set in merquetry,





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not well be larger then a meetre of six; therefore in his altitude he wil require diuers rabates to hold so many sizes of meetres as shall serue for his composition, for neare the toppe there wilbe roome litle inough for a meetre of two sillabls, and sometimes of one to finish the point. 5 I haue set you downe one or two examples to try how ye can disgest the maner of the deuise.

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

*Skie. 1*

*Asurd 2  
in the  
assurde;*

*And better, [3]  
And richer,  
Much greater,*

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

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

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

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

*1 God*

*On*

*Hie*

*2 From*

*Above*

*Sends loue,*

*Wisadome,*

*In stice,*

*Cou rage,*

*Boun tie,*

*[3] And doth geue*

*Al that line*

*Life & breath,*

*Hartsese, helth,*

*Children, welth,*

*Beauty, strength,*

*Restfull age,*

*And at length*

*A mild death,*

*4 He doeth bestow*

*All mens fortunes*

*Both high & low,*

*And the best things*

*That earth can haue*

*Or mankind craue,*

*Good queens & kings,*

*Fi nally is the same*

*Who gaue you (madam)*

*Seyson of this Crowne*

*With poure soueraigne,*

*5 Impug nable right.*

*Redoubtable might,*

*Most prosperous raigne,*

*Eternall re nowme,*

*And that your chieft is*

*Sure hope of heauens blis.*

### *The Piller, Pillaster, or Cillinder.*

The Piller is a figure among all the rest of the Geometricall most beawtifull, in respect that he is tall and vpright and of one bignesse from the bottom to the toppe. 1



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

*Her Maiestie resembled to the crowned pillar. Ye must read upward.*

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

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

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

*The Roundell or Spheare.*

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



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

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

All and whole, and euer, and one,  
 Single, simple, eche where, alone,  
 These be counted, as Clerkes can tell,  
 True properties of the Roundell. 23  
 His still turning by consequence  
 And change doe breede both life and sence.  
 Time, measure of stirre and rest,  
 Is also by his course exprest.  
 How swift the circle stirre aboue, 24  
 His center point doeth neuer moue:  
 All things that euer were or be  
 Are closde in his concauitie.  
 And though he be still turnde and tost,  
 No roome there wants, nor none is lost. 25  
 The Roundell hath no bonch nor angle,  
 Which may his course stay or entangle.  
 The furthest part of all his spheare  
 Is equally both farre and neare.  
 So doth none other figure fare 26  
 Where natures chattels closed are:





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

10

*Of the Square or Quadrangle equilater.*

The Square is of all other accompted the figure of most  
 solliditie and stedfastnesse, and for his owne stay and  
 firmitie requireth none other base then himselfe, and  
 therefore as the Roundell or Spheare is appropriat to the 15  
 heauens, the Spire to the element of the fire, the Triangle  
 to the ayre, and the Lozange to the water, so is the Square  
 for his inconcussable steadinesse likened to the earth,  
 which perchaunce might be the reason that the Prince of  
 Philosophers, in his first booke of the *Ethicks*, termeth 20  
 a constant minded man euen egal and direct on all sides,  
 and not easily ouerthrowne by euery litle aduersitie, *homi-*  
*nem quadratum*, a square man. Into this figure may ye  
 reduce your ditties by vsing no moe verses then your verse  
 is of sillables, which will make him fall out square; if ye 25  
 go aboue it wil grow into the figure *Trapezion*, which is  
 some portion longer then square. I neede not giuc you  
 any example, bycause in good arte all your ditties, Odes,  
 & Epigrammes should keepe & not excede the nomber  
 of twelue verses, and the longest verse to be of twelue 30  
 sillables & not aboue, but vnder that number as much as  
 ye will.

*The figure Ouall.*

This figure taketh his name of an egge, and also as it is  
 thought his first origine, and is, as it were, a bastard or 35



imperfect rounde declining toward a longitude, and yet keeping within one line for his periferie or compasse as the rounde; and it seemeth that he receiueth this forme not as an imperfection by any impediment vnnaturally hindring his rotunditie, but by the wisdom and prouidence of nature for the commoditie of generation, in such of her creatures as bring not forth a liuely body (as do foure footed beasts), but in stead thereof a certaine quantitie of shapelesse matter contained in a vessell, which, after it is sequestred from the dames body, receiueth life and perfection, as in the egges of birdes, fishes, and serpents: for the matter being of some quantitie, and to issue out at a narrow place, for the easie passage thereof it must of necessitie beare such shape as might not be sharpe and grieuous to passe, as an angle, nor so large or obtuse as might not essay some issue out with one part moe then other, as the rounde; therefore it must be slenderer in some part, & yet not without a rotunditie & smoothnesse to giue the rest an easie deliuerie. Such is the figure

20 Ouall whom for his antiquitie, dignitie, and vse, I place among the rest of the figures to embellish our proportions: of this sort are diuers of *Anacreons* ditties, and those other of the Grecian Liricks who wrate wanton amorous deuises, to solace their witts with all; and many times they would (to giue it right shape of an egge) deuide a word in the midst, and peece out the next verse with the other halfe, as ye may see by perusing their meetres<sup>1</sup>.

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

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

<sup>1</sup> The two following paragraphs, 'Of the deuice or embleme' and 'Of the Anagramme,' are inserted

in the British Museum copy. They occupy eight pages, but have no page-numbers.



them, which also first issued out of the Poets head, and whereof the Courtly maker was the principall artificer, hauing many high conceites and curious imaginations, with leasure inough to attend his idle inuentions: and these be the short, quicke, and sententious propositions, 5 such as be at these dayes all your deuices of armes and other amorous inscriptions which courtiers vse to giuc and also to weare in liuerie for the honour of their ladies, and commonly containe but two or three words of wittie sentence or secrete conceit till they [be] vnfolded or explained by some interpretation. For which cause they be commonly accompanied with a figure or purtraict of ocular representation, the words so aptly corresponding to the subtiltie of the figure that aswel the eye is therwith recreated as the care or the mind. The Greckes call it 1 *Emblema*, the Italiens *Impresa*, and we, a Deuice, such as a man may put into letters of gold and sende to his mistresses for a token, or cause to be embrodered in scutchions of armes, or in any bordure of a rich garment to giuc by his noueltie maruell to the beholder. Such 2 were the figures and inscriptions the Romane Emperours gaue in their money and coignes of largesse, and in other great medailles of siluer and gold, as that of the Emperour *Augustus*, an arrow entangled by the fish *Remora*, with these words, *Festina lente*, signifying that celeritie is to be 3 vsed with deliberation; all great enterprises being for the most part either ouerthrowen with hast or hindred by delay, in which case leasure in th'aduice and speed in th'execution make a very good match for a glorious successe.

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





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*Charles* the fift Emperour, euen in his yong yeares shewing his valour and honorable ambition, gaue for his new order the golden Fleece, vsurping it vpon Prince Iason and his Argonauts rich spoile brought from *Cholcos*. But for his deuice two pillers with this mot *Plus ultra*, as 5 one not content to be restrained within the limits that *Hercules* had set for an vttermost bound to all his trauailes, viz. two pillers in the mouth of the straight *Gibraltare*, but would go further: which came fortunately to passe, and whereof the good successe gaue great commendation to 10 his deuice; for by the valiancy of his Captaines before he died he conquered great part of the west Indias, neuer knowen to *Hercules* or any of our world before.

In the same time (seeming that the heauens and starres had conspired to replenish the earth with Princes and 15 gouernours of great courage and most famous conquerours) *Selim*, Emperour of Turkic, gaue for his deuice a croissant or new moone, promising to himself increase of glory and enlargement of empire til he had brought all Asia vnder his subiection, which he reasonably well accomplished. 20 For in lesse then eight yeres which he raigned he conquered all Syria and Egypt, and layd it to his dominion. This deuice afterward was vsurped by *Henry* the second, French king, with this mot, *Donec totum compleat orbem*, till he be at his full; meaning it not so largely as did 25 *Selim*, but onely that his friendes should knowe how vnable he was to do them good and to shew beneficence vntil he attained the crowne of France, vnto which he aspired as next successour.

King *Lewis* the twelfth, a valiant and magnanimous 30 prince, who because hee was on euery side enuironed with mightie neighbours, and most of them his enemies, to let them perceiue that they should not finde him vnable or vnfurnished (incase they should offer any vnlawfull hostilitie) of sufficient forces of his owne, aswell to offende as 35



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

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

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



ought to vse great discretion in such matters : for neither any rule of their arte doth warrant such absurdities, nor though such a coat or crest were gained by a prisoner taken in the field, or by a flag found in some ditch & neuer fought for (as many times happens), yet is it no more 5 allowable then it were to beare the deuice of *Tamerlan*, an Emperour in Tartary, who gaue the lightning of heauen, with a posie in that language purporting these words, *Ira Dei*, which also appeared well to answer his fortune. For from a sturdie shepeheard he became a most mighty 10 Emperour, and with his innumerable great armies desolated so many countreyes and people as he might iustly be called *the wrath of God*. It appeared also by his strange ende, for in the midst of his greatnesse and prosperitie he died sodainly, & left no child or kinred for a successour 15 to so large an Empire, nor any memory after him more then of his great puissance and crueltie.

But that of the king of China in the fardest part of the Orient, though it be not so terrible, is no lesse admirable, & of much sharpnesse and good implication, worthy for 20 the greatest king and conqueror : and it is, two strange serpents entertangled in their amorous congresse, the lesser creeping with his head into the greater's mouth, with words purporting *ama & time*, loue & feare. Which posie with maruellous much reason and subtillity implieth 25 the dutie of euery subiect to his Prince, and of euery Prince to his subiect, and that without either of them both no subiect could be sayd entirely to performe his liegeance, nor the Prince his part of lawfull gouernement. For without feare and loue the soueraigne authority could not be 30 vpholden, nor without iustice and mercy the Prince be renowned and honored of his subiect. All which parts are discovered in this figure : loue by the serpents amorous entertangling ; obedience and feare by putting the inferiours head into the others mouth hauing puissance to 35





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This may suffice for deuices, a terme which includes in his generality all those other, viz. liueries, cognizances, emblemes, enseigns, and impreses. For though the termes be diuers, the vse and intent is but one, whether they rest in colour or figure or both, or in word or in muet shew, 5 and that is to insinuat some secret, wittie, morall, and braue purpose presented to the beholder, either to recreate his eye, or please his phantasie, or examine his iudgement, or occupie his braine, or to manage his will either by hope or by dread, euery of which respectes be of no litle moment 10 to the interest and ornament of the ciuill life, and therefore giuc them no litle commendation. Then hauing produced so many worthy and wise founders of these deuices, and so many puissant patrons and protectours of them, I feare no reproch in this discourse, which otherwise the venimous 15 appetite of enule by detraction or scorne would peradventure not sticke to offer me.

*Of the Anagramme, or Posie transposed.*

One other pretie conceit we will impart vnto you and then trouble you with no more, and is also borrowed 20 primitiuelly of the Poet, or courtly maker we may terme him, the *posie transposed*, or in one word *a transpose*, a thing if it be done for pastime and exercise of the wit without superstition commendable inough and a meete study for Ladies, neither bringing them any great gayne nor any 25 great losse, vnlesse it be of idle time. They that vse it for pleasure is to breed one word out of another, not altering any letter nor the number of them, but onely transposing of the same, wherupon many times is produced some grateful newes or matter to them for whose pleasure and 30 seruice it was intended: and bicause there is much difficultie in it, and altogether standeth upon hap hazard, it is compted for a courtly conceit no lesse then the deuice



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

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

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



tooke pleasure sometimes in desciphring of names, and hearing how diuers Gentlemen of her Court had essayed but with no great felicitie to make some delectable transpose of her Maiesties name, I would needs try my luck, for cunning I [k]now not why I should call it, vnlesse it be 5 for the many and variable applications of sence, which requireth peraduenture some wit & discretion more then of euery vnlearned man; and for the purpose I tooke me these three wordes (if any other in the world) containing in my conceit greatest mysterie, and most importing good 10 to all them that now be aliue vnder her noble gouernement,

*Elissabet Anglorum Regina.*

Which orthographie (because ye shall not be abused) is true & not mistaken, for the letter *zeta* of the Hebrewes & 15 Greeke and of all other toungs is in truth but a double *ss*, hardly vttered, and *H* is but a note of aspiration onely and no letter, which therefore is by the Greeks omitted. Vpon the transposition I found this to redound:

*Multa regnabis ense gloria.* 20

By thy sword shalt thou raigne in great renowne.

Then transposing the word *ense* it came to be

*Multa regnabis sene gloria.*

Aged and in much glorie shall ye raigne.

Both which resultes falling out vpon the very first marshal- 25 ling of the letters, without any darknesse or difficultie, and so sensibly and well appropriat to her Maiesties person and estate, and finally so effectually to mine own wish (which is a matter of much moment in such cases), I took them both for a good boding, and very fatallitie to her 30 Maiestie appointed by Gods prouidence for all our comforts. Also I imputed it for no litle good luck and glorie to my selfe to haue pronounced to her so good and pros-





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

*Omnia sunt risus, sunt puluis, & omnia nil sunt.*

*Res hominum cunctae, nam ratione carent.*

85

Thus Englished,

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

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



## CHAP. XIII.

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

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



heretofore obserued, and (her maiesty good liking always had) whether we make the common readers to laugh or to lowre, all is a matter, since our intent is not so exactlie to prosecute the purpose, nor so earnestly, as to thinke it should by authority of our owne iudgement be generally 5 applauded at to the discredit of our forefathers maner of vulgar Poesie, or to the alteration or peradventure totall destruction of the same, which could not stand with any good discretion or curtesie in vs to attempt; but thus much I say, that by some leasurable trauell it were no 10 hard matter to induce all their auncient feete into vse with vs, and that it should proue very agreable to the care and well according with our ordinary times and pronounciation, which no man could then iustly mislike, and that is to allow euery word *polisillable* one long time of necessitie, 15 which should be where his sharpe accent falls in our owne *ydiome* most aptly and naturally, wherein we would not follow the licence of the Greeks and Latines, who made not their sharpe accent any necessary prolongation of their times, but vsed such sillable sometimes long, some- 20 times short, at their pleasure; the other sillables of any word where the sharpe accent fell not to be accompted of such time and quantitie as his *ortographie* would best beare, hauing regard to himselfe or to his next neighbour word bounding him on either side, namely to the smoothnes 25 & hardnesse of the sillable in his vtterance, which is occasioned altogether by his *ortographie* & scituation; as in this word *däyly* the first sillable for his vsuall and sharpe accent sake to be alwayes long, the second for his flat accents sake to be alwayes short, and the rather for his 30 *ortographie*, bycause if he goe before another word commencing with a vowell not letting him to be eclipsed, his vtterance is easie & curreant; in this trissillable *däüngëröus* th: first to be long, th'other two short for the same causes; in this word *dängëröüsnësse* the first & last to be both 35





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time that best serues your purpose and pleaseth your care most, and truliest aunsweres the nature of the *ortographie*, in which I would as neare as I could obserue and keepe the lawes of the Grecke and Latine versifiers, that is to prolong the sillable which is written with double con- 5 sonants or by diphthong or with single consonants that run hard and harshly vpon the toung, and to shorten all sillables that stand vpon vowels, if there were no cause of *elision*, and single consonants & such of them as are most flowing and slipper vpon the toung, as *n, r, t, d, l*; and for 10 this purpose to take away all aspirations, and many times the last consonant of a word, as the Latine Poetes vsed to do, specially *Lucretius* and *Ennius*, as to say *fnibu* for *fnibus*; and so would not I stick to say thus *delite* for *delight*, *hye* for *high*, and such like, & doth nothing at all 15 impugne the rule I gaue before against the wresting of wordes by false *ortographie* to make vp rime, which may not be falsified. But this omission of letters in the midst of a meetre to make him the more slipper helps the numerositie and hinders not the rime. But generally 20 the shortning or prolonging of the *monosillables* dependes much vpon the nature of their *ortographie*, which the Latin Grammariens call the rule of position; as for example, if I shall say thus,

*Nōt mānie dayēs pāst.* Twentie dayes after.

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

Many dayes, not past.

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

Būt nōne ōf ūs trūe mēn ānd frēe, 30  
Could finde so great good lucke as he.

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



wise placed would do, for it were an ill-fauored *dactil*

Būt nōne ðf, ūs āll trēwe.

fore, whensoever your words will not make a  
*dactil*, ye must alter them or their situations, or  
 rne them to other feete that may better beare their  
 of sound and orthographie; or, if the word be *poly-*  
 , to deuide him, and to make him serue by peeces,  
 e could not do whole and entierly. And no doubt  
 e consideration did the Greeke & Latine versifiers  
 all their feete at the first to be of sundry times,  
 e selfe same sillable to be sometime long and some-  
 hort, for the cares better satisfaction, as hath bene  
 remembred.

also wheras I said before that our old Saxon  
 h for his many *monosillables* did not naturally admit  
 e of the ancient feete in our vulgar measures so  
 as in those languages which stood most vpon *poli-*  
 s, I sayd it in a sort truly, but now I must recant  
 nfesse that our Normane English which hath growen  
*William* the Conquerour doth admit any of the  
 nt feete, by reason of the many *polysillables*, cuen  
 and seauen in one word, which we at this day vse  
 most ordinarie language; and which corruption  
 ene occasioned chiefly by the peeuish affectation  
 the Normans them selues, but of clerks and scholers  
 etaries long since, who, not content with the vsual  
 ne or Saxon word, would conuert the very Latine  
 reeke word into vulgar French, as to say innumer-  
 or innombrable, reuocable, irreuocable, irradiation,  
 alation, & such like, which are not naturall Normans  
 et French, but altered Latines, and without any  
 on at all; which therefore were long time despised  
 ehorne termes, and now be reputed the best & most  
 of any other. Of which & many other causes of



corruption of our speach we haue in another place more  
 amply discoursed ; but by this meane we may at this day  
 very well receiue the auncient feete *metricall* of the Greeks  
 and Latines, sauing those that be superflous, as be all the  
 feete aboue the *trissillable*, which the old Grammarians 5  
 idly inuented and distinguisht by speciall names, whereas  
 in deede the same do stand compounded with the inferiour  
 feete, and therefore some of them were called by the names  
 of *didactilus*, *dispondeus*, and *disiambus* : all which feete, as  
 I say, we may be allowed to vse with good discretion & 10  
 precise choise of wordes and with the fauorable approba-  
 tion of readers ; and so shall our plat in this one point be  
 larger and much surmount that which *Stanihurst* first  
 tooke in hand by his *exameters dactilicke* and *spondaicke*  
 in the translation of *Virgills Eneidos*, and such as for 15  
 a great number of them my stomacke can hardly digest  
 for the ill shapen sound of many of his wordes *polisillable*,  
 and also his copulation of *monosillables* supplying the  
 quantitie of a *trissillable* to his intent. And right so in  
 promoting this deuise of ours, being (I feare me) much 20  
 more nyce and affected, and therefore more misliked then  
 his, we are to bespeake fauour, first of the delicate eares,  
 then of the rigorous and seuerer dispositions, lastly to  
 craue pardon of the learned & auncient makers in our  
 vulgar ; for if we should secke in euery point to egall 25  
 our speach with the Greeke and Latin in their *metricall*  
 obseruations it could not possible be by vs perfourmed,  
 because their sillables came to be timed some of them  
 long, some of them short, not by reason of any eident  
 or apparant cause in writing or sounde remaining vpon 30  
 one more then another, for many times they shortned the  
 sillable of sharpe accent and made long that of the flat,  
 & therefore we must needes say it was in many of their  
 wordes done by preelection in the first Poetes, not hauing  
 regard altogether to the *ortographie* and hardnesse or 35





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

#### CHAP. XIV.

A MORE PARTICULAR DECLARATION OF THE METRICALL FEETE OF THE ANCIENT POETS GREEKE AND LATINE, AND CHIEFLY OF THE FEETE OF TWO TIMES. 21

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



and short, ye haue these wordes *mānēr*, *brōkēn*, *tākēn*, *bōdiē*, *mēmber*, and a great many moe, if their last sillables abut not vpon the consonant in the beginning of another word, and in these, whether they do abut or no, *wittie*,  
 5 *dittie*, *sōrrōw*, *mōrrōw*, & such like, which end in a vowell. For your *iambus* of a short and a long, ye haue these wordes *rēstōre*, *rēmōrse*, *dēsire*, *ēndūre*, and a thousand besides. For your foote *pirrichius* or of two short silables, ye haue these words *mānie*, *mōnēy*, *pēnie*, *siliē*, and others  
 10 of that constitution or the like. For your feete of three times, and first your *dactill*, ye haue these wordes & a number moe, *pātiēce*, *tēmpērānce*, *wōmānheād*, *iōlitiē*, *dāungērōus*, *dūelīfūll*, and others. For your *molossus* of all three long, ye haue a number of wordes also, and  
 15 specially most of your participles actiue, as *pērsistīng*, *dēspōitīng*, *ēndētīng*, and such like in ortographie: for your *anapestus* of two short and a long, ye haue these words but not many moe, as *mānīfōld*, *mōnīlēsse*, *rēmānēnt*, *hōlīnēsse*. For your foote *tribracchus* of all three short, ye  
 20 haue very few *trissillables*, because the sharpe accent will always make one of them long by pronounciation, which els would be by ortographie short, as *mērily*, *minion*, & such like. For your foote *bacchius* of a short & two long, ye haue these and the like words *trissillables*, *lāmētīng*, *rē-*  
 25 *quēstīng*, *rēnōūncīng*, *rēpētānce*, *ēnūring*. For your foote *antibacchius* of two long and a short, ye haue these wordes, *fōrsākēn*, *īmpūgnēd*, and others many. For your *amphimacer*, that is a long, a short, and a long, ye haue these wordes and many moe, *ēxcellēt*, *īmīnēt*, and specially such  
 30 as be proper names of persons or townes or other things, and namely Welsh wordes. For your foote *amphibracchus* of a short, a long, and a short, ye haue these wordes and many like to these, *rēsistēd*, *dēlightfūll*, *rēprisāll*, *īnāūntēr*, *ēnāmīll*. So as for want of English wordes, if your eare  
 35 be not to daintie and your rules to precise, ye neede not



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





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When raging loue with extreme paine.

And this,

A fairer beast of fresher hue beheld I neuer none.

And some verses made all of *bissillables*, and others all of *trissillables*, and others of *polisillables* egally increasing 5 and of diuers quantities and sundry situations, as in this of our owne, made to daunt the insolence of a beautifull woman,

Brittle beauty, blossome daily fading,

Morne, noone, and eue, in age and eke in eld, 20

Dangerous disdainefull, pleasantly perswading,

Easie to gripe but combrous to weld,

For slender bottome hard and heauy lading,

Gay for a while, but little while durable,

Suspicious, incertaine, irreuocable,

O since thou art by triall not to trust,

Wisedome it is, and it is also iust

To sound the stemme before the tree be feld,

That is, since death will driue vs all to dust,

To leaue thy loue ere that we be compeld. 20

In which ye haue your first verse all of *bissillables* and of the foot *trocheus*; the second all of *monosillables*, and all of the foote *iambus*; the third all of *trissillables*, and all of the foote *dactilus*; your fourth of one *bissillable*, and two *monosillables* interlarded; the fift of one *monosillable* and 20 two *bissillables* enterlaced; and the rest of other sortes and scituations, some by degrees encreasing, some diminishing: which example I haue set downe to let you perceiue what pleasant numerosity in the measure and disposition of your words in a meetre may be contriued by curious 30 wits: & these with other like were the obseruations of the Greeke and Latine versifiers.



## CHAP. XV.

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

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

20 Rēndēr āgaine mīe libērtie,  
ānd sēt yoūr cāptiue frēe.  
Glōriōūs is thē victōrie  
Cōnquērōurs ūse with lēnītie.

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



sayd *restore*, it had marred the *Dactil* and of necessitie driuen him out at length to be a verse *Iambic* of foure feete, because *render* is naturally a *Trocheus* & makes the first two times of a *Dactil*. *Restore* is naturally a *Iambus*, & in this place could not possibly haue made a pleasant 5 *Dactil*.

Now, againe, if ye will say to me that these two words *libertie* and *conquerours* be not precise *Dactils* by the Latine rule, so much will I confesse to, but since they go currant inough vpon the tongue, and be so vsually pronounced, they may passe wel inough for *Dactils* in our vulgar meeters; & that is inough for me, seeking but to fashion an art, & not to finish it: which time only & custom haue authoritie to do, specially in all cases of language, as the Poet hath wittily remembered in this verse, 11

*si volet usus,*

*Quem penes arbitrium est & vis & norma loquendi.*

The Earle of Surrey vpon the death of Sir *Thomas Wiat* made among other this verse *Pentameter* and of ten sillables, 21

What holy graue? alas, what sepulcher?

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

Whāt hōlle grāue? ā lās, whāt fīt sēpūlchēr?

Which verse if ye peruse throughout, ye shall finde him





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

Lēt nō nōbilitie, richēs, ōr hērītāge, 10  
 Hōnōur, ōr ĕmpire, ōr eārthlie dōmīnōn  
 Brēed in yōur heād ānie pēuīsh ōpīnōn  
 That yē māy sāfēr āuōuch ānle ōutrāge.

And in this distique taxing the Prelate symoniake, standing all vpon perfect *Dactils*, 15

Nōw mānie bīe mōnēy pūruēy prōmōtōn,  
 For mony mooues any hart to deuotion.

But this aduertisement I will giue you withall, that if ye vse too many *Dactils* together ye make your musike too light and of no solemne grauitie such as the amorous *Elegies* in court naturally require, being alwaies either very dolefull or passionate as the affections of loue enforce, in which busines ye must make your choise of very few words *dactilique*, or them that ye can not refuse, to dissolve and breake them into other feete by such meanes as it shall be taught hereafter: but chiefly in your courtly ditties take heede ye vse not these maner of long *polisillables*, and specially that ye finish not your verse with them, as *retribution*, *restitution*, *remuneration*, *recapitulation*, and such like: for they smatch more the schoole of common players than of any delicate Poet, *Lyricke* or *Elegiacke*. 20



## CHAP. XVI.

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

All your other feete of three times I find no vse of them  
 5 in our vulgar meeters nor no sweetenes at all, and yet  
 words inough to serue their proportions. So as though  
 they haue not hitherto bene made artificiall, yet nowe by  
 more curious obseruation they might be, since all artes  
 grew first by obseruation of natures proceedings and  
 10 custome. And first your *Molossus*, being of all three long,  
 is evidently discovered by this word *pērmūting*; the  
*Anapestus*, of two short and a long, by this word *fūrīous*,  
 if the next word beginne with a consonant; the foote  
*Bacchius*, of a short and two long, by this word *rēsistānce*;  
 15 the foote *Antibac[c]hius*, of two long [and] a short, by this  
 word *cōquēring*; the foote *Amphimacer*, of a long a short  
 & a long, by this word *cōquēring*; the foote *Amphibrachus*,  
 of a short a long and a short, by this word *rēmēmbēr*, if  
 a vowell follow. The foote *Tribrachus*, of three short  
 20 times, is very hard to be made by any of our *trissillables*,  
 vnles they be compounded of the smoothest sort of con-  
 sonants or sillables vocals, or of three smooth *monosillables*,  
 or of some peece of a long *polysillable*, & after that sort we  
 may with wresting of words shape the foot *Tribrachus*  
 25 rather by vsurpation then by rule, which neuertheles is  
 allowed in euery primitiue arte & inuention: & so it was  
 by the Greckes and Latines in their first versifying, as if  
 a rule should be set downe that from henceforth these  
 words should be counted al *Tribrachus*, *ēnēmīe*, *rēmēdīe*,  
 30 *sēlinēs*, *mōnīlēs*, *pēnīlēs*, *crūēllīe*, & such like, or a peece of  
 this long word *rēcōuērāblē*, *innūmērāblē*, *reādīlīe*, and others.  
 Of all which manner of apt wordes to make these stranger  
 feet of three times which go not so currant with our eare



as the *Dactil*, the maker should haue a good iudgement to know them by their manner of orthographie and by their accent which serue most fitly for euery foote, or else he shoulde haue alwaies a little calender of them apart to vse readily when he shall neede them. But because in very 5 truth I thinke them but vaine & superstitious obseruations nothing at all furthering the pleasant melody of our English meeter, I leaue to speake any more of them, and rather wish the continuance of our old maner of Poesie, scanning our verse by sillables rather than by feete, and vsing most 10 commonly the word *Iambique* & sometime the *Trochaïke*, which ye shall discerne by their accents, and now and then a *Dactill*, keeping precisely our symphony or rime without any other mincing measures, which an idle inuentiue head could easily devise, as the former examples teach. 15

## CHAP. XVII.

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

The Greekes and Latines vsed verses in the odde sillable of two sortes, which they called *Catalecticke* and 20 *Acatalecticke*, that is odde vnder and odde ouer the lust measure of their verse, & we in our vulgar finde many of the like, and specially in the rimes of Sir Thomas Wiat, strained perchaunce out of their originall made first by *Francis Petrarcha*: as these, 25

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

Where in your first, second, and fourth verse ye may 30 find a sillable superfluous, and though in the first ye will





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## CHAP. XVIII.

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

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

ēxtrēame dēsire.

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

In ēx trēame dē sire.

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

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

Höllöw vällēis ūndēr biēst moūntānes ;

Crāggie cliffes brīng foōrth thē fairēst foūntānes.

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

Thē höllöwst vāls lē ūndēr biēst mōuntānes ;

Thē crāggist clīfs brīng fōrth thē fairēst foūntānes.



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

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

Which being turned thus makes a new harmonie,  
 The restlesse heart renues his old desires,  
 Ay rauing after that reason doth it deny.

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

Hēaule is thē bŭrdēn of Prīncēs ire.

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

Fŭll hēaule īs thē pāise ōf Prīncēs ire.

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

Fārewēll lōue ānd āll thīe lāwes fōr ēuēr.

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

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

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

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



Gōd graūnt this peāce māy lōng ěndūre,  
 where the sharpe accent falles more tunably vpon *graunt*,  
*peace*, *long*, *dure*, then it would by conuersion, as to accent  
 them thus,

Gōd graūnt—this peāce—māy lōng—ěndūre,

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

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

Gēue mé mine ówne ànd whén I dó dēsire,  
 Geue others theirs, and nothing that is mine,  
 Nòr giue mè thát wherto all men aspire  
 Then neither gold, nor faire women, nor wine.

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





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

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

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



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



# THE THIRD BOOKE

## OF ORNAMENT

### CHAP. I.

#### OF ORNAMENT POETICALL.

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





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



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



vpon his aduersaries report : 'God forbid,' said she, 'he is to wise for me to talke with ; let him goe and satisfie such a man, naming him.' 'Why,' quoth the Knight againe, 'had your Ladyship rather heare a man talke like a foole or like a wise man ?' This was because the Lady was a litle 5 peruerse, and not disposed to reforme her selfe by hearing reason, which none other can so well beate into the ignorant head as the well spoken and eloquent man. And because I am so farre waded into this discourse of eloquence and figuratiue speaches, I will tell you what 10 hapned on a time, my selfe being present, when certaine Doctours of the ciuil law were heard in a litigious cause betwixt a man and his wife, before a great Magistrat who (as they can tell that knew him) was a man very well learned and graue, but somewhat sowre, and of no 15 plausible vtterance. The gentlemans chaunce was to say : 'my Lord the simple woman is not so much to blame as her lewde abbettours, who by violent perswasions haue lead her into this wilfulnesse.' Quoth the iudge, 'what neede such eloquent termes in this place.' The gentleman 20 replied, 'doth your Lordship mislike the terme *violent*, & me thinkes I speake it to great purpose, for I am sure she would neuer haue done it but by force of perswasion, & if perswasions were not very violent, to the minde of man it could not haue wrought so strange an effect as we read 25 that it did once in Ægypt,' & would haue told the whole tale at large, if the Magistrate had not passed it ouer very pleasantly. Now to tell you the whole matter as the gentleman intended, thus it was. There came into Ægypt a notable Oratour, whose name was *Hegesias*, 30 who inueyed so much against the incommodities of this transitory life, & so highly commended death the dispatcher of all euils, as a great number of his hearers destroyed themselues, some with weapon, some with poyson, others by drowning and hanging themselues, to be rid out of this 35





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## CHAP. III.

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

This ornament then is of two sortes, one to satisfie & delight th'eare onely by a goodly outward shew set vpon 5 the matter with wordes and speaches smothly and tunably running, another by certaine intendments or sence of such wordes & speaches inwardly working a stirre to the mynde. That first qualitie the Greeks called *Enargia*, of this word *argos*, because it geueth a glorious lustre and 10 light. This latter they called *Energia*, of *ergon*, because it wrought with a strong and vertuous operation. And figure breedeth them both, some seruing to giue glosse onely to a language, some to geue it efficacie by sence; and so by that meanes some of them serue th'eare onely, 15 some serue the conceit onely and not th'eare. There be of them also that serue both turnes as common seruitours appointed for th'one and th'other purpose, which shalbe hereafter spoken of in place; but because we haue alleaged before that ornament is but the good or rather bewtifull 20 habite of language or stile, and figuratiue speaches the instrument wherewith we burnish our language, fashioning it to this or that measure and proportion, whence finally resulteth a long and continuall phrase or maner of writing or speach, which we call by the name of *stile*, we wil first 25 speake of language, then of stile, lastly of figure, and declare their vertue and differences, and also their vse and best application, & what portion in exornation euery of them bringeth to the bewtifying of this Arte.



## CHAP. IV.

## OF LANGUAGE.

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



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





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



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

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

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

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

## CHAP. V.

### OF STILE.

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



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





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



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



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

## CHAP. VI.

### ✓ OF THE HIGH, LOW, AND MEANE SUBIECT.

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





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



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

## CHAP. VIII.

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

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



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

## CHAP. IX.

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

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





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languages, if they happen to hit vpon any new name of myne (so ridiculous in their opinion) as may moue them to laughter, let such persons yet assure themselues that such names go as neare as may be to their originals, or els serue better to the purpose of the figure then the very 5 originall, reseruing alwayes that such new name should not be vnpleasant in our vulgar nor harsh vpon the tong; and where it shall happen otherwise, that it may please the reader to thinke that hardly any other name in our English could be found to serue the turne better. Againe, 10 if to auoid the hazard of this blame I should haue kept the Greeke or Latine, still it would haue appeared a little too scholasticall for our makers, and a peece of worke more fit for clerkes then for Courtiers, for whose instruction this trauaile is taken; and if I should haue left 15 out both the Greeke and Latine name, and put in none of our owne neither, well perchance might the rule of the figure haue bene set downe, but no conuenient name to hold him in memory. It was therefore expedient we deuised for euery figure of importance his vulgar name, 20 and to ioyne the Greeke or Latine originall with them; after that sort much better satisfying aswel the vulgar as the learned learner, and also the authors owne purpose, which is to make of a rude rimer a learned and a Courtly Poet. 25

## CHAP. X.

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

And because our chiefe purpose herein is for the learning of Ladies and young Gentlewomen, or idle Courtiers, 30 desirous to become skilful in their owne mother tongue, and for their priuate recreation to make now & then ditties of pleasure, thinking for our parte none other science so



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



rankes, and the first they bestowed vpon the Poet onely, the second vpon the Poet and Oratour indifferently, the third vpon the Oratour alone. And that first sort of figures doth serue th'eare onely and may be therefore called *auricular*: your second serues the conceit onely 5 and not th'eare, and may be called *sensable*, not sensible nor yet sententious: your third sort serues as well th'eare as the conceit, and may be called *sententious figures*, because not only they properly apperteine to full sentences, for bewtifying them with a currant & pleasant numerositie, 10 but also giuing them efficacie and enlarging the whole matter besides with copious amplifications. I doubt not but some busie carpers will scorne at my new deuised termes *auricular* and *sensable*, saying that I might with better warrant haue vsed in their steads these words 15 *orthographicall* or *syntacticall*, which the learned Gram- marians left ready made to our hands, and do importe as much as th'other that I haue brought. Which thing per- aduenture I deny not in part, and neuerthelesse for some causes thought them not so necessarie: but with these 20 maner of men I do willingly beare, in respect of their laudable endeouour to allow antiquitie and flie innouation. With like beneuolence I trust they will beare with me writing in the vulgar speach and seeking by my nouelties to satisfie not the schoole but the Court: whereas they 25 know very well all old things soone waxe stale & lothsome, and the new deuises are euer dainty and delicate, the vulgar instruction requiring also vulgar and communicable termes, not clerkly or vncouthe, as are all these of the Greeke and Latine languages primitiuelly receiued, vnlesse 30 they be qualified or by much vse and custome allowed and our eares made acquainted with them. Thus then I say that *auricular* figures be those which worke alteration in th'eare by sound, accent, time, and slipper volubilitie in vtterance, such as for that respect was called by the 35





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

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

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

CHAP. XV. OF AURICULAR FIGURES WORKING BY EXCHANGE, 10  
*namely—Enallage*, or the Figure of Exchange, and *Hipallage*, or the Changeling.

CHAP. XVI. OF SOME OTHER FIGURES WHICH, BECAUSE THEY SERUE CHIEFLY TO MAKE THE MEETERS TUNABLE AND MELOOIOUS, AND AFFECT NOT THE MINDE BUT VERY LITTLE, BE PLACED 15  
AMONG THE AURICULAA. *These are—Omoiotele[u]ton*, or the Like Loose; *Parimion*, or the Figure of Like Letter; *Asyndeton*, or the Loose Language; *Polisindeton*, or the Coople Clause; *Irmus*, or the Long Loose; *Epitheton*, or the Qualifier; and *Endiadis*, or the Figure of Twinnes. 20

*Under the first we read*: 'For a rime of good simphonie should not conclude his concords with one & the same terminant sillable, as *less, less, less*, but with diuers and like terminants, as *les, pres, mes*, as was before declared in the chapter of your cadences, and your clauses in prose should 25  
neither finish with the same nor with the like terminants, but with the contrary, as hath bene shewed before in the booke of proportions; yet many vse it otherwise, neglecting the Poeticall harmonie and skill. And th'Earle of *Surrey* with Syr *Thomas Wyat*, the most excellent makers of their 30  
time, more peradventure respecting the fitnessse and ponderositie of their wordes then the true cadence or simphonie, were very licencious in this point. We call this figure, following the originall, the *like loose*, alluding to th'Archers terme who is not said to finish the feate of his shot before 35  
he giue the loose and deliuer his arrow from his bow; in which respect we vse to say marke the loose of a thing for marke the end of it.'

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



BECAUSE THEY ALTER AND AFFECT THE MIND BY ALTERATION OF SENSE; AND FIRST IN SINGLE WORDS. *These include—Metaphora, or the Figure of Transport; Catachresis, or the Figure of Abuse; Metonymia, or the Misnamer; Antonomasia, or the Surnamer; Onomatopœia, or the Newnamer; Epitheton, or the Qualifier, otherwise called the Figure of Attribution; Metalepsis, or the Far-set; Euphœmia, or the Renforcer; Liptote, or the Moderatour; Pseudolale, or the Curry sauell, otherwise called the Soother; Missis, or the Disabler; Tapinosis, or the Ab-baser; and Synecdoche, or the Figure of Quick Conceite.*

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

**CHAP. XVIII. OF SENSABLE FIGURES ALTERING AND AFFECTING THE MIND BY ALTERATION OF SENCE OR INTENDEMENTS IN WHOLE CLAUSES OR SPEACHES.** *These are—Allegoria, or Figure of False Semblant; Enigma, or the Riddle; Parasma, or the Proverb; Ironia, or the Drie Mock; Sarcasmus, or the Bitter Taunt; Astismus, or the Merry Scoffe, otherwise the Cuiill Iest; Mictismus, or the Fleering Frumpe; Antiphrasis, or the Broad Floute; Charientismus, or the Prisie Nippe; Hyperbole, or the Ouerreacher, otherwise the Loud Lyer; Periphrasis, or the Figure of Ambage; and Synecdoche, or the Figure of Quick Conceit (see L. 11), which 'may be put vnder the speeches allegoricall, because of the darkenes and duplicite of his sence.'*

**CHAP. XIX. OF FIGURES SENTENTIALL, OTHERWISE CALLED RHETORICALL.** *This long chapter deals with—Anaphora, or the Figure of Report; Antistrophæ, or the Counterturne; Sympleche, or the Figure of Reple; Anadiplosis, or the Redouble; Epianalepsis, or the Echo; Sponde, otherwise the Slow Returne; Epizeuxis, or the Vanderlay, or Cuckowpell; Ploche, or the Doubler, otherwise called the Swift Repeat; Prothymasia, or the Sickenamer; Traductio, or the Translator; Antiphrasis, or the Figure of Reoprase; Syneciosis,*



or the Crosse-couple; *Antanacclasis*, or the Rebounde; *Clymax*, or the Marching Figure; *Antimetabole*, or the Counterchange; *Insultatio*, or the Disdainefull; *Antitheton*, or the Quarreller, otherwise called the Ouerthwart or Renconter; *Erotema*, or the Questioner; *Ecphronisis*, or the Outcrie; 5  
*Brachiologia*, or the Cutted Comma; *Parison*, or the Figure of Euen; *Sinonimia*, or the Figure of Store; *Metanoia*, or the Penitent; *Antenagoge*, or the Recompencer; *Epiphonema*, or the Surclose, or Consenting Close; *Auxesis*, or the Auancer; *Meiosis*, or the Disabler; *Epanodis*, or the 10  
Figure of Retire; *Dialisis*, or the Dismembrer; *Merismus*, or the Distributor; *Epimone*, or the Loueburden; *Paradoxon*, or the Wondrer; *Aporia*, or the Doubtfull; *Epitropis*, or the Figure of Reference; *Parisia*, or the Licentious; *Anachinosis*, or the Impartener; *Paramologia*, or the Figure 15  
of Admittance; *Etiologia*, or the Tell-cause, or the Reason Rend; *Dichologia*, or the Figure of Excuse; *Noema*, or the Figure of Close Conceit; *Orismus*, or the Definer by Difference; *Procatalepsis*, or the Presumptuous; *Paralepsis*, or the Passager; *Commoratio*, or the Figure of 20  
Abode; *Metastasis*, or the Flitting Figure, or the Remoue; *Parecnasis*, or the Stragler; *Expeditio*, or the Speedie Dispatcher; *Dialogismus*, or the Right Reasoner; *Gnome*, or the Director; *Sententia*, or the Sage Sayer; *Sinathrismus*, or the Heaping Figure; *Apostrophe*, or the Turne Tale; 25  
*Hypotiposis*, or the Counterfait Representation; *Prosopographia*, or Counterfait Countenance; *Prosopopeia*, or the Counterfait in Personation; *Cronographia*, or the Counterfait Time; *Topographia*, or the Counterfait Place; *Pragmatographia*, or the Counterfait Action; *Omoiosis*, or Resem- 30  
blance; *Icon*, or Resemblance by Imagerie; *Parabola*, or Resemblance misticall; and *Paradigma*, or Resemblance by Example. (*For the cancelled passage on the Flemings, see Notes.*)

CHAP. XX. THE LAST AND PRINCIPALL FIGURE OF OUR POETI- 35  
CALL ORNAMENT, i. e. *Exargasia*, or The Gorgious. 'In a worke of ours, intituled *Philocalia*, we have strained to shew the vse and application of this figure and al others mentioned in this booke, to which we referre you. I find none example in English meetre so well maintayning this figure 40  
as that ditty of her Maiesties owne making passing sweete





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

*And speaking of Periergia, Puttenham alludes to* 10  
 'one of our late makers, who in the most of his things wrote very well, in this (to mine opinion) more curiously than needed, the matter being ripely considered; yet is his verse very good, and his meetre cleanly. His intent was to declare how vpon the tenth day of March he crossed 15  
 the riuer of Thames, to walke in Saint *Georges* field; the matter was not great, as ye may suppose.

The tenth of March when Aries receiued  
 Dan Phoebus raies into his horned head,  
 And I my selfe by learned lore perceiued 20  
 That Ver approcht and frosty winter fled,  
 I crost the Thames to take the cheerefull aire  
 In open fields—the weather was so faire.

First, the whole matter is not worth all this solemne circumstance to describe the tenth day of March; but if 25  
 he had left at the two first verses, it had bene inough. But when he comes with two other verses to enlarge his description, it is not only more than needes, but also very ridiculous, for he makes wise as if he had not bene a man learned in some of the mathematickes (by learned lore) 30  
 that he could not haue told that the x of March had fallen in the spring of the yeare; which euery carter and also euery child knoweth without any learning. Then also, when he saith *Ver approcht and frosty winter fled*, though it were a surplusage (because one season must needes 35  
 geue place to the other), yet doeth it well inough passe without blame in the maker. These and a hundred more of such faultie and impertinent speeches may yee finde amongst vs vulgar Poets, when we be carelesse of our doings.'



## CHAP. XXIII.

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

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



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

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





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wil therefore set you down some few examples of euery circumstance how it alters the decencie of speach or action. And by these few shal ye be able to gather a number more to confirme and establish your iudgement by a perfit discretion. 5

This decencie, so farfoorth as apperteineth to the consideration of our art, resteth in writing, speech, and behauour. But because writing is no more then the image or character of speech, they shall goe together in these our obseruations. And first wee wil sort you out diuers points, in which the wise and learned men of times past haue noted much decency or vndecencie, euery man according to his discretion, as it hath bene said afore; but wherein for the most part all discreete men doe generally agree, and varie not in opinion, whereof the examples I will geue you be worthie of remembrance; & though they brought with them no doctrine or institution at all, yet for the solace they may geue the readers, after such a rable of scholastical precepts which be tedious, these reports being of the nature historicall, they are to be embraced; but olde memories are very profitable to the mind, and serue as a glasse to looke vpon and behold the euent of time, and more exactly to skan the trueth of euery case that shall happen in the affaires of man; and many there be that haply doe not obserue euery particularitie in matters of decencie or vndecencie, and yet when the case is tolde them by another man they commonly geue the same sentence vpon it. But yet whosoeuer obserueth much shalbe counted the wisest and discreetest man, and whosoeuer spends all his life in his owne vaine actions and conceits, and obserues no mans else, he shal in the end prooue but a simple man. In which respect it is alwaies said, one man of experience is wiser than tenne learned men, because of his long and studious obseruation and often triall. 3



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

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

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

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



reuerence is due to their estates. As for example, if an Historiographer shal write of an Emperour or King, how such a day hee ioyned battel with his cnemic, and being ouer-laide ranne out of the fielde, and tooke his heeles, or put spurre to his horse and fled as fast as hee could, 5 the termes be not decent; but of a meane souldier or captaine it were not vndecently spoken. And as one who translating certaine bookes of *Virgils Æneidos* into English meetre said that *Æneas* was sayne to trudge out of Troy; which terme became better to be spoken of 10 a beggar, or of a rogue, or a lackey, for so wee vse to say to such maner of people 'be trudging hence.'

Another Englishing this word of *Virgill*, *fato profugus*, called *Æneas* by *fate a fugitiue*, which was vndecently spoken, and not to the Authours intent in the same word: 15 for whom he studied by all means to auance aboue all other men of the world for vertue and magnanimitie, he meant not to make him a fugitiue. But by occasion of his great distresses, and of the hardnesse of his destinies, he would haue it appeare that *Æneas* was enforced to flie 20 out of Troy, and for many yeeres to be a romer and a wandrer about the world both by land and sea, *fato profugus*, and neuer to find any resting place till he came into *Italy*; so as ye may euidently perceiue in this terme *fugitiue* a notable indignity offred to that princely person, 25 and by th'other word (a wanderer) none indignitie at all, but rather a terme of much loue and commiseration. The same translatur when he came to these words: *Insignem pietate virum, tot voluere casus tot adire labores compulit*, hee turned it thus, 'what moued *Iuno* to tugge so great 30 a captaine as *Æneas*,' which word 'tugge' spoken in this case is so vndecent as none other coulde haue bene deuised, and tooke his first originall from the cart, because it signifieth the pull or draught of the oxen or horses, and therefore the leathers that beare the chiefe stresse of the 35





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

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

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



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

## CHAP. XXIV.

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

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

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



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

And with these examples I thinke sufficient to leaue, geuing you information of this one point, that all your figures Poeticall or Rhethoricall are but obseruations of 10 strange speeches, and such as without any arte at al we should vse, & commonly do, euen by very nature without discipline; but more or lesse aptly and decently, or scarcely, or abundantly, or of this or that kind of figure, & one of vs more then another, according to the disposi- 15 tion of our nature, constitution of the heart, & facilitie of each mans vtterance: so as we may conclude that nature her selfe suggesteth the figure in this or that forme, but arte aydeth the iudgement of his vse and application; which geues me occasion, finally and for a full conclusion 20 to this whole treatise, to enforme you in the next chapter how art should be vsed in all respects, and specially in this behalfe of language, and when the naturall is more commendable then the artificiall, and contrariwise.

## CHAP. XXV.

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

And now (most excellent Queene) hauing largely said 25 of Poets & Poesie, and about what matters they be employed; then of all the commended fourmes of Poemes;





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



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

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



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

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





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

In another respect arte is not only an aide and coad-<sup>5</sup> iutor to nature in all her actions but an alterer of them, and in some sort a surmounter of her skill, so as by meanes of it her owne effects shall appeare more beauti- full or straunge and miraculous, as in both cases before remembred. The Phisition by the cordials hee will geue <sup>10</sup> his patient shall be able not onely to restore the decayed spirites of man and render him health, but also to prolong the terme of his life many yeares ouer and aboue the stint of his first and naturall constitution. And the Gardiner by his arte will not onely make an herbe, or <sup>15</sup> flowr, or fruite, come forth in his season without impediment, but also will embellish the same in vertue, shape, odour, and taste, that nature of her selfe woulde neuer haue done, as to make single gillifloure, or marigold, or daisie, double, and the white rose redde, yellow, or <sup>20</sup> carnation, a bitter mellon sweete, a sweete apple soure, a plumme or cherrie without a stone, a peare without core or kernell, a goord or coucumber like to a horne or any other figure he will : any of which things nature could not doe without mans help and arte. These actions also are <sup>25</sup> most singular when they be most artificiall.

In another respect we say arte is neither an aider nor a surmounter but onely a bare immitatour of natures works, following and counterfeyting her actions and effects, as the Marmesot doth many countenances and gestures of <sup>30</sup> man ; of which sorte are the artes of painting and keruing, whereof one represents the naturall by light colour and shadow in the superficiall or flat, the other in a body massife expressing the full and emptie, euen, extant, rabbated, hollow, or whatsoeuer other figure and passion <sup>35</sup>



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

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



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

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





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

### *The Conclusion.*

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



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



# SIR JOHN HARINGTON

(PREFACE TO THE TRANSLATION OF *ORLANDO FURIOSO*)

1591

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

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





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



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

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

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

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



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





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disgrace of Poetrie, to take heed (of what calling so euer  
 they be) least with the same weapon that they thinke to  
 giue Poetrie a blow they giue themselues a maim. For  
*Agrippa* taketh his pleasure of greater matters then  
 Poetrie; I maruel how he durst do it, saue that I see he  
 hath done it; he hath spared neither myters nor scepters.  
 The courts of Princes where vertue is rewarded, iustice  
 maintained, oppressions relieued, he cals them a Colledge  
 of Giants, of Tyrants, of oppressors, warriors: the most  
 noble sort of noble men he termeth cursed, bloodie, <sup>10</sup>  
 wicked, and sacrilegious persons. Noble men (and vs  
 poore Gentlemen) that thinke to borrow praise of our  
 auncestors deserts and good fame, he affirmed to be a race  
 of the sturdier sort of knaues and lycencious liuers.  
 Treasurers & other great officers of the common welth, <sup>15</sup>  
 with graue counsellors whose wise heads are the pillers of  
 the state, he affirmeth generally to be robbers and peelers  
 of the realme, and priuie traitors that sell their princes  
 fauours and rob weldeseruing seruitors of their reward. I  
 omit, as his *peccadilia*, how he nicknameth priests, saying <sup>20</sup>  
 for the most part they are hypocrites, lawyers, saying they  
 are all theeues, phisicians, saying they are manie of them  
 murtherers: so as I thinke it were a good motion, and  
 would easily passe by the consent of the three estates, that  
 this mans authoritie should be vtterly adnihilated, that <sup>25</sup>  
 dealeth so hardly and vniustly with all sorts of professions.  
 But for the reiecting of his writings, I refer it to others  
 that haue powre to do it, and to condemne him for a  
 generall libeller; but for that he writeth against Poetrie,  
 I meane to speake a word or two in refuting thereof. <sup>30</sup>

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



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

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

Lawyers, Hell, and the Checquer are allowed to liue  
on spoile ;

Souldiers, Phisicians, and Hangmen make a sport of  
murther ;

10 Astronomers, Painters, and Poets may lye by authoritie.

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

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



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

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





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

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



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

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



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

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

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





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

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

10

One tels a couetous man a tale of *Tantalus* that sits vp to the chinne in water, and yet is plagued with thirst. This signifies the selfe same man to whom the tale is told, that 15 wallows in plentie, and yet his miserable minde barres him the vse of it: As my selfe knew, and I am sure many remember, Iustice *Randall* of London, a man passing impotent in body but much more in mind, that, leauing behind him a thousand pounds of gold in a chest ful of old boots 20 & shoes, yet was so miserable that at my Lord Maiors dinner they say he would put vp a widgeon for his supper, & many a good meale he did take of his franke neighbour the widdow *Penne*. But to come to the matter, this same great sinne that is layd to Poetrie of pleasing fooles is 25 sufficiently answered if it be worth the answering.

Now for the breeding of errours which is the third Obiection, I see not why it should breed any when none is bound to beleue that they write, nor they looke not to haue their fictions belieued in the litterall sence; and therefore he 30 that well examines whence errours spring shall finde the writers of prose & not of verse the authors and maintainers of them; and this point I count so manifest as it needes no prooffe.



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

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

*Laudant illa, sed ista legunt,*

and in another place,

*Erubuit posuitque meum Lucrecia librum,  
Sed coram Bruto; Brute recede; lege!*

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



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

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





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

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

concluding thus,

*Laudetur, placeat, vigeat, relegatur, ametur.*

This is a great prayse comming from so great a Prince. For later times, to omit *Scaliger*, whom I recited before, <sup>10</sup> that affirmeth the reading of *Virgill* may make a man honest and vertuous, that excellent Italian Poet *Dant* professeth plainly that when he wandred out of the right way, meaning thereby when he liued fondly and loeslie, *Virgill* was the first that made him looke into himselfe and <sup>15</sup> reclaime himselfe from that same daungerous and lewd course. But what need we further witnes, do we not make our children read it commonly before they can vnderstand it, as a testimonie that we do generally approue it? And yet we see old men study it, as a prooffe that they do spe- <sup>20</sup> cially admire it: so as one writes very pretily, that children do wade in *Virgill*, and yet strong men do swim in it.

Now to apply this to the prayse of myne author, as I sayd before so I say still, whatsoeuer is prayseworthy in *Virgill* is plentifully to be found in *Ariosto*, and some <sup>25</sup> things that *Virgill* could not haue, for the ignoraunce of the age he liued in, you finde in my author, sprinckled ouer all his worke, as I will very briefly note and referre you for the rest to the booke it selfe. The deuout and Christen demeanor of Charlemayne in the 14 booke, with <sup>30</sup> his prayer,

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



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

*Il giusto Dio, quando i peccati nostri.*

But, aboue all, that in the xli. booke of the conuersion of 5 *Rogero* to the Christen Religion, where the Hermit speaketh to him, contayning in effect a full instruction against presumption and dispaire, which I haue set downe thus in English,

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

And so after, concluding,

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

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



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

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





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time, much more since *Homers* time. And yet for *Ariostos* tales that many thinke vnartificially brought in, *Homer* him selfe hath the like: as in the *Iliads* the conference of *Glaucus* with *Diomedes* vpon some acts of *Bellerophon*, & in his *Odyssse* as the discourse of the hog with *Vlysses*. 5

Further, for the name of the booke, which some carpe at because be called it *Orlando Furioso* rather then *Rogero*, in that he may also be defended by example of *Homer*, who, professing to write of *Achilles*, calleth his book *Iliade* of Troy, and not *Achillide*. 10

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

Briefly, *Aristotle* and the best censurers of Poesie would haue the *Epopeia*, that is the heroicall Poem, should ground on some historie, and take some short time in the same to 15 bewtifie with his Poetrie: so doth mine Author take the storie of k. *Charls* the great, and doth not exceed a yeare or therabout in his whole work. Secondly, they hold that nothing should be fayned vtterly incredible. And sure *Ariosto* neither in his enchantments exceedeth credit (for 20 who knowes not how strong the illusions of the deuill are?) neither in the miracles that *Attolfo* by the power of S. Iohn is fayned to do, since the Church holdeth that Prophetes both aliue and dead haue done mightie great miracles. Thirdly, they would haue an heroicall Poem (aswell as a Tragedie) 25 to be full of *Peripe[e]ia*, which I interpret an agnition of some vnlooked for fortune either good or bad, and a sudden change thereof: of this what store there be the reader shall quickly find. As for apt similitudes, for passions well expressed of loue, of pitie, of hate, of wrath, a blind man 30 may see, if he can but heare, that this worke is full of them.

There follows only two reproofs, which I rather interpret two peculiar praises of this writer aboue all that wrate before him in this kind. One, that he breaks off narrations veric abruptly, so as indeed a loose vnattentiuie reader will 31



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

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



so, then would imagine that I thought them so : for this same *φιλαντία* or self pleasing is so common a thing, as the more a man protests himself to be free from it, the more we wil charge him with it. Wherfore let me take thus much vpon me that admit it haue many of the for- 5  
named imperfections, & many not named, yet as writing goes now a dayes it may passe among the rest ; and as I haue heard a friend of mine (one verie iudicious in the bewtie of a woman) say of a Ladie whom he meant to praise, that she had a low forehead, a great nose, a wide 10  
mouth, a long visage, and yet all these put together she seemed to him a verie well faouered woman, so I hope and I find already some of my partiall friends that what seuerall imperfections soeuer they find in this translation, yet taking all together they allow it, or at least wise they 15  
reade it, which is a great argument of their liking.

*Sir Thomas Moore*, a man of great wisdome & learning, but yet a litle enclined (as good wits are many times) to scoffing, when one had brought him a booke of some shallow discourse, and preassed him very hard to haue his 20  
opinion of it, aduised the partie to put it into verse. The plaine meaning man in the best maner he could did so, and a twelue-month after at the least came with it to *Sir Thomas*, who, slightly perusing it, gaue it this *encomium*, that now there was rime in it, but afore it had neither rime 25  
nor reason. If any man had ment to serue me so, yet I haue preuented him ; for sure I am he shall find rime in mine, and, if he be not voyd of reason, he shall find reason to. Though for the matter I can challenge no  
praise, hauing but borrowed it ; & for the verse I do 30  
challenge none, being a thing that euery body that neuer scarce bayted their horse at the Vniuersitie take vpon them to make. It is possible that, if I would haue employed that time that I haue done vpon this vpon some inuention of mine owne, I could haue by this made it haue 35





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

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

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

and againe,

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

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

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



suger in their wine, and chide to bad about it, and say they marre all, but yet end with Gods blessing on their hearts. For indeed if I had knowne their diets, I could haue saued some of my cost, at least some of my paine: 5 for when a verse ended with *ciuillitie*, I could easier, after the auncient maner of rime, haue made *see*, or *flee*, or *decree* to aunswer it, leauing the accent vpon the last syllable, then hunt after three syllabled wordes to answeere it with *facillitie*, *gentillitie*, *tranquillitie*, *hostillitie*, *scurillitie*, 10 *debillitie*, *agillitie*, *fragillitie*, *nobillitie*, *mobillitie*, which who mislike may tast lamp oyle with their eares. And as for two syllabled meeters, they be so approued in other languages, that the French call them the feminine rime, as the sweeter, & the one syllable the masculin. But in 15 a word to answer this, & to make them for euer hold their peaces of this point, Sir *Philip Sidney*, not only vseth them, but affecteth them—*signifie*, *dignifie*, *shamed is*, *named is*, *blamed is*, *hide away*, *bide away*. Thogh if my many blotted papers that I haue made in this kind might 20 affoord me authoritie to giue a rule of it, I would say that to part them with a one syllable meeter between them wold giue it best grace. For as men vse to sow with the hand and not with the whole sacke, so I would haue the eare fed but not cloyed with these pleasing and sweet 25 falling meeters.

For the third reproofe about the notes, sure they were a worke (as I may so call it) of supererogation, and I would wish sometimes they had bin left out, & the rather if I be in such faire possibilitie to be thought a foole or fantasticall 30 for my labour. True it is I added some notes to the end of euery canto, euen as if some of my frends and my selfe reading it together (and so it fell out indeed many times) had after debated vpon them what had bene most worthie consideration in them, and so oftentimes immediatly I set it 35 downe. And wheras I make mention here & there of



some of mine owne friends & kin, I did it the rather because *Plutarke* in one place speaking of *Homer*, partly lamenteth, and partly blameth him, that writing so much as he did, yet in none of his works there was any mention made, or so much as inkling to be gathered, of what stocke 5 he was, of what kindred, of what towne, nor, saue for bis language, of what countrey. Excuse me then if I in a worke that may perhaps last longer then a better thing, and being not ashamed of my kindred, name them here and there to no mans offence; though I meant not to make 10 euery body so far of my counsell why I did it, till I was told that some person of some reckening noted me of a litle vanitie for it: and thus much for that point.

For my omitting and abreuating some things, either in matters impertinent to vs, or in some to tediousse flatteries 15 of persons that we neuer heard of, if I haue done ill I craue pardon: for sure I did it for the best. But if anie being studious of the Italian would for his vnderstanding compare them, the first sixe bookes, saue a litle of the third, will stand him in steed. But yet I would 20 not haue any man except that I should obserue his phrase so strictly as an interpreter, nor the matter so carefully as if it had bene a storie, in which to varie were as great a sinne as it were simplicitie in this to go word for word.

But now to conclude, I shall pray you all that haue 25 troubled yourselues to read this my triple apologie to accept my labors and to excuse my errors, if with no other thing, at least with the name of youth (which commonly hath need of excuses); and so presuming this pardon to be graunted, we shall part good friends. Only let me 30 intreate you in reading the booke ensuing not to do me that iniurie that a Potter did to Ariosto.





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

*Quid petitur sacris nisi tantum fama poetis?*

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



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

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



extoll as the Patronesse of their inuention ; for in thee the *Lesbian Sappho* with her lirick Harpe is disgraced, and the Laurel Garlande which thy Brother so brauely aduunst on his Launce is still kept greene in the Temple of *Pallas*. Thou only sacrificest thy soule to contemplation, thou only entertainest emptie handed *Homer*, & keepest the springs of *Castalia* from being dryed vp. Learning, wisdom, beautie, and all other ornaments of Nobilitie whatsoeuer seeke to approue themselues in thy sight and get a further seale of felicity from the smiles of<sup>10</sup> thy fauour :

*O Joue digna viro ni Joue nata fores.*

I feare I shall be counted a mercenary flatterer for mixing my thoughts with such figuratiue admiration, but generall report that surpasseth my praise condemneth<sup>15</sup> my rhetoricke of dulnesse for so colde a commendation. Indeede, to say the truth, my stile is somewhat heauie gated, and cannot daunce, trip, and goe so liuely, with 'oh I my loue, ah I my loue, all my loues gone,' as other Sheepheards that haue beene fooles in the Morris time<sup>20</sup> out of minde ; nor hath my prose any skill to imitate the Almond leape verse, or sit tabring fiew yeres together nothing but 'to bee, to hee,' on a paper drum. Onely I can keepe pace with Grauesend barge, and care not if I haue water enough to lande my ship of fooles with the<sup>25</sup> Tearme (the tyde I shoulde say). Now euery man is not of that minde ; for some, to goe the lighter away, will take in their fraught of spangled feathers, golden Peebles, Straw, Reedes, Bulrushes, or anything, and then they beare out their sayles as proudly as if they were balisted<sup>30</sup> with Bulbief. Others are so hardly bested for loading that they are faine to retaile the cinders of *Troy*, and the shiuers of broken trunchions, to fill vp their boate that else should goe empty ; and if they haue but a pound





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

Yours in all desire to please, .

THO: NASHE.



# GABRIEL HARVEY

(FROM *FOUR LETTERS*)

1592

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

This long-drawn invective against Greene was caused by a slighting reference to Harvey's father in *A Quip for an Upstart Courtier: or A Quaint Dispute between Velvet-Breeches and Cloth-breeches*. Harvey deals with this 'Monarch of Crossbiters and very Emperour of Shifters' in the second, third, and fourth letters, which are chiefly remarkable for their virulent abuse. In the *Second Letter*, addressed to Christopher Bird of Walden, in which, among other virulent statements, he mentions Greene's death-bed charge to Doll, he enters a plea for moderation. 'Oratours have challenged a speciall Liberty, and Poets claimed an absolute Licence; but no Liberty without boundes, nor any Licence without limitation. Inuectiues by fauour haue bene too bolde, and Satyres by usurpation too presumptuous: I overpasse Archilochus, Aristophanes, Lucian, Iulian, Aradus, and that whole venomous and viperous breed of old & new Raylers; euen Tully and Horace otherwhiles reprehended; and I must needs say Mother should be first of choller, forgetting the pure sanguine of her ~~she~~ <sup>Queen</sup>, wilfully over-shoot her malcontented ~~and~~ <sup>where</sup> I haue specified at ~~last~~ <sup>last</sup> with the ~~most~~ <sup>most</sup> ~~unpopular~~ <sup>unpopular</sup> ~~friendships~~ <sup>friendships</sup> ~~cooing much least~~ <sup>cooing much least</sup>.



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

### FROM THE THIRD LETTER.

[T were pittie but wonderous wits (giue enemies their due) shoulde become more woonderous by comparison ; conference maketh excellent things appeare more admirable : & I am so far from being a Saturnist by nature, 5 or a Stoick by discipline, that I can easily frame a certaine pleasurable delight vnto my selfe, by ministring some matter vnto them that now are faine to make something of nothing, and wittily to plaie with their own shadowes. It goeth somewhat hard in my harsh Legend, when the 10 father of Musicke must be mocked—not Tubulcain, as he mistearmeth him, but Tuball, whom Genesis voutsafeth honourable mention—and the Hexameter verse flouted : whereof neither Homer in Greeke, nor Virgill in Latine (how valorous Autors !), nor Alexander in conquest, 15 nor Augustus in maiesty (how puissant Princes !) were ashamed, but accompted it the onely gallant trompet of braue and Heroicall Actes. And I wis the English is nothing too good to imitat the Greeke, or Latine, or other eloquent Languages that honour the Hexameter as the 20 soueraigne of verses and the high Controwler of Rimes. If I neuer deserue anye better remembraunce, let mee rather be epitaphed, The Inuentour of the English Hexameter—





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Great and small things may in some proportion be compared together : and beholde as miserable a spectacle in their kinde. Flourishing Mr. *Greene* is most wofully faded : and whilest I am bemoaning his ouer-pittious decay, & discoursing the vsuall successe of such ranke wittes, 5 Loe, all on the suddaine, his sworne brother, M. *Pierce Pennie-lesse* (still more paltery ; but what remedy ? we are already ouer shoes and must now goe through), Loe his inwardest companion, that tasted of the fatall herringe, cruelly pinched with want, vexed with discredite, tormented with other mens felicitie, and ouerwhelmed with his owne misery, in a raving and franticke moode most desperately exhibiteth his supplication to the Diuell. A strange title, an od wit, and a mad hooreson I warrant him : doubtles it wil proue some dainty deuise, queintly 15 contriued by way of humble Supplication To the high and mighty Prince of Darkenesse ; not Dunsically botched-vp, but right-formally conueied, according to the stile and tenour of Tarletons president, his famous play of the seauen Deadly sinnes. Which most dea[d]ly, but most liuely, 20 playe I might haue seene in London, and was veric gently inuited thereunto at Oxford by *Tarleton* himselfe. Of whome I merrily demaunding which of the seauen was his owne deadlie sinne, he bluntly aunswered after this manner, ' By God, the sinne of other Gentlemen, Lechery.' 25 ' Oh but that, M. Tarleton, is not your part vpon the stage ; you are too blame that dissemble with the world & haue one part for your frends pleasure, an other for your owne.' ' I am somewhat of Doctor Pernes religion,' quoth he ; and abruptlie tooke his leaue. Surely it must needes 30 bee current in matter, and autenticall in forme, that had first such a learned president, and is now pleasantlie interlaced with diuers new-founde phrases of the Tauerne, and pathetically intermixt with sundry dolefull pageants of his own ruinous & beggerlie experience. For the poore 35



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

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

20 And a little after:

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

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

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

then to read that profound Quotation,

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

Which was thought Patheticall out of crie.

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



. . . Good sweete Oratour, be a deuine Poet indeede; and vse heauenly Eloquence indeede; and employ thy golden talent with amounting vsance indeede; and with heroicall Cantoes honour right Vertue, & braue valour indeede; as noble Sir Philip Sidney and gentle Maister 5 Spencer haue done, with immortall Fame; and I will bestow more complements of rare amplifications vpon thee then euer any bestowed vpon them, or this Tounge euer afforded, or any Aretinish mountaine of huge exaggerations can bring foorth. Right artificiality (whereat 10 I once aimed to the vttermost power of my slender capacity) is not mad-brained, or ridiculous, or absurd, or blasphemous, or monstrous, but deepe conceited, but pleasurable, but delicate, but exquisite, but gracious, but admirable; not according to the fantastick mould 15 of *Aretine* or *Rabelays*, but according to the fine modell of *Orpheus*, *Homer*, *Pindarus*, & the excellentest wittes of Greece, and of the Lande that floweth with milke and hony. For what Festiuall Hymnes so diuinely dainty as the sweete Psalmes of King Dauid, royally translated by 20 *Buchanan*? or what sage Gnomes so profoundly pithy as the wise Prouerbes of King Salomon, notably also translated. But how few Buchanans? Such liuely springes of streaming Eloquence & such right-Olympicall hilles of amountinge witte I cordially recommend to the deere 25 Louers of the Muses; and namely to the professed Sonnes of the same, *Edmond Spencer*, *Richard Stanihurst*, *Abraham France*, *Thomas Watson*, *Samuell Daniell*, *Thomas Nash*, and the rest; whome I affectionately thancke for their studious endeouours, commendably employed in enriching 30 & polishing their natiue Tongue, neuer so furnished or embellished as of late. For I dare not name the Honorable Sonnes & Nobler Daughters of the sweetest & diuine Muses that euer sang in English or other language, for feare of suspition of that which I abhorre; 35





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obscure, or the quickest capacity dull and needeth Methode, as it were the bright Moone, to illuminate the darkesome night: but Practise is the bright Sun that shineth in the day, & the soueraigne Planet that gouerneth the world: as elsewhere I haue copiously declared. To 5 excell, ther is no way but one: to marry studious Arte to diligent Exercise: but where they must be vnmarried, or diuorced, geue me rather Exercise without Arte then Arte without Exercise. Perfect vse worketh masteries, and disgraceth vnexperienced Arte. Examples are infinite, 10 and dayly display themselues. A world without a Sunne; a Boddy without a Soule; Nature without Arte; Arte without Exercise—sory creatures. Singular practise the only singuler and admirable woorkeman of the world.

Must I dispatch the rest that is exacted? It is no fit 15 place; and the least little wil seme too much. As in other thinges, so in Artes; formality doth well, but materiality worketh the feat. Were Artists as skillfull as Artes are powerfull, wonders might be atchieued by Arte emprooued; but they that vnderstand little write much; 20 and they that know much write little. The vayne Peacocke with his gay coullours, and the prattling Parrat with his ignorant discourses (I am not to offend any but the Peacocke and the Parrat) haue garishly disguised the worthiest Artes, and deeply discredited the profoundest 25 Artistes, to the pitifull defacement of the one and the shamefull preiudice of the other. *Rodolph Agricola, Philip Melancthon, Ludouike Viues, Peter Ramus*, and diuers excellent schollers haue earnestly complaned of Artes corrupted, and notably reformed many absurdities: but still 30 corruption ingendreth one vermine or other, and still that pretious Trainement is miserably abused which should be the fountaine of skill, the roote of vertue, the seminary of gouernment, the foundation of all priuate and publike good.

The Methodist & Discourser might be more materiall; 31



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



the Deft writer be as sure a workman as the neat Tayler. There may be a fault in the Reader, aswell as in the weauer : but euery manne contente himselfe to beare the burthen of his owne faultes ; and, good sweete Autors, infourme your selues before you vndertake to instruct other. . . 5

God helpe, when Ignorance and want of Experience, vsurping the chayre of scrupulous and rigorous Iudgement, will in a fantasticall Imagination, or percase in a melancholy moode, presume farther, by infinite degrees, then the learnedest men in a ciuill Common-wealth, or the 10 sagest counsellours in a Princes Court. Our new-new writers, the Loadstones of the Presse, are wonderfully beholdinge to the Asse ; in a manner the only Autor, which they alledge. The world was euer full inough of 15 fools, but neuer so full of Asses in print ; the very Elephant, a great Asse ; the Camell, a huge Asse ; the Beare, a monstrous Asse ; the Horse, an absurd Asse ; the Fox himselfe, a little Asse, or, for variety, an Ape : who not an Asse or an Ape in good plaine English, that chanceth to come in the wise Asse-makers & mighty Ape-dubbers 20 way ? They are fine men, & haue many sweete phrases : it is my simplicity that I am so slenderly acquainted with that dainty stile, the only new fashion of current Eloquence in Esse, far surpassing the stale vein of *Demosthenes* or *Tully*, *Iewel* or *Harding*, *Whitgift* or *Cartwright*, *Sidney* or 25 *Spencer*. But I could wish Ignorance would fauour it selfe : & it were not amisse that want of Experience should be content to be a little modest or somewhat quiet : & both enforce les occasion to be termed, as they will needes notoriously proclaime themselues, as it were, with a pub- 30 like ' Oh-is,' or a generall *Nouerint uniuersi per praesentes*. For if any thing indeede be a right Asse in print, it is the one ; and if any thing indeede be a right Calfe in print, it is the other : Ignorance, the famousest Asse ; and want of Experience, the notablest Calfe in the world. 35





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verses. *Quid respondes?* canst thou brooke it; yea or no? Is it any treason to thy well tuned hammers to say they begat so renowned a childe as Musicke? Neither thy hammers nor thou I knowe, if they were put to their booke oaths, will euer say it. 5

The Hexamiter verse I graunt to be a Gentleman of an auncient house (so is many an english begger); yet this Clyme of ours hee cannot thriue in. Our speech is too craggy for him to set his plough in; hee goes twitching and hopping in our language like a man running vpon 10 quagmiers, vp the hill in one Syllable, and downe the dale in another, retaining no part of that stately smooth gate which he vaunts himselfe with amongst the Greeks and Latins.

*Homer and Virgil, two valorous Authors, yet were they 15* neuer knighted, they wrote in Hexameter Verses: *Ergo, Chaucer and Spencer, the Homer and Virgil of England,* were farre ouerseene that they wrote not all their Poems in Hexamiter verses also. In many Countries veluet and Satten is a commoner weare than cloth amongst vs: *Ergo 20* wee must leaue wearing of cloth, and goe euerie one in veluet and satten, because other Countries vse so.

The Text will not beare it, good *Gilgilis Hobberdehoy. Our english tongue is nothing too good, but too bad to imitate 25* the Greeke and Latine.

Master *Stannyhurst* (though otherwise learned) trod a foule, lumbring, boystrous, wallowing, measure in his translation of *Virgil*. He had neuer been praisd by *Gabriel* for his labour, if therein hee had not bin so famously absurd. . . . 30

Let Maister *Butler* of Cambridge his testimoniall end this controuersie, who at that time that thy ioyes were in the Fleeting, and thou crying for the Lords sake out at an iron window, in a lane not farre from Ludgate hill, questiond some of his companions verie inquisitiuelie that were 35



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

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

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

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

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

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



*putative artists; energeticall persuasions; Rascallitie; materialitie; artificialitie; Fantasticallitie; diuine Entelechy; loud mentery; deceitfull perfidy; addicted to Theory; the worlds great Incendiarie; sirenised furies; soueraigntie immense; abundant Cateles; cautelous and aduentrous; cordiall liquor; Catilinaries and Phillipicks; perfunctorie discourses; Davids sweetnes olimpique; The Idee; high and deepe Abisse of excellence; the only Vnicorne of the Muses; the Aretinish mountaine of huge exaggerations; the gracious law of Amnesty; amicable termes; amicable end; effectuate; addoulce his 10 melodie; Mag[ic]polimechany; extensiuely emploid; precious Traynment; Nouellets; Notorietie; negotiation; mechanician.*

Nor are these all, for euerie third line hath some of this ouer-rackt absonisme. Nor do I altogether scum off all these as the new ingendred fome of the English, but 15 allowe some of them for a neede to fill vp a verse; as *Traynment*, and one or two wordes more, which the libertie of prose might well haue spar'd. In a verse, when a worde of three sillables cannot thrust in but sidelings, to ioynt him euen, we are oftentimes faine to 20 borrowe some lesser quarry of elocution from the Latine, alwaies retaining this for a principle, that a leake of indesinence, as a leake in a shippe, must needly bee stopt with what matter soeuer.

*Chaucers* authoritie I am certaine shal be alleadgd for 25 a many of these balductums. Had *Chaucer* liu'd to this age, I am verily perswaded hee would haue discarded the tone halfe of the harsher sort of them.

They were the Oouse which ouerflowing barbarisme, withdrawne to her Scottish Northren chanell, had left 30 behind her. Art, like yong grasse in the spring of *Chaucers* flourishing, was glad to peepe vp through any slime of corruption, to be beholding to she car'd not whome for apparaile, trauailing in those colde countries. There is no reason that shee, a banisht Queene into this barraine 35





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

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



# GABRIEL HARVEY

(FROM *PIERCE'S SUPEREROGATION* AND *A NEW LETTER OF NOTABLE CONTENTS*)

1593

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

## I.

THERE was a time when I floted in a sea of encountering waves, and devoured many famous confutations with an eager and insatiable appetite; especially Aristotle against Plato and the old Philosophers, divers excellent Platonistes, endowed with rare & divine wittes (of whom elsewhere at large); Iustinus Martyr, Philoponus, Valla, Vives, Ramus, against Aristotle; oh, but the great maister of the schooles and high Chancellour of Universities could not want pregnant defence, Perionius, Gallandus, Carpentarius, Sceggius, Lieblerus, against Ramus; what? hath the royall Professor of Eloquence and Philology no faourites? Talaens, Oratus, Freigius, Micoe, Rodingus,



Scribonius, for Ramus against them; and so foorth, in that hott contradictory course of Logique and Philosophy. But alas, silly men, simple Aristotle, more simple Ramus, most simple the rest, either ye neuer knew what a sharpe-edged & cutting Confutation meant, or the date of your stale oppositions is expired, and a new-found land of confuting commodities discovered by this braue Columbus of tearmes and this onely marchant venturer of quarrels, that detecteth new Indies of Inuention & hath the winds of Æolus at commaundement. Happy you flourishinge<sup>10</sup> youthes that follow his incomparable learned steps, and vnhappy we old Duneses that wanted such a worthy President of all nimble and liuely dexterities! What should I appeale infinite other to their perpetuall shame, or summon such and such to their foule disgrace? Erasmus<sup>15</sup> in Latine and Sir Thomas More in English were supposed fine and pleasant Confuters in their time, and were accordingly embraced of the forwardest and trimmest wittes; but alacke how vnlike this dainty minion! Agrippa was reputed a gyant in confutation, a demi-god in omni-<sup>20</sup> sufficiency of knowledge, a diuell in the practise of horrible Artes: oh, but Agrippa was an vrcheon, Copernicus a shrimpe, Cardan a puppy, Scaliger a baby, Paracelsus a scab, Erastus a patch, Sigonius a toy, Cuiacius a bable to this Termagant, that fighteth not with simple wordes,<sup>25</sup> but with dubble swordes; not with the trickling water of Helicon, but with piercing Aqua fortis; not with the sorry powder of Experience, but with terrible gunpowder; not with the small shott of contention, but with the maine ordinaunce of fury.

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





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



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

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



superexcellent witt that is the mother pearle of precious Inuention, and the goulden mine of gorgeous Elocution. Na, it is a certaine pregnant and liuely thing without name, but a queint mistery of mounting conceit, as it were a knacke of dexterity, or the nippitaty of the nappiest 5 grape, that infinitely surpasseth all the Inuention and Elocution in the world, and will bunge Demosthenes owne mouth with new-fangled figures of the right stampe, maugre all the thundering and lightninge Perioodes of his eloquentest orations, forlorne creatures. I haue had some 10 prettie triall of the finest Tuscanisme in graine, and haue curiously obserued the cunningest experiments and brauest complements of aspiring emulation, but must geeue the bell of singularity to the humorous witt, and the garland of victory to the *dominiering Eloquence*. I come not yet 15 to the Praise of the olde Asse: it is young Apuleius that feedeth vpon this glory: and hauing enclosed these rancke commons to the proper vse of himselfe & the capricious flocke, adopteth whom he listeth without exception; as Alexander the great had a huge intention to haue all men 20 his subiectes, and all his subiectes called Alexanders. It was strange newes for some to be so assefied; and a worke of Supererogation for him so bountifully to vouchsafe his golden name the appropriate cognisance of his noble stile. God-night, poore Rhetorique of sorry bookes! 25 adieu, good old Humanity! gentle Artes and Liberall Sciences, content your selues! Farewell my deere moothers, sometime flourishishing Vniuersities! Some that haue long continued your sonnes in Nature, your apprentices in Arte, your seruauntes in Exercise, your louers in affec- 30 tion, and your vassalles in duety, must either take their leaues of their sweetest freendes, or become the slaues of that dominiering eloquence that knoweth no Art but the cutting Arte, nor acknowledgeth any schoole but the Curtisan schoole. The rest is pure naturali, or wondrous 35





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Though I be not greatly employed, yet my leisure will scarcely serue to moralize Fables of Beares, Apes, and Foxes (some men can giue a shrewd gesse at a courtly allegory), but where Lordes in expresse tearmes are magnifically contemned, Doctours in the same stile may be courageously confuted. Liberty of Tongue and Pen is no Bondman; nippitaty will not be tied to a post; there is a cap of maintenaunce called Impudency; and what say to him that in a superabundaunce of that same odd capricious humour findeth 'no such want in England as <sup>10</sup> of an Aretine, that might stripp these golden Asses out of their gay trappings, and, after he had ridden them to death with rayling, leaue them on the dunghill for carrion'? A frolicke mind and a braue spirit to be employed with his stripping instrument, in supply of that onely want of <sup>15</sup> a diuine Aretine, the great rider of golden Asses! Were his penne as supererogatory a woorkeman as his harte, or his liues such transcendentas as his thoughtes, Lord, what an egregious Aretine should we shortly haue, how excesssiuely exceeding Aretine himselfe, that bestowed the <sup>20</sup> surmountingest amplifications at his pleasure, and was a meere Hyperbole incarnate! Time may worke an accomplishment of woonders, and his graund intentions seeme to prognosticate no lesse then the vttermost possibilities of capacity or fury extended. Would God, or <sup>25</sup> could the Diuell, giue him that vnmeasurable allowance of witt and Arte that he extreamely affecteth, and infinitely wanteth, there were no encounter but of admiration and honour. . . .

But when againe I lift vp mine eyes, and behold the <sup>30</sup> glorious picture of that most-threatning Slassher, is it possible so couragious a Confuter should bee less terrible then the Basiliske of Orus Apollo, that with his onely hissing killed the poore snakes, his neighbours? Can any



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

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



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

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





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pleasure. The Book-worme was neuer but a pickgoose: it is the Multipling spirit, not of the Alchimist but of the villanist, that knocketh the naile one the head, and spurreth outt farther in a day then the quickest Artist in a weeke. Whiles other are reading, wryting, conferring, 5 arguing, discoursing, experimenting, platforminge, mousing, buzzing, or I know not what, that is the spirrit that with a woondrous dexterity shapeth exquisite workes, and atchieueth puissant exploites of Supererogation. O my good frends, as ye loue the sweete world, or tender your 10 deare selues, be not vnmindfull what is good for the aduancement of your commendable partes. All is nothing without aduancement. Though my experience be a Cipher in these causes, yet hauing studiously perused the newe Arte-notory, that is, the foresaid Supererogation, and 15 hauing shaken so manie learned asses hy the eares, as it were by the hands, I could say no lesse, and might think more.'

Something else was vttered the same time by the same Gentleman, aswell concerning the present state of France, 20 which he termed the most vnchristian kingdome of the most christian kinge, as touching certaine other newes of I wott not what dependence; but my minde was running on my halspeny, and my head so full of the foresaid round discourse, that my hand was neuer quyet vntill I had 25 altered the tytle of this Pamphlet, and newlie christened it *Pierces Supererogation*: aswell in remembrance of the saide discourse as in honour of the appropriate vertues of *Pierce* himselfe; who aboue all the writers that euer I knew shall go for my money where the currantest 30 forgery, impudency, arrogancy, phantasticalitie, vanity, and great store of little discretion may go for payment, and the filthiest corruption of abhominable villany passe vnlaunched. His other miraculous perfections are still in abeyance; and his monstrous excellencyes in the predica- 35



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



supernaturall furniture disserve and expectation? What should the Stones of Art: dreame of the Philosophers Stone, that, like *Mercurius*, turneth into golde: whatsoever it toucheth: or of the soveraine and diuine Quintessence, that, like *Esculapius*, restoreth health to sickness; like *Medea*, youth to Oldage; like *Apollonius*, life to Death? No Philosophers Stone or soveraine Quintessence, howsoeuer preciously precious, equiualent to such diuine workes of supererogation! O high-minded *Fierce*, hadd the traine of your wordes and sentences bene sunswear-able to the retinue of your bragges and threats, or the robes of your appaunce in person suteable to the weedes of your ostentation in tearmes, I would surely haue bene the first that should haue proclaimed you the most singular Secretary of this language, & the beauenliest creature vnder the Spheres. Sweete *M. Ascham*, that was a flowing spring of humanity, and worthy *Sir Phillip Sidney*, that was a flourishing spring of nobility, must haue pardoned me: I would directly haue charged my conscience. But you must giue plaine men leaue to vtter their opinion without courtinge: I honor high heads that stand vpon low feet; & haue no great affection to the gay fellows that build vp with their clumbring hartes, and pull downe with their vntoward hands. Giue me the man that is meeke in spirit, lofty in reale, simple in presumption, gallant in endeavor, poore in profession, riche in performance. Some such I knowe; and all such I value highly. They glory not of the golden stone, or the youthfull Quintessence: but Industrie is their goulden Stone; Action their youthfull Quintessence; and Valour their diuine worke of Supererogation. . . .

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





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that was the harmony of heauen, the lyfe of Poetry, the grace of Arte, a precious tablet of rare conceits, & a curious frame of exquisite workemanship ; nothing but neate Witt, and refined Eloquence. Were the amorous muse of my enemy such a liuely Spring of sweetest flowres & such a liuing Haruest of ripest fruits, I would abandon other loues, to dote vpon that most louely muse, and would debase the Dyamant in comparison of that most Dyamant muse. But out vpon ranke & lothsome ribaldry that putrieth where it should purify, and presumeth to de-<sup>10</sup> flowre the most flourishing wittes with whom it consorteth, eyther in familiarity or by fauour ! One Ouid was too much for Roome, and one Greene too much for London, but one Nashe more intollerable then both, not bicause his witt is anye thinge comparable, but bicause his will is more<sup>15</sup> outragious. Ferraria could scarcely brooke Manardus, a poysonous Phisitian ; Mantua hardly beare Pomponatius, a poysonous Philosopher ; Florence more hardly tollerate Macchiauel, a poysonous politician ; Venice most hardly endure Arretine, a poysonous ribald : had they liued in<sup>20</sup> absolute Monarchies, they would haue seemed vtterly insupportable. Germany, Denmarke, Sweden, Polony, Boemia, Hungary, Moscouy, are noe soiles of any such wittes ; but neither Fraunce, nor Spaine, nor Turkey, nor any puissant kingdom in one or other Monarchy of the old or new<sup>25</sup> world could euer abide any such pernicious writers, depraues of common discipline.

England, since it was England, neuer bred more honorable mindes, more aduenturous hartes, more valorous bandes, or more excellent wittes then of late : it is enough for<sup>30</sup> Filly-folly to intoxicate it selfe, though it be not suffered to defyle the lande, which the water enuironeth, the Earth enritcheth, the aier ensweeteneth, and the Heauen blesseth. The bounteous graces of God are sowed thicke, but come vp thin ; corruption hath little need to be fostred ; wanton<sup>35</sup>



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



Raleigh ; the report of sundry other famous discoveryes & adventures, published by M. Rychard Hackluit in one volume, a worke of importance ; the report of the hoatt wellcom of the terrible Spanishe Armada to the coast of Inglande, that came in glory and went in dishonour ; the 5 report of the redoubted voyage into Spaine and Portugall, whence the braue Earle of Essex and the twoo valorous Generals, Sir Iohn Norris and Sir Frauncis Drake, returned with honour ; the report of the resolute encounter about the Iles Azores, betwixt the Reuenge of Inghland 10 and an Armada of Spaine, in which encounter braue Sir Richard Grinuile most vigorously & impetuously attempted the extreamest possibilities of valour and fury. For breuity I ouerskipp many excellent Traicts of the same or the like nature : but reade these, and M. William Borrowghes 15 notable discourse of the variation of the compas or magneticall needle, annexed to the new Attractiue of Robert Norman, Hydrographer ; vnto which two Inghland in some respectes is as much beholding as Spayne vnto Martin Cortes & Peter de Medina for the Arte of Nauigation : 20 and when you haue obserued the course of Industry, examined the antecedents and consequents of Trauail, compared Inghlish and Spanish valour, measured the Forces of both parties, weighed euery circumstance of Aduantage, considered the Meanes of our assurance, and finally found 25 proffit to be our pleasure, prouision our security, labour our honour, warfare our welfare—who of reckoning can spare anye lewde or vaine tyme for corrupt pamphlets, or who of iudgment will not cry away with these paultringe fidle-faddles? . . . 30

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





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



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

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



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

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





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

---

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

15

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



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



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

*Papp with an batchet.*  
*Alias,*  
*A Figg for my God-sonne.*  
*Or*  
*Cracke me this nutt.*

*Or*  
*A Country Cuffe, that is, a sound boxe of the*  
*eare, & cetera.*

*Written by one that dares call a dog a dog.*

Imprinted by *Iohn Anoke*, and *Iohn Astile*, for the  
 Bayly of Withernam *Cum privilegio perennitate*  
*sis*, and are to be sold at the signe of the  
 Crabb-tree Cudgell in Thwack-  
 coate Lane.

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





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

When I first tooke a glancing vewe of *Ile, Ile, Ile*, & durst scarcely be so hardy to looke the hatchet in the face, methought his Imagination was hedded like a Saracen, 5 his stomack bellyed like the great Globe of Orontius, & his breath like the blast of Boreas in the great Mapp of Mercator. But when we began to renue our old acquaintance, and to shake the handes of discontinued familiaritie, alas, good Gentleman, his mandillion was ouercropped, his witt 10 paunched like his wiues spindle, his art shanked like a lath, his conceit as lank as a shotten herring, and that same blustering eloquence as bleake and wan as the Picture of a forlorne Looer. Nothing but pure Mammaday and a fewe morsels of fly-blowne Euphuisme, somewhat nicely minced 15 for puling stomackes! But there be Painters enough, though I goe roundly to worke; and it is my onely purpose to speake to the purpose. I long sithence founde by experience how Dranting of Verses, and Euphuing of sentences, did edifie. But had I consulted with the Prognostication 20 of Iohn Securis, I might peradventure haue saued some loose endes for afterclapps. Now his nephew Hatchet must be content to accept of such spare intertainment as he findeth. . . .

So he may soone make vp the autentically *Legendary* 25 of his *Hundred merrie Tales*, as true, peradventure, as Lucians true narrations, or the heroically historyes of Rabelais, or the braue Legendes of Errant Knights, or the egregious pranks of Howleglasse, Frier Rush, Frier Tuck, and such like, or the renowned *Bugiale* of Poggius, 30 Racellus, Luseus, Cincius, and that whole Italian crew of merry Secretaries in the time of Pope Martin the fift, of whom our worshipfull Clarkes of the whetstone, Doctour



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

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



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





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*Finicallitie, sillogistrie, disputatiue right, hermaphrodite phrases, declamatorie stiles, censoriall moralizers, unlineall usurpers of iudgement, infamizers of vice, new infringement to destitute the inditement, deriding dunstically, banging abominationly, unhandsoming of diuinityship, absurdifying of phrases, ratifying of truthable and eligible English, a calme dilatement of forward harmefulnesse and backward irefulnesse, and how many sundry dishes of such dainty fritters? rare iunkets and a delicate seruice for him that compiled the most delitious Commentaries *De optimitate triparum*.<sup>10</sup> And what say you Boyes, the flatteringest hope of your moothers, to a *Porch of Panim Pilsfryes, Pestred with Prayses*. Dare the pertest or deffest of you hunt the letter, or hauke a metaphor, with such a *Tite-tute-tate*? He weeneth himselfe a speciall penman, as he were the head-<sup>15</sup> man of the Pamfletting crew, next, and immediately after Greene: and although he be a harsh Oratour with his toungue (euen the filed *Suada* of Isocrates wanted the voyce of a Siren or the sound of an *Eccho*), yet would he seeme as fine a Secretary with his penne as euer was *Bembus* in<sup>20</sup> Latin, or *Macchiauell* in Italian, or *Gueuara* in Spanish, or *Amiot* in French; and with a confidence preasseth into the rowte of that humorous ranke that affected the reputation of supreme Singularity. But he must craue a little more acquaintance at the hand of *Arte*, and serue an<sup>25</sup> apprenticeship of some nine or ten yeares in the shop of curious Imitation (for his wild *Phantasie* will not be allowed to maintaine comparison with curious Imitation) before he will be hable to performe the twentieth or fortith part of that sufficiency, whereunto the cranknesse of his *Imagination*<sup>30</sup> already aspireth, as more exquisite then the *Atticisme* of *Isocrates*, or more puissant then the fury of *Tasso*.*

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



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



able case, lye prostrate at thy dainty foote, and adore the Idoll-excellency of thy monstrous Singularity! O stately Homer, and lofty Pindarus, whose witt mounteth like Pegasus, whose verse streameth like Nilua, whose Invention flameth like Ætna, whose Elocution rageth like Sirius, whose passion blustereth like Boreas, whose reason breatheth like Zephirus, whose nature sauoreth like Tempe, and whose Art perfumeth like Paradise: O the mightiest Spirites of couragious Vigour, of whom the delicate Grecian, worthy Roman, and gallant Vulgar<sup>10</sup> Muses learned their shrillest tunes and hyperbolicall notes: O the fiercest Trompets of heroicall Valour, that with the straunge Sympathy of your diuine Fury, and with thossame piercing motions of heauenly inspiration were woont to rauish the affections, and euen to mealt the bowels<sup>15</sup> of brauest mindes; see, see what a woondrous quaime!

But peace, milkemaide, you will still be shaming yourselfe and your bringing-vpp! Hadst thou learned to discern the fairest face of Eloquence from the fowlest visage of Barbarisme, or the goodlyest frame of Method from the<sup>20</sup> ill-fauoredest shape of Confusion, as thou canst descry the finest flower from the coursest branne, or the sweetest creame from the sowrest whey, peradventure thou wouldest dote vpon the bewtifull and dainty feature of that naturali stile, that appropriate stile, vpon which himselfe is so<sup>25</sup> deeply inamored. I would it were out of peradventure: no man more greedy to behold that miraculous Art of emprooued Nature. He may malapertly bragge in the vaine ostentation of his owne naturall conceit, and, if it please him, make a Golden Calfe of his wooden stuffe,<sup>30</sup> but shewe me any halfe page without piperly phrases and tinkerly composition, and say I am the simplest Artist that euer looked fayre Rhetorique or sweet Poetry in the face. It is the destiny of our language to be pestred with a *rablement* of botchers, in Print; but what a shamefull





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or Pollicy honoreth not Vulcan? and what profounde Mathematician, like Digges, Hariot, or Dee, esteemeth not the pregnant Mechanician? Let euery man in his degree enioy his due; and let the braue enginer, fine Dædalist, skilfull Neptunist, maruelous Vulcanist, and euery Mercuriali occupationer, that is, euery Master of his craft and euery Doctour of his mystery, be respected according to the vttermost extent of his publique seruice or priuate industry. I cannot stand to specific particularities. Our late writers are as they are; and albeit they will not suffer<sup>10</sup> me to ballance them with the honorable Autors of the Romanes, Grecians, and Hebrues, yet I will craue no pardon of the highest to do the simplest no wrong. In Grafton, Holinshed, and Stowe; in Heywood, Tusser, and Gowge; in Gascoigne, Churchyarde, and Floide; in Ritch,<sup>15</sup> Whetstone, and Munday; in Stanyhurst, Fraunce, and Watson; in Kiffin, Warner, and Daniell; in an hundred such vulgar writers many things are commendable, diuers things notable, somethings excellent. Fraunce, Kiffin, Warner, and Daniell, of whom I haue elsewhere more<sup>20</sup> especiall occasion to entreate, may haply finde a thankefull remembraunce of their laudable trauailes. For a polished and garnished stile, fewe go beyonde Cartwright, and the chiefest of his Confuters, furnished writers: and how few may wage comparison with Reinolds, Stubbes, Mulcaster,<sup>25</sup> Norton, Lambert, and the Lord Henry Howarde, whose seuerall writings the siluer file of the workeman recommendeth to the plausible interteinement of the daintiest Censure? Who can deny but the Resolution and Mary Magdalens funerall teares are penned elegantly and pathe-<sup>30</sup>tically? Scottes discouery of Witchcraft dismasketh sundry egregious impostures, and in certaine principall Chapters & speciall passages hitteth the nayle on the head with a witnesse: howsoeuer I could haue wished he had *either* dealt somewhat more curteously with Monsieur<sup>35</sup>



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



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

## II.

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





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



# RICHARD CAREW

(*THE EXCELLENCY OF THE ENGLISH TONGUE*)

? 1595-6

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

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

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



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

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

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





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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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



in these partes : and the Romaine also imparted vnto vs of his Latyne riches with noe sparing hand. Our neighbours the French haue been likewise. contented wee should take vp by retayle aswell their tearmes and their fashions, or rather wee retaine yeat but some remnant of that which once heere bare all the swaye, and daylye renewe the store. Soe haue our Italyan trauilers brought vs acquainted with their sweet relished phrases which (soe their conditions crept not in withall) weere the better tollerable. Yea euen wee seeke to make our good of our late Spanish enymye, and feare as little the hurt of his tongue as the dinte of his sworde. Seeing then wee borowe (and that not shamfully) from the Dutch, the Breton, the Romaine, the Dane, the French, Italyan, & Spanyard, how cann our stocke bee other then exceeding plentifull? It may be objected that such patching maketh Littletons hotchpot of our tongue, and in effect bringes the same rather to a Babellish confusione then any one entyre Language. It may againe be aunswered that this thefte of woordes is not lesse warranted by the priuillidge of a prescription, auncient and Vniuersall, then was that of goodes amongst the *Lacedemonians* by an enacted lawe, for soe the Greekes robbed the Hebrues, the Latynes the Greekes (which filching *Cicero* with a large discourse in his booke *de Oratore* defendeth), and (in a manner) all other Christiane Nations the Latyne. For Euidence hereof, many sentences may be produced consistinge of wordes that in their oryginall are Latyne, and yeat (saue some smale varyaunce in their termynacions) fall out all one with the French, Dutch, and English, as *Ley Ceremonious persons, offer prelate preest, cleere Candels flame, in Temples Cloistre, in Cholerick Temperature, clisters purgation is pestilent, pulers preseruatue, subtill factors, aduocates, Notaries, practise, Papers, libells, Registers, Regents, Maiesty in pallace hath triumphant Throne, Regiments, Scepter, Vassalls supplica-*





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

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

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



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

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









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



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

II.

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

10 TO THE MOST HONORED EARLE, *EARLE MARSHALL.*

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



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





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

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



But thou soule-blind Scalliger, that neuer hadst any-  
thing but place, time, and termes to paint thy proficiencie  
in learning, nor euer writest any thing of thine owne im-  
potent braine but thy onely impalsied diminuation of  
5 *Homer* (which I may sweare was the absolute inspiration  
of thine owne ridiculous Genius), neuer didst thou more  
palpably damn thy drossy spirit in al thy all-countries-  
exploded filcheries, which are so grossely illiterate that no  
man will vouchsafe their refutation, then in thy sencelesse  
10 reprehensions of *Homer*, whose spirit flew asmuch aboue  
thy groueling capacitie as heauen moues aboue *Barathrum*.  
But as none will vouchsafe repetition nor answeere of thy  
other vnmanly fooleries, no more will I of these, my Epistle  
being too tedious to your Lo. besides, and no mans iudge-  
15 ment seruing better (if your high affaires could admit their  
deligent perusall) then your Lo. to refute and reiect him.  
But alas *Homer* is not now to bee lift vp by my weake  
arme, more then he is now deprest by more feeble opposi-  
tions. If any feele not their conceiptes so rauisht with the  
20 eminent beauties of his ascentiall muse, as the greatest  
men of all sorts and of all ages haue beene. Their most  
modest course is (vnlesse they will be powerfully insolent)  
to ascribe the defect to their apprehension, because they  
read him but sleightly, not in his surmised frugalitie of  
25 obiect, that really and most feastfully powres out him-  
selfe in right diuine occasion. But the chiefe and vn-  
answerable meane to his generall and iust acceptance must  
be your Lo. high and of all men expected president, with-  
out which hee must, like a poore snayle, pull in his English  
30 hornes, that out of all other languages (in regard of the  
countries affection, and royaltie of his Patrones) hath ap-  
peared like an Angell from a clowde, or the world out of  
Chaos, when no language can make comparison of him  
with ours if he be worthily conuerted; wherein before he  
35 should haue beene borne so lame and defectiue, as the



French midwife hath brought him forth, he had neuer made question how your Lo. would accept him: and yet haue two of their Kings embraced him as a wealthy ornament to their studies, and the main battayle of their armies. 5

If then your bountie would do me but the grace to conferre my vnhappy labours with theirs so successfull & commended (your iudgement seruing you much better then your leysure, & yet your leisure in thinges honourable being to bee inforced by your iudgement), no malicious & 10 dishonorable whisperer that comes armed with an army of authority and state against harmeles & armeles vertue could wrest your wonted impression so much from it self to reiect (with imitation of tiranous contempt) any affection so zealous & able in this kind to honor your estate as 15 mine. Onely kings & princes haue been *Homers* Patrones, amongst whom *Ptolomie* wold say, he that had sleight handes to entertayne *Homer* had as sleight braines to rule his common wealth. And an vsuall seueritie he vsed, but a most rationall (how precise and ridiculous soeuer it may 20 seeme to men made of ridiculous matter), that, in reuerence of the pietie and perfect humanitie he taught, whosoever writ or committed any proud detraction against *Homer* (as euen so much a man wanted not his malicious deprauers), hee put him with torments to extreamest death. O high 25 and magically rayseed prospect, from whence a true eye may see meanes to the absolute redresse, or much to be wished extenuation, of all the vnmanly degeneracies now tyranying amongst vs! For if that which teacheth happinesse and hath vnpainefull corosiuies in it (being enter- 30 tayned and obserued) to eate out the hart of that raging vicer, which like a *Lernean Fen* of corruption furnaceth the vniuersall sighes and complaintes of this transposed world, were seriously and as with armed garrisons defended and hartned, that which engenders & disperseth 35





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

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

GEORGE CHAPMAN.

---

### TO THE VNDERSTANDER

You are not euery bodie; to you (as to one of my very few friends) I may be bold to vtter my minde; nor is it <sup>10</sup> more empaire to an honest and absolute mans sufficiencie to haue few friendes then to an Homericall Poeme to haue few commenders, for neyther doe common dispositions keepe fitte or plausible consort with iudiciall and simple honestie, nor are idle capacities comprehensible of an <sup>15</sup> elaborate Poeme. My Epistle dedicatorie before my seuen bookes is accounted darke and too much laboured: for the darkenes there is nothing good or bad, hard or softe, darke or perspicuous but in respect, & in respect of mens light, sleight, or enuious perusalles (to whose loose capacities <sup>20</sup> any worke worthily composde is knit with a riddle); & that the stile is materiall, flowing & not ranke, it may perhaps seeme darke to ranke riders or readers that haue no more soules then burbolts: but to your comprehension, & in it, selfe, I know it is not. For the affected labour bestowed <sup>25</sup> in it, I protest two morninges both ended it and the Readers Epistle: but the truth is, my desire & strange disposition in all thinges I write is to set downe vncommon and most profitable coherents for the time, yet further remoued from abhorde affectation then from the most <sup>30</sup> popular and cold disgestion. And I euer imagine that as



Italian & French Poems to our studious linguistes win much of their discouried affection, as well because the vnderstanding of forreigne tongues is sweete to their apprehension as that the matter & inuention is pleasing, 5 so my farre fetcht and, as it were, beyond sea manner of writing, if they would take as much paines for their poore countrimen as for a proud stranger when they once vnderstand it, should be much more gracious to their choice conceiptes then a discourse that fals naked before them, 10 and hath nothing but what mixeth it selfe with ordinarie table talke. For my varietie of new wordes, I haue none Inckepot I am sure you know, but such as I giue passport with such authoritie, so significant and not ill sounding, that if my countrey language were an usurer, or a man of 15 this age speaking it, hee would thanke mee for enriching him. Why, alas, will my young mayster the reader affect nothing common, and yet like nothing extraordinarie? Swaggering is a new worde amongst them, and rounde headed custome giues it priuiledge with much imitation, 20 being created as it were by a naturall *Prosopopeia* without etimologie or deriuation; and why may not an elegancie authentically deriued, & as I may say of the vpper house, bee entertayned as well in their lower consultation with authoritie of Arte as their owne forgeries lickt up by 25 nature? All tongues haue inricht themselues from their originall (onely the Hebrew & Grecke which are not spoken amongst vs) with good neighbourly borrowing, and as with infusion of fresh ayre and nourishment of newe blood in their still growing bodies, & why may not 30 ours? *Chaucer* (by whom we will needes authorise our true english) had more newe wordes for his time then any man needes to devise now. And therefore for currant wits to crie from standing braines, like a broode of Frogs from a ditch, to haue the ceaselesse flowing riuer of our 35 tongue turnde into their Frogpoole, is a song farre from



their arrogation of sweetnes, & a sin wold soone bring the  
 plague of barbarisme amongst vs; which in faith needes  
 not bee hastned with defences of his ignorant furtherers,  
 since it comes with mealemouth'd toleration too sauagely  
 vpon vs. To be short, since I had the reward of my  
 labours in their consummation, and the chiefe pleasure of  
 them in mine owne profit, no young preiudicate or castiga-  
 torie braine hath reason to thinke I stande trembling vnder  
 the ayry stroke of his feuerie censure, for that I did euer  
 expect any flowing applause from his drie fingers; but the  
 satisfaction and delight that might probably redound to  
 euerie true louer of vertue I set in the seat of mine owne  
 profit and contentment; and if there be any one in whome  
 this successe is enflowred, a few sprigges of it shall bee  
 my garland. Since then this neuer equald Poet is to  
 bee vnderstood, and so full of gouernment and direction  
 to all estates, sterne anger and the affrights of warre  
 bearing the mayne face of his subiect, soldiers shall neuer  
 spende their idle howres more profitablie then with his  
 studious and industrious perusall; in whose honors his  
 deserts are infinite. Counsellors haue neuer better oracles  
 then his lines: fathers haue no morales so profitable for  
 their children as his counsailes; nor shal they euer give  
 them more honord iniunctions then to learne *Homer* with-  
 out book, that, being continually conuersant in him, his  
 height may descend to their capacities, and his substance  
 proue their worthiest riches. Husbands, wiues, louers,  
 friends, and allies hauing in him mirrors for all their  
 duties; all sortes of which concourse and societie in other  
 more happy ages haue in steed of sonnets & lasciuious  
 ballades sung his *Iliades*. Let the length of the verse  
 neuer discourage your endeouours; for talke our quidditall  
 Italianistes of what proportion soeuer their strooting lips  
 affect, vnlesse it be in these coopplets into which I haue  
 hastely translated this Shield, they shall neuer doe *Homer*





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# FRANCIS MERES

(*PALLADIS TAMIA*)

1598

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

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



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

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

POETRIE.

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

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

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

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

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

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

As we are delighted in deformed creatures artificiallye  
painted: so in poetrie, which is a liuely adumbration of  
30 things, cuil matters ingeniously contriued do delight.



As Phisitians vse for medicine the feete and wings of the flies *Cantharides*, which flies are deadly poyson: so we may gather out of the same poem that may quell the hurtfull venome of it; for poets do alwaies mingle somewhat in their Poems, wherby they intimate that they con- 5 demne what they declare. *idem.*

As our breath doth make a shiller sound being sent through the narrow channell of a Trumpet then if it be diffused abroad into the open aire: so the well knitte and succinct combination of a Poem dooth make our meaning 10 better knowen and discerned then if it were deliuered at random in prose. *Seneca.*

As he that drinckes of the Well *Clitorius* doth abhorre wine: so they that haue once tasted of poetry cannot away with the study of philosophie. After the same maner holdes 15 the contrarie.

As the Anabaptists abhorre the liberall artes and humane sciences: so puritanes and precisians detest poetrie and poems.

As eloquence hath found many preachers & oratours 20 worthy fauourers of her in the English tongue: so her sister poetry hath found the like welcome and entertainment giuen her by our English poets, which makes our language so gorgeous & delectable among vs.

As Rubarbe and sugarcandie are pleasant & profitable: 25 so in poetry ther is sweetnes and goodness. *M. John Haring.*, in his *Apologie for Poetry* before his translated *Ariosto.*

Many cockney and wanton women ar often sicke, but in faith they cannot tell where: so the name of poetrie is 30 odious to some, but neither his cause nor effects, neither the summe that contains him nor the particularities descending from him, giue any fast handle to their carping dispraise. *Sir Philip Sidney*, in his *Apologie for Poetry.*





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good for some, because they are meet for them: so some things are commended in Poets which are fit and correspondent for the persons they speak of, although in themselves they be filthy and not to be spoken; As lame *Demonides* wished that the shoes that were stolne from him might fit his feet that had stoln them. *idem.*

As that ship is endangered where all leanę to one side, but is in safetie one leaning one way and another another way: so the dissensions of Poets among themselves doth make them that they lesse infect their readers. And for this purpose our Satyrists Hall, the Author of *Pigmalion's Image* and *Certaine Satyres*, Rankins, and such others are very profitable.

As a Bee doth gather the iuice of honie from flowres, whereas others are onely delighted with the colour and smel: so a Philosopher findeth that among Poets which is profitable for good life, when as others are tickled only with pleasure. *Plut.*

As wee are delighted in the picture of a viper or a spider artificially enclosed within a precious iewell: so Poets do delight vs in the learned & cunning depainting of vices.

As some are delighted in counterfet wines confected of fruites, not that they refresh the hart but that they make drunke; so some are delighted in Poets only for their obscenity, neuer respecting their eloquence, good grace, or learning.

As Emperors, Kings, & princes haue in their bandes authority to dignifie or disgrace their nobles, attendants, subiects, & vassals: so Poets haue the whole power in their handes to make men either immortally famous for their valiant exploites and vertuous exercises, or perpetually infamous for their vicious liues.

As *God giueth* life vnto man: so a Poet giueth ornament vnto it.

As the Greeke and Latine Poets haue wonne immortall



credit to their native speech, being encouraged and graced by liberall patrones and bountifull Benefactors: so our famous and learned Lawreat masters of England would entitle our English to far greater admired excellency if either the Emperour Augustus, or Octavia his sister, or noble Mecænas were alive to rewarde and countenance them; or if our witty Comedians and stately Tragedians (the glorious and goodlie representers of all fine witte, glorified phrase, and queint action) bee still supported and vphelde, by which meanes for lacke of Patrones (O ingratefull and damned age) our Poets are soly or chiefly maintained, countenaunced, and patronized.

In the infancy of Greece they that handled in the audience of the people graue and necessary matters were called wise men or eloquent men, which they ment by Vates: so the rest, which sang of loue matters, or other lighter deuises alluring vnto pleasure and delight, were called Poets or makers.

As the holy Prophets and sanctified apostles could neuer haue foretold nor spoken of such supernaturall matters vnlesse they had bin inspired of God: so *Cicero* in his *Tusculane questions* is of that minde, that a Poet cannot expresse verses abundantly, sufficiently, and fully, neither his eloquence can flow pleasantly, or his wordes sound well and plenteously, without celestially instruction; which Poets themselues do very often and gladly witness of themselues, as namely *Ouid* in *6 Fast*.

*Est Deus in nobis; agitante calescimus illo. &c.*

And our famous English Poet Spenser, who in his *Sheepeheards Calender*, lamenting the decay of Poetry at these dayes, saith most sweetly to the same,

'Then make the wings of thine aspiring wit,  
And whence thou camest fly backe to heauen apace.' &c.



As a long gowne maketh not an Advocate, a gowne be a fit ornament for him: so riming maketh a Poet, albeit the Senate of Poets have verse as their fittest rayment; but it is the faint images of vertues, vices, or what else, with that teaching, which must bee the right describing not a Poet by. *Sir Philip Sidney in his Apology for*

### A COMPARATIVE DISCOURSE OF ENGLISH POETS WITH THE GREEKE, AND ITALIAN POETS.

As Greece had three poets of great antiquity, Linus, and Musæus, and Italy other three, Liuius Andronicus, Ennius, and Plautus: so had three auncient poets, Chaucer, Gower, and Lydgate.

As Homer is reputed the Prince of Greek, Petrarch of Italian poets: so Chaucer is accounted God of English poets.

As Homer was the first that adorned the Greek with true quantity: so *Piers Plowman* was the first that observed the true quantitie of our verse without curiositie of rime.

Ouid writ a Chronicle from the beginning of the world to his own time, that is, to the raign of Augustus the Emperour: so hath Harding the Chronicler (in the same maner of old harsh riming) from Adam to his own time, to the raigne of King Edward the fourth.

As Sotades Maronites, the Iambicke Poet, grew wholly to write impure and lasciuious things: (I know not for what great worthines surname he was called Laureat) applied his wit to scurrilities and buffoneries; such among the Greeks were called with vs, buffons.

As Consaluo Periz, that excellent learned





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*Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia* in Prose; and yet our rarest Poet.

As Sextus Propertius said, *Nescio quid magis nascitur Iliade*: so I say of Spencer's *Fairy Queene*, I knowe not what more excellent or exquisite Poem may be written. 5

As Achilles had the aduantage of Hector, because it was his fortune to bee extolled and renowned by the heauenly verse of Homer: so Spenser's *Elisa, the Fairy Queen*, hath the aduantage of all the Queenes in the worlde, to be eternized by so diuine a Poet. 10

As Theocritus is famoused for his *Idyllia* in Greeke, and Virgill for his *Eclogs* in Latine: so Spencer their imitator in his *Shepherd's Calender* is renowned for the like argument, and honoured for fine Poeticall inuention and most exquisit wit. 15

As Parthenius Nicæus excellently sung the praises of his *Arete*: so Daniel hath diuinely sonetted the matchlesse beauty of his *Delia*.

As euery one mourneth when hee beareth of the lamentable plangors of Thracian Orpheus for his dearest *Euridice*: so euery one passionateth when he readeth the afflicted death of Daniel's distressed *Rosamond*. 20

As Lucan hath mōrnefully depainted the ciuil wars of Pompey and Cæsar: so hath Daniel the civill wars of Yorke and Lancaster, and Drayton the civill wars of Edward the second and the Barons. 25

As Virgil doth imitate Catullus in the like matter of *Ariadne* for his story of Queene *Dido*: so Michael Drayton doth imitate Ouid in his *England's Heroical Epistles*.

As Sophocles was called a Bee for the sweetnes of his tongue: so in Charles Fitz-Iefferies *Drake* Drayton is termed 'golden-mouth'd' for the purity and pretiousnesse of his stile and phrase.

As Accius, M. Atilius, and Milithus were called *Tragaediographi*, because they writ tragedies: so may wee truly 35



terme Michael Drayton *Tragaediographus* for his passionate penning the downfals of valiant Robert of Normandy, chast Matilda, and great Gaueston.

As Joan. Honterus, in Latine verse, writ three bookes of Cosmography, with geographical tables: so Michael Drayton is now in penning, in English verse, a Poem called *Poly-olbion*, Geographical and Hydrographical of all the forests, woods, mountaines, fountaines, riuers, lakes, flouds, bathes, and springs that be in England.

As Aulus Persius Flaccus is reported among al writers to be of an honest life and vpright conuersation: so Michael Drayton, *quem toties honoris et amoris causa nomino*, among schollers, souldiours, Poets, and all sorts of people is helde for a man of vertuous disposition, honest conuersation, and well gouerned cariage; which is almost miraculous among good wits in these declining and corrupt times, when there is nothing but rogerie in villanous man, and when cheating and craftines is counted the cleanest wit, and soundest wisdom.

As Decius Ausonius Gallus, *in libris Fastorum*, penned the occurrences of the world from the first creation of it to his time, that is, to the raigne of the Emperour Gratian: so Warner, in his absolute *Albion's Englande*, hath most admirably penned the historie of his own country from Noah to his time, that is to the raigne of Queen Elizabeth. I haue heard him termd of the best wits of both our Vniuersities our English Homer.

As Euripedes is the most sententious among the Greek Poets: so is Warner among our English Poets.

As the soule of Euphorbus was thought to liue in Pythagoras: so the sweete wittie soule of Ouid liues in mellifluous and hony-tongued Shakespeare, witnes his *Venus and Adonis*, his *Lucrece*, his sugred *Sonnets* among his priuate friends, &c.

As Plautus and Seneca are accounted the best for



Comedy and Tragedy among the Latines : so Shakespeare among the English is the most excellent in both kinds for the stage. For Comedy, witness his *Gentlemen of Verona*, his *Errors*, his *Loue Labors Lost*, his *Loue Labours Wonne*, his *Midsummers Night Dreame*, and his *Merchant of Venice*; For Tragedy, his *Richard the 2*, *Richard the 3*, *Henry the 4*, *King John*, *Titus Andronicus*, and his *Romeo and Iuliet*.

As Epicus Stolo said that the Muses would speake with Plautus tongue if they would speak Latin : so I say that the Muses would speak with Shakespeares fine filed phrase if they would speak English.

As Musæus, who wrote the loue of Hero and Leander, had two excellent schollers, Thamaras and Hercules : so hath he in England two excellent poets, imitators of him in the same argument and subiect, Christopher Marlow and George Chapman.

As Ouid saith of his work,

*Iamque opus exegi, quod nec Iouis ira, nec ignis,  
Nec poterit ferrum, nec edax abolere vetustas;* 20

and as Horace saith of his,

*Exegi monumentum aere perennius  
Regalique situ pyramidum altius,  
Quod non imber edax, non Aquilo impotens  
Possit diruere, aut innumerabilis  
Annorum series, et fuga temporum:* 25

so I say seuerally of Sir Philip Sidney's, Spenser's, Daniel's, Drayton's, Shakespeare's, and Warner's workes,

*Non Iouis ira, imbres, Mars, ferrum, flamma, senectus,  
Hoc opus vnda, lues, turbo, venena ruent.*

*Et quanquam ad pulcherrimum hoc opus euertendum,  
tres illi Dii conspirabunt, Chronus, Vulcanus, et Pater  
ipse gentis.*





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tragedies, the one of *Richard the 3*, the other of *The Destruction of Ierusalem*.

The best Poets for Comedy among the Greeks are these, Menander, Aristophanes, Eupolis Atheniensis, Alexis Terius, Nicostratus, Amipsias Atheniensis, Anaxandrides Rhodius, Aristonymus, Archippus Atheniensis, and Callias Atheniensis; and among the Latines, Plautus, Terence, Nævius, Sextus Turpilius, Licinius Imbrex, and Virgilius Romanus: so the best for Comedy amongst vs bee Edward, Earle of Oxforde, Doctor Gager of Oxforde, Master Rowley, once a rare scholler of learned Pembroke Hall in Cambridge, Maister Edwardes, one of Her Maiesties Chappell, eloquent and wittie Iohn Lilly, Lodge, Gascoyne, Greene, Shakespeare, Thomas Nash, Thomas Heywood, Anthony Mundaye, our best plotter, Chapman, Porter, Wilson, Hathway, and Henry Chettle.

As Horace, Lucilius, Iuuenall, Persius, and Lucullus are the best for Satyre among the Latines: so with vs, in the same faculty, these are chiefe, *Piers Plowman*, Lodge, Hall of Imanuel Colledge in Cambridge, the Author of *Pigmalion's Image* and *certain Satyrs*, the Author of *Skialetheia*.

Among the Greekes I will name but two for Iambicks, Archilochus Parius and Hipponax Ephesius: so amongst vs I name but two Iambical Poets, Gabriel Haruey and Richard Stanyhurst, bicause I haue seene no mo in this kind.

As these are famous among the Greeks for Elegie, Melanthus, Mymnerus Colophonius, Olympius Mysius, Parthenius Nicæus, Philetas Cous, Theogenes Megarensis, and Pigres Halicarnassæus; and these among the Latines, Mæcenas, Ouid, Tibullus, Propertius, C. Valgius, Cassius Seuerus, and Clodius Sabinus: so these are the most passionate among vs to bewaile and bemoane the perplexities of loue, Henrie Howard, Earle of Surrey, Sir



Thomas Wyat the elder, Sir Francis Brian, Sir Philip Sidney, Sir Walter Rawley, Sir Edward Dyer, Spencer, Daniel, Drayton, Shakespeare, Whetstone, Gascoyne, Samuell Page, sometimes Fellowe of Corpus Christi Colledge in Oxford, Churchyard, Bretton.

As Theocritus in Greek, Virgil and Mantuan in Latine, Sanazar in Italian, and the Authour of *Amintæ Gaudia* and *Walsingham's Melibæus* are **the best for Pastorall**: so amongst vs the best in this kind are Sir Philip Sidney, Master Challener, Spencer, Stephen Gosson, Abraham Fraunce, and Barnefield.

These and many other Epigrammatists the Latin tongue hath, Q. Catulus, Porcius Licinius, Quintus Cornificius, Martial, Cnæus Getulicus, and wittie Sir Thomas Moore: so in English we have these, Heywood, Drante, Kendal, Bastard, Dauies.

As noble Mæcenas, that sprang from the Hetruscan Kinges, not onely graced Poets by his bounty but also by beeing a Poet himself; and as Iames the 6, nowe King of Scotland, is not only a fauorer of Poets but a Poet, as my friend Master Richard Barnefielde hath in this disticke passing well recorded,

The King of Scots **now living is a Poet,**  
As his *Lepanto* and his *Furies* show it:

so Elizabeth, our dread Souereign and gracious Queene, is not only a liberal Patrone vnto Poets, but an excellent Poet herselfe, whose learned, delicate, and noble Muse surmounteth, be it in Ode, Elegy, Epigram, or in any other kind of poem, Heroicke or Lyricke.

Octauia, sister unto Augustus the Emperour, was exceeding bountifull vnto Virgil, who gaue him for making 26 verses, 1,137 pounds, to wit, tenne *sestertiæ* for euerie verse (which amounted to aboue 43 pounds for euerie verse): so learned Mary, the honourable Countesse of



Pembrook, the noble sister of immortall Sir Philip Sidney, is very liberall vnto Poets ; besides, shee is a most delicate Poet, of whome I may say, as Antipater Sidonius writeth of Sappho,

*Dulcia Mnemosyne demirans carmina Sapphus,* 5  
*Quaesiuit decima Pieris unde foret.*

Among others, in times past, Poets had these fauourers, Augustus, Mæcenas, Sophocles, Germanicus, an Emperor, a Nobleman, a Senatour, and a Captaine : so of later times Poets haue these patrones, Robert, King of Sicil, the great 10 King Francis of France, King Iames of Scotland, and Queene Elizabeth of England.

As in former times two great Cardinals, Bembus and [Bib]biena, did countenance Poets : so of late yeares two great preachers haue giuen them their right hands in 15 fellowship, Beza and Melancthon.

As the learned philosophers Fracastorius and Scaliger haue highly prized them : so haue the eloquent Orators Pontanus and Muretus very gloriously estimated them.

As Georgius Buchananus' *Iepthæ* amongst all moderne 20 Tragedies is able to abide the touch of Aristotles precepts and Euripedes's examples : so is Bishop Watson's *Absalon*.

As Terence for his translations out of Apollodorus and Menander, and Aquilius for his translation out of Menander, 25 and C. Germanicus Augustus for his out of Aratus, and Ausonius for his translated *Epigrams* out of Greeke, and Doctor Iohnson for his *Frogge-fight* out of Homer, and Watson for his *Antigone* out of Sophocles, haue got good commendations : so these versifiers for their learned trans- 30 lations are of good note among vs, Phaer for Virgil's *Æneads*, Golding for Ouid's *Metamorphosis*, Harington for his *Orlando Furioso*, the Translators of Seneca's *Tragedies*, Barnabe Googe for Palingenius, Turberuile for Ouid's





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As Actæon was wooried of his owne hounds: so is Tom Nash of his *Isle of Dogs*. Dogges were the death of Euripedes; but bee not disconsolate, gallant young Iuuenall, Linus, the sonne of Apollo, died the same death. Yet God forbid that so braue a witte should so basely 5  
perish! Thine are but paper dogges, neither is thy banishment like Ouid's, eternally to conuerse with the barbarous *Getae*. Therefore comfort thyselfe, sweete Tom, with Cicero's glorious return to Rome, and with the counsel Æneas giues to his seabeaten soldiors, *Lib. 1, Æneid.* 10

Pluck vp thine heart, and driue from thence both  
feare and care away!

To thinke on this may pleasure be perhaps another  
day.

*Durate et temet rebus seruate secundis.* 15

As Anacreon died by the pot: so George Peele by the  
pox.

As Archesilaus Prytaneus perished by wine at a drunken feast, as Hermippus testifieth in *Diogenes*: so Robert Greene died of a surfet taken at pickeld herrings and 20  
Rhenish wine, as witnesseth Thomas Nash, who was at the fatall banquet.

As Iodelle, a French tragical poet, beeing an epicure and an atheist, made a pitifull end: so our tragical poet Marlow for his Epicurisme and Atheisme had a tragical 25  
death. You may read of this Marlow more at large in the *Theatre of God's judgments*, in the 25th chapter entreating of *Epicures and Atheists*.

As the poet Lycophron was shot to death by a certain riuall of his: so Christopher Marlow was stabd to death by 30  
a bawdy Seruingman, a riuall of his in his lewde loue.



# WILLIAM VAUGHAN

(*THE GOLDEN GROVE*)

1600

[William Vaughan's book, entitled *The Golden-groue, moralised in three books: a work very necessary for all such as would know how to governe themselves, their houses, or their country*, appeared in 1600 (1amo, unpagged). The extracts have been taken from the copy preserved in the Bodleian Library (Wood, 743). In the note 'To the Reader,' Vaughan says:—'If any man delight to haue himselfe shine with a glorious shewe of virtue, I haue giuen him the toppes of moral behauior; if to haue his house and family wel beautified, I haue yeelded him diuers braunches for that purpose; if to haue his countrey flourish, I haue sent him the deep-grounded stemme of policy.' There are three books, containing respectively sixty-nine, thirty, and seventy chapters. The following notes include all the more important references to literary matters.

Book i, chap. 51, entitled 'Whether Stage Playes ought to be suffred in a Commonwealth?' is a diatribe against plays as mere folly and wickedness: the literary problem is not discussed.

In Bk. iii, chap. 39, 'Of Grammar,' chap. 40, 'Of Logick,' and chap. 41, 'Of Rhetoricke and the abuse thereof,' Vaughan follows the traditional line of description and commendation of these studies. Chap. 42 is headed 'Of Poetry, and of the excellency thereof.' This shows that Moses and Deborah were the most ancient poets, that poetry was the chief cause of the heathen's 'ciuility,' and that poets were the first to 'obserue the secrete operations of nature,' and to offer oblations, sacrifices, and prayers. Vaughan mentions the characteristics of poetry, opposes those who say that the Gentiles first



founded poetry, and that therefore it ought to be rejected, and stands forth in its defence, drawing on classic names and examples, and referring especially to Homer. 'Sundry times haue I beene conuersant with such as blasphemed Poetry, by calling it mincing and lying Poetry. But it is no maruel that they thus deride Poetry, sith they sticke not in this out-worne age to abuse the ministers of God by terming them bookish fellowes and Puritanes, they themselves not knowing what they meane.' After the classics he names modern poets. 'Ieffery Chaucer, the English Poet, was in great account with King Richard the second, who gaue him, in reward of his poems, the manour of Newelme in Oxfordshire.' He refers to the story of Alain Chartier's being kissed by the French Queen, and tells that Francis I made 'those famous poets Dampetrus and Macrinus' of the Privy Council. 'King Henrie the eight, for a few Psalmes of Dauid turned into English meeter by Sternhold, made him Groome of his priuie chamber and rewarded him with many great gifts besides. Moreouer, hee made Sir Thomas Moore Lord Chauncelour of this Realme, whose poeticall works are as yet in great regard.' Queen Mary gave a pension to Vergoza the Spaniard for a poem on her marriage with Philip, Queen Elizabeth made Dr. Haddon Master of Requests. Princely poets of former times were Julius Caesar, 'a very good poet,' Augustus, Euax, King of Arabia, and Cornelius Gallus, treasurer of Egypt. He then adds: 'Neither is our owne age altogether to bee dispraysed. For the old Earle of Surrey composed bookes in verse. Sir Philip Sidney excelled all our English Poets in rarenesse of stile and matter. King James the sixt of Scotland, that now raigneth, is a notable Poet, and daily setteth out most learned poems, to the admiration of all his subiects.' Vaughan refers to Sidney's defence of Poetry in the *Apology*, and sums up 'Take away the abuse, which is meerey accidental, and let the substance of Poetrie stand still. . . I conclude that many of our English rimers and ballet-makers deserue for their boudy sonnets and amorous allurements to bee banished, or seuerely punished: and that Poetrie it selfe ought to bee honoured and made much of, as a precious Iewell and a diuine gift.']





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serious studies I will hereafter endeavour to excuse.' Then follow these lines, entitled 'The Writer to his Booke':

Whether thus hasts my little booke so fast?  
 To Paules Churchyard. What? in those cels to stand,  
 With one leafe like a rider's cloke put vp  
 To catch a termer? or lie mustie there  
 With rimes a terme set out, or two, before?  
 Some will redeeme me. Fewe. Yes, reade me too.  
 Fewer. Nay loue me. Now thou dot'st, I see.  
 Will not our English *Athenas* arte defend?  
 Perhaps. Will lofty courtly wits not ayme  
 Still at perfection? If I graunt? I flye.  
 Whether? To Pawles. Alas, poore booke, I rue  
 Thy rash selfe-loue. Goe, spread thy pap'ry wings:  
 Thy lightnes cannot helpe or hurt my fame.

The text is that of the copy in the Bodleian Library (Douce, C. 359). Two leaves which are missing (see foot-notes, pp. 332, 341) are supplied from the quarto.]

## OBSERVATIONS IN THE ART OF ENGLISH POESY.

### THE FIRST CHAPTER, INTREATING OF NUMBERS IN GENERALL.

**T**HERE is no writing too breefe that, without obscuritie, 5  
 comprehends the intent of the writer. These my  
 late obseruations in English Poesy I haue thus briefly  
 gathered, that they might proue the lesse troublesome in  
 perusing, and the more apt to be retayn'd in memorie.  
 And I will first generally handle the nature of Numbers. 10  
 Number is *discreta quantitas*: so that when we speake  
 simply of number, we intend only the disseruer'd quantity;  
 but when we speake of a Poeme written in number, we  
 consider not only the distinct number of the sillables, but  
 also their value, which is contained in the length or shortnes 15  
 of their sound. As in Musick we do not say a straine of  
 so many notes, but so many sem'briefes (though some-



times there are no more notes then sem'briefes), so in a verse the numeration of the sillables is not so much to be obserued as their waite and due proportion. In ioyning of words to harmony there is nothing more offensiuie to the eare then to place a long sillable with a short note, or a short sillable with a long note, though in the last the vowell often beares it out. The world is made by Simmetry and proportion, and is in that respect compared to Musick, and Musick to Poetry: for *Terence* saith, speaking of Poets, *artem qui tractant musicam*, confounding Musick and Poesy together. What musick can there be where there is no proportion obserued? Learning first flourished in *Greece*; from thence it was deriued vnto the *Romaines*, both diligent obseruers of the number and quantity of sillables, not in their verses only but likewise in their prose. Learning, after the declining of the *Romaine* Empire and the pollution of their language through the conquest of the *Barbarians*, lay most pitifully deformed till the time of *Erasmus*, *Rewcline*, *Sir Thomas More*, and other learned men of that age, who brought the Latine toong again to light, redeeming it with much labour out of the hands of the illiterate Monks and Friers: as a scoffing booke, entituled *Epistolae obscurorum virorum*, may sufficiently testifie. In those lack-learning times, and in barbarized Italy, began that vulgar and easie kind of Poesie which is now in vse throughout most parts of Christendome, which we abusively call Rime and Meeter, of *Rithmus* and *Metrum*, of which I will now discourse.

THE SECOND CHAPTER, DECLARING THE VNAPTNESSE  
OF RIME IN POESIE.

I am not ignorant that whosoeuer shall by way of reprehension examine the imperfections of Rime must encounter with many glorious enemies, and those very expert and



ready at their weapon, that can if neede be extempore (as they say) rime a man to death. **Besides there is growne a kind of prescription in the vse of Rime, to forestall the right of true numbers, as also the consent of many nations, against all which it may seeme a thing almost impossible; and vaine to contend.** All this and more can not yet deterre me from a lawful defence of perfection, or make me any whit the sooner adheare to that which is lame and vnbeseeeming. **For custome I alleage that ill vses are to be abolisht, and that things naturally imperfect can not be perfected by vse.** Old customes, if they be better, why should they not be recald, as the yet flourishing custome of numerous poesy vsed among the *Romanes* and *Grecians*? But the vnaptnes of our toongs and the difficultie of imitation dishartens vs: againe, the facilitie and popularitie of Rime creates as many Poets as a hot sommer flies.

But let me now examine the nature of that which we call Rime. By Rime is vnderstoode that which ends in the like sound, so that verses in such maner composed yeeld but a continual repetition of that Rhetoricall figure which we tearme *similiter desinentia*, and that, being but *figura verbi*, ought (as *Tully* and all other Rhetoritians have iudicially obseru'd) sparingly to be vs'd, least it should offend the care with tedious affectation. Such was that absurd following of the letter amongst our English so much of late affected, but now hist out of *Paules Church-yard*: which foolish figuratiue repetition crept also into the Latine toong, as it is manifest in the booke of *P* called *praelia porcorum*, and another pamphlet all of *F* which I haue seene imprinted; but I will leaue these follies to their owne ruine, and returne to the matter intended. The care is a rationally sence and a chiefe iudge of proportion; but in our kind of riming what proportion is there kept where there remaines such a confused inequality of sillables? *Iambick* and *Trochaick* feete, which are opposed





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let me see if without blushing he be able to reade his lame halting rimes. Is there not a curse of Nature laid vpon such rude Poesie, when the Writer is himself ashamed of it, and the bearers in contempt call it Riming and Ballating? What Deuine in his Sermon, or graue Counsellor in his Oration, will alleage the testimonie of a rime? But the deuinity<sup>1</sup> of the *Romaines* and *Gretians* was all written in verse; and *Aristotle*, *Galene*, and the bookes of all the excellent Philosophers are full of the testimonies of the old Poets. By them was laid the foundation of all humane wisdom, and from them the knowledge of all antiquitie is deriued. I will propound but one question, and so conclude this point. If the *Italians*, *Frenchmen*, and *Spanyards*, that with commendation have written in Rime, were demaunded whether they had rather the bookes they haue publisht (if their toong would beare it) should remayne as they are in Rime or be translated into the auncient numbers of the Greekes and Romaines, would they not answere into numbers? What honour were it then for our English language to be the first that after so many yeares of barbarisme could second the perfection of the industrious *Greekes* and *Romaines*? which how it may be effected I will now proceede to demonstrate.

### THE THIRD CHAPTER: OF OUR ENGLISH NUMBERS IN GENERALL.

There are but three feete which generally distinguish the Greeke and Latine verses, the *Dactil*, consisting of one long sillable and two short, as *vīuērē*; the *Trochē*, of one long and one short, as *vīlā*; and the *Iambick* of one short and one long, as *āmōr*. The *Spondees* of two long, the *Tribrack* of three short, the *Anapæstick* of two short and a long, are but as seruants to the first. Diuers other

<sup>1</sup> From this point to l. 17 (to the word 'remayne') on p. 333 the text is supplied from a later edition (see head-note).



feete I know are by the Grammarians cited, but to little purpose. The *Heroicall* verse that is distinguisht by the *Dactile* hath bene oftentimes attempted in our English toong, but with passing pitifull successe; and no wonder, 5 seeing it is an attempt altogether against the nature of our language. For both the concurse of our monasillables make our verses vnapt to slide, and also, if we examine our polysillables, we shall finde few of them, by reason of their heauinesse, willing to serue in place of a *Dactile*.

10 Thence it is that the writers of English heroicks do so often repeate *Amyntas*, *Olympus*, *Auernus*, *Erinnis*, and suchlike borrowed words, to supply the defect of our hardly intreated *Dactile*. I could in this place set downe many ridiculous kinds of *Dactils* which they vse, but that 15 it is not my purpose here to incite men to laughter. If we therefore reiect the *Dactil* as vnfit for our vse (which of necessity we are enforst to do), there remayne only the *Iambick* foote, of which the *Iambick* verse is fram'd, and the *Trochee*, from which the *Trochaick* numbers haue their originall. Let vs now then examine the property of these two feete, and try if they consent with the nature of our English sillables. And first for the *Iambicks*, they fall out so naturally in our toong, that, if we examine our owne writers, we shall find they vnawares hit oftentimes 20 vpon the true *Iambick* numbers, but alwayes ayme at them as far as their eare without the guidance of arte can attain vnto, as it shall hereafter more evidently appeare. The *Trochaick* foote, which is but an *Iambick* turn'd ouer and ouer, must of force in like manner accord in proportion 25 with our Brittish sillables, and so produce an English *Trochaicall* verse. Then hauing these two principall kinds of verses, we may easily out of them deriue other formes, as the Latines and Greekes before vs haue done: whereof I will make plaine demonstration, beginning at the *Iambick* 30 S verse.



## THE FOURTH CHAPTER: OF THE IAMBICK VERSE.

I haue obserued, and so may any one that is either practis'd in singing, or hath a naturall eare able to time a song, that the Latine verses of sixe feete, as the *Heroick* and *Iambick*, or of fiue feete, as the *Trochaick*, are in nature all of the same length of sound with our English verses of fiue feet; for either of them being tim'd with the hand, *quinque perficiunt tempora*, they fill vp the quantity (as it were) of fiue sem'briefs; as for example, if any man will proue to time these verses with his hand. 10

A pure *Iambick*.

*Suis et ipsa Roma viribus ruit.*

A licentiate *Iambick*.

*Ducunt volentes fata, nolentes trahunt.*

An *Heroick* verse. 15

*Tityre, tu patulae recubans sub tegmine fagi.*

A *Trochaick* verse.

*Nox est perpetua una dormienda.*

English *Iambicks* pure.

The more secure, the more the stroke we feele  
Of vnpreuented harms; so gloomy stormes  
Appeare the sterner, if the day be cleere. 20

Th' English *Iambick* licentiate.

Harke how these winds do murmur at thy flight. 25

The English *Trochee*.

Still where Enuy leaues, remorse doth enter.

The cause why these verses differing in feete yeeld the same length of sound, is by reason of some rests which either the necessity of the numbers or the heauiness of the sillables do beget. For we find in musick that often<sup>30</sup> times the straines of a song cannot be reduct to true





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True measures tread. What if your pace be slow,  
 And hops not like the Grecian elegies?  
 It is yet gracefull, and well fits the state  
 Of words ill-breathed and not shap't to runne.  
 Goe then, but slowly, till your steps be firme;  
 Tell them that pittie or peruersely skorne  
 Poore English poesie as the slave to rime,  
 You are those loftie numbers that reuiue  
 Triumphs of Princes and sterne tragedies:  
 And learne henceforth t'attend those happy sprights 10  
 Whose bounding fury height and waight affects.  
 Assist their labour, and sit close to them,  
 Neuer to part away till for desert  
 Their browes with great *Apollos* bayes are hid.  
 He first taught number and true harmonye; 15  
 Nor is the lawrell his for rime bequeath'd.  
 Call him with numerous accents paid by arte,  
 He'le turne his glory from the sunny clymes  
 The North-bred wits alone to patronise.  
 Let France their *Bartas*, Italy *Tasso* prayse; 20  
*Phæbus* shuns none but in their flight from him.

Though, as I said before, the naturall breathing-place of  
 our English *Iambick* verse is in the last sillable of the  
 second foote, as our *Trochy* after the manner of the Latine  
*Heroick* and *Iambick* rests naturally in the first of the third 25  
 foote, yet no man is tyed altogether to obserue this rule,  
 but he may alter it, after the iudgment of his care, which  
 Poets, Orators, and Musitions of all men ought to haue  
 most excellent. Againe, though I said peremptorily before  
 that the third and fift place of our licentiate *Iambick* must 30  
 alwayes hold an *Iambick* foote, yet I will shew you example  
 in both places where a *Tribrack* may be very formally  
 taken, and first in the third place:

Some trade in *Barbary*, some in *Turky* trade.



An other example :

Men that do fall to misery, quickly fall.

If you doubt whether the first of *misery* be naturally short or no, you may iudge it by the easy sliding of these two verses following :

The first :

Whome misery cannot alter, time deuours.

The second :

What more vnhappy life, what misery more ?

Example of the *Tribrack* in the fift place, as you may perceiue in the last foote of the fourth verse :

Some from the starry throne his fame deriues,  
Some from the mynes beneath, from trees or herbs :  
Each hath his glory, each his sundry gift,  
Renown'd in eu'ry art there liues not any.

To proceede farther, I see no reason why the English *Iambick* in his first place may not as well borrow a foote of the *Trochy* as our *Trochy*, or the Latine *Hendicasillable*, may in the like case make bold with the *Iambick* : but it must be done euer with this caueat, which is, that a *Sponde*, *Dactile*, or *Tribrack* do supply the next place ; for an *Iambick* beginning with a single short sillable, and the other ending before with the like, would too much drinke vp the verse if they came immediatly together.

The example of the *Sponde* after the *Trochy* :

As the faire sonne the lightsome heau'n adorns.

The example of the *Dactil* :

Noble, ingenious, and discreetly wise.

The example of the *Tribrack* :

Beauty to ielousie brings ioy, sorrow, feare.

Though I haue set downe these second licenses as good and ayreable enough, yet for the most part my first rules are generall.



These are those numbers which Nature in our English destinates to the Tragick and Heroik Poeme: for the subject of them both being all one, I see no impediment why one verse may not serue for them both, as it appeares more plainly in the old comparison of the two Greeke writers, when they say, *Homerus est Sophocles heroicus*, and againe *Sophocles est Homerus tragicus*, intimating that both Sophocles and Homer are the same in height and subject, and differ onely in the kinde of their numbers.

The Iambick verse in like manner being yet made a little more licentiate, that it may thereby the neerer imitate our common talke, will excellently serue for Comedies; and then may we vse a *Sponde* in the fift place, and in the third place any foote except a *Trochy*, which neuer enters into our Iambick verse but in the first place, and then with his caueat of the other feete which must of necessitie follow.

#### THE FIFT CHAPTER: OF THE IAMBICK DIMETER, OR ENGLISH MARCH.

The *Dimeter* (so called in the former Chapter) I intend next of all to handle, because it seems to be a part of the *Iambick*, which is our most naturall and auncient English verse. We may terme this our English march, because the verse answers our warlick forme of march in similitude of number. But call it what you please, for I will not wrangle about names, only intending to set down the nature of it and true structure. It consists of two feete and one odde sillable. The first foote may be made either a *Trochy*, or a *Sponde*, or an *Iambick*; at the pleasure of the composer, though most naturally that place affects a *Trochy* or *Sponde*; yet, by the example of *Catullus* in his *Hendecasillables*, I adde in the first place sometimes an *Iambick* foote. In the second place we must euer insert





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Dread *Elisabeth* ;  
 Our muse only Truth,  
 Figments cannot vse,  
 Thy ritch name to deck  
 That itselſe adorns :  
 But ſhould now this age  
 Let all poesy fayne,  
 Fayning poesy could  
 Nothing faine at all  
 Worthy halfe thy fame.

10

An example *Epigrammaticall*.

Kind in euery kinde  
 This, deare Ned, resolute.  
 Neuer of thy prayse  
 Be too prodigall ;  
 He that prayseth all  
 Can praise truly none.

15

#### THE SIXT CHAPTER : OF THE ENGLISH TROCHAICK VERSE.

Next in course to be intreated of is the English *Trochaick*, being a verse simple, and of itselſe depending. It consists, as the Latine *Trochaick*, of five feete, the first whereof may be a *Trochy*, a *Spondee*, or an *Iambick*, the other foure of necessity all *Trochy*es ; still holding this rule authentically, that the last sillable of a verse is alwayes common. The spirit of this verse most of all delights in Epigrams, but it may be diuersely vsed, as shall hereafter be declared. I haue written diuers light Poems in this kinde, which for the better satisfaction of the reader I thought conuenient here in way of example to publish. In which though sometimes vnder a knowne name I haue shadowed a fain'd conceit, yet it is done without reference or offence to any person, and only to make the stile appeare the more English.



The first *Epigramme*.

Lockly spits apace, the rhowme he cal's it,  
But no drop (though often urgd) he straineth  
From his thirstie iawes, yet all the morning  
And all day he spits, in eu'ry corner;  
At his meales he spits, at eu'ry meeting;  
At the barre he spits before the Fathers;  
In the Court he spits before the Graces;  
In the Church he spits, thus all prophaning  
With that rude disease, that empty spitting:  
Yet no cost he spares, he sees the Doctors,  
Keeps a strickt diet, precisely vseth  
Drinks and bathes drying, yet all preuailes not.  
'Tis not *China* (*Lockly*), *Salsa Guacum*,  
Nor dry *Sassafras* can help, or ease thee;  
'Tis no humor hurts, it is thy humor.

The second *Epigramme*.

Cease, fond wretch, to loue, so oft deluded,  
' Still made ritch with hopes, still vnrelieued.  
Now fly her delaies; she that debateth  
Feeles not true desire; he that, deferred,  
Others times attends, his owne betrayeth:  
Learne t' affect thy selfe; thy checkes deformed  
With pale care reuiue by timely pleasure,  
Or with skarlet beate them, or by paintings  
Make thee louely; for such arte she vseth  
Whome in vayne so long thy folly loued.

The third *Epigramme*.

Kate can fancy only berdles husbands,  
Thats the cause she shakes off eu'ry suter,  
Thats the cause she liues so stale a virgin,

<sup>1</sup> From this point to the end of l. 27 on p. 342 the text is supplied from a later edition, *n. s.*



For, before her heart can beate her answer,  
Her smooth youths she finds all hugely herded.

The fourth *Epigramme*.

All in sattin Oteny will be suted,  
Beaten sattin (as by chaunce he cals it);  
Oteny sure will haue the bastinado.

The fift *Epigramme*.

Tosts as snakes or as the mortall *Henbane*  
*Hunks* detests when huffcap ale he tipples,  
Yet the bread he graunts the fumes abateth;  
Therefore apt in ale, true, and he graunts it;  
But it drinks vp ale, that *Hunks* detesteth.

10

The sixt *Epigramme*.

What though *Harry* braggs, let him be noble;  
Noble *Harry* hath not half a noble.

15

The seauenth *Epigramme*.

*Phæbe* all the rights *Elisa* claymeth,  
Mighty riuall, in this only diff'ring  
That shees only true, thou only fayned.

The eight *Epigramme*.

20

*Barnsy* stiffly vows that hees no Cuckold;  
Yet the vulgar eu'rywhere salutes him,  
With strange signes of hornes, from eu'ry corner;  
Wheresoere he commes, a sundry Cucco  
Still frequents his cares; yet he's no Cuccold.  
But this *Barnsy* knowes that his *Matilda*,  
Skorning him, with *Haruy* playes the wanton.  
Knowes it? nay desires it, and by prayers  
Dayly begs of heau'n, that it for euer  
May stand firme for him; yet hees no Cuccold.  
And 'tis true, for *Haruy* keeps *Matilda*,

25

30





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Cease vnworthy, worthy of thy fortunes,  
 Thou that couldst so faire a prize deliuer,  
 For feare vnregarded, vndefended,  
 Hadst no heart I thinke, I know no liuer.

The twelfth *Epigramme*.

Why droopst thou, *Trefeild*? Will *Hurst* the Banker  
 Make dice of thy bones? By heau'n he cannot.  
 Cannot? What's the reason? Ile declare it:  
 Th'ar all growne so pockie and so rotten.

THE SEAUENTH CHAPTER: OF THE ENGLISH ELEGEICK 10  
 VERSE.

The *Elegeick* verses challenge the next place, as being of all compound verses the simplest. They are deriu'd out of our own naturali numbers as neere the imitation of the *Greekes* and *Latines* as our heauy sillables will 15 permit. The first verse is a meere licentiate *Iambick*; the second is fram'd of two vnited *Dimeters*. In the first *Dimeter* we are tyed to make the first foote either a *Trochy* or a *Spondee*, the second a *Trochy*, and the odde sillable of it alwaies long. The second *Dimeter* consists of two 20 *Trochy*es (because it requires more swiftnes than the first) and an odde sillable, which, being last, is euer common. I will giue you example both of *Elegye* and *Epigramme*, in this kinde.

An *Elegy*. 25

Constant to none, but euer false to me,  
 Traiter still to loue through thy faint desires,  
 Not hope of pittie now nor vaine redresse  
 Turns my griefs to teares and renu'd laments.  
 Too well thy empty vowes and hollow thoughts 30  
 Witnes both thy wrongs and remorseles hart.  
 Rue not my sorrow, but blush at my name;  
 Let thy bloody cheeks guilty thoughts betray.



My flames did truly burne, thine made a shew,  
 As fires painted are which no heate retayne,  
 Or as the glossy *Pirop* faines to blaze,

But toucht cold appeares, and an earthy stone.

5 True cullours deck thy cheeks, false foiles thy brest,  
 Frailer then thy light beawty is thy minde.

None canst thou long refuse, nor long affect,

But turn'st feare with hopes, sorrow with delight,

Delaying, and deluding eu'ry way

10 Those whose eyes are once with thy beawty chain'd.

Thrice happy man that entring first thy loue

Can so guide the straight raynes of his desires,

That both he can regard thee and refraine:

If grac't, firme he stands, if not, easely falls.

15 Example of *Epigrams*, in Elegeick verse.

The first *Epigramme*.

*Arthure* brooks only those that brooke not him,

Those he most regards, and deuoutly serues:

But them that grace him his great brau'ry skornes,

20 Counting kindnesse all duty, not desert:

*Arthure* wants forty pounds, tyres eu'ry friend,

But finds none that holds twenty due for him.

The second *Epigramme*.

If fancy can not erre which vertue guides,

25 In thee, *Laura*, then fancy can not erre.

The third *Epigramme*.

*Drue* feasts no Puritans; the churles, he saith,

Thanke no men, but eate, praise God, and depart.

The fourth *Epigramme*.

30 A wiseman wary liues, yet most secure,

Sorrowes moue not him greatly, nor delights:



Fortune and death he skorning, only makes  
Th' earth his sober Inne, but still heau'n his home.

The fifth *Epigramme*.

Thou tel'at me, *Barnsy*, *Dawson* hath a wife :  
Thine he hath, I graunt ; *Dawson* hath a wife.

The sixt *Epigramme*.

*Drue* giues thee money, yet thou thank'st not him,  
But thankst God for him, like a godly man.  
Suppose, rude Puritan, thou begst of him,  
And he saith God help, who's the godly man ?

The seauenth *Epigramme*.

All wonders *Barnsy* speakes, all grosely faind :  
Speake some wonder once, *Barnsy*, speake the truth.

The eight *Epigramme*.

None then should through thy beawty, *Laura*, pine,  
Might sweet words alone ease a loue-sick heart :  
But your sweet words alone, that quit so well  
Hope of friendly deeds, kill the loue-sick heart.

The ninth *Epigramme*.

At all thou frankly throwst, while, *Frank*, thy wife,  
Bars not *Luke* the mayn ; *Oteny* barre the bye.

THE EIGHT CHAPTER : OF DITTIES AND ODES.

To descend orderly from the more simple numbers to them that are more compounded, it is now time to handle such verses as are fit for *Ditties* or *Odes* ; which we may call *Lyrical*, because they are apt to be soong to an instrument, if they were adorn'd with conuenient notes. Of that kind I will demonstrate three in this Chapter, and in the first we will proceede after the manner of the





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the other three only Trochyas. The fourth and last verse is made of two *Trochyas*. The number is voluble, and fit to expresse any amorous conceit.

The Example.

Rose-cheekt *Laura*, come  
Sing thou smoothly with thy beawtie's  
Silent musick, either other  
Sweetely gracing.

Louely formes do flowe  
From concent deuinely framed ;  
Heau'n is musick, and thy beawtie's  
Birth is heauenly.

These dull notes we sing  
Discords neede for helps to grace them ;  
Only beawty purely louing  
Knowes no discord,

But still moues delight,  
Like cleare springs renu'd by flowing,  
Euer perfet, euer in them-  
selues eternall.

The third kind begins as the second kind ended, with a verse consisting of two *Trochy* feete, and then as the second kind had in the middle two *Trochaick* verses of foure feete, so this hath three of the same nature, and ends in a *Dimeter* as the second began. The *Dimeter* may allow in the first place a *Trochy* or a *Spondee*, but no *Iambick*.

The Example.

Iust beguiler,  
Kindest loue, yet only chastest,  
Royall in thy smooth denyals,  
Frowning or demurely smiling,  
Still my pure delight.



Let me view thee  
 With thoughts and with eyes affected,  
 And if then the flames do murmur,  
 Quench them with thy vertue, charme them  
 5 With thy stormy browes.

Heau'n so cheerefull  
 Laughs not euer, hory winter  
 Knowes his season, euen the freshest  
 Sommer mornes from angry thunder  
 Iet not still secure.

THE NINTH CHAPTER: OF THE *ANACREONTICK* VERSE.

If any shall demaund the reason why this number, being  
 in itselſe ſimple, is plac't after ſo many compounded  
 numbers, I anſwere, becauſe I hold it a number to licen-  
 5 ſe for a higher place, and in reſpect of the reſt imperfect ;  
 yet is it paſſing gracefull in our English toong, and will  
 excellently fit the ſubiect of a *Madrigall*, or any other  
 lofty or tragical matter. It conſiſts of two feete : the firſt  
 may be either a *Sponde* or *Trochy*, the other muſt euer  
 10 represent the nature of a *Trochy*, as for example :

Follow, followe,  
 Though with miſchiefe  
 Arm'd, like whirlewind  
 Now ſhe flyes thee ;  
 5 Time can conquer  
 Loues vnkindnes ;  
 Loue can alter  
 Times diſgraces ;  
 Till death faint not  
 Then but followe.  
 Could I catch that  
 Nimble trayter,



Skornefull *Lawra*,  
 Swift foote *Lawra*,  
 Soone then would I  
 Secke auengement.  
 Whats th' auengement?  
 Euen submissely  
 Prostrate then to  
 Beg for mercye.

Thus haue I briefly described eight seueral kinds of English numbers simple or compound. The first was <sup>10</sup> our *Iambick* pure and licentiate. The second, that which I call our *Dimeter*, being deriued either from the end of our *Iambick* or from the beginning of our *Trochaick*. The <sup>15</sup> third which I deliuered was our English *Trochaick* verse. The fourth our English *Elegeick*. The fift, sixt, and <sup>20</sup> seauenth were our English *Sapphick*, and two other *Lyricall* numbers, the one beginning with that verse which I call our *Dimeter*, the other ending with the same. The eight and last was a kind of *Anacreontick* verse, handled in this Chapter. These numbers which by my long obseruation I haue found agreeable with the nature of our sillables, I haue set forth for the benefit of our language, which I presume the learned will not only imitate but also polish and amplifie with their owne inuentions. Some eares accustomed altogether to the <sup>25</sup> fatnes of rime may perhaps except against the cadences of these numbers; but let any man iudicially examine them, and he shall finde they close of themselues so perfectly that the help of rime were not only in them superfluous but also absurd. Moreouer, that they agree with the nature of our English it is manifest, because they entertaine so willingly our owne British names, which the writers in English Heroicks could neuer aspire vnto, and cuen our Rimers themselues haue rather delighted in





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short, yet is it naturally long, and so of necessity must be held of euery composer. Wherefore the first rule that is to be obserued is the nature of the accent, which we must euer follow.

The next rule is position, which makes euery sillable long, whether the position happens in one or in two words, according to the manner of the *Latines*, wherein is to be noted that *h* is no letter.

Position is when a vowell comes before two consonants, either in one or two words. In one, as in *best*, *e* before *st* makes the word *best* long by position. In two words, as in *settled loue*, *e* before *d* in the last sillable of the first word and *l* in the beginning of the second makes *led* in *settled* long by position.

A vowell before a vowell is alwaies short, as *flīng*, *dīng*, *gōing*, vnlesse the accent alter it, in *dēning*.

The diphthong in the midst of a word is alwaies long, as *plāing*, *deceīving*.

The *Synalæphas* or *Elisions* in our toong are either necessary to auoid the hollowness and gaping in our verse, as *to* and *the*, *t' inchaunt*, *th' inchaunter*, or may be vsd at pleasure, as for *let vs* to say *let's*; for *we will*, *wee'l*; for *euery*, *eu'ry*; for *they are*, *th'ar*; for *he is*, *hee's*; for *admired*, *admir'd*; and such like.

Also, because our English Orthography (as the French) differs from our common pronounciation, we must esteeme our sillables as we speake, not as we write; for the sound of them in a verse is to be valued, and not their letters, as for *follow* we pronounce *follo*; for *perfect*, *perfet*; for *little*, *littel*; for *loue-sick*, *loue-sik*; for *honour*, *honor*; for *money*, *mony*; for *dangerous*, *dangerus*; for *raunsome*, *raunsum*; for *though*, *tho*; and their like.

Deriuatiues hold the quantities of their primitiues, as *dēvout*, *dēvoutelie*; *pröphāne*, *pröphānelie*; and so do the compositiues, as *dēsēru'd*, *ündēsēru'd*.



In words of two sillables, if the last haue a full and rising accent that sticks long vpon the voyce, the first sillable is alwayes short, vnlesse position, or the diphthong, doth make it long, as *dēsire, prēsēruē, dēfine, prōphāne,*  
5 *rēgārd, mānūre,* and such like.

If the like dissillables at the beginning haue double consonants of the same kind, we may vse the first sillable as common, but more naturally short, because in their pronunciation we touch but one of those double letters, as  
10 *ātēnd, āpēare, ōpōsc.* The like we may say when silent and melting consonants meete together, as *ādrēst, rēdrēst, ōprēst, rēprēst, rētriu'd,* and such like.

Words of two sillables that in their last sillable mayntayne a flat or falling accent, ought to hold their first sillable  
15 long, as *rīgōr, glōrie, spīrit, fūrie, lāboūr,* and the like: *āny, māny, prēty, hōly,* and their like are excepted.

One obseruation which leades me to iudge of the difference of these dissillables whereof I last spake, I take from the originall monasillable; which if it be graue, as *shāde,* I hold  
20 that the first of *shādie* must be long; so *trūe, trūlie; hāue, hāuing; tīre, tīring.*

Words of three sillables for the most part are deriued from words of two sillables, and from them take the quantity of their first sillable, as *flōrish, flōrishīng* long;  
25 *hōlie, hōlines* short; but *mi* in *miser* being long hinders not the first of *mīsery* to be short, because the sound of the *i* is a little altred.

*De, di,* and *pro* in trisillables (the second being short) are long, as *dēsōlāte, dīligēnt, prōdīgāll.*

30 *Re* is euer short, as *rēmēdie, rēfērēnce, rēdōlēnt, rēuērēnd.*

Likewise the first of these trisillables is short, as the first of *bēnēfit, gēnērall, hīdēous, mēmōrie, nūmērōus, pēnētrāte, sēpāral, tīmērōus, vāriant, vārīous;* and so may we esteeme of all that yeeld the like quicknes of sound.

35 In words of three sillables the quantity of the middle



sillable is lightly taken from the last sillable of the originall dissillable, as the last of *dēuine*, ending in a graue or long accent, makes the second of *dēuining* also long, and so *ēspie*, *ēspīng*, *dēnie*, *dēnīng*: contrarywise it falles out if the last of the dissillable beares a flat or falling accent, as *glōrie*, *glōrīng*, *ēnviīng*, and so forth.

Words of more sillables are eyther borrowed and hold their owne nature, or are likewise deriu'd and so follow the quantity of their primatiues, or are knowne by their proper accents, or may be easily censured by a iudiciall <sup>10</sup> eare.

All words of two or more sillables ending with a falling accent in *y* or *ye*, as *faïrelle*, *dēmurelle*, *beawtie*, *pittie*, or in *ue*, as *vertuē*, *rēscuē*, or in *ow*, as *fōllōw*, *hōllōw*, or in *e*, as *parlē*, *Daphnē*, or in *a*, as *Mannā*, are naturally short <sup>15</sup> in their last sillables: neither let any man cauill at this licentiate abbreviating of sillables, contrary to the custome of the Latines, which made all their last sillables that ended in *u* long, but let him consider that our verse of five feete, and for the most part but of ten sillables, must equall theirs <sup>20</sup> of sixe feete and of many sillables, and therefore may with sufficient reason aduenture vpon this allowance. Besides, euery man may obserue what an infinite number of sillables both among the *Greekes* and *Romaines* are held as common. But words of two sillables ending with a rising accent in *y* or *ye*, as *denye*, *descrye*, or in *ue*, as *ensue*, or in *ee*, as *foresee*, or in *oe*, as *forgoe*, are long in their last sillables, vnlesse a vowell begins the next word.

All monasillables that end in a graue accent are euer long, as *wrāth*, *hāth*, *thēse*, *thōse*, *tōoth*, *sōoth*, *thrōugh*, *dāy*, *plāy*, *feāte*, *speēde*, *strīfe*, *flōw*, *grōw*, *shēw*.

The like rule is to be obserued in the last of dissillables bearing a graue rising sound, as *deuine*, *delaie*, *retire*, *refuse*, *manure*, or a graue falling sound, as *fortune*, *pleasure*, *vampire*.





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# SAMUEL DANIEL

(A DEFENCE OF RYME)

? 1603

[Daniel's reply to Campion is entitled *A Defence of Ryme, Against a Pamphlet entituled: 'Observations in the Art of English Poesie.'* Wherrin is demonstratively proved, that Ryme is the fittest harmonie of words that conepertes with our Language. By Sa. D. At London: Printed by V. S. for Edward Blount.

The text is printed from the copy (undated) in the Bodleian Library (CC. 23 art.) which is bound in at the end of *The Works of Samuel Daniel*, fol. 1601. The running headline throughout is 'An apologie for Ryme' (cf. note, vol. i, pp. 148-9).]

TO ALL THE WORTHIE LOUERS AND LEARNED PROFESSORS  
OF RYME WITHIN HIS MAIESTIES DOMINIONS.

S. D.

WORTHIE Gentlemen, about a yeare since, vpon the great reproach giuen to the Professors of Rime and the vse thereof, I wrote a priuate letter, as a defence of mine owne vndertakings in that kinde, to a learned Gentleman, a great friend of mine, then in Court. Which I did rather to confirm my selfe in mine owne courses, and to hold him from being wonne from vs, then with any desire to publish the same to the world.



But now, seeing the times to promise a more regarde  
to the present condition of our writings, in respect of our  
Soueraignes happy inclination this way, whereby wee  
are rather to expect an incoragement to go on with what  
5 we do then that any innouation should checke vs with  
a shew of what it would do in an other kinde, and yet doe  
nothing but depraue, I haue now giuen a greater body  
to the same Argument, and here present it to your view,  
vnder the patronage of a noble Earle, who in bloud and  
10 nature is interested to take our parte in this cause with  
others, who cannot, I know, but holde deare the monu-  
ments that haue beene left vnto the world in this manner  
of composition, and who I trust will take in good parte  
this my Defence, if not as it is my particular, yet in  
15 respect of the cause I vndertake, which I heere inuoke  
you all to protect.

SA. D.

TO WILLIAM HERBERT, ERLE OF PEMBROOKE.

20 **T**HE Generall Custome and vse of Ryme in this king-  
dome, Noble Lord, hauing beene so long (as if from  
a Graunt of Nature) held vnquestionable, made me to  
imagine that it lay altogether out of the way of contradic-  
tion, and was become so natural, as we should neuer haue  
had a thought to cast it off into reproch, or be made to  
25 thinke that it ill-became our language. But now I see,  
when there is opposition made to all things in the world  
by wordes, wee must nowe at length likewise fall to  
contend for words themselues, and make a question  
whether they be right or not. **F**or we are tolde how  
30 that our measures goe wrong, all Ryming is grosse,  
vulgare, barbarous; which if it be so, we haue lost much  
labour to no purpose; and, for mine owne particular,



owne Genius, that cast me vppon so wrong a course, drawne with the current of custome and an vnexamined example. ¶ Hauing beene first encourag'd or fram'd thereunto by your most Worthy and Honorable Mother, and receiuing the first notion for the formall ordering of those 5 compositions at *Wilton*, which I must euer acknowledge to haue beene my best Schoole, and thereof alwayes am to hold a feeling and gratefull Memory; afterward drawne farther on by the well liking and approbation of my worthy Lord, the fosterer of mee and my *Muse*; ¶ I aduentured 10 to bestow all my whole powers therein, perceiuing it agreed so well, both with the complexion of the times and mine owne constitution, as I found not wherein I might better imploy me. ¶ But yet now, vpon the great discouery of these new measures, threatning to ouerthrow the whole 15 state of Ryme in this kingdom, I must either stand out to defend, or els be forced to forsake my selfe and giue ouer all. And though irresolution and a selfe distrust be the most apparent faults of my nature, and that the least checke of reprehension, if it sauour of reason, will as easily shake 20 my resolution as any man's liuing, yet in this case I know not how I am growne more resolued, and, before I sinke, willing to examine what those powers of iudgement are that must beare me downe and beat me off from the station of my profession, which by the law of Nature I am 25 set to defend: and the rather for that this detractor (whose commendable Rymes, albeit now himselfe an enemy to ryme, haue giuen heretofore to the world the best notice of his worth) is a man of faire parts and good reputation; and therefore the reproach forcibly cast from such a 30 hand may throw downe more at once then the labors of many shall in long time build vp againe, specially vpon the slippery foundation of opinion, and the world's inconstancy, which knowes not well what it would haue, and





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And these *Rhythms*, as *Aristotle* saith, are familiar amongst all Nations, and *e naturali et sponte fusa compositione*: and they fall as naturally already in our language as euer Art can make them, being such as the Eare of it selfe doth marshall in their proper roomes; and they of themselves will not willingly be put out of their ranke, and that in such a verse as best comports with the nature of our language. And for our Ryme (which is an excellencie added to this worke of measure, and a Harmonie farre happier than any proportion Antiquitie could euer shew vs) dooth adde more grace, and hath more of delight then euer bare numbers, howsoever they can be forced to runne in our slow language, can possibly yeeld. Which, whether it be deriu'd of *Rhythmus* or of *Romance*, which were songs the *Bards* and *Druides* about Rymes vsed, and therof were called *Remensi*, as some Italians holde, or howsoever, it is likewise number and harmonic of words, consisting of an agreeing sound in the last sillabics of seuerall verses, giuing both to the Eare an Echo of a delightful report, and to the Memorie a deeper impression of what is deliuered therein. For as Greeke and Latine verse consists of the number and quantitie of sillables, so doth the English verse of measure and accent. And though it doth not strictly obserue long and short sillabics, yet it most religiously respects the accent; and as the short and the long make number, so the acute and graue accent yeelde harmonie. And harmonie is likewise number; so that the English verse then hath number, measure, and harmonic in the best proportion of Musicke. Which, being more certain and more resounding, works that effect of motion with as happy successe as either the Greek or Latin. And so naturali a melody is it, and so vniuersall, as it seems to be generally borne with al the Nations of the world as an hereditary eloquence proper to all mankind. The vniuersalitie argues the generall power of it:



for if the Barbarian vse it, then it shewes that it swais th' affection of the Barbarian: if ciuil nations practise it, it proues that it works vpon the harts of ciuil nations: if all, then that it hath a power in nature on all. *Georgieuz de Turcarum moribus* hath an example of the Turkish Rymes iust of the measure of our verse of eleuen sillables, in feminine Ryme; neuer begotten I am perswaded by any example in *Europe*, but horne no doubt in *Scythia*, and brought over *Caucasus* and *Mount Taurus*. The Scia-  
 10 uonian and Arabian tongs acquaint a great part of *Asia* and *Affrique* with it; the Moscouite, Polacke, Hungarian, German, Italian, French, and Spaniard vse no other harmonie of words. The Irish, Briton, Scot, Dane, Saxon, English, and all the Inhabiters of this Iland either haue  
 15 hither brought or here found the same in vse. And such a force hath it in nature, or so made by nature, as the Latine numbers, notwithstanding their excellencie, seemed not sufficient to satisfie the care of the world thereunto accustomed, without this Harmonicall cadence: which  
 20 made the most learned of all nations labour with exceeding trauaile to bring those numbers likewise vnto it: which many did with that happinesse as neither their puritie of tongue nor their materiall contemplations are thereby any way disgraced, but rather deserue to be reuerenced  
 25 of all gratefull posteritie, with the due regard of their worth. And for *Schola Salerna*, and those *Carmina Pro- uerbialia*, who finds not therein more precepts for vse, concerning diet, health, and conuersation, then *Cato*, *Theognis*, or all the Greekes and Latines can shew vs in  
 30 that kinde of teaching? and that in so few words, both for delight to the care and the hold of memorie, as they are to be imbraced of all modest readers that studie to know and not to depraue.

Me thinkes it is a strange imperfection that men should  
 35 thus ouer-runne the estimation of good things with so



violent a censure, as though it must please none else because it likes not them: whereas *Oportet arbitratores esse non contradictores eos qui verum indicaturi sunt*, saith Arist., though he could not obserue it himselfe. And milde charitie tells vs: 5

—— *Non ego paucis*  
*Offendar maculis quas aut incuria fudit*  
*Aut humana parum cavit natura.*

✓ For all men haue their errours, and we must take the best of their powers, and leaue the rest as not apperteining vnto vs. ) 10

✓ 'Ill customes are to be left.' I graunt it; but I see not howe that can be taken for an ill eustome which nature hath thus ratified, all nations receiued, time so long confirmed, the effects such as it performes those office of motion for which it is imployed; delighting the eare, stirring the heart, and satisfying the iudgement in such sort as I doubt whether euer single numbers will doe in our Climate, if they shew no more worke of wonder than yet we see. And if euer they prooue to become anything, it must be by the approbation of many ages that must giuc them their strength for any operation, as before the world will feele where the pulse, life, and enargie lies; which now we are sure where to haue in our Rymes, whose knowne frame hath those due staies for the minde, those incounters of touch, as makes the motion certaine, though the varietie be infinite. ) 15

Nor will the Generall sorte for whom we write (the wise being aboue books) taste these laboured measures but as an orderly prose when wee haue all done. For this kinde acquaintance and continuall familiaritie euer had betwixt our eare and this cadence is growne to so intimate a friendship, as it will nowe hardly euer be brought to misse it. 20

✓ For be the verse neuer so good, neuer so full, it seemes not to satisfie nor breede that delight, as when it is met 25





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So that their plentie seemes to haue bred the same waste and contempt as ours doth now, though it had not power to disualew what was worthy of posteritie, nor keep backe the reputation of excellencies destined to continue for many ages. For seeing it is matter that satisfies the iudiciall, appeare it in what habite it will, all these pretended proportions of words, howsoeuer placed, can be but words, and peradventure serue but to embroyle our vnderstanding; whilst seeking to please our care, we enthrall our iudgement {to delight an exterior sense, wee smoothe vp a weake confused sense, affecting sound to be vnsound, and all to seeme *Servum pecus*, onely to imitate Greekes and Latines, whose felicitie in this kinde might be something to themselves, to whome their owne *idioma* was naturall; but to vs it can yeeld no other commoditie then a sound. } We admire them not for their smooth-gliding words, nor their measures, but for their inuentions; which treasure if it were to be found in Welch and Irish, we should hold those languages in the same estimation; and they may thanke their sword that made their tongues so famous and vniuersall as they are. For to say truth, their Verse is many times but a confused deliuerer of their excellent conceits, whose scattered limbs we are faine to looke out and ioyne together, to discern the image of what they represent vnto vs. And euen the Latines, who professe not to be so licentious as the Greekes, shew vs many times examples, but of strange crueltie in torturing and dismembering of words in the midst, or disioyning such as naturally should be married and march together, by setting them as farre asunder as they can possibly stand: that sometimes, vnlesse the kind reader out of his owne good nature wil stay them vp by their measure, they will fall downe into flatte prose, and sometimes are no other indeede in their naturall sound: and then againe, when you finde them disobedient to their owne Lawes, you must hold it to be *licentia poetica*, and



so dispensable. The striving to shew their changable measures in the varietie of their Odes haue been verie painefull no doubt vnto them, and forced them thus to disturbe the quiet streame of their words, which by a naturall succession otherwise desire to follow in their due course.

**[**But such affliction doth laboursome curiositie still lay vpon our best delights (which euer must be made strange and variable), as if Art were ordained to afflict Nature, and that we could not goe but in fetters. Euery science, euery profession, must be so wrapt vp in vnnecessary intrications, as if it were not to fashion but to confound the vnderstanding: which makes me much to distrust man, and feare that our presumption goes beyond our abilitie, and our Curiositie is more then our Iudgement; laboring euer to seeme to be more then we are, or laying greater burthens vpon our mindes then they are well able to beare, because we would not appeare like other men.]

And indeed I haue wished that there were not that multiplicitie of Rymes as is vsed by many in Sonets, which yet we see in some so happily to succeed, and hath beene so farre from hindering their inuentions, as it hath begot conceit beyond expectation, and comparable to the best inuentions of the world: for sure in an eminent spirit, whome Nature hath fitted for that mysterie, Ryme is no impediment to his conceit, but rather giues him wings to mount, and carries him, not out of his course, but as it were beyond his power to a farre happier flight. Al excellencies being sold vs at the hard price of labour, it followes, where we bestow most thereof we buy the best successe: and Ryme, being farre more laborious than loose measures (whatsoever is obiected), must needs, meeting with wit and industry, breed greater and worthier effects in our language. So that if our labours haue wrought out a manumission from bondage, and that wee goe at libertie, notwithstanding these ties, wee are no longer the slaues of



Ryme, but we make it a most excellent instrument to serue vs. Nor is this certaine limit obserued in Sonnets, any tyrannicall bounding of the conceit, but rather reducing it in *giuine* and a iust forme, neither too long for the shortest proiect, nor too short for the longest, being but onely employed for a present passion. For the body of our imagination being as an vnformed *Chaos* without fashion, without day, if by the diuine power of the spirit it be wrought into an Orbe of order and forme, is it not more pleasing to Nature, that desires a certaintie and comports not with that which is infinite, to haue these clozes, rather than not to know where to end, or how farre to goe, especially seeing our passions are often without measure? and wee finde the best of the Latines many times either not concluding or els otherwise in the end then they began. Besides, is it not most delightfull to see much excellentlie ordred in a small roome, or little gallantly disposed and made to fill vp a space of like capacitie, in such sort that the one would not appeare so beautifull in a larger circuite, nor the other do well in a lesse? which often we find to be so, according to the powers of nature in the workman. And these limited proportions and rests of stanzas, consisting of six, seuen, or eight lines, are of that happines both for the disposition of the matter, the apt planting the sentence where it may best stand to hit, the certaine close of delight with the full bodie of a iust period well carried, is such as neither the Greekes or Latines euer attained vnto. For their boundlesse running on often so confounds the Reader, that, hauing once lost himselfe, must either giue off vnsatisfied, or vncertainely cast backe to retriue the escaped sence, and to find way againe into this matter.

Me thinkes we should not so soone yeeld our consents captiue to the authoritie of Antiquitie, vnlesse we saw more reason; all our vnderstandings are not to be built by the square of *Greece* and *Italie*. We are the children of nature





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those monuments of trueth as argue wel their worth and  
 {proues them not without iudgement, though without Greeke  
 and Latine. }

Will not experience confute vs, if wee shoulde say the  
 state of *China*, which neuer heard of Anapestiques, Trochies, s  
 and Tribraques, were grosse, barbarous, and vnciuille?  
 And is it not a most apparant ignorance, both of the  
 succession of learning in *Europe* and the generall course  
 of things, to say 'that all lay pittifully deformed in those  
 lacke-learning times from the declining of the *Romane* 10  
 Empire till the light of the Latine tongue was reuiued by  
 Rewcline, Erasmus, and Moore'? when for three hundred  
 yeeres before them, about the comming downe of *Tambur-*  
*laine* into *Europe*, *Franciscus Petrarca* (who then no doubt  
 likewise found whom to imitate) shewed all the best notions 15  
 of learning, in that degree of excellencie both in Latine,  
 Prose and Verse, and in the vulgare Italian, as all the  
 wittes of posteritie haue not yet much ouer-matched him  
 in all kindes to this day: his great Volumes in Moral  
 Philosophie shew his infinite reading and most happy 20  
 power of disposition: his twelue *Æglogues*, his *Affrica*,  
 containing nine Bookes of the last Punicke warre, with  
 his three bookes of Epistles in Latine verse shew all  
 the transformations of wit and inuention that a Spirite  
 naturally borne to the inheritance of Poetrie and iudicial 25  
 knowledge could expresse: all which notwithstanding  
 wrought him not that glory and fame with his owne Nation  
 as did his Poems in Italian, which they esteeme aboue al  
 whatsoeuer wit could haue inuented in any other forme  
 then wherein it is: which questionles they wil not change 30  
 with the best measures Greeks or Latins can shew them,  
 howsoeuer our Aduersary imagines. Nor could this very  
 same innouation in Verse, begun amongst them by  
 C. Tolomœi, but die in the attempt, and was buried as  
 soone as it came borne, neglected as a prodigious and 35



vnnaturall issue amongst them: nor could it neuer induce Tasso, the wonder of Italy, to write that admirable Poem of *Ierusalem*, comparable to the best of the ancients, in any other forme than the accustomed verse. And with *Petrarch* lived his scholar *Boccacius*, and neere about the same time *Iohannis Rauenensis*, and from these, *tanquam ex equo Troiano*, seemes to haue issued all those famous Italian Writers, *Leonardus Aretinus*, *Laurentius Valla*, *Poggius*, *Biondus*, and many others. Then *Emanuel Chrysolaras*, a Constantinopolitan gentleman, renowned for his learning and vertue, being imployed by *Iohn Paleologus*, Emperour of the East, to implore the ayde of Christian Princes for the succouring of perishing *Greece*, and vnderstanding in the meane time how *Baiaseth* was taken prisoner by *Tamburlan*, and his country freed from danger, stayed still at *Venice*, and there taught the Greeke tongue, discontinued before in these parts the space of seauen hundred yeeres. Him followed *Bessarion*, *George Trapezuntius*, *Theodorus Gasa*, and others, transporting Philosophie, beaten by the Turke out of *Greece*, into christendome. Hereupon came that mightie confluence of Learning in these parts, which, returning as it were *per postliminium*, and heere meeting then with the new inuented stampe of Printing, spread it selfe indeed in a more vniuersall sorte then the world euer heeretofore had it; when *Pomponius Laetus*, *Aeneas Syluius*, *Angelus Politianus*, *Hermolaus Barbarus*, *Iohannes Picus de Mirandula*, the miracle and Phœnix of the world, adorned *Italie*, and wakened other Nations likewise with this desire of glory, long before it brought forth *Rewclen*, *Erasmus*, and *Moore*, worthy men, I confesse, and the last a great ornament to this land, and a Rymer.

And yet long before all these, and likewise with these, was not our Nation behinde in her portion of spirite and worthinesse, but concurrent with the best of all this lettered world; witnesse venerable *Bede*, that flourished



about a thousand yeeres since; *Aldelmus Durotelmus*, that liued in the yeere 739, of whom we finde this commendation registred: *Omnium Poetarum sui temporis facile primus, tantae eloquentiae, maiestatis, et eruditionis homo fuit, ut nunquam satis admirari possim unde illi in tam s barbara ac rudi aetate facundia accreuerit, usque adeo omnibus numeris tersa, elegans, et rotunda, versus edidit cum antiquitate de palma contendentes.* Witnessse *Iosephus Deuonius*, who wrote *de bello Troiano* in so excellent a manner, and so neere resembling Antiquitie, as Printing his Worke beyond the seas they haue ascribed it to *Cornelius Nepos*, one of the Ancients. What should I name *Walterus Mape*, *Gulielmus Nigellus*, *Geruasius Tilburiensis*, *Bracton*, *Bacon*, *Ockam*, and an infinite Catalogue of excellent men, most of them liuing about foure hundred yeeres since, and haue left behinde them monuments of most profound iudgement and learning in all sciences! So that it is but the clouds gathered about our owne iudgement that makes vs thinke all other ages wrapt vp in mists, and the great distance betwixt vs that causes vs to imagine men so farre off to be so little in respect of our selues.

We must not looke vpon the immense course of times past as men ouer-looke spacious and wide countries from off high Mountaines, and are neuer the neere to iudge of the true Nature of the soyle or the particular syte and face of those territories they see. Nor must we thinke, viewing the superficiall figure of a region in a Mapped, that wee know strait the fashion and place as it is. Or reading an Historie (which is but a Mapped of Men, and dooth no otherwise acquaint vs with the true Substance of Circumstances then a superficiall Card dooth the Seaman with a Coast neuer seene, which alwayes prooues other to the eye than the imagination forecast it), that presently wee know all the world, and can distinctly iudge of times, men, and maners, iust as they were: When the





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there seene any shadowe of pollicie vnder her first Emperours, but the most horrible and grosse confusion that could be conceued; notwithstanding it still indured, preserving not onely a Monarchie, locked vp in her own limits, but therewithall held vnder her obedience so many Nations so farre distant, so ill affected, so disorderly commanded and vniustly conquered, as it is not to be attributed to any other fate but to the first frame of that commonwealth; which was so strongly ioynted, and with such infinite combinations interlinckt as one naile or other euer held vp the Maiestie thereof. ¶ There is but one learning, which *omnes gentes habent scriptum in cordibus suis*, one and the selfe-same spirit that worketh in all. We haue but one bodie of Iustice, one bodie of Wisdome thorowout the whole world; which is but apparelled according to the fashion of euery nation.

Eloquence and gay wordes are not of the substance of wit; it is but the garnish of a nice time, the Ornaments that doe but decke the house of a State, and *imitatur publicos mores*: Hunger is as well satisfied with meat serued in pewter as siluer. ¶ Discretion is the best measure, the rightest foote in what habit soeuer it runne. *Erasmus, Rewcline, and More* brought no more wisdome into the world with all their new reuiued wordes then we finde was before; it bred not a profounder Diuine then *S. Thomas*, a greater Lawyer then *Bartolus*, a more acute Logician then *Scotus*; nor are the effects of all this great amasse of eloquence so admirable or of that consequence, but that *impexa illa antiquitas* can yet compare with them.

Let vs go no further but looke vpon the wonderfull Architecture of this state of *England*, and see whether they were deformed times that could giue it such a forme: Where there is no one the least piller of Maiestie but was set with most profound iudgement, and borne vp with the iust conueniencie of Prince and people: no Court of



justice but laide by the Rule and Square of Nature, and the best of the best commonwealths that euer were in the world: so strong and substantial as it hath stood against al the storms of factions, both of beliefe and  
 5 ambition, which so powerfully beat vpon it, and all the tempestuous alterations of humorous times whatsoeuer: being continually in all ages furnisht with spirites fitte to maintaine the maiestie of her owne greatnes, and to match in an equali concurrencie all other kingdomes round  
 10 about her with whome it had to incounter.

But this innouation, like a Viper, must euer make way into the world's opinion, thorow the bowelles of her owne breeding, and is alwayes borne with reproch in her mouth; the disgracing others is the best grace it can put  
 15 on, to winne reputation of wit; and yet it is neuer so wise as it would seeme, nor doth the world euer get so much by it as it imagineth; which being so often deceiued,  
 20 and seeing it neuer performes so much as it promises, me thinkes men should neuer giue more credite vnto it.  
 25 For, let vs change neuer so often, wee can not change man; our imperfections must still runne on with vs. And therefore the wiser Nations haue taught menne alwayes to vse, *Moribus legibusque praesentibus etiamsi deteriores sint.* The Lacedaemonians, when a Musitian, thincking to winne  
 30 himselfe credite by his new inuention and be before his fellowes, had added one string more to his Crowde, brake his fiddle and banished him the Citie, holding the Innouator, though in the least things, dangerous to a publike societie. It is but a fantastike giddinesse to forsake the way of  
 35 other men, especially where it lies tolerable: *Vbi nunc est respublica, ibi simus potius quam dum illam veterem sequimur simus in nulla.*

But shal we not tend to perfection? Yes: and that euer best by going on in the course we are in, where we  
 40 haue aduantage, being so farre onward, of him that is but



now setting forth. For we shall neuer proceede, if wee be euer beginning, nor arriue at any certayne Porte, sayling with all windes that blowe—*non conualescit planta quae saepius transfertur*—and therefore let vs hold on in the course wee haue vndertaken, and not still be wandring. Perfection is not the portion of man ; and if it were, why may wee not as well get to it this way as another, and suspect those great vndertakers, lest they have conspired with enuy to betray our proceedings, and put vs by the honour of our attempts, with casting vs backe vpon another course, of purpose to ouerthrow the whole action of glory when we lay the fairest for it, and were so neere our hopes? I thanke God that I am none of these great Schollers, if thus their hie knowledges doe but giue them more eyes to looke out into vncertaintie and confusion, accounting my selfe rather beholding to my ignorance that hath set me in so lowe an vnder-roome of conceipt with other men, and hath giuen me as much distrust, as it hath done hope, daring not aduenture to goe alone, but plodding on the plaine tract I finde beaten by Custome and the Time, contenting me with what I see in vse.

And surely mee thinkes these great wittes should rather secke to adorne than to disgrace the present ; bring something to it, without taking from it what it hath. But it is euer the misfortune of Learning to be wounded by her owne hand. *Stimulos dat emula virtus*, and where there is not abilitie to match what is, malice will finde out ingines, either to disgrace or ruine it, with a peruerse incounter of some new impression ; and, which is the greatest misery, it must euer proceed from the powers of the best reputation, as if the greatest spirites were ordained to indanger the worlde, as the grosse are to dishonour it, and that we were to expect *ab optimis periculum, a pessimis dedecus publicum*. Emulation, the strongest pulse that beats in high mindes, is oftentimes a winde, but of the worst effect ;





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subscribe, considering the vniust authoritie of the Law-  
 giuer: for who hath constituted him to be the *Radaman-  
 thus*, thus to torture sillables and adiudge them their  
 perpetuali doome, setting his *Theta* or marke of condem-  
 nation vppon them, to indure the appoynted sentence of  
 his crueltie, as hee shall dispose? As though there were  
 that disobedience in our wordes, as they would not be  
 ruled or stand in order without so many intricate Lawes;  
 which would argue a great peruersenesse amongst them,  
 according to that *in pessima republica plurimae leges*, or <sup>10</sup>  
 that they were so farre gone from the quiet freedome of  
 nature that they must thus be brought backe againe by  
 force. And now in what case were this poore state of  
 words, if in like sorte another tyrant the next yeere should  
 arise and abrogate these lawes and ordaine others cleane <sup>15</sup>  
 contrary according to his humor, and say that they were  
 onely right, the others vniust? what disturbance were  
 there here, to whome should we obey? Were it not farre  
 better to holde vs fast to our olde custome than to stand  
 thus distracted with vncertaine Lawes, wherein Right <sup>20</sup>  
 shall haue as many faces as it pleases Passion to make it,  
 that wheresoeuer mens affections stand, it shall still looke  
 that way? What trifles doth our vnconstant curiositie cal  
 vp to contend for? what colours are there laid vpon  
 indifferent things to make them seeme other then they are, <sup>25</sup>  
 as if it were but only to intertaine contestation amongst  
 men, who, standing according to the prospectiue of their  
 owne humour, seeme to see the selfe same things to  
 appeare otherwise to them than either they doe to other,  
 or are indeede in them selues, being but all one in nature?  
 For what adoe haue we heere? what strange precepts of  
 Arte about the framing of an Iambique verse in our lan-  
 guage? which, when all is done, reaches not by a foote,  
 but falleth out to be the plaine ancient verse, consisting of  
*ten sillables* or five feete, which hath euer beene used <sup>30</sup>



amongest vs time out of minde, and, for all this cunning and counterfeit name, can or will [not] be any other in nature then it hath beene euer heretofore: and this new *Dimeter* is but the halfe of this verse diuided in two, and no other  
 5 then the *Caesura* or breathing place in the middest thereof, and therefore it had bene as good to haue put two lines in one, but only to make them seeme diuerse. Nay, it had beene much better for the true English reading and pronouncing thereof, without violating the accent, which now  
 10 our Aduersarie hath heerein most vnkindely doone: for, being as wee are to sound it, according to our English March, we must make a rest, and raise the last sillable, which falles out very vnnaturall in *Desolate, Funerall, Elisabeth, Prodigall*, and in all the rest, sauing the Mono-  
 15 sillables. Then followes the English *Trochaicke*, which is saide to bee a simple verse, and so indeede it is, being without Ryme: hauing here no other grace then that in sound it runnes like the knowne measure of our former ancient Verse, ending (as we terme it according to the  
 20 French) in a feminine foote, sauing that it is shorter by one sillable at the beginning, which is not much missed, by reason it falles full at the last. Next comes the *Elegiacke*, being the fourth kinde, and that likewise is no other then our old accustomed measure of five feet: if there be any  
 25 difference, it must be made in the reading, and therein wee must stand bound to stay where often we would not, and sometimes either breake the accent or the due course of the word. And now for the other foure kinds of numbers, which are to be employed for *Odes*, they are  
 30 either of the same measure, or such as haue euer beene familiarly vsed amongst vs.

So that of all these eight seuerall kindes of new promised numbers, you see what we haue: Onely what was our owne before, and the same but apparelled in forraine  
 35 Titles; which had they come in their kinde and naturall



attire of Ryme, wee should neuer haue suspected that they had affected to be other, or sought to degenerate into strange manners, which now we see was the cause why they were turnd out of their proper habite, and brought in as Aliens, onely to induce men to admire them as farre-commers. But see the power of Nature; it is not all the artificiall couerings of wit that can hide their natiue and originali condition, which breakes out thorow the strongest bandes of affectation, and will be it selfe, doe Singularitie what it can. And as for those imagined quantities of sillables, which haue bin euer held free and indifferent in our language, who can inforce vs to take knowledge of them, being *in nullius verba iurati*, and owing fealty to no forraine inuention? especially in such a case where there is no necessitie in Nature, or that it imports either the matter or forme, whether it be so or otherwise. But euery Versifier that wel obserues his worke findes in our language, without all these vnnecessary precepts, what numbers best fitte the Nature of her Idiome, and the proper places destined to such accents as she will not let in to any other roomes then in those for which they were borne. As for example, you cannot make this fall into the right sound of a verse—

None thinkes reward rendred worthy his worth,  
vnlesse you thus misplace the accent vpon *Rendred* and  
*Worthie*, contrary to the nature of these wordes: which sheweth that two feminine numbers (or Trochies, if so you wil call them) will not succede in the third and fourth place of the Verse. And so likewise in this case,

Though Death doth consume, yet Vertue preserues,  
it wil not be a Verse, though it hath the iust sillables without the same number in the second, and the altering of the fourth place in this sorte,

Though Death doth ruine, Virtue yet preserues.





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numbers are gone beyond the reach of obloquie, and that, how friuolous or idle soeuer they shall runne, they shall be protected from disgrace? as though that light rymes and light numbers did not weigh all alike in the graue opinion of the wise. And that is not Ryme but our ydle Arguments that hath brought downe to so base a reckning the price and estimation of writing in this kinde; when the few good things of this age, by comming together in one throng and presse with the many bad, are not discerned from them, but ouerlooked with them, and all taken to be alike. But when after-times shall make a quest of inquirie; to examine the best of this Age, peradventure there will be found in the now contemned recordes of Ryme matter not vnfitting the grauest Diuine and seuerest Lawyer in this kingdome. But these things must haue the date of Antiquitie to make them reuerend and authentical. For euer in the collation of Writers men rather weigh their age then their merite, and *legunt priscos cum reuerentia, quando coetaneos non possunt sine inuidia*<sup>1</sup>. And let no writer in Ryme be any way discouraged in his endeuour by this braue allarum, but rather animated to bring vp all the best of their powers, and charge with all the strength of nature and industrie vpon contempt, that the shew of their reall forces may turne backe insolencie into her owne holde. For be sure that innouation neuer works any ouerthrow, but vpon the aduantage of a carelesse idlenesse. And let this make vs looke the better to our feete, the better to our matter, better to our maners. Let the Aduersary that thought to hurt vs bring more profit and honor by being against vs then if he had stode still on our side. For that (next to the awe of heauen) the best reine, the strongest hand to make men keepe their way, is that which their enemy beares vpon them: and let this be the benefite wee make by being oppugned, and the

<sup>1</sup> In the margin: *Simplicius longe posita miramur.*



meanes to redeeme backe the good opinion vanitie and idlenesse haue suffered to be wonne from vs; which nothing but substance and matter can effect. For *Scribendi recte sapere est et principium et fons.*

5 When we heare Musicke, we must be in our care in the vtter-roume of sense, but when we intertaine iudgement, we retire into the cabinet and innermost withdrawing chamber of the soule: And it is but as Musicke for the eare *Verba sequi fidibus modulanda Latinis*; but it is  
 a worke of power for the soule *Numerosque modosque ediscere vitae.* The most iudiciall and worthy spirites of this Land are not so delicate, or will owe so much to their eare, as to rest vppon the outside of wordes, and be inter-  
 tained with sound; seeing that both Number, Measure, and Ryme is but as the ground or seate, whereupon is raised the work that commends it, and which may be easilie at the first found out by any shallow conceipt: as wee see some fantasticke to beginne a fashion, which afterward grauity itselfe is faine to put on, because it will not be out of the weare of other men, and *Recti apud nos locum tenet error ubi publicus factus est.* And power and strength that can plant it selfe any where hauing built within this compasse, and reard it of so high a respect, wee now imbrace it as the fittest dwelling for our inuention, and haue thereon bestowed all the substance of our vnder-  
 standing to furnish it as it is. And therefore heere I stand foorth, onelie to make good the place we haue thus taken vp, and to defend the sacred monuments erected therein, which containe the honour of the dead, the fame of the  
 living, the glory of peace, and the best power of our speach, and wherin so many honourable spirits haue sacrificed to Memorie their dearest passions, shewing by what diuine influence they haue beene moued, and vnder what starres they liued.

35 But yet notwithstanding all this which I haue heare



deliuered in the defence of Ryme, I am not so farre in loue with mine owne mysterie, or will seeme so froward, as to bee against the reformation and the better setting these measures of ours. Wherein there be many things I could wish were more certaine and better ordered, though my selfe dare not take vpon me to be a teacher therein, hauing so much neede to learne of others. And I must confesse that to mine owne eare those continuall cadences of couplets vsed in long and continued Poemes (are verie tyresome and vnpleasing, by reason that still, me thinks, they run on with a sound of one nature, and a kinde of certaintie which stuffs the delight rather then intertaines it.) But yet, notwithstanding, I must not out of mine owne daintinesse condemne this kinde of writing, which peradventure to another may seeme most delightfull; and many worthy compositions we see to haue passed with commendation in that kinde. [Besides, me thinkes, sometimes to beguile the eare with a running out, and passing ouer the Ryme, as no bound to stay vs in the line where the violence of the matter will breake thorow, is rather gracefull then otherwise.] Wherein I finde my Homer. Lucan, as if he gloried to seeme to haue no bounds, albeit hee were confined within his measures, to be in my conceipt most happy. For so thereby they who care not for Verse or Ryme may passe it ouer with taking notice thereof, and please themselues with a well measured Prose. [And I must confesse my Aduersary hath wrought this much vpon me, that I thinke a Tragedie would indeede best comporte with a blank Verse and dispence with Ryme, sauing in the *Chorus*, or where a sentence shall require a couplet. And to auoyde this ouer-glutting the eare with that alwayes certaine and full incounter of Ryme, I haue assaid in some of my Epistles to alter the vsuall place of meeting, and to sette it further off by one Verse, to trie how I could disuse mine owne eare and to ease it of





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within. For there is not the simplest writer that will ever tell himselfe he doth ill, but, as if he were the parasite onely to sooth his owne doings, perswades him that his lines can not but please others which so much delight himselfe: *Sufferus est quisque sibi* 5

—*neque idem unquam*

*Aequè est beatus, ac poema cum scribit.*

*Tam gaudet in se tamque se ipse miratur.*

And the more to shew that he is so, we shall see him evermore in all places, and to all persons repeating his owne compositions; and

*Quem vero arripuit, tenet, occiditque legendo.*

Next to this deformitie stands our affectation, wherein we alwayes bewray our selues to be both vnkinde and vnnaturall to our owne native language, in disguising or forging strange or vnusuall wordes, as if it were to make our verse seeme another kind of speach out of the course of our vsuall practise, displacing our wordes, or inuventing new, onely vpon a singularitie, when our owne accustomed phrase, set in the due place, would expresse vs more familiarly and to better delight than all this idle affectation of antiquitie or noueltie can euer doe. And I cannot but wonder at the strange presumption of some men, that dare so audaciously aduenture to introduce any whatsoever forraine wordes, be they neuer so strange, and of themselves, as it were, without a Parliament, without any consent or allowance, establish them as Free-denizens in our language.) But this is but a Character of that perpetuall reuolution which wee see to be in all things that neuer remaine the same: and we must heerein be content to submit our selues to the law of time, which in few yeeres wil make al that for which we now contend *Nothing*.



# APPENDIX

**GR. SM. II**

**C C**









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*Lo[renzo] se[nior]*. Why, how now, sonne? what! are startled now?

Hath the brize prickt you, ha? go to; you see  
How abiectly your Poetry is ranckt,  
In generall opinion.

*Lo. iiii.* Opinion! O God, let grosse opinion  
Sinck & be damnd as deepe as *Barathrum*.  
If it may stand with your most wisht content,  
I can refell opinion and approue  
The state of poesie, such as it is,  
Blessed, æternall, and most true deuine:  
Indeede, if you will looke on Poesie,  
As she appeares in many, poore and lame,  
Patcht vp in remnants and old worne ragges,  
Halfe starud for want of her peculiar foode,  
Sacred inuention, then I must conferme  
Both your conceite and censure of her merrite;  
But view her in her glorious ornaments,  
Attired in the maiestie of arte,  
Set high in spirite with the precious taste  
Of sweete philosophie, and, which is most,  
Crownd with the rich traditions of a soule  
That hates to haue her dignitie prophand  
With any relish of an earthly thought—  
Oh then how proud a presence doth she beare!  
Then is she like her selfe, fit to be seene  
Of none but graue and consecrated eyes.  
Nor is it any blemish to her fame  
That such leane, ignorant, and blasted wits,  
Such brainlesse guls, should vtter their stolne wares  
With such aplauses in our vulgar eares;  
Or that their slubberd lines haue currant passe,  
From the fat iudgements of the multitude;  
But that this barren and infected age  
Should set no difference twixt these empty spirits  
And a true Poet; then which reuerend name  
None can more adorne humanitie. *Enter with torch*

*Clem.* I, Lorenzo, but election is now gouerned altogether by  
influence of humor, which, instead of those holy flames  
should direct and light the soule to eternitie, hurles forth  
nothing but smooke and congested vapours, that stife  
vp, and bereaue her of al sight & motion. But she is



have store of *Elmore* given her to purge these grosse obstructions. Oh, thats well sayd. Giue me thy torch; come lay this stuffe together. So, giue fire! there, see, see, how our Poets glory shines brighter, and brighter! still, still it increaseth! Oh, now its at the highest! and now it declines as fast! You may see, gallants, *Sic transit gloria mundi* . . .

## II.

From *The Workes of Benjamin Ionson*. Folio 1616. (Bodleian Library. Douce, I. 302.)

This Prologue appears first in the Folio, but may be dated 1598. Gifford's evidence for 1596 is inconclusive.

## PROLOGVE.

Though neede make many *Poets*, and some such  
 As art and nature haue not betterd much,  
 Yet ours, for want, hath not so lou'd the stage,  
 As he dare serue th' ill customes of the age,  
 Or purchase your delight at such a rate,  
 As, for it, he himselfe must iustly hate:  
 To make a child, now swadled, to proceede  
 Man, and then shoote vp, in one beard and weede,  
 Past threescore yeeres; or, with three rustie swords,  
 And helpe of some few foot-and-halfe-foote words,  
 Fight ouer *Yorke* and *Lancasters* long iarres,  
 And in the tyring-house bring wounds to scarres.  
 He rather prayes you will be pleas'd to see  
 One such to day, as other playes should be;  
 Where neither *Chorus* wafts you ore the seas;  
 Nor creaking throne comes downe, the boyes to please;  
 Nor nimble squibbe is seene, to make afear'd  
 The gentlewomen; nor roul'd bullet heard,  
 To say it thunders; nor tempestuous drumme  
 Rumbles, to tell you when the storme doth come;  
 But deedes, and language, such as men doe vse,  
 And persons, such as *Comædie* would chuse,  
 When she would shew an Image of the times,  
 And sport with humane follies, not with crimes,  
 Except we make 'hem such, by louing still  
 Our popular errors, when we know th' are ill



I meane such errors as you 'll all confesse,  
 By laughing at them, they deserue no lesse:  
 Which when you heartily doe, there 's hope left then,  
 You, that haue so grac'd mon'sters, may like men.

## III.

From *Every Man out of his Humor*.  
 Quarto, 1600. (Bodleian Library. Malone,  
 229.) The play was produced in 1599.

INDUCTIO, SONO SECVNDO.

GREX.

ASPER, CORDATVS, MITIS.

*Mit[is]*. In faith this Humor will come ill to some.

You will be thought to be too peremptorie.

*Asp[er]*. This Humor? good; and why this Humor, *Mitis*?

Nay, doe not turne, but answer.

*Mit.* Answer? what?

*Asp.* I will not stirre your patience: pardon me,

I vrg'd it for some reasons, and the rather

To giue these ignorant wel-spoken daies

Some tast of their abuse of this word *Humor*.

*Cor[datus]*. O, doe not let your purpose fall, good *Asper*;

It cannot but arriue most acceptable,

Chiefely to such as haue the happinesse

Daily to see how the poore innocent word

Is rackt and tortur'd.

*Mit.* I; I pray you proceed.

*Asp.* Ha, what? what is 't?

*Cord.* For the abuse of *Humor*.

*Asp.* O, I craue pardon, I had lost my thoughts.

Why *Humor*, as 'tis *ens*, we thus define it

To be a quality of aire or water,

And in it selfe holds these two properties,

Moisture and Fluxure: As, for demonstration,

Poure water on this floore, 'twill wet and runne;

Likewise the aire, forc't through a horne or trumpet,

Flowes instantly away, and leaues behind

A kinde of due; and hence we doe conclude,

That what soe're hath fluxure and humiditie,





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Make my braine fruitfull to bring forth more obiects  
Worthy their serigus and intentiue eies.

Put why enforce I this? as fainting? no.

If any here chance to behold himselfe,

Let him not dare to challenge me of wrong;

For, if he shame to haue his follies knowne,

First he should shame to act 'hem: my strict hand

Was made to ceaze on vice, and with a gripe

Crush out the Humor of such spongie soules,

As licke vp euery idle vanity.

16

*Cord.* Why, this is right *Furor Poeticus*.

Kind gentlemen, we hope your patience

Will yet conceiue the best, or entertaine

This supposition, That a madman speakes.

15

*Mil.* You haue seene his play, *Cordatus*? pray you, how is 't?

*Cord.* Faith sir, I must refraine to iudge, onely this I can say of

it, 'tis strange, and of a perticular kind by it selfe, some-

what like *Vetus Comædia*: a worke that hath bounteously

pleased me: how it will answeere the generall expectation, <sup>20</sup>

I know not.

*Mil.* Does he obserue all the lawes of Comedie in it?

*Cord.* What lawes meane you?

*Mil.* Why, the equall diuision of it into Acts and Scenes, accord-

ing to the Terentian manner; his true number of Actors; <sup>25</sup>

the furnishing of the Scene with *Grex* or *Chorus*; and that

the whole Argument fall within compasse of a daies

efficiencie.

*Cord.* O no, these are too nice obseruations.

*Mil.* They are such as must be receiued by your fauour, or it <sup>30</sup>

cannot be Authentique.

*Cord.* Troth, I can discerne no such necessitie.

*Mil.* No?

*Cord.* No, I assure you, signior: if those lawes you speake of

had beene deliuered vs *ab Initio*, and in their present vertue

and perfection, there had beene some reason of obeying

their powers; but 'tis extant that that which we call

*Comædia* was at first nothing but a simple and continued

Satyre, sung by one only person, till *Susario* inuented

a second; after him, *Epicharmus* a third; *Phormus* and

*Chionides* deuised to haue foure Actors, with a *Prologue*

and *Chorus*; to which *Cratinus* (long after) added fift and



sixt; *Eupolis* more; *Aristophanes* more than they: euery man in the dignity of his spirit and iudgement supplied something: and, though that in him this kind of Poeme appeared absolute, and fully perfected, yet how is the face of it chang'd since, in *Menander*, *Philemon*, *Cecilius*, *Plautus*, and the rest; who haue vtterly excluded the *Chorus*, altered the property of the persons, their names, and natures, and augmented it with all libertie, according to the elegancie and disposition of those times wherein they wrote. I see not then but wee should enioy the same *Licentia* or free power to illustrate and heighten our inuention as they did; and not bee tied to those strict and regular formes which the nicenesse of a fewe (who are nothing but *Forme*) would thrust vpon vs.

*Mit.* Well, we will not dispute of this nowe: but what's his Scene?

*Cor.* *Mary, Insula fortunata*, Sir.

*Mit.* O, the fortunate Iland? masse, he [h]as bound himselfe to a strict law there.

*Cor.* Why so?

*Mit.* Hee cannot lightly a[l]ter the Scene, without crossing the seas.

*Cor.* He needes not, hauing a whole Ilande to runne through, I thinke.

*Mit.* No! howe comes it then, that in some one play wee see so manye Seas, Countries, and Kingdomes past ouer with such admirable dexteritie?

*Cor.* O, that but shewes how wel the Authors can trauaile in their vocation, and out-run the apprehension of their Auditory. But leauing this, I would they would begin once: this protraction is able to sower the best-settled patience in the Theatre.

#### IV.

From the *Postaster* or *The Arraignement*, Quarto 1620. (Bodleian Library. Malone, 213.) The play was produced in 1601.

#### ACTVS PRIMVS. SCENA SECVNDA.

*uid.* O sacred Poësy, thou spirit of *Arts*,  
The soule of *Science*, and the Queene of Soules,



What prophane violence, almost sacrilege,  
 Hath here beene offered thy Diuinities !  
 Hmh ! that thine owne guiltlesse Pouerty should arme  
 Prodigious Ignorance to wound thee thus !  
 For thence is all their force of Argument  
 Drawne foorth against thee ; or from the abuse  
 Of thy great powers in Adultrate braines ;  
 When, would men learne but to distinguish spirits,  
 And set true difference twixt those iaded wits  
 That runne a broken pase for common hire, 10  
 And the high Raptures of a happy soule,  
 Borne on the winges of her immortall thought,  
 That kickes at earth with a disdainefull heele,  
 And beates at Heauen gates with her bright hooues ;  
 They would not then with such distorted faces, 15  
 And dudgeon Censures, stab at *Poesy* :  
 They would admire bright knowledge, and their minds  
 Should nere descend on so vnworthy obiects  
 As Gould or Titles ; they would dread farre more  
 To be thought ignorant then be knowne poore. 20  
 The time was once, when wit drownd wealth : but now,  
 Your onely Barbarism 's to haue wit, and want.  
 No matter now in vertue who excells,  
 He that hath coyne hath all perfection else . . .

ACTVS QVINTVS. SCENA PRIMA. 25

[*Caesar.*] Say then, lou'd *Horace*, thy true thought of *Virgill*.

*Hor[ace]*. I iudge him of a rectified spirit,

By many reuolutions of discourse

(In his bright reasons influence) refin'd 30

From all the tartarous Moods of common Men ;

Bearing the Nature and similitude

Of a right heauenly Bodie ; most seuer

In fashion and collection of himselfe ;

And, then, as cleare and confident as *Ioue*. 35

*Ga[llus]*. And yet so chast and tender is his Eare

In suffering in any Syllable to passe,

That he thinkes may become the honour'd name

Of Issue to his so examin'd selfe,

That all the lasting fruites of his full merit 40





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In a high Soule vpon the grosser Spirit,  
That to his bleared and offended Sense  
There seemes a hideous Fault blur'd in the Object,  
When only the Disease is in his Eyes.

Here-hence it comes our *Horace* now stands taxt  
Of *Impudencie*, *Self-love*, and *Arrogance*,  
By these who share no merit in themselves,  
And therefore thinke his Portion is as small  
For they, from their owne guilt, assure their Soules,  
If they should confidently praise their workes,  
In them it would appeare *Inflation*;  
Which, in a full and well-digested man,  
Cannot receive that foule abusive name,  
But the faire Title of *Erection*.

And, for his trewe vse of *translating* Men,  
It still hath beene a worke of as much Palme  
In clearest Iudgements as t'*iment* or *mate*.

His *sharpnesse*—that is most excusable;  
As being forc't out of a suffering Vertue,  
Oppressed with the Licence of the Time;  
And howsoever Fooles, or Ierking *Pedants*,  
Players, or such like *Buffonary* wits,  
May with their beggerly and barren trash  
Tickle base vulgar eares, in their despight.  
This, like *Ioues* Thunder, shall their pride controule.

' *The honest Satyre hath the happiest Soule.*'

Now, *Romanes*, you haue heard our thoughts. *Withdrawe*,  
when you please.

[*Demetrius and Crispinus having been placed on trial, the former confesses that mere envy had been his motive, and is forgiven by Horace. To the latter Horace's pills 'mixt with the whitest kind of hellebore' are given to*

*purge*  
His braine and stomach of those tumorous heats.  
*The victim, like Lucian's Lexiphanes, rids himself painfully of his rhetorical jargon ('terrible windy words'), and the scene proceeds—*

*Virgill.* These Pilles can but restore him for a Time;  
Not cure him quite of such a Malady,  
Caught by so many surfets, which haue filld  
His Blood and Braine thus full of *Crudities* :



'Tis necessary, therefore, he obserue  
 A strict and holsome Diet. Looke you take  
 Each morning of old *Catoes* Principles  
 A good draught next your heart ; that walke vpon,  
 5 Till it be well digested : Then come home  
 And taste a piece of *Terence* ; sucke his *Phrase*  
 In steede of Licorice ; and, at any hand,  
 Shun *Plautus* and old *Ennius* ; they are meates  
 Too harsh for a weake Stomacke. Vse to read  
 10 (But not without a *Tutor*) the best *Greekes*,  
 As *Orpheus*, *Musæus*, *Pindarus*,  
*Hesiod*, *Callimachus*, and *Theocrite*,  
 High *Homer* ; but beware of *Lycophron* ;  
 He is too darke and dangerous a Dish.  
 15 You must not hunt for wild out-landish Termes,  
 To stuffe out a peculiar *Dialect* ;  
 But let your *Matter* runne before your *Words*.  
 And if, at any time, you chaunce to meete  
 Some *Gallo-Belgick* Phrase, you shall not straight  
 20 Racke your poor Verse to giue it entertainment,  
 But let it passe : and doe not thinke your selfe  
 Much damnified, if you doe leaue it out,  
 When nor your *Vnderstanding* nor the *Sense*  
 Could well receiue it. This faire Abstinence,  
 25 In time, will render you more sound and Cleare.  
 And thus haue I prescrib'd to you, in place  
 Of a strict Sentence : which till he performe,  
 Attire him in that Robe. And hence-forth learne  
 To beare your selfe more humbly ; not to swell,  
 30 Or breath your insolent and idle Spight  
 On him whose Laughter can your worst affright.



## THE RETURNE FROM PARNASSUS

1601

[The following extract is taken from the Second Part of the *Returne from Parnassus*, performed in St. John's College, Cambridge, in 1601. Two editions appeared in 1606 (London: G. Eld for John Wright). Copies of these are preserved in the Malone Collection in the Bodleian Library. The three 'Parnassus' comedies have been edited by the Rev. W. D. Macray (*The Pilgrimage to Parnassus with the Two Parts of the Return from Parnassus*. Oxford. At the Clarendon Press. 1886). The passage is the second scene of the first Act.]

*Enter* INGENIOSO, IUDICIO.

*Iud[icio]*. What, *Ingenioso*, carrying a Vinegar bottle about thee, like a great schole-boy giuing the world a bloody nose?

*Ing[enioso]*. Faith, *Iudicio*, if I carry the vineger bottle, it's great reason I should confer it vpon the bald pated world: and againe, if my kitchen want the vtensilies of viands, it's great reason other men should haue the sauce of vineger; and for the bloody nose, *Iudicio*, I may chance indeed giue the world a bloody nose, but it shall hardly giue me a crakt crowne, though it giues other Poets French crownes.

*Iud.* I would wish thee, *Ingenioso*, to sheath thy pen, for thou canst not be successfull in the fray, considering thy enemies haue the aduantage of the ground.

*Ing.* Or rather, *Iudicio*, they haue the grounds with aduantage, and the French crownes with a pox; and I would they had them with a plague too: but hang them, swadds, the basest corner in my thoughts is too gallant a roome to lodge





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bel of so many Poets about the neck of it? What is the rest of the title?

*Ind.* *The garden of the Muses.*

*Ing.* 'What have we here? The Poett garish  
Gayly bedeckt like forehorse of the Parish.'  
What followes?

*Ind.* *Quem referent musae, vivet dum robora tellus,  
Dum caelum stellas, dum vetit annis aquas.*

[*Ing.*] Who blurres sayer paper with foule bastard rimes

Shall live full many an age in latter times;

Who makes a ballet for an ale-house doore

Shall live in future times for euer more.

Then Antony, thy muse shall live so long

As drafty ballats to [the paile] are song.

But what's his devise? Parnassus with the sunne and the  
lawrel. I wonder this owle dares looke on the sunne, and  
I maruaile this gose flies not: the laurell? his devise  
might haue bene better a foole going into the market place  
to be scene, with this motto, *scribimus indocti*, or a poore  
beggar gleaning of eares in the end of haruest, with this  
word, *sua cuique gloria*.

*Ind.* Turne ouer the leafe, *Ing.*:, and thou shalt see the paynes  
of this worthy gentleman: Sentences gathered out of all  
kind of Poetts, referred to certaine methodicall heads,  
profitable for the vse of these times, to rime vpon any  
occasion at a little warning. Read the names.

*Ing.* So I will, if thou wilt helpe me to censure them.

*Edmund Spencer.*

*Henry Constable.*

*Thomas Lodge.*

*Samuel Daniell.*

*Thomas Watson.*

*Michaell Drayton.*

*John Davis.*

*John Marston.*

*Kit: Marlowe.*

Good men and true, stand together: heare your censure.  
What's thy iudgement of *Spencer*?

*Ind.* A sweeter Swan then euer song in Poe,  
A shriller Nightingale then euer blest  
The prouder groues of selfe admiring Rome!  
Blith was each vally, and each sheapeard proud,  
While he did chaunt his rurall ministralsie;  
Attentive was full many a dainty eare;  
Nay, hearers hong vpon his melting tong,  
While sweetly of his Faiery Queene he song,



While to the waters fall he tun'd [he]r fame,  
 And in each barke engrau'd Elizaes name.  
 And yet, for all this, vnregarding soile  
 Vnlac't the line of his desired life,  
 Denying mayntenance for his deare releife ;  
 Carelesse [e]re to preuent his exequy,  
 Scarce deigning to shut vp his dying eye.

*Ing.* Pity it is that gentler witts should breed,  
 Where thick skin chuffes laugh at a schollers need.

But softly may our honours ashes rest,  
 That lie by mery *Chaucers* noble chest.

But I pray thee proceed breefly in thy censure, that I may  
 be proud of my selfe ; as in the first, so in the last, my  
 censure may iumpe with thine. *Henry Constable, Samuel  
 Daniell, Thomas Lodg, Thomas Watson.*

*Jud.* Sweete *Constable* doth take the wondring care,  
 And layes it vp in willing prisonment :  
 Sweete hony dropping *Daniell* doth wage  
 Warre with the proudest big Italian,  
 That melts his heart in sugred sonneting ;  
 Onely let him more sparingly make vse  
 Of others wit, and vse his owne the more,  
 That well may scorne base imitation.  
 For *Lodge* and *Watson*, men of some desert,  
 Yet subiect to a Critticks marginall ;  
*Lodge* for his oare in euery paper boate,  
 He that turnes ouer *Galen* euery day,  
 To sit and simper *Euphues* legacy.

*Ing.* *Michael Drayton.*

[*Jud.*] *Draytons* sweete muse is like a sanguine dy,  
 Able to rauish the rash gazers eye.

How euer, he wants one true note of a Poet of our times,  
 and that is this, hee cannot swagger it well in a *Tauerne*  
 nor dominere in a hot house.

[*Ing.*] *John Davis.*

[*Jud.*] Acute *John Davis*, I affect thy rymes,  
 That ierck in hidden charmes these looser times ;  
 Thy plainer verse, thy vnaffected vaine,  
 Is grac't with a faire and sooping trayne.

[*Ing.*] *Locke* and *Hudson.*

*Jud.* *Locke* and *Hudson*, sleepe, you quiet shauers, among the  
 shauings of the presse, and let your bookes lye in some



old nookes amongst old bootes and shooes, so you may auoide my censure.

*Ing.* Why then clap a lock on their feete, and turne them to commons.

*John Marston.*

*Iud.* What, *Monsier Kynsader*, lifting vp your legge and pissing against the world! put vp man, put vp for shame!

Me thinks he is a Ruffian in his stile,  
Withouten bands or garters ornament;  
He quaffes a cup of Frenchmans Helicon,  
Then royster doyster in his oylie tearmes,  
Cutts, thrusts, and foines at whomesoeuer he meets,  
And strewes about Ram-ally meditations.

Tut, what cares he for modest close coucht termes,  
Cleanly to gird our looser libertines.  
Giue him plaine naked words stript from their shirts,  
That might beseeme plaine dealing *Aretine*.

I, there is one that backes a paper steed  
And manageth a pen-knife gallantly,  
Strikes his poinado at a buttons breadth,  
Brings the great battering ram of tearmes to towns,  
And, at first volly of his Cannon shot,  
Batters the walles of the old fustie world.

*Ing. Christopher Marlowe.*

*Iud.* *Marlowe* was happy in his buskind muse,  
Alas! vnhappy in his life and end.  
Pitty it is that wit so ill should dwell,  
Wit lent from heauen, but vices sent from hell,

*Ing.* Our *Theater* hath lost, *Pluto* hath got,  
A Tragick penman for a driery plot.

*Beniamin Johnson.*

*Iud.* The wittiest fellow of a Bricklayer in England.

*Ing.* A meere Empyrick, one that getts what he hath by obseruation, and makes onely nature priuy to what he indites; so slow an Inuentor that he were better betake himselfe to his old trade of Bricklaying; a bould whorson, as confident now in making a booke as he was in times past in laying of a brick.

*William Shakespeare.*

*Iud.* Who loues [not] *Adons* loue or *Lucre[ce]* rape?  
His sweeter verse contaynes hart [th]robbing li[n]e,





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**NOTES**









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*Britannia* (supra, p. 43), a comedy *Ginecocrasia* (supra, p. 139), *Of the originals and pedigree of the English tongue* (supra, p. 149), an interlude *Lucie London* (Arber, pp. 183, 208), another, *The Weaver* (Arber, pp. 212, 233), a Hymn to the Queen, entitled *Mixtus* (Arber, p. 244), *Triumphals* (Arber, p. 245), *Philocalia* (supra, p. 179, see note), *De Decoro* (supra, p. 181), &c. Only one of these has been preserved, *The Partheniads* (Cotton MSS. Vesp. E. viii). It is printed by Haslewood and (partly) by Nichols in his *Progresses of Queen Elizabeth*, and is edited by Dr. Furnivall in *Ballads from MSS.*, ii. 72 et seq. (Ballad Society Publ.).

l. 25. *express passages*: e.g. p. 182, l. 30. But cf. 'sir,' p. 162, l. 16.

3. 6, &c. *A poet . . . a maker*. Cf. Sidney, i. p. 155, l. 26, note.

16. *a versifier*. See note to Sidney, supra, i. p. 159, l. 35.

4. 31. *Madame*. See note to p. 1, l. 25.

7. 8. Cf. Sidney, supra, i. 151.

28. Cf. Sidney, i. 154.

9. 10-25. Cf. Sidney, supra, i. passim.

34. *first Philosophers*. Cf. Sidney, i. pp. 151-2.

10. 1-8. Cf. Sidney, supra, i. p. 158.

32. *Perusine*, Peruvian.

12. 5-19. Cf. Ascham, supra, i. p. 29, l. 30.

13. 7, &c. A reference to the popular *Conseruandae bonae valetudinis praecepta*, written in 1100 for Robert, Duke of Normandy, son of William the Conqueror. Cf. ii. p. 361, l. 26, and Hall's *Satires*, iv. 4, 22-3 (ed. Grosart):—

‘ Tho neuer haue I *Salerne* rimes profest  
To be some Ladies trencher-criticke guest.’

Puttenham reads *Rege* and *tota schola* (an inversion of quantities), omits a fourth and fifth line, and alters the last line. (Cf. the Frankfurt edition, 1573, f. 1.)

14. 1. Puttenham makes a false quantity of ‘&’ by printing ‘et’ for ‘atque.’ He is not responsible for the other errors in quantity (e.g. *sempēr*, 4; *nērē*, 28; *quinqūē*, 29, &c.).

15. 20-2. *the disportes of Ouid*. Cf. the quotation on p. 331, supra. The reference is probably to the Pseudo-Ovidius, not to P. Ovidius Naso, although the first line is found in some editions of the *Ars Amatoria*, i. 59.



27-30. Puttenham repeats this reference in Book III (see Arber, p. 261). Hucbald, monk of S. Amand, towards the close of the ninth century, wrote a poem in praise of bald heads, printed at Basle in 1516 and 1546. See the text in *Amphitheatrum Sapientiae Socraticae*, Hanau, 1619, and the account in *Histoire Lit. de la France*, vi. 215, and Ebert, iii. 167. See also Migne's *Patrologia*, cxxxii. 826.

16. 12-18. *Verse Lyon* cannot well be anything other than 'Leonine Verse' ('*versus Leonini*,' '*leonini rhythmici*,' '*rimes léonines*,' '*rimes doublettes*'), yet Puttenham's example does not illustrate the mediaeval form, viz. hexameters or alternate hexameters and pentameters in which the last word rhymes with the word immediately before the caesura. (See Scaliger, *Poetice*, ii. 29; Claude Fauchet, *Recueil* (1581), edit. 1610, pp. 552<sup>r</sup>-3<sup>r</sup>; Estienne Pasquier, *Les Recherches*, Bk. vii (edit. 1643); Buehler's recension of the *Instit. Poet.* of Jac. Pontanus, 69; Du Cange, s.v. '*Leonini versus*'; Langlois, *De Artibus Rhetoricae Rhythmicæ*, 1890, p. 69, and *N. E. D.* s.v. 'Leonine.') Puttenham's quotation is an example of *versus reciproci* or *retrogradi*, verses which preserve the metre when the order of the words is reversed. See Scaliger, *Poetice*, ii. 30, and Buchler, u.s., who quotes the lines given by Puttenham.

17. 10. *Cherillus*. Cf. i. p. 334, l. 13.

19. Jean de Meun and Guillaume de Lorris; authors of the *Roman de la Rose*, of which the first part was written by the latter between 1225 and 1230 and the second by Jean de Meun over forty years later.

25. Sangelais, i.e. Melin de Saint-Gelais (1491-1559), son, or nephew, of the poet Octavien de Saint-Gelais who died in 1502.

Salmonius Macrinus, i.e. Jean Salmon, called 'Maigret' or 'Macrinus' (1490-1557), Latin poet, known to his contemporaries as the French Horace. See Gyraldus (ed. Wotke, u. s., p. 66).

26. Clement Marot (1495 or 1496-1544).

31. *one Gray*: probably William Gray (d. 1551), whose birthday verses to Somerset are printed by Dr. Furnivall in *Ballads from MSS.* (Ballad Soc. Public.); vol. i. pp. 310, 414 et seq.

18. 1. *Vargas*. See p. 326, l. 22, note. Is this the Balthasar de Vargas who wrote a verse account of the Duke of Alva's expedition to Flanders (1568)?



15. *Quintus Catullus*, i.e. C. Valerius Catullus.
27. *Antimachus*, brother of Alcaeus. See Aristotle, *Pol.* iii. 14. § 9.
19. 6, &c. Cf. Sidney, i. p. 151, l. 6, &c., and note.
- 1 & 30. Cf. Sidney, *supra*, i. p. 186, l. 33.
20. 27-8. See Quintil. vi. 2 (303). The text reads *Euphantasiote*, where *e* may stand for *α*, a transliteration of Greek *α*.
21. 3-12. This evergreen story of the Queen and *Alia Chartier* is not historical.
14. Cf. p. 17, l. 22.
22. 33. *Hermes Trismegistus*, 'Ἑρμῆς Τρισμῆγιστος', second cent. A.D.
34. *Euax*, king of Arabia, is mentioned in a 'doubtful' passage in Pliny as the author of *De Simplicium Effectibus*. He is credited with the authorship of *De Nominibus et virtutibus Lapidum qui in Artem medicinae recipiuntur*, and is referred to by Marbodius in his *lapidarium* (*De Gemmis*).
35. *Avicenna*, i.e. Husain ibn 'Abd Allah, called Ibn Sina (or Avicenna), the commentator of Aristotle. See *Bible*, i. 305.
23. 1. *Alphonsus*. See *supra*, i. p. 163, l. 13.
4. The reference is to Henry VIII's *Assertio Septem Sacramentorum* (1521), against Luther.
9. *Margaret . . of Navarre* (1492-1549). Puttenham is probably thinking of her *Heptameron* (2nd edit. 1539), rather than her verse (*Les Marguerites de la Marguerite des princesses*, &c.).
- 22-4. See the complete text in the *Scholastics in Virgilian* in Masvicius's *Virgil*, i.
27. 18. *herdards*, in sense of 'herdsmen.' Cf. p. 39, l. 18.
29. 22. Text, *Celius*.
30. 2. *anthracos, otropoc*.
14. *Anthropopathis, ἀνθρωποπάθης*.
31. 14. *our books of Ierobani*. These are not extant.
23. 18-19. Cf. *Jas. VI*, *supra*, i. p. 221.
22. *brokers*. See note on *brocage*, *supra*, i. p. 127, l. 16.
34. 5, &c. Cf. Scaliger, *Poetica*, i. 7.
22. *Histrion*, an erroneous form of 'histrion.' See *N.E.D.*
35. 28. *Plampedes* (text *Plampedes*). Cf. Scaliger, *Poetica*, i. 10, with this chapter.





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50. 21-2. *Galenistes* and *Paracelsians*. The distinction here implied appears to be much the same as between the later 'Allopaths' and Homœopaths; but the contrast in literary usage (when 'Galenist' was not a mere synonym of 'physician') was between those who held by vegetable cures and those who held by chemical cures. Cf. Nash 'This needie Gallaunt . . . rayleth on our Galenists and calls them dull gardners and haymakers in a mans belly' (Grosart, iii. 249): and Dekker has 'What Galenist or Paracelsian in the world, by all his water-casting and minerall extractions . . .' (*Seven D. Sinnes*, ed. Arber, 46).

26. *monethes mindes*, remembrances of the dead a month after death. See quotation in Halliwell's *Dictionary*, 560.

51. 5. Text, *Procostris*.

52. 6. *Genethiaca* (γενεθλιακά). See Scaliger, *Poetice*, iii. 101.

33. *Epithalamies*. Puttenham here also borrows from Scaliger. See *Poetice*, iii. 100.

55. 23. Orig. *Ficenina*.

28-9. *Iohannes* [Nicolaus] *secundus*. His *Basia* was often reprinted. See the edition by Georg Ellinger, No. 14 of *Latini-sche Litteraturdenkmäler* (Berlin, 1899).

56. 29. *Pasquill* and *Marphorius*. The *Dialogus Marphorii et Pasquilli* (Rome, c. 1552) had many imitations. Puttenham's uncle Sir Thomas Elyot, author of the *Governour*, had written in 1533 a dialogue entitled *Pasquil the Playne* (see Croft's *Elyot*, i. 98). Opposite the statue of Pasquin in the Piazza di Pasquino in Rome (so named from its having been found below the booth of the cobbler or tailor Pasquino, who had a satirical vein) stood the statue of Marforio, which, in popular belief, conversed with its neighbour. Lampoons ('pasquinades,' 'pasquills') or papers of questions affixed to the pedestal of the former were answered on sheets placed on the base of the latter.

57. 5, &c. The story of the distich will be found in the *Life of Virgil* by Donatus.

58. 14. *bouche in court* (text *bonche*). *Bouch* is the allowance of victual &c. given by a king to members of his household or retinue. It is confined to the phrase 'to have bouch (lit. mouth) in court,' or 'bouch of court' ('*avoir bouche à, or en, cour*').

60. 11-19. See Scaliger, *Poetice*, i. 53.



28. *Nenia* (*Naenia*) or *apophoreta* (τὰ ἀποφόρητα).

See Scaliger, *Poetice*, i. 50 (and Quintilian, viii. 2 (383)).

61. 6. *Saxon English*. Cf. p. 80 and notes.

62. 3. Cf. Sidney's list and his statement, *supra*, i. p. 196, l. 21.

25. *that nameles*. Puttenham's accuracy in not taking Piers as the author is noteworthy, especially as the error is common with his contemporaries. Cf. Spenser, 'Epilogue' to *Shep. Cal.*; Webbe, *supra*, i. p. 242; Meres, *infra*, p. 314; &c.

68. 2. *the first reformers*. Cf. *infra*, p. 131, l. 23; also p. 219, l. 7.

4. *Lord . . Vaux*. Puttenham refers to his '*facilitie*' on p. 65, l. 19, and again on p. 247 of Mr. Arber's complete text of Bk. III ('a man otherwise of no great learning, but hauing herein a maruelous facillitie'). 'Nicholas' is a slip for 'Thomas.' See Index.

8. Text *Hoywood*. John Heywood (?1497—?1580). His *Proverbs* and *Epigrams* are printed by the Spenser Society (1867).

13. *Edward Ferrys* (or Ferrers). This appears to be an error (repeated by Meres and Anthony Wood) for George Ferrers, the dramatist. The description suits the latter. The form occurs again, p. 65, l. 24, and in association with Lord Buckhurst. See also Meres, *infra*, p. 319, l. 27. For notes on the only known 'Edwards,' see *D. N. B.* Evidence of a literary Edward Ferrers or Ferrys is entirely lacking.

18. *In Queenes Maries time*. Cf. *infra*, p. 144, l. 5. The form (if not a printer's error) is curious.

19. *Phaer*. *Supra*, i. p. 137, l. 29, note.

22. *Golding*. *Supra*, i. p. 243, l. 27, note.

24. *that other Doctour*, i. e. Thomas Twyne. See *supra*, i. p. 137, l. 29, note.

32. *Edward, Earle of Oxford* (cf. p. 65, l. 26). Puttenham quotes from him in Bk. III (Arber, p. 215). See i. p. 243, l. 7.

33. *Bukhurst*. *Supra*, i. p. 196, l. 32, &c.

*Henry, Lord Paget*. Have his 'doings' been 'found out'? I have failed to discover a clue to his literary work.

34. *Edward Dyar*. *Supra*, i. p. 89, l. 7, note.

35. *Fulke Grenell* (1554-1628).

*Gascon*, i. e. Gascoigne.



*Britton*, i. e. Nicholas Breton (? 1545—? 1626).

*Turberville*. *Supra*, i. p. 315, ll. 11-12, note.

64. 6. Puttenham elsewhere (Arber, p. 246) shows an intimate acquaintance with Chaucer's works.

12. *John de Melones*. *Supra*, ii. p. 17, l. 19, note.

20. *riding ryme*. *Supra*, i. p. 56, l. 25, note.

26. *much deale*=much. See *N. E. D.* (s. v. 'deal') and Stratmann (s. v. 'dael').

65. 8. *Pantomimi*. Cf. Scaliger, *Poetica*, i. 10.

12. *as before*. *Supra*, p. 63, l. 2.

18. *Vaux*. *Supra*, p. 63, l. 4. See note, p. 413.

24. *Ferryes*. See note to p. 63, l. 13.

26. Meres (p. 320, l. 10) repeats this statement that Edward, seventeenth Earl of Oxford (1550-1604) was known as a writer of comedy. No plays are extant.

*Edwardes*. *Supra*, i. p. 242, l. 33, note.

28. *Challener*, i. e. Sir Thomas Chaloner the elder (1531-65), referred to by Meres (*infra*, p. 321, l. 10). Most of his work is in Latin. His *De Repub. Anglorum instauranda* and other pieces appeared in one vol. in 1579.

29. *that other Gentleman*, Spenser. See note to i. p. 112, l. 12.

31. *insolent*: to be taken in a good sense, 'swelling.'

67. 21. *rate*, proportion, standard. Cf. *Faerie Queene*, IV. viii. 19, 5.

28. *concerts*, i. e. 'musical' concords (Ital. and Span. *concerto*).

68. 2. *Regals*. The 'regal' or 'regall' (It. *regale* or *rinjak*, Fr. *régale*) was a small organ or reed-piped musical instrument. See Grove's *Dict. of Music*, iii. p. 93. The *Record* or *Recorder* is a variety of flute, now obsolete. See *ib.* iii. p. 88.

26. Text, *quadrien*.

28. Cf. Gascoigne, *supra*, i. p. 55, l. 20; p. 57, l. 4.

31. *ib.* p. 54, l. 32.

70. Chap. iii. Cf. Scaliger, *Poetica*, ii. 2.

71. 30. *Saxon English*. Cf. p. 61, l. 6.

73. 18. Cf. James VI, *supra*, i. p. 215, l. 2.

74. 13-15. Gascoigne (i. p. 54), when discussing caesura, does not think of an odd number of syllables. On this topic see Van Ham and Stoffel's section on the 'Dogma of extra syllables' in





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88. 22. 'Rox' is a common ~~Latin~~ ~~word~~, and is, of course, a common word in Middle Saxon.

89. 26. *Castellum*, *h. castellum*

90. Cf. Sidney's 'Mind counter' (l. p. 179)

22-4. See supra, p. 44, ll. 2-4, note.

91. 22. *Saxonia*. Cf. Casanovic, supra, i. p. 55, l. 19, p. 57, l. 4

92. 34. *impus*. See Scaliger, *Poetice*, ii. 32. The term is defined in the *Rhetoric* of Alexander (Spengel, *Rhet. Gr.* ii. 17). See also Longinus, xii. For various illustrations see Scaliger, *Poetice*, ii. 32.

93. Chap. xii. Puttenham is in error in limiting the classical examples to the Figure of the Egg (l. 25: cf. i. p. 305, note). Scaliger (ii. 25) mentions the Axe of Summus Rhodius, and the Wings; and adds 'Omnium quoque eiusdem memorant poena. Quod quia non extabat, nos duo dedimus animi gratia; alterum minusculem quasi Philomelae, alterum grandius, ut sit Cyeni.' Puttenham, if he followed Scaliger, as is probable, had fixed his attention on the figured examples. An account of these figures will be found in the old Cambridge edition of the *Poetae Minores Graeci* by Winterton (ed. 1684, pp. 314-29), but more fully in Haebert's *Carmina Figurata Graeca* (Hanover, 1887).

For contemporary references and examples, cf. the 'Pasquine Piller,' entitled *My Love is Past*, in Watson's *Encyclopaedia* (Spenser Soc. edit., pp. 94-5); Willes, supra, i. 47, note; Harvey's *Letter-Book*, supra, i. 126; James VI's Preface to *Phoenix* (ed. Arber, *Counterblast*, pp. 40-1); Nash's *How with you to Saffron-Walden* (ed. Grosart, iii. 98).

96. 10. *translated*: presumably from the Italian (see p. 95, l. 26), though Puttenham, on p. 97, l. 16, professes to be careful of 'Oriental' idiom.

19. (p. 97, l. 12, &c.), *Fusie*. Fr. *fuseau*, heraldic Fr. *fusil* (med.L. *fusus*, a spindle). *N. E. D.* does not give this form (see under *Fusil*).

99. 17. For an account of this etymology, see Liddell and Scott, s. v. *ροπαίς*.

100. 9-11. Yet the name is not always used in this sense. Cf. Watson, supra, note to Chap. xii (p. 95).

102. 31. *bonch*, bunch, protuberance. Not to be confounded with *bonche* (printed *bonche* in text, supra, p. 58, l. 14).



105. 23. *Liricks*, *Lyrists*, u. s.

106. 16. The Italian *Impresa* was either the emblem or device which was accompanied by a motto, or (later) the motto or saw itself. (See, for example, the fifth dialogue, *Delle Imprese*, of Guazzo's *Dialoghi piaceuoli*.) The fashion had already begun in English literature, but it was during the next century that it reached its height. See Daniel's *Worthy Tract of Paulus Ionius, contayning a Discourse of rare inuentions, both Militarie and Amorous, called Imprese* (1585), and especially the *Preface and Epistles* (reprinted by Grosart, *Daniel*, IV). There Daniel discusses 'the difference of *Emblemes* and *Impreses*,' and defines thus, '*Symbolum est genus, Emblema species*.' See also the *Discourse on Impresas* (and correspondence) in the 1711 edition of the Works of Drummond of Hawthornden, where, at p. 228, we have this distinction made: 'Though *Emblems* and *Impresa's* sometimes seem like other, . . . the words of the *Emblem* are only placed to declare the figures of the *Emblem*; whereas, in an *Impresa*, the figures express and illustrate the one part of the author's intention, the word the other.'

109. 2. *Porkespick*, porcupine.

3. *Purpentine*s, porcupines.

110. 28. *coillen*, cullion, base fellow, rascal.

113. 6, &c. Puttenham borrows the stories of the anagrams of Ptolemy, Arsinoe, François de Valois, and Henri de Valois, direct from Du Bellay's *Defense*, Chap. viii.

114. 1. Cf. the anagram Rosalind, referred to by 'E. K.', *supra*, i. p. 375.

115. 13, &c. Sir John Davies has twenty-six acrostics on *Elizabetha Regina*.

116. 27. *peason*, peas (M.E. plur. *pesen*).

117. 8. *our vulgar Saxon English*. *Supra*, p. 87, l. 5, note.

9. *monosillable*, &c. *Supra*, p. 80, l. 18, note.

17-19. Stanyhurst. Cf. p. 178, ll. 28-31, note.

119. 16. *geazon*, 'rare,' 'scarce,' a common Elizabethan word. Cf. Puttenham, 'The good is geazon, and short is his abode' (ed. Arber, p. 222); Lyly, *Euphues*, p. 21 (ed. Landmann); Spenser, *F. Q.* vi. p. 4, l. 37; and Greene's *Philomela's Second Ode*, ed. Dyce, ii. p. 302. Cotgrave gives it as a translation of Fr. *rare*.



120. 23. *the rule of position*. Cf. Webbe, *supra*, i. p. 273 l. 15 and note to i. p. 121, l. 4.

121. 15. *our old Saxon English: as our Modern English*. See p. 117, l. 8, note.

122. 12. *Plot, plan, outline, scheme*. Cf. p. 191, l. 6. See 'The Platt' of Tarlton's *Seven Deadly Sins*, transcribed in Halliwell's *Introduction to Tarlton's Jests*, p. xxiv. Cf. *plot*, and *playes* as in 1 Henry VI, ii. l. 77.

13-15. Cf. p. 117, ll. 17-19.

34, &c. *By production in the first Partes*. Cf. i. p. 103, ll. 6-10, note.

127. 26-7. See Nott's edition of Wyatt and Surrey, ii. p. 9.

128. 1. *Ibid.* i. p. 5.

3. *Ibid.* i. p. 26.

130. 16-17. Horace, *Art Poet.* 71-2. Puttenham repeats his reading of *uis* for *ius* in his quotation and translation on p. 153. Cf. p. 367, l. 8.

21. Nott, *u. s.*, i. p. 45.

131. 23. *the first reformers*. See p. 63, l. 2.

132. 30. *smatch*. Cf. p. 158, l. 20.

134-5. Chap. xvii. This chapter is discussed in Van Den and Stoffel's section on 'The Dogma of the extra Syllables' in *Chapters on English Printing, Prosody, and Pronunciation* (1550-1700), Heidelberg, 1902.

134. 26-9. Nott, *u. s.*, ii. p. 13.

137. 21. *Ib.* ii. 17.

139. 23. See p. 142 et seq.

28. *Ginecocratia*. This 'Comedie,' of which Puttenham gives an account (pp. 139-41), is not extant.

140-1. For the common pun on *Weemen*, cf. Gascoigne,  *Steele Glas* (Arber, p. 83); Breton, *Praise of Vertuous Ladies and Gentlemen* (1599); Barnfield, *The Combat betwene Conscience and Cove'ousnesse* (Grosart, p. 183); the verses from Robert Jones's *First Book of Songs and Aires*, 1601 (Bullen, *Lyrics*, p. 136); and Peele's *Edward I* (Bullen, i. p. 167).

143. 10. 'of' may be a misprint for 'or.'

10-26. 'Decorum.' See Introduction, p. xli, and Index.

144. 5. *Quemes*. See *supra*, p. 63, l. 18, note.

6. *Knight of Yorkshire*, &c. This appears to be an error.





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At *Oratorum* viii. *viuic*: Dionys. Hal. *De Compus. Verb.*, ed. *Reiske*, p. 102. *compic*: Arist. *Rhet.* iii. 6; Demetrius, *De Eloc.* passim. Dionys. Hal., *Ad Pomp.* iii. *uideru*: Demetrius, *De Eloc.* passim. *apud*: Longinus, *De Sublim.* xiv. 1; cf. *Arist. Rhet.* iiii. 8, *Rhet.* iii. 2; Dionys. Hal. *De Melanchol.* *Rhet.* (1921) p. 37. *uideru*: Longinus, xii. 1, &c.

161. 25. *pro* fitting suitable.

162. 2. *in* *concordant* Cf. *Fate Smilitud.*, p. 169, l. 22.

163. 2. *in* *concordant*. *Infra*, p. 180, l. 33, note.

3. *Exergis*. *Supra*, p. 181, ll. 9-12, note.

164. The complete text of Chapters xi-xxii, here given in *quodam* will be found in *Blackwood's* edition, pp. 134-218, and *Arber's* pp. 173, &c.

165. 25. *Supra*, p. 181.

26. *Arber's* *Arber's*. See *Schmidt's* *Topographia*, ii (ed. *Clare*), ii. 20.

166. 2. 20.

167. 12-13. Cf. *James VI*, *supra*, i. p. 209; *Du Bellay*, *Defense*, ii. 9.

25. *Frumpe*, *tant*, *flur*. It is thus described by *Puttenham*: "as he that said to one whose wordes he beleued not, "no doubt, Sir, of that." This fleeing frumpe is one of the Courty graces of *Hicbe the sower*' (*Arber*, p. 201). It is not uncommon in contemporary writings. Cf. *Explics* (ed. *Landmann*), pp. 68, 86; *Greene*, *James IV*, ii, 'a frown, a scoff, a frump.'

33. *Amplius*. Cf. *A. P. P.*, i. p. 35.

35. *Anaplois*. *Watson* in his *Deuoplois* (*Spenser Soc.*, p. 55) gives a metrical example 'framed vpon a somewhat tedious or too much affected continuation of that figure in Rhetorique, whiche of the Greekes is called *καταλογία* or *διολογία*, of the Latines, *Resplendia*.'

170. 33. In the first copies, at the close of the section 'Of Paradigma,' *Puttenham* speaks disrespectfully of the Flemings ('a people very vnthankfull and mutable'), but in other copies a passage is substituted on the propriety of the English *Queen's* helping the Low Countries and rescuing them from Spanish seruitude.' See *Mr. Arber's* edition, pp. 252-3.

36. 'Exergis or the Gorgious,' in the text of Chap. xx.

37. *Philocalia*. This unknown work is again referred to *Puttenham* in Book III: 'a worke of ours entituled *Philo*



*Calia*, where we entreat of the loues betwene prince *Philo* and Lady *Calia*, in their mutual letters, messages, and speeches' (see Arber, p. 256).

171. 24, &c. The writer referred to is John Southern, who published (before Constable) a volume of sonnets to his mistress Diana (*The Musyque of the Beautie of his Mistresse Diana*, 1584). See the account of this rare volume in *D. N. B.* In *N. E. D.* 'Egar' is quoted from Southern's *Pandora*. The quotations containing the words disliked by Puttenham will be found in Haslewood, p. 211, and Arber, p. 260.

172. 10-40. Cf. James VI, supra; Du Bellay, *Defense*, ii. 9.

173. Chap. xxiii. 'Of Decorum.' See infra, p. 181, l. 20.

22. *confuse*. Cf. p. 77, l. 10.

23. Text, *liminous*.

174. 3. *Saxon English*. Supra, p. 87, l. 5, &c.

5-6. *comelynesse . . . comming*. See *N. E. D.* (s.v. 'comely'), to which this passage should be added.

21. *Analogie*. See p. 162, l. 4.

177. 5, 6. *th'Emperor Anthonine . . . Orator Philiseus*. The original reads *Philiscus*. The story is found in Philostratus, *Vitae Sophistarum*, ii. 30. 'Anthonine' is the Emperor Caracalla.

32-5. Cf. supra, p. 157, l. 1 et seq.

178. 9. A reference to Stanyhurst's line (*Aen.* i. 7)—

'Lyke wandring pilgrim too famosed Italie trudging.'

Cf. line 26.

28-31.

'tot volvere casus

Insignem pietate virum, tot adire labores

Impulerit.'

(*Aen.* i. 13-15.)

The translation would appear to be a recollection of Stanyhurst's (l. 16)—

'Wyth sharp sundrye perils too tugge so famus a captayne,' though the words 'the same translator' (l. 28) refer naturally to 'another' (l. 13).

179. 6. This may be Heywood's: but I have failed to find it.

181. Chap. xxiv. Cf. Ascham, supra, i. pp. 1-2, &c.; Lyly's *Euphues*, passim; Spenser, *Faerie Queene* ('Letter'), &c.

20. *our booke de Decoro*. This is not extant.



183. 30. *alo Turquesque*. Cf. Spenser, *M. Hubb. Tale*, l. 677. Cf. the whole description with that in Spenser, *ibid.* ll. 208 et seq.

184. 16. *baines*, baths.

185. 9. *Pasquil wrote*. See *supra*, ii. p. 56, l. 29, note.

186. 18. *sit on his skirts*. Cf.—

'Crosse me not Liza, neither be so perte,  
For if thou dost, I'll sit upon thy skerte.

Tarlton cutt off all his skirts, because none should sit upon them.'

(Quoted in Halliwell's *Tarlton's Jests*, xxxii, from *The Abortive of an Idle Houre*, 1620.) Cf. the phrase in i. p. 124, l. 34.

21. *podestates* (Ital. *podestà*).

187. 21 et seq. *arte and nature*. Cf. James VI, *supra*, i. p. 210, l. 221.

30. *stale*, urine.

190. 10. *brimly*, clearly, distinctly.

191. 6. *plat or subiect*. See p. 122, l. 12, note.

192. 19. *Plato . . . Aniceris*. The story comes from Aelian, *Varia Historia*, ii. 27.

### HARINGTON (pp. 194-222).

194. 1-6. *Σοφιστοῦ δὲ μέλλοντος ἀναγνώσκειν ἐγκόμιον Ἑρακλίου, εἶφη Τίς γὰρ αὐτὸν ψέγει;*—Plut. *Απορήθηγματι*, 192 C.

10. *Apologie*. See head-note, i. 149. Harington borrows much from Sidney, and directly refers to his *Apologie* (p. 196, l. 27).

*the verie nurse*. See Sidney, i. p. 151, l. 17, note.

195. 30. *Alexanders, Cæsars, Scipios*. So Sidney, i. p. 192, l. 21.

196. 15, &c. A reference to Puttenham's *Arte of English Poetrie*, *supra*. See note to ii. p. 1.

*the name of a Maker*: a reference to Puttenham's opening words, ii. p. 3. But see Sidney, i. p. 155, l. 26, note, &c.

19. *Zenophon*. Cf. note to p. 43, l. 4, *supra*.

27. *Sidneys Apologie*. See i. 148 et seq. It must be remembered that Sidney's Essay was as yet unprinted.

197. 1-2. See the note to ii. p. 1.





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29. Martial, iv. 49. 10.

31. Martial, xi. 16.

210. 11. *Scaliger writeth of Virgill: in the Poetice, passim.*

15. This tragedy of Richard III is not the pre-Shakespearean *True Tragedie of Richard the Third* (which Mr. Fleay dates as early as 1587), but Thomas Legge's Latin tragedy, played at St. John's College, Cambridge, in 1579, and imitated by Henry Lacey in his Trinity College play (1586). The text is printed by the Shakespeare Society (1844). See Meres, *infra*, p. 319, l. 33, note.

16. *Phalaris*. See i. p. 170, l. 33.

23. *Pedantius*, a Latin comedy, acted in Trinity College, Cambridge, is ascribed by Nash, in *Strange Newes*, to 'M. Wingfield.' It was printed in 1631 (Halliwell). *Bellum Grammaticale, sive Nominum Verborumque Discordia Civilis*, by Spense, was played before Elizabeth in Christ Church, Oxford, on September 24, 1592. See the descriptive note in Mr. Ward's *Hist. of Dram. Lit.* iii. 187. It was printed in 1635.

25. *the play of the Cards*. This play does not appear to have been identified.

30. *In the margin* 'Sir Francis Walsingham.' He died in 1590.

211. 22-4. This is mentioned in Ruscelli's *Commentary* (edition of 1568).

25-6. C. xlvi, st. 140.

28. *prayeth*: a misprint for *prayseth*.

212. 5-6, & See the verses of Augustus Caesar in the *Sotolastica in Virgilium*, referred to *supra* (ii. p. 23, l. 23, note).

10. See p. 210, l. 11.

12-16. *Inferno*, l.

32-3. C. xiv, st. 69.

213. 3. C. xvii, st. 1.

214. 34. *Aen.* viii. 387.

215. 4. *Aen.* viii. 404.

216. 17-18. Cf. Minturno, when speaking of the 'period' of *Scenica Poesia*: 'E chi ben mirerà nell' opere de' più pregiati authori antichi trouerà che la materia delle cose addutte in scena in un dì si termina, ò non trapassa lo spatio di duo giorni. Si come dell' *Epica* più grande, e più lunga s' è detto, che non sia più d'uno anno' (*L'Arte Poet.* p. 71).



18 et seq. Harington here appears to be acquainted with Minturno, *De Poeta*, p. 125 et seq. His definition of *Peripeteia* (περιπέτεια: Aristotle, *Poet.* xi. 1; *Rhet.* i. 11. 24) is based directly on the paragraphs there dealing with 'euentus inopinatus,' and 'Agnitio' (pp. 126-7), a reference which supplements Mr. Butcher's note on περιπέτεια in *Aristotle's Theory of Poetry and Fine Art*, third edition, pp. 323-4. See also Bucer, *Scripta Anglicana*, 1577 (c. liv, 'De honestis ludis'), and Hein-sius, *De Tragædiæ Constitutione*, chaps. vi and vii.

218. 2. Plut. ii. 40 F, &c.

18-19. Cf. Nash's epithet 'comique,' i. p. 313, l. 11.

219. 7. *the first refiners*. Cf. ii. p. 63, l. 2, note.

10. *Bartholomew Clarke* (? 1537-90). See *D. N. B.* (Clerke, B.). His Latin translation of the *Courtier* appeared in 1571.

219. 21. Cf. Heywood, *Proverbes* (Spenser Soc., p. 61):—

'But many a man speaketh of Robyn hood  
That neuer shot in his bowe.'

See Sidney, *supra*, i. p. 184, l. 5.

22. *correct Magnificat*. See note to i. p. 117, l. 18.

220. 24. 'Samuel Flemming of kings colledge in Cambridge' (*Marginal note*). Cf. note to i. p. 244, l. 5.

221. 27. *supererogation*, a word much in vogue at this time. Cf. Harvey's book (1593), *infra*, p. 245 and note.

222. 26. *triple*, i.e. I. (An apology for Poetry), to p. 211, l. 5; II. (In praise of Ariosto), p. 211, l. 6 to p. 217, l. 23; III. (An answer to Critics), p. 217, l. 24 to end.

32. *that a Potter did to Ariosto*. Marginal note, 'In the life of Ariosto.' I cannot trace this story.

### NASH (pp. 223-8).

For an account of the different issues of *Astrophel and Stella* in 1591, see Flügel's edition of *Sir Philip Sidney's Astrophel and Stella* (Halle, 1889), pp. lxxiv-lxxv. See also Grosart's reprint of *Nashe's Works*, i. pp. xxxix-xlv.

223. 1-10. Probably a reference by Nash *more suo* to some recent play: but the identification is not easy. Can it be to Lyly's *Mydas* (printed in 1592)? See note to p. 226, ll. 28-9.

224. 16. *casks*, caskets. Cf. Shakes., 2 Hen. VI, iii. 2. 409.



23. Sidney died in 1586.

31. *absurditie*, a favourite word with Nash. Cf. his *Anatomic of Absurditie*, ante, i. p. 321.

225. 33. Mary Sidney, Countess of Pembroke (? 1555-1621). *eloquent secretary to the Muses*. Cf. p. 264, l. 35. The phrase is common. Cf. Daniel (ed. Grosart, iv. 7), who speaks of Pliny and others as the 'Secretaries of nature.'

226. 22. *Almond leape verse*. (Almond = Almain, i.e. German.) See Cotgrave, s. v. *Saut*, 'Trois pas & un saut, The Almonde Leape.' Cf. Jonson, *The Devil is an Ass*, i. 1. 104.

28-9. Is this a double reference to (a) the Euphuistic vocabulary generally (see supra, i. p. 202, l. 34, note), and (b) to Lyly's *Mydas* (especially Act i. Sc. 1)? With this and the passage referred to in the next note compare Nash's lines on p. 243, ll. 10-12.

31, &c. Is this a covert allusion to the Reformed versifying or so-called classical Prosody? See previous note.

227. 5. *Cornish diamonds*: crystals found in Cornish quartz; stones of inferior quality. Cf. Fuller's *Worthies*, 1662, p. 126.

8-9. *upseuant muffe, after the Muscovy fashon*. This is a puzzling phrase; but the sense is helped by reference to the copy of the print of Sigismund I of Poland in Mr. Morfill's *Poland* ('Stories of the Nations'), where Sigismund is wearing a fur cap with turned-up points, which looks just like a muff. This was the Russian and Polish cap, called 'Yermolka.' (I am indebted to Mr. Morfill, through Mr. Doble, for this reference.) *Upseuant* is not clear, though it recalls Jonson's *upsee*. Can it be a misprint for 'upslaunt'? (cf. p. 183, l. 29) or 'up-flaunt' (cf. p. 253, l. 31, note, and *N. E. D.* s. v. 'Flaunt')? Breton refers to the 'muff' in his *Pasquills Fooles-cap* (Grosart, i. 'f.', p. 24).

'Hee that puts fiteene elles into a Puffe,  
And seauenteene yards into a swagg'ring slappe [? flappe]:  
And twentie thousand Crownes into a Muffe,  
And halfe his land into a hunting Cappe.'

9. *Capcase*, portmanteau, or, generally, any box or receptacle. Harvey in *Pierces Supererogation* (ed. Brydges, p. 149) speaks of the 'Capcase of Strange News' in association with 'an old urinal case.'





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231. 3. *greene*, a punning allusion to Robert Greene.

5. *father of misbegotten Infortunatus*. Is this a reference to: (1) Greene's own penitential writings, in which, as Harvey repeatedly reminds his opponent in the *Third Letter*, he laments his ill-fortune ('Remember thine owne Marginal Embleme, *Fortuna favel fatuis*,' and again, 'Yet who euer hearde me complaine of ill-luck, or 'once say *Fortune my Foe*'); or (2) Harvey's adversary Nash, whose first literary effort, the Preface to Greene's *Menaphon* (supra, i. 307), was written by Greene's request? Though Harvey, further over, speaks of Nash as Greene's 'sworne brother,' yet Nash's retort (p. 243, l. 19) to another gibe (see note to p. 241, l. 21) lends some support to the latter interpretation.

29. *Gui:ciardines siluer Historie*. Cf. note to i. p. 107.

*Ariosto*. See Harington, ii. p. 194 et seq.

32. *queasie*. See i. p. 66, l. 24, note.

232. 6. *Pierce Pennie-lesse*, i.e. Nash, author of *Pierce Pennie-lesse his Supplication to the Diuell* (1592). See l. 13.

9. i.e. *Greene*. See Meres, infra, p. 324, ll. 19-22.

19. *Tarleton*. See ii. p. 122, l. 12, note. His play of the *Seven Deadly Sins* is described by Collier from the original 'plat' in the library of Dulwich College (*History of the Stage*, iii. 394; reprinted in Halliwell's *Tarlton's Jestes*, pp. xxxv-xxxviii).

29. *Doctor Perne's religion*. Andrew Perne (? 1519-89), dean of Ely and vice-chancellor of Cambridge, whose time-serving brought him the nicknames of 'old Andrew Turncoat,' 'Father Palinode,' and 'Andro Ambo,' and supplied his contemporaries with the verb 'perne,' i.e. 'to turn coat.' Harvey in this letter complains of him as a man who 'flattered' and 'overthwarted' him and 'alwaies plaid fast and loose'; and he speaks of 'a naturall Perne artificially emproued.' Perne is praised by Bishop Kennet. (See the extracts in Brydges's *Archaica*, II, 'Advertisement.')

233. 9-10. Mantuan, *Eclogae*, i. 1—

'Fauste, precor, gelida quando pecus omne sub umbra  
Ruminat, antiquos paulum recitemus amores.'

See *Love's Labour's Lost*, iv. 2. 89, where Holofernes quotes the line. The early editions of Mantuan are 'deepelic learned'



in notes: e.g., in the 1546 edition, the 'annotatiunculae' on this phrase run to three quarters of a page.

234. 9. *Aretimish*, a favourite gibe with Harvey.

21. *Gnomes*, γνῶμαι, maxims, sayings: not 'Tomes,' as Ingleby suggests (*Shakspeare Allusion-Books*, i. 36). Cf. p. 170, l. 23.

28. Watson died before the year (1592) was out.

Is the entry of Nash's name here a slip on the part of Harvey, or (more likely) a would-be compliment to add point to the retort? See also p. 249, ll. 20-1 (note).

235. 24, &c. *Experience*. Cf. supra, i. p. 102, l. 13, ii. p. 283, l. 33, and passim in Harvey.

236. 27. *Rodolph Agricola* (1443-85). See the letter quoted in Hallam's *Literary History*, i. 210.

28. *Ludouike Viues*. Supra, i. App. p. 342, l. 11, note, &c.

*Peter Ramus*. See i. p. 309, l. 11, note, and ii. p. 245, l. 6, note.

237. 7. On Regiomontanus (or Müller) and Jerome Cardan, see Hallam's *Literary History*, i. 190, 458-9.

*Bacon*, Roger (? 1214-94).

24. After the Alexandrian critic Neoptolemus of Parium.

238. 25. Jewel, John (1522-71), Bishop of Salisbury. See p. 247, l. 32, and p. 281, l. 22, note.

Thomas Harding (1516-72), theologian, in controversy with Jewel. He is not to be confused with the chronicler, p. 62, l. 26, p. 314, l. 24.

John Whitgift (? 1530-1604), Archbishop of Canterbury.

Thomas Cartwright (1535-1603), Puritan controversialist.

31. *Oh-is* 'oyez.'

*Nouerint*, &c. See i. p. 311, l. 33, note.

### NASH (pp. 239-44).

239. 7. *Coppinger and Arthington* were fellow fanatics with William Hacket (*d.* 1591). Their mission of preparation for the Messiah developed into a plot to dethrone Elizabeth and to abolish episcopacy. They were tried after a riot in Cheapside, to which Nash here refers. Edmund Coppinger died in prison in 1592. Bishop Cosin or Cosins (see p. 281, l. 2) wrote *The Conspiracy for Pretended Reformation, viz. Presbyterial Disciplin*



by Hachel, Coppinger, and Arthington: with . . . the life . . . the arraignment and execution of Hachel (1592).

10-12. This is explained by a passage in the previous letter (not printed in this volume): 'And that was all the Fleeting (see p. 231, l. 10) that ever I felt: sauing that an other company of speciall good fellowes . . . would needs forsooth verye courtly perswade the Earl of Oxforde that some thing in those Letters, and namely the Mirroure of Tuscanismo, was palpably intended against him: whose noble Lordship I protest I neuer meante to dishonour with the least preiudiciall word of my Tongue or pen, &c.' See supra, i. pp. 107-8, and note.

13. See p. 230, l. 10 et seq.

17. *Howliglasse* (Owl-glass): an uncomplimentary association with 'Tyl Eulenspiegel,' whose adventures had been printed in English, by W. Copland, in ? 1528 and ? 1530. Cf. p. 272, l. 29.

240. 19-20. The literary figure of 'velvet' and 'cloth' was used *ad nauseam* by the Martinists and their contemporaries. Cf. the sub-title of Greene's *Quip for an Upstart Courtier*—'a Quaint Dispute between Veluet breeches and cloth-breeches.'

23. *Gilgilis Hobberdehoy*, i. e. Gabriel Harvey, for whom Nash has many names. Cf. *Gabriel Hangtelow*, *Gregory Habberdine*, &c.

28. *praised by Gabriel*. See p. 234, l. 27, and Harvey's letters in vol. i.

31. *Maister Butler*. Is this the eccentric physician, William Butler (1535-1618)? See *D. N. B.*

33. *Fleeting*. See p. 231, l. 10.

241. 4-7. A parody on Stanyhurst. See p. i. 316, l. 5, note. The sting is in the tail, for Harvey's attitude to rhyme was a commonplace.

9, &c. The verses, twelve in number, will be found in Harvey's *Third Letter*. The first is—

'Where shud I find, that I seeke, A person cleere as a Christal?'

To these Harvey adds, 'And so foorth: for the verse is not vnknown: and runneth in one of those vnsatyricall Satyres, which Mr. *Spencer* long since embraced with an overloouing Sonnet: A token of his Affection, not a Testimony of hys Iudgement.' Nash seldom fails to attack Harvey's claim to





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Ioannes Ludovicus Viues. Supra, ii. p. 236, l. 28, note. He published a summary of the *Nicomachean Ethics* in 1540.

Ramus (La Ramée). Supra, p. 236, l. 28, note. His *Animadversiones Aristotelicae* appeared in 1548, but Harvey is probably referring to his famous Logic (see i. p. 423), in which he is at variance with the Aristotelian view in the *Organon*. Harvey was an enthusiastic admirer of Ramus: see his *Rhetor* (1577), Sigs. E, E<sub>1</sub>, H<sub>1</sub>, &c., and his *Ciceronianus* (1577), 29, &c. He was probably influenced by the Ramist enthusiasm of William Temple. (See note to i. p. 309, l. 11.)

9. Perionius, Joachimus. See supra, i. p. 18, l. 29, note.

Gallandius, Petrus, author of *Contra novam Academiam P. Rami Oratio* (Paris, 1551).

Carpentarius, Jacobus (Claromontanus Bellovacus). His *Descriptio universae artis differendi ex Aristotelis logico organo collecta & in libros tres distincta* appeared at Paris in 1562, 1564. See note on Ossatus, infra.

10. Sceggius, i.e. Jacobus Schegkius (Deginus) the elder (1511–87), Aristotelian commentator.

Lieblerus, Georgius, author of an *Epitome philosophiae naturalis ex Aristotelis libris excerpta* (1561, &c.).

12. Talaeus, Audomarus, commentator. He associated himself with Ramus in several works, e.g. in the latter's *Dialecticae libri duo* (supra, i. p. 280, l. 33, note). Ascham mentions them together (*Scholemaster* ed. Mayor, pp. 101, 102).

Ossatus, i.e. Cardinal Arnaud d'Ossat. Harvey refers to his *Expositio in Disputationem Iacobi Carpentarii de Methodo*, Frankfurt, 1583.

Freigius, Ioannes Thomas, author of *Rami praelectiones in Ciceronis orationes*, 1575. He edited Ramus's *Ciceronianus* in 1577.

Minos, i.e. Claude Mignault, editor of Cicero.

Rodingus, apparently an error for Rhodiginus (Lodovico Celio Rodigino, otherwise Ludovicus Coelius Richerius), commentator on Cicero. A certain Gulielmus Rodingus published two orations at Heidelberg in 1576, 1577; but it is unlikely that he is intended.

246. 1. Scribonius, Gulielmus Adolphus, author of the *Triumphus Logicae Rameae*, 2nd edit., Lond. 1583.



19. Agrippa. *Supra*, p. 199, l. 27, note.

22. Copernicus, Nicolas (1473-1543), astronomer.

23. Cardan. *Supra*, p. 429. See p. 435.

Paracelsus. See note, *supra*, i. p. 50, l. 21.

24. Erastus. See p. 248, ll. 9, 10, note.

Sigonius (Carlo Sigonio). See i. p. 25, l. 13, note.

Cuiacius, Jacobus, jurist. See p. 291, l. 31.

*a bable*. Cf. note, *supra*, i. p. 375.

247. 32. *Harding and Jewell*, u. s., p. 238, l. 25.

248. 5-13. Cardinal Jacopo Sadoletto (1477-1547). See Ascham's judgment on Sadolet, Omphalius, and Osorius in *the Scholemaster*, ed. Mayor, p. 110.

Longolius (cf. i. p. 13, l. 17, note). He is the author of *Oratio . . . ad Luterianos iam damnatos* (1524, 1529).

Omphalius, Jacobus (d. 1570). He was a Professor at Cologne, and was best known by his commentaries on *Cicero*.

Osorius, i. e. Jeronimo Osorio da Fonseca, Bishop of Silves. See note on Haddon, *infra*. He is frequently referred to by Harvey in his *Ciceronianus* and *Rhetor*. See Ascham's *Scholemaster* (ed. Mayor, pp. 129, 238-9, 271).

Sturmius. Cf. i. p. 9, l. 32, note.

Haddon (cf. i. p. 21, l. 31). Harvey refers to the book *Matheri Haddoni pro Reformatione Anglicana epistola apologetica ad Hier. Osorium* (1562), a reply to Osorius's Latin book which was Englished by R. Shacklock in 1565. See note on Osorius, *supra*.

Balduin, François, who wrote more than one *Responsio* to Calvin and a *Responsio ad Calvinum et Besam*, Cologne, 1564.

Erastus (see p. 246, l. 19, note), i. e. Thomas Lieber (1523-1583), a physician of Heidelberg, who adopted the name *Erastus* at Basle in 1540. He was opposed to the study of astrology and to the doctrines of the Paracelsians (*supra*, p. 50, l. 21), and denied the penal right of the Church. Hence the term 'Erastian.'

Trauers, Walter (? 1548-1635), puritan divine, and friend of *ezra*.

Sutcliff, Matthew (? 1550-1629), dean of Exeter and anti-Catholic controversialist.

Bellarmino, the famous Jesuit controversialist.



**Whitaker, William** (1548-95), Master of St. John's College, Cambridge, and Regius Professor of Divinity.

**Burton, Richard** (1514-1610), Archbishop of Canterbury.

14. *the Precisions, the Puritans*. The term was much in vogue. Cf. Marlowe, *Dr. Faustus*, sc. ii. 26, and the passage in the *Jew of Malta*, i. 2. See also Sir Thomas Overbury's 'character' *A Precision*.

20. *meecole*, an effeminate: a favourite term at this time synonymous with 'millesop,' and often associated with it. Cf. *Euphues* (ed. Landmann, &c.), 'I shall be accounted a Meecole a Millesoppe': and Lodge's *Diurnal* (Shakes. Soc. 51), 'The wisest by lewde love are made foolish, the mightiest by hate are become effeminate, the stoutest monarches to miserable meecoles.'

*Papp-hatchet*, John Lyly, to whom the anonymous *Papp mil's or hatchet* (1589), is generally given. See *infra*, p. 264, and the travestied title-page, p. 270.

28-9. See headnote, *supra*, p. 238, and p. 239.

249. 15. *Sir Iohn Cicche*. See i. p. 9, l. 30 note, &c.

20-1. Did Harvey not know the identity of Pierce and Nash, or did he affect ignorance? See a like case, *supra*, p. 234, l. 28, note.

250. 5. *nippilishy* (cf. p. 252, l. 7), strong liquor. Halliwell gives the form *nippilisho*, 'a cant term,' 'chiefly applied to ale.'

II. *Tuscanisme*. See *supra*, i. p. 107, l. 19, and note. *In grain*, thorough, downright, ineradicable.

22-3. See headnotes, pp. 239, 245.

251. 20. *Ciceronian*, not necessarily in the stricter sense derived from the Ciceronian controversy of the sixteenth century, but in the general sense of 'scholarly person' as opposed to a writer or reader of the intellectual level of Scogan, the court fool.

22. *Conny-catcher*, cheat, swindler (lit. one who catches conies, dupes); a side thrust at Greene's pamphlets on *Conny-catching* (three parts, 1591, 1591, 1592), and the *Disputation betweene a Hee Conny Catcher and Shee Conny catcher* (1592).





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*De Historia Commentarius*, Venice, 1568, and of a *Poetica*, explaining Aristotle's Poetics (Vienna, 1585, Padua, 1591).

28. *Calepine*, dictionary, so called from Friar Ambrosio Calepino (of Calepio), 1435-1511, whose Latin Dictionary, which first appeared in 1502, was of great account during the sixteenth century, and was the basis of the not less famous Lexicon of Forcellini. Calepino's plan to give the meaning of the Latin words in more than one European tongue was rapidly developed in succeeding editions, till in the Basle edition of 1581 (to which Harvey probably refers) the dictionary had become a polyglot of no less than eleven languages. See Hallam, *Lit. Hist.* i. 258.

32-3. The full title of *Petrus Gregorius's* work is *Synlagma Juris universi atque Legum pene omnium gentium et rerum publicarum praecipuarum in tres partes digestum*.

258. 33. *filthy Rymes*. Cf. p. 261, ll. 16-17.

259. 8. *horrel-lorrel*, a reduplication of *lorrel*, a worthless fellow. 14, &c. Cf. Harvey, *supra*, i. p. 106.

30. *an Inglish Petrarck*, i.e. Spenser. Cf. Clerke, in his *Polimanteia* (1595), 'Let other countries, sweet Cambridge, envy, yet admire . . . thy Petrarch, sweet Spenser.'

260. 16. Manardus, Joannes (1462-1536), author of several medical works.

17. Pomponatius (Pietro Pomponazzi, nicknamed Peretto), 1462-? 1526, who stirred up controversy by his *De Immortalitate Animae*.

261. 18, &c. Cf. p. 253, l. 5, et seq. For Elderton, see i. p. 125, l. 28, note; Turberuile, i. p. 244, ll. 11-12, note; Drant, i. p. 99, l. 13, note; Tarlton, ii. p. 232, l. 19, note. Tarlton was notorious for his extempore rhyming as well as his jigs. Harvey elsewhere speaks of Greene's 'piperly extemporizing and Tarletonizing.'

22-3. A happy sentiment, but fuller in meaning to us than it can have been to Harvey and his contemporaries.

25-31. See note to i. p. 58, l. 5.

262. 2. *in one volume*, i. e. the first edition of 1589.

15. William Borough (1536-99). See *D. N. B.*

17. Robert Norman, mathematical instrument maker. See *D. N. B.*



33. Sir Roger Williams (? 1540-95). His *Brief Discourse of War* appeared in 1590.

34. Thomas Digges (*d.* 1595), mathematician, muster-master-general of the English troops in the Netherlands in 1586.

263. 8. John Asteley (*d.* 1595), master of the Queen's jewel-house, published his *Art of Riding* in 1584. He is one of the dinner-party described in the Preface to Ascham's *Schoolmaster*.

9. Pietro Bizzaro. See Tiraboschi, vii. 1468.

12. Thomas Blundevil, author of *The fower chiefyst offices belonging to Horsemanshippe* (1565-6) and other works.

16. *Musidorus and Pyrocles*, in Sidney's *Arcadia*. See p. 264.

20-1. Probably a reference to Painter's popular *Palace of Pleasure* (1st vol. 1566), and to the translation of *The Courtier* by Hoby (1561).

22. The *Arcadia* was first published in 1590.

34. Philip de Comines was not yet translated by Danett (1596). *Guicciardine*. See note, supra, i. p. 107, note.

264. 4. Read 'priuitie.'

35. *Secretary of Eloquence*. Cf. p. 225, l. 33.

265. 3. *Suada* (Πειθώ), the goddess of Persuasion.

7. James VI and I. Cf. i. p. 208 et seq. The *Uranie*, with Du Bartas's text, was printed in the *Essayes of a Prentise* (1584). James's volume of *Poeticall Exercises at vacant houres* (1591) contained a translation of the *Furies* of Du Bartas, 'his owne' *Lepanto*, and Du Bartas's version of the latter, *La Leparthe*.

266. 18. *weedes*. Gascoigne's *Posies* consists of four parts, *Flowers, Herbs, Weeds*, and the *Notes of Instruction* (i. p. 46).

21. *nippitatie*. Supra, p. 250, l. 5, note.

23. *the old pickle herring*. Supra, p. 232, l. 9, note.

30. A Euphuistic punning translation of *O tempora O mores*.

32. *Copesmate*, fellow (in the contemptuous sense).

267. 18-19. Can it be that *The Pilgrimage to Parnassus* makes fun of these lines in its fourth act (l. 405)?

268. 16, &c. *Pap-hatchet*. Supra, p. 248, l. 20.

269. 5. *courtly holly-water*. Cf. *King Lear*, iii. 2. 10.

20. *alla Sanoica*. See p. 268, l. 18; p. 271, l. 32.



21. *Albertus Magnus*. Cf. p. 273, l. 14.

24, &c. *stones . . . Fowles . . . beastes and fishes*. See note to i. p. 202, l. 33; and to p. 322, l. 28.

30. *olde Accursius*; probably the Glossator of Justinian, rather than M. Ang. Accorso (Accursius), born ? 1490, philologist and editor of *Cassiodorus*. The former wrote in a rough style and had small reputation for knowledge of classical literature. He is credited with the saying: *Graecum est; non legitur*.

31. *Bartholus de Saxoferrato* (1313-56), jurist, whose quaint plainspoken style may have attracted Harvey in his legal studies. One of his works is entitled *Processus Satanæ contra Virginem coram iudice Iesu*. See infra, p. 460.

270. 1-2. Cf. Gosson and Lodge (i. p. 63, l. 5).

11. *Country Cuffe*, countercuff.

14. *John Anoke*, &c. See note, supra, i. p. 185, ll. 30-1.

271. 21. *bore . . . cushion*. See note to i. p. 140, l. 25.

272. 4. *hatchet*. See p. 268, l. 16 et seq.

6. *Orontius Finæus* (Oronce Finée), French mathematician, author of *Quadrans astrolabicus* (revised, 1534) and other works.

10. *mandillion*, a jacket or jerkin. 'The mandilion or mandevile was a kind of loose garment without sleeves, or, if with sleeves, having them hanging at the back' (Halliwell).

14. *Mammaday*. Cf. *The Courtier and the Countryman*, 1618 (Roxb. Libr.): 'Thy meat tastes all of mammaday pudding, which breaking at both ends, the stuffing runnes about the Pot.'

19. *Dranting*. See supra, i. p. 90, l. 13, note.

21. *John Securis*, i. e. John Lyly ('Pap-hatchet').

26. *Hundred merrie Tales*. See *A C. Mery Talys* in Hazlitt's *Shakespeare Jest-Books*.

29. *Howleglasse*. See supra, ii. p. 239, l. 17, note.

30-2. Harvey is indebted to the concluding paragraphs of Poggio's *Facetiae*, where the latter speaks of his story-telling friends 'in secretiori aula Martini papae.' He says, 'Visum est mihi eum quoque nostris confabulationibus locum adiicere.

quo plures earum, tanquam in scaena, recitatae sunt. Is est male nostrum, hoc est mendaciorum veluti officina quaedam, in a secretariis institutum, iocandi gratia. . . . Erat in eo inceptus fabulator Raçellus Bononiensis, cuius nonnulla in





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p. 113, Vahl.), 'O Tite, tute, Tati, tibi tanta, tyranne, tulisti,' given by Priscian, and copied and recopied in Renaissance Arts of Poetry. For example, it occurs twice in Buchler's recension of the *Institutio Poetica* of Jac. Pontanus, where it is described as something to be avoided ('cacophonus,' 'ridiculus,' 'insuavis,' &c.).

10. See the list of books in Rabelais, II. vii.

18. *filed Suada*, supra, p. 265, l. 3, note.

21. *Guevara*, Antonio de (d. 1545), author of the *Marco Aurelio* (1st ed. 1529), which was translated by Lord Berners in his *Golden Booke of Marcus Aurelius* (1532), and, in its revised form (*Libro del Emperador Marco Aurelio con el Relax de Principes*), by Sir Thomas North in his *Diall of Princes* (1557). His *Epistolas Familiares* was rendered in the *Familiar Epistles* of Edward Hellowes in 1574, and was supplemented in 1575 by Geoffrey Fenton's version of the *Golden Epistles*. Sir Francis Bryan gave the *Libro llamado Menosprecio del Corte* in his *Dispraise of the Life of a Courtier* (1548), reprinted as *A Looking Glasse for the Courte* (1575).

22. *Amiot*, Jacques Amyot (1513-93), translated the *Theagenes and Chariclea* of Heliodorus (1547, revised 1559), seven books of Diodorus Siculus (1554), Longus (1559), and Plutarch's *Lives* (1559) and *Morals* (1572). His translation of Plutarch's *Lives* was Englished by Sir Thomas North in 1579.

277. 3. *slaumpamp*. Cf. Stanyhurst's *Aeneid* (ed. Arber, p. 116):—

'Quod she, "shal hee scape thus? shal a stranger geue me the slampam?

With such departure my regal segnorye frumping?"'

33. *Leripup*, lit. the tail of an academic hood = 'rôle,' 'lesson.' See *N. E. D.*, s. v. *Liripipe*.

278. 16. *quaim*, qualm.

279. 3. *Hermes Trismegist*, supra, p. 22, l. 33.

4. *Danters Presse*. See p. 403, l. 28. John Danter printed in London between 1591 and 1597, and his widow in 1599 and 1600. He is introduced in the second part of the *Returne from Parnassus* (Act I. Sc. iii). Cf. *infra*, p. 466.

8. Thomas Delone or Deloney (? 1543-? 1607), silkweaver,



a notorious ballad-maker and pamphleteer. Nash calls him 'the balleting silk-weaver.'

Philip Stubbs or Stubbes, author of the *Anatomie of Abuses*. See supra, i. p. 63, and note to i. p. 321.

Robert Armin, actor and dramatist. (See *D. N. B.*) He had the honour of being known as the literary son and successor to Scogan.

22. Humfrey Cole (fl. 1575). See *D. N. B.*

23. John Shute (fl. 1560), author of *The First and Chief Groundes of Architecture* (1563). See *D. N. B.*

24. Robert Norman. Supra, p. 262, l. 17, note.

William Bourne. See note to p. 273, l. 1.

25. John Hester (d. 1593), distiller. See *D. N. B.*

280. a. Digges. Supra, p. 262, l. 34, note.

Hariot, Thomas (1560-1621). See *D. N. B.*

Dee; the famous John Dee (1527-1608), astrologer.

9-12. Cf. Meres's scheme of comparison, infra, p. 314 et seq.

15. *Floide*, i. e. Ludovic or Lewis Lloyd, author of *The Pilgrimage of Princes*, 1573, &c. (See *Brit. Mus. Catalogue*.) The forms 'Lloyd' and 'Floyd' are interchangeable. Cf. John F. or L., composer (d. 1523), and Sir Charles F. or L., royalist (d. 1661).

*Ritch*, i. e. Barnabe Rich (? 1540-? 1620), miscellaneous writer.

17. Kiffin, Maurice (d. 1599), author of *The Blessednes of Brytaine, or a Celebration of the Queenes Holyday*, 1587. He translated the *Andria* in 1588.

23. Cartwright, supra, p. 238, l. 25.

25. *Reinolds*. I have failed to identify him. The reference would appear to be too early for Henry Reynolds the translator of Tasso's *Aminta* and author of an essay on Poetry (1632), or for John Reynolds who published his *Epigrammata* in 1611. Can he be John Rainolds (1549-1607) who was in high repute for his Oxford lectures on Aristotle, and translated the Prophets for the 'Authorized Version'?

Stubbes, supra, p. 279, l. 8, note.

Mulcaster, Richard (? 1530-1611), supra, i. p. 336, l. 32, note.

26. Norton, Thomas (1532-84), supra, i. p. 398. Besides



collaborating in *Gorboduc*, he wrote a number of prose works, including a translation of Calvin's *Institutes*.

Lambert. Is this the antiquary William Lambarde (1531-1601), the historian of Kent?

Lord Henry Howarde (1540-1614), first Earl of Northampton, second son of Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey.

29-30. *the Resolution*. Is this the poem of which the first part, entitled *The Mirrour of Mans Miserie*, was printed by Edward Alde in 1584?

*Mary Magdalens funerall teares*, by Robert Southwell ('S. W.'). The first known edition is dated 1594.

31. *Scottes discovery of Witchcraft* (1584). See Reginald or Reynold Scott (? 1538-99), *D. N. B.*

Jean Bodine (b. 1530) wrote *De la Démonomanie des Sorciers* (Paris, 1580), which passed into many editions, and was translated into Latin (by Lotarius Philoponus, Basle, 1581), German, and Italian. Sidney deals with him not too kindly: 'You may read him and gather out of many words some matter' (*Correspondence*, ed. Pears, p. 199).

281. a. This *Apology*, written by Richard Cosin, or Cosins, Bishop of Durham, was printed in 1591. See note to ii. p. 239, l. 7.

11. *Doctour Hutton*. Brydges, in *Archaica*, ii. 233, identifies him with Leonard Hutton the antiquary (see *D. N. B.*), but the reference is rather to Matthew Hutton (1529-1606), a Cambridge man, Master of Pembroke Hall, raised to the Archbishopric of York in 1596.

*Doctour Young*, i.e. John Young (? 1534-1605), also Master of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, and afterwards Bishop of Rochester. He is the 'Roffy' of Spenser's *Shepherdes Calender*.

12. *Doctour Chaderton*, i.e. William Chaderton (? 1540-1608) of Pembroke College, Cambridge, Bishop of Chester, 1579-95, and afterwards of Lincoln.

*M. Curtes*, i.e. Richard Curteys (? 1532-82) of St. John's College, Cambridge, and Bishop of Chichester (1570).

13. *M. Wickam*, i.e. William Wickham (1539-95), Bishop of Lincoln, and afterwards (1595) Bishop of Winchester.

*M. Drant*. *Supra*, i. p. 90, l. 13, note.





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He was the father of John Fletcher, the dramatist, brother of Giles Fletcher, the elder, and uncle of Phineas Fletcher and Giles Fletcher, the younger.

282. 29. *Suada*, supra, p. 276, l. 18, note.

288. 7. *Endenisoned*. Cf. infra, p. 359, l. 29, note.

13. *Dia-margariton* or *Dia-ambre*, &c., cf. p. 273, l. 24 et seq. For the medical prefix *Dia-*, see *N. E. D.*

15. *Antonius*: so entitled in the edition of 1592, but generally the *Tragedie of Antonie*: by Mary, Countess of Pembroke (1590). See the reference to the play in Daniel's dedication to *Cleopatra*. The *Discourse of Life and Death* was translated by her from *Plessis de Mornay* (1593).

33. *Experience*, u. s., i. p. 102, l. 13, note, ii. p. 235, l. 24, note.

### CAREW (pp. 285-94).

285. 15. *as Stephanus*. Henri Estienne (1528-98) had printed his *Projet du livre intitulé: de la Précellence du langage françois* in 1579 (Paris). This volume had been preceded in ?1565 (Geneva) by the *Traité de la conformité du langage françois avec le grec*, in 1566 by the famous *Apologie pour Hérodote*, and in 1578 (Geneva) by *Deux Dialogues du langage françois italianisé*. The *Précellence* has been edited by Feugère, 1850, 1853, and by Huguet, 1896.

286. 14. *vogue*: 'use' (Camden's print).

287. 4. 'English-Saxon,' in Camden, as in Puttenham, supra, p. 61, l. 6, &c. See note to p. 292, l. 23.

27. 'masters' (Camden).

288. 18. This is Ralph's love-letter to Dame Christian Custance, misread by Matthew Merrygreek, in Nicholas Udall's *Roister Doister*. Thomas Wilson quotes it in his *Rule of Reason* (1551, p. 67), not in his *Arte of Rhetorique*, as 'an example of doubtfull writyng, whiche, by reason of poinctyng, maie haue double sense and contrary meanyng.'

290. 16. *Littletons hotchpot of our tongue*: a reference to Sir Thomas Littleton's (1402-81) famous treatise on *Tenures*, written in 'law-French.'

291. 31. *Cuiacius ad Tit. de verb. signif.* See p. 246, l. 24.

292. 23. Camden inserts 'Maister Puttenham' between 'Sidney'



and 'Stanhurst' in Carew's text, a fact which does not appear to have been noted in the discussions on Puttenham's authorship. See note to p. 1.

298. 19. *Agnomination*, generally, in rhetoric, a paronomasia or word-play, but here probably 'alliteration.' Camden (who prints Carew's tract) uses it in this sense in his *Remaines*, p. 27. See Hermogenes, *De Invent.* iv; Melanchthon, *Rhet.* ii; and Scaliger, *Poetica*, iii. 55.

J. J. Pontanus was perhaps the first to establish the word *alliteratio* for the older forms *agnominatio* or *adnominatio*. See Andreas Schottus: 'Budaeo adnominationem nobis resultationem nominare Latine liceat, ut in poetis antiquis, praesertim Marone, Iovianus Pontanus alliterationem solitus est appellare' (*Cicero a Calpurniis vindicatus*, cap. x).

21. Sir Thomas Smith (cf. p. 287, l. 1). See Index.

26. 'Shakespheare': so, too, in Camden.

MS. and Camden read 'Barlowes.' The reference must be to Marlowe's fragment of *Hero and Leander*. See the bibliographical note in Mr. Bullen's edition, iii. 2.

### CHAPMAN (pp. 295-307).

295. 14. *queasie stomaches*. Supra, i. p. 66, l. 24, note, &c.

297. 4, &c. See headnote to 'II' on the same page; also p. 300. The 1611-12 complete edition (*The Iliades of Homer, Prince of Poets*) contained the important verse preface 'To the Reader,' the essay 'Of Homer,' and the commentaries on the books.

12. *Spondanus*. Jean de Sponde (1557-95). Chapman refers to *Homeri quae extant opera . . . cum Latina versione . . . Perpetuis . . . in Iliade simul et Odysseam, J. Spondani . . . commentariis*, 1583.

298. 6. Aristonicus, in the *περὶ σημείων Ἰλιάδος*.

10. out of Eustathius, in the *παρεκβολαὶ εἰς τὴν Ὀμήρου Ἰλιάδα*, of which there were many sixteenth-century editions.

16, 19. Chapman's text, 'μαρμωρεῖ.' See *Iliad*, 18. 480.

21. Spondanus. See p. 297, l. 12, note.

299. 14. *caprichiously*. See *N. E. D.*, s. v. 'Caprice.'

301. 1, &c. Chapman's onslaught is directed chiefly against the long third chapter of the fifth book of Scaliger's *Poetica*,



which is devoted to a comparison of Virgil with Homer, to the disadvantage of the latter. There is some justice in Chapman's gibe that it is the only original part of the treatise, for, though neo-classic criticism had already exalted Virgil, the elaborateness of the comparison and its 'impalsied diminution' give it a place apart from the more academic matters of 'place, time, and termes.' On Scaliger's attitude generally, see Hallam, ii. 300 et seq., and Saintsbury, *Hist. of Crit.* ii. 73 et seq.

11. *Barathrum*. See p. 388, l. 7, note.

802. 1. A reference to Arthur Hall's *Ten Books of Homers Iliades* (1581), the first Englishing of Homer. Hall used Hugues Salel's version of the ten books (Paris, 1545); his copy (1555), with his autograph dated 1556, is in the British Museum.

803. 35. *fauourles* (not a misprint for *savourles*), 'out of favour.'

804. 24. *burbolts*, 'bird-bolts.'

806. 9. *feuerie*, feverish.

31. *The length of the verse*, i.e. in fourteen syllables in rhyming couplets.

32. *quidditicall*, quibbling, captious, subtle.

### MERES (PP. 308-24).

[The text has been printed by Ingleby, *Shakspere Allusion-Books*, i. 152-65. The reprint by Arber (*English Garner*, ii) is a selection, with the paragraphs rearranged and the vocabulary modernized.]

808. 17. The *Discours politiques et militaires du Seigneur de la Noue: nouvellement recueillis & mis en lumiere* was printed at Basle in 1587. An English version (*Politike and Militarie Discourses*) by 'E. A.' appeared in the same year.

*Beuis of Hampton*, &c. Cf. Ascham, i. 4; Nash, i. 323; Puttenham, ii. 44. The *Famous Historie of the Seaven Champions of Christendom* by Richard Johnson, the romance writer, had just appeared (entered 1596).

809. 13. Cf. i. p. 59, l. 15, p. 79, l. 31, p. 332, l. 17.

810. 25-8. *Rubarbe and sugarcandie*, &c. Supra, p. 208, l. 1.

29-34. See Sidney, i. p. 180, l. 13 et seq. Note that Meres changes 'some good' into 'many cockney and wanton.' *Cockney* (as applied to women), pampered, cockered, spoilt.





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by Martellus (Paris, 1582), and by B. Albinus (Speier, 1595). The earliest edition in the British Museum is dated 1497. Scaliger gives a long account in his *Poetica*, vi. ch. iv. See *Correspondence of Sir Philip Sidney*, ed. Pears, p. 199.

the two *Strosæ*, i.e. Tito Vespasiano Strozzi (d. 1508) and his son Ercole Strozzi. See Lilius Gyraldus (ed. Wotke, p. 26) and Tiraboschi, vi. 1353-61. Their poems were often printed together in the sixteenth century.

11. *Palingenius*. Supra, i. p. 30, l. 10, note.

*Mantuanus*. Supra, i. p. 411, note, and by Index.

*Philephus*, Francesco Filelfo (1426-81). See L. Gyraldus (u. s.), p. 23, Tiraboschi, vi. 1523; and Symonds, ii. 202, for an account of his *Satires* and *Odes*.

*Quintianus Stoa*. Gianfrancesco Quinziano Stoa (1484-1557). See L. Gyraldus, u. s., p. 74, Scaliger, *Poetica*, vi. 4. The best account is in Tiraboschi, vii. 2252-61.

12. Germanus Brixius. See L. Gyraldus, u. s., 65.

13. Meres's Latin poets are hardly 'ancient'; all, with the exception of the last, appear in Scaliger's chapter on 'Poetae Recentiores' in the sixth book of his *Poetica*.

14, &c. Meres's list may be compared with Nash's in i. p. 316. See notes.

15. Christopher Ocland. See i. p. 239, l. 15, note.

16. Thomas Campion (d. 1619). See infra, p. 327.

17. *Brunswerd*, i.e. John Brownsword (? 1540-89), master of Macclesfield Grammar School, author of Latin verses.

*Willey*, i.e. Richard Willes or Willey. See vol. i. pp. 46, 47, and 305.

28-34. Copied from Sidney. See i. p. 160, ll. 4-9. Meres turns Sidney's argument for prose-poetry (i. pp. 159-60) in favour of Sidney himself.

816. 3. Meres probably takes the quotation direct from Wehbe, i. p. 237, l. 30 (see note).

16. Παρθένος of Nicaea (reign of Augustus).

18-24. Samuel Daniel's *Delia*, containing certayne Sonnets (1592). His *Complaint of Rosamund* was added to the second edition (also 1592). *The First Fowre Bookes of the Civile Wars* appeared in 1595: the extended poem, in eight books, in 1609.

25-9. Drayton's *Mortimeriados* (? 1596) appeared in altered



form in 1603 as *The Barrons Wars. Englands Heroicall Epistles* (first edit., 1597) was conjoined with the *Barrons Wars* in the 1603 edition. See also note p. 317, ll. 2-3.

31. Charles Fitzgeffrey (? 1575-1638) published his poem on Drake in 1596. See p. 323, ll. 10-12, *infra*.

34. *Accius . . . Milithus* [Mitiletus]. Cf. Lodge, i. p. 70.

817. 2-3. *The Tragicall Legend of Robert, Duke of Normandie*, was issued in 1596 with revised editions of *Matilda, the faire & chaste daughter of Lord Rob. Fitzwater* (1594), and *The Legend of Peirs Gauveston* (? 1593).

4. *Joannes Honterus . . . Cosmography, i. e. Rudimentorum Cosmographicorum . . . Libri iii. cum tabellis geographicis*. Zurich, 1548.

6. *is now in penning*. The first edition of the first part appeared in ? 1612: the second part in 1622.

23. William Warner's *Albion's Englande* appeared (first part) in 1586 and (first and second) in 1589; and in a third edition 'corrected,' 1592. Other editions followed. A complete edition appeared in 1612.

30-4. 'Mellifluous and hony-tongued' appears to have been a favourite epithet in contemporary references to the poet. Cf. Weever's 'Epigram to Shakespeare' and *Poems in Diuers humors*, 1598 (? by Rich. Barnfield), both printed in Ingleby's *Shakspere Allusion-Books*, i. pp. 182, 186; also T. Heywood's *Hierarchie of the Blessed Angels* (1635). It is, however, of common application in Elizabethan literature (cf. Sidney, *supra*, i. p. 202, l. 1, *Arcadia*, i. 3, &c.). Shakespeare has 'honey-tongued' in *L. L. L.* v. 2. 334, and kindred phrases elsewhere; though he uses 'honey-mouthed' in *W. T.* ii. 2. 33 in the less common sarcastic sense—'If I proue hony-mouth'd, let my tongue blister.' See Ingleby's notes on the interpretation of the name *Melicertus* in Elizabethan literature (u. s., pp. xiii et seq.). The usage was probably fixed by the popularity of Boëthius, *De Consol.* (see v. 2. 2), rather than by direct knowledge of the classical *μελίγλωσσος* or *μελίφωνος* (see ii. p. 322, ll. 3-6, note).

818. 4. *Loue Labours Wonne*. This has been identified, by critics who hold that the play is not lost, with *L. L. L.*, with *M. N. D.*, with *The Tempest*, with *All's Well*, with *M. Ado*, and with the *Taming of the Shrew*. The latest contribution to the



subject is A. H. Tolman's *What has Become of Shakespeare's Play 'Love's Labour's Won'?*, University of Chicago Press, 1903.

9. '*Epius Stolo*,' i. e. Aelius Stilo (Lucius Aelius Praeconius Stilo), who made the remark and was followed by Varro. '*Varro dicat Musas, Aelii Stilonis sententia, Plautino sermone locuturas fuisse, si Latine loqui vellent*' (Quintil. x. 1 (513)). The passage is quoted by Ben Jonson in his *Discoveries* (*Works*, ed. Cunningham, iii. 421). [Some texts of Quintil. read *Stolonis*, which may partly excuse Meres's error.]

11. *fine filed phrase*, 'polished,' 'fine,' a common sixteenth-century usage. Jonson speaks of Shakespeare's 'well torned and true filed lines' (*To the Memory of my beloved Master William Shakespeare*, l. 68).

15. *imitators*, fellows; not to be taken in the chronological sense. Cf. p. 315, l. 26, where Meres places Shakespeare, Marlowe, and Chapman in the same order.

19-26. Ovid, *Met.* xv. 871-2; Horace, *Odes*, iii. 30. 1-5.

29-32. The lines are printed as in the original. Ingleby, u. s., p. 160, begins the fourth line with *conspirabunt*.

319. 3-6. Cf. the lists in Nash's Preface to *Menaphon*. *Supra*, i. pp. 318-19.

5. Thomas Kyd's association with these poets (and in parallel with Tasso) may be explained by the fact that, besides writing some non-dramatic verse in English and Latin, he had translated Tasso's prose *Padre di Famiglia* (*The Householders Philosophie*, 1588), and may have translated some of his verse. See Mr. Boas's *Kyd*, xxv, lxii, lxxviii.

26. *Doctor Leg of Cambridge*. See l. 33, *infra*.

27. *Doctor Edes of Oxford*, i. e. Richard Edes (1555-1604), Dean of Worcester, friend of Tobie Mathew (see ii. p. 281, l. 15). He is credited with a tragedy of *Julius Caesar*, acted at Christ Church in 1582.

*Edward Ferris*. *Supra*, ii. p. 63, l. 13, note.

33. Thomas Legge (1535-1607), Master of Caius College, Cambridge. His Latin tragedy of 'Richard III' was acted in 1579. See Harington, *supra*, p. 210, l. 15, note. The manuscript of his *Destruction of Jerusalem* was 'filched' by a 'Plageary'; but Fleay says it was acted at Coventry in 1577.

320. 10. *Edward, Earle of Oxforde*. See ii. p. 95, l. 26, note.





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*Walsingham's Meliboëus* was written in honour of his patron Sir Francis Walsingham (1590). It was Englished by the author in the same year (*An Eclogue upon the death of . . . Sir Fr. Walsingham*).

10. *Challener*. See p. 65, l. 28, note.

Gosson's claim as a pastoralist must be supported by material which is at present unknown.

11. Fraunce (*supra*, i. p. 303) appears here as the translator (1587) of Watson's Latin *Amyntas* (1585), which must not be confused with the *Amyntae Gaudia*, *supra*, l. 7. The *Amyntas* is a version of Tasso's *Aminta*. See *Anglia*, xi. 1-38.

Richard Barnfield's *Affectionate Shepheard* appeared in 1594.

15. *Drunk*. *Supra*, i. p. 90, l. 13, note.

Timothy Kendal (fl. 1577), compiler of *Flowers of Epigrammes*.

16. Thomas Bastard (1566-1618), author of *Chrestoleros: Seven Books of Epigrammes* (1598).

*Dunnis*, i.e. Sir John Davies (1569-1626), author of the *Nosa Teijsum*, who published a volume of *Epigrammes*, undated. It is reprinted in the Isham Tracts (ed. C. Edmonds, 1870).

21-4. See p. 265, l. 7, note.

26-9. Meres is in sorry plight when he has to borrow his praises of Eliza. See *Pottenham*, *supra*, p. 66.

222 a. Cf. p. 225, l. 33; p. 264, l. 35.

3-6. Μεταρσίως δε θάρσος, ὅτ' ἔδινε τὰς μελιφάσου  
Σαρφοῖς, μὴ δεοῖται Μοῦσαν ἔχουσι βροτοί.

*Anth. Palat.* ix. 66

7-19. Borrowed from Sidney. See i. p. 193, l. 26—p. 194, l. 1. See note on 'King James,' i. p. 396.

20-3. Taken from Ascham. See i. p. 24, ll. 4-7.

28. Christopher Johnson (? 1536-97), physician, and Latin poet of some repute, author of *Romanorum et mercatorum pugna*, *Latina versio de morte, ex Homero*, Lond. 1580.

29. Watson for his *Antigonæ*, i.e. Thomas Watson, author of the *Ἐπιγραφή* (*supra*, i. p. 316, l. 8, note), whose Latin translation of the *Antigonæ* of Sophocles appeared in 1581. The



volume contains some allegorical pieces in Latin and some experiments in Latin metres. See also notes, ii. pp. 451, 452.

31, &c. See Wehbe, i. p. 243, l. 9—p. 244, l. 15.

328. 1. *inchoate*. See ii. p. 295, note.

3. Andrea Alciati (1492–1550). See Tiraboschi, vi, pp. 1060–9). There were many editions of the *Emblematum Liber* (1531) during the sixteenth century.

4. *Reusnerus*, i. e. Nicolaus Reusner, author of a volume of *Emblemata* (1581).

Sambucus, Ioannes (cf. i. p. 13, l. 27, note). His volume of *Emblemata* was printed at the Plantin Press at Antwerp in 1564 (2nd edit. 1566, 3rd 1569, 4th 1584).

5. Geoffrey Whitney (? 1548–? 1601). His *Choice of Emblemes* was printed at Leyden in 1586. There is a facsimile reprint by H. Green (1866).

Andrew Willet (1562–1621), theologian and controversialist, author of *Sacrorum emblematum centuria*, Cambridge [1596?].

Thomas Combe.?

6. *Nonnus Panapolyta*, Νόννος of Panopolis (Egypt). The first printed edition of this work was issued by Aldus Manutius (Venice, 1501). There were many sixteenth-century editions.

7. Gervase Markham's version of the *Canticles* (*The Poem of Poems, or Sion's Muse*) appeared in 1596. He is known by his works on horsemanship and country life, and by his *Tragedie of Sir Richard Grinville* (1595). See *D. N. B.*: also note on Googe and Heresbachius, supra, i. p. 265, l. 22.

10–2. Charles Fitzgeffrey. See p. 316, l. 31, note.

16. Sidonius. Cf. p. 322, l. 3.

17. *Quicquid*, &c. See i. p. 196, l. 14, note.

18. *Doctor Case*, i. e. John Case (d. 1600), the commentator of Aristotle. He practised medicine at Oxford.

24. *our wittie Wilson*. See note to p. 320, l. 16.

31–2. See ii. p. 229, &c.

35. *the Harveys*. See note to p. 251, ll. 22–3.

324. 1–10. For particulars of Nash's troubles arising from his writing of the comedy *The Isle of Dogs* (1597), now lost, see Henslowe's *Diary* and the article in *D. N. B.* *Banishment* (l. 6) refers to Nash's retreat to Great Yarmouth (see *Nashes Lenten Stuffe*).



3. *young Inuennall*, a common nickname of Nash, as in *Greene's Groatsworth of Wit*, *Chettle's Kind-Harts Dreame*, &c.  
 15. *Am.* i. 211, *vosmet*.  
 20. See ii. p. 232, l. 9.  
 23. Iodelle, Étienne (1532-73), author of *Cléopâtre captive* (1552).  
 27. *The Theatre of Gods Judgements* (1597), by Thomas Beard (d. 1632).

### VAUGHAN (pp. 325-6).

825. 9-10. Cf. i. Appendix, p. 341.  
 826. 10-13. From Puttenham, ii. p. 17.  
 13-14. *ibid.* ii. p. 21.  
 15-16. *ibid.* ii. 17. Poems by Joannes Dampetrus are included in the *Delitiae C. poetarum Gallorum* ([Frankfurt] 1609), edited by Ranutius Gherus (i.e. Janus Gruterus). Scaliger discusses his work in his *Poetice*, vi. 4.  
 16-19. *ibid.* ii. p. 17.  
 22. *ibid.* ii. p. 18. Puttenham reads 'Vargas.' See note.  
 24. *ibid.* ii. pp. 18, 22.

### CAMPION (pp. 327-55).

827. There is perhaps some significance in the dedication to Thomas Sackville, now Lord Buckhurst, who had collaborated in the blank verse *Gorboduc*.

Campion's attack on Rhyme, which surprised Daniel (*infra*, p. 358, l. 27), is difficult to explain in the light of his own formal excellence and musical experience. His first song-book, *A Booke of Ayres*, had been printed in the preceding year.

828. [2 et seq.] These lines echo the opening lines of the first Satire of Persius.

[6.] *a termier*, one who goes to London for the season ('term-time').

11. *discreta quantitas*. See Scaliger, *Poetice*, iv. 1 and 45.

12. Read *dissuener'd*.

15. Campion's musical allusions are frequent. Cf. the quotations in the notes to p. 338, l. 2, and p. 340, l. 26.





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334. 13. *licentiate Iambick*. See p. 335, l. 8 et seq.; and i. p. 95, l. 14.

336. 17. *paissd*, weighed.

337. 11. Orig. 'fift,' an error for 'fourth.'

32. *ayreable*, i. e. airable, capable of being set to music.

338. 2. *Heroik Poeme*. Campion, like his predecessors, gives the first place to it. Cf. the 'Preface to the Reader' in his first *Booke of Ayres* (1601). 'Nevertheless, as in poesy, we give the preeminence to the Heroical Poem; so in music, we yield the chief place to the grave and well invented Motet' (ed. Bullen, p. 5). See note to Puttenham, ii. p. 43, ll. 21-2. Cf. also Ronsard, *Abrégé*; Rapin, *Comparaison d'Homère et de Virgile* and *Réflexions sur la Poétique d'Aristote*; and Dryden, *Apology for Heroic Poetry, A Discourse concerning Satire, and Dedication of the Æneis* (first sentence).

340. 26. Campion has left two books of Latin Epigrams (*Works*, ed. Bullen, pp. 263-366). In the Preface 'To the Reader' in his first *Booke of Ayres* (1601), he points to the analogy between epigrams and airs: 'What epigrams are in poetry, the same are airs in music: then in their chief perfection when they are short and well seasoned' (ed. Bullen, u. s., p. 4).

342. 5. *Beaten*, ? 'figured,' embroidered, brocaded. Cf. Marlowe, 'No sirrah; in beaten silk and staves-acre' (*Dr. Faustus*, iv. p. 17); and see the quotation from *Ram Alley* in *N. E. D.*, s. v. 'Beaten, ppl. 5 c,' and Mr. Bullen's note (u. s., p. 247), where he quotes from Guilpin's *Skialetheia*, Epig. 53, 'He wears a jerkin cudgelled with gold lace' (which *N. E. D.* defines in the humorous sense of 'trimming laid on heavily').

21, &c. The references are perhaps, as Mr. Bullen suggests, to Barnabe Barnes (cf. also p. 346) and Gabriel Harvey, though the latter was generally called 'Gabriel' by friends and opponents. Campion satirizes the former in *Epigrammata*, ii. p. 80.

345. 3. *Pirop* (pyropus, πυροπός), red or gold bronze. Cf. Ovid, *Met.* ii. 2.

21. *tyres*. Mr. Bullen proposes 'tries'; but the text may stand.

346. 2. *his Inne*. A favourite Elizabethan metaphor. Cf. ii. p. 78, l. 9, supra. Campion has the same phrase in 'The man of life upright' in the first *Booke of Ayres* (Bullen, pp. 21, 48).



349. 10. *Iet*, 'jet,' u. s., 'move proudly,' vaunt, 'trip it.'

14. *to*, too.

351. 19. Martial, ix. xi. 17.

352. 5. *position*. Cf. i. p. 121, l. 4, note; ii. p. 120, l. 23.

### DANIEL (pp. 356-84).

This essay may have appeared towards the close of 1602, the year in which Campion's attack on Rhyme was printed. Grosart (*Daniel*, vol. iv. pp. 33 et seq.) and Rhys (*Literary Pamphlets*, i. 190 et seq.) appear to have reprinted the text of the 1607 edition, which is in some respects inferior. The former, in his title and bibliographical note, i. pp. 221-2, confuses the *Defence* with the poem *Musophilus, containing a generall Defence of all Learning*, printed in 1599. The references to *Musophilus* in these notes are to Grosart's text (*Daniel*, i. pp. 225-56).

Ben Jonson was dissatisfied with the results of the controversy. In the Drummond *Conversations* we are told that he had written an epic: 'It is all in couplets, for he detesteth all other rimes.' 'Said he had written a Discourse of Poesie, both against Campion and Daniel, especially the last, wher he proues couplets to be the brauest sort of verses, especially when they are broken, like Hexameters; and that crosse rimes and stanzaes (becaus the purpose would lead him beyond 8 lines to conclude) were all forced.'

356. 8. This has been assumed to be Fulke Greville. But see Mr. Morris Croll's essay on the *Works of Fulke Greville*, Philadelphia, 1903, pp. 5-6.

357. 18. William Herbert, third Earl of Pembroke of the second creation (1580-1630), had succeeded in 1601. Daniel had been his tutor (cf. p. 358, ll. 6-7). His mother (p. 358, l. 4) was Mary, sister of Sir Philip Sidney.

359. 1-2. Horace, *Epist.* ii. 1. 262-3.

29. *indenise*. Grosart and Rhys read 'modernize.' Cf. *Daniel*, i. p. 277 (ed. Grosart):

'Here dost thou bring (my friend) a stranger borne  
To be indenized with us, and made our owne,'

and the word *Free-denisen*, *infra*, p. 384, l. 27. Florio (1598)



defines *Patriare*, 'to endenize, or enfranchise into a countrie.' Cf. *endenisoned*, supra, p. 283, l. 7; and *denisoned*, in quotation in note to i. p. 44, l. 27.

860. 1. *as Aristotle saith*. Cf. *Poet.* iv. 6.

16. *Remensi*: wrongly assumed by Chalmers and Rhys to be an error of Daniel's. See Giraldi Cintio's *Discorso dei Romansi*: '. . . quantunque vi sia alcuno che voglia che questa voce sia venuta da' Remensi, alcuni da Turpino il quale vogliono che più di ognuno abbia data materia a simili poesie colle sue scritte: perocchè essendo egli arcivescovo Remense, vogliono che state siano queste composizion' dette romanzi' (ed. Daelli, 1864, i. p. 7).

24-5. Cf. Sidney, supra, i. p. 205, ll. 11-12.

861. 4. *De Turcarum Moribus Epitome*, by Bartolomaeus Georgevicz (Rome, 1552), which was translated by Goughe in 1570. Dryden also explicitly refers (in the second edition of the *Essay of Dramatic Poesy*) to Daniel's tract when, speaking of the 'new way of poesy,' he says that 'we are able to prove that the Eastern people have used it from all antiquity.'

26. *Schola Salerna*. See ii. p. 13, l. 6, note.

*Carmina Prouerbiatia*. Cf. ii. p. 331, l. 11, note.

862. 3. *saith Aristotle*. *Met.* x. 1.

6-8. Horace, *Ars Poet.* 351-3.

12. *Ill customes, &c.* Cf. *Campion*, supra, p. 330, ll. 9-10.

863. 7. *in what Scythian sorte*. Cf. note to i. p. 75, l. 33.

26. *Scribimus, &c.* Horace, *Epist.* ii. 1. 117.

33-5. Horace, *ibid.* 108-10.

864. 12. Horace, *Epist.* i. 19. 19.

865. 25. Cf. *Shepherds Calender*, 'October,' st. 14, which is frequently quoted, supra.

867. 8. Horace, *Ars Poet.* 72. For reading *vis* cf. p. 139, ll. 16-17, note, supra.

11-13. Cf. *Gascoigne and James VI*, supra, i. pp. 47, 210.

13, &c. Dryden expresses the same sentiment in his praise of Shakespeare in the *Essay of Dramatic Poesy*: 'He needed not the spectacles of books to read nature; he looked inwards, and found her there.'

868. 9-12. See *Campion*, supra, p. 329.





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Durotellus or Durobellus must be a pseudo-classical invention of the sixteenth century, and that the passage given in the text may have been got from Bostius, whom Bale quotes.

8-12. *Iosephus Demonijs*, i.e. Joseph of Exeter (Josephus Iscanus), fl. 1190. His *De Bello Troiano* had been held to be the work of Cornelius Nepos or of Dares Phrygius. See Fabricius, *Bibl. Latina*, 73, and Jusserand, *De Iosepho Exoniensi*, Paris, 1877). It does not appear to have been noted that Daniel anticipates Camden (*Remaines*) and Dresemius (edit. 1620) in ascribing the poem to Joseph of Exeter.

12. *Walterus Mape* (fl. 1200), author of the *De Nugis Curialium*.

13. *Gulielmus Nigellus*, i.e. Nigel, called 'Wireker' (fl. 1190), author of the *Speculum Stultorum*.

*Geruasius Tilburiensis* (fl. 1210), author of the *Otia Imperialia*.

*Bracton*, i.e. Henry de Braeton (d. 1268), author of *De Legibus et Consuetudinibus Angliae*.

14. Roger Bacon (? 1214-94), author of the *Opus Maius*.

*Ockam*, William (d. ? 1349), 'Doctor invincibilis,' the second founder of Nominalism.

371. 19. *Ciceronians*. Cf. note to ii. p. 251, l. 20.

20-1. Cf. *Musophilus*, ll. 487-9.

372. 22. *Erasmus*, &c. Cf. p. 369, l. 29, note.

25. *S. Thomas*, i.e. Thomas Aquinas (1225-74), 'Doctor Angelicus.'

26. *Bartolus* (1313-56), Italian jurist. See p. 438. He is often cited in association with Cuiacius (supra, p. 246, l. 24, &c.)

27. *Scotus*, i.e. Duns Scotus (1274-1308), 'Doctor Subtilis'

29. *Tacitus*, *Dialogus de Oratoribus*, 20.

378. 11. *like a Viper*. Cf. supra, i. p. 151, l. 21.

33, &c. Cf. *Musophilus*, ll. 259-62.

375. 15, &c. A reference to *Campion*, p. 340 et seq.

376. 4. *his Theta*. See i. p. 321, l. 13, note.

31. *For what adoe*. See *Campion*, supra, p. 334 et seq.

35. *which hath euer beene used*. Cf. supra, i. p. 405.

380. 12. *a quest of inquirie*. Cf. Florio, 'I in this search or quest of inquirie haue spent most of my studies' ('Epist. Ded.' to the *Dictionary*).

381. 3. *Scribendi recte*, &c. Horace, *Ars Poet.* 309.



9-10. *Verba sequi*, &c. Horace, *Epist.* ii. 2. 142-3.

382. 2. *mine owne mystrie*, apparently here = art, business. Cf. p. 365, l. 24, where a choice of meaning is possible. Cf. *Musophilus*, 64.

33. *in some of my Epistles*, as in *To The Lord Henrie Howard in Certaine Epistles* (Grosart, i. p. 199 et seq.).

388. 34. Horace, *Odes*, i. 18. 14.

384. 5, &c. Catullus, xxii.

12. Horace, *Ars Poet.* 474.

13-19. *affectation . . . singularitie*. Cf. p. 378, l. 9, and *Musophilus*, 82-5.

27. *Free-denizens*. Cf. note to p. 359, l. 29; and Peele's account of Harington in *Ad Maecenatem Prologus* (1593).

#### APPENDIX (pp. 387-403).

388. 2. *Hath the brise prickt you?* Cf. *Poetas'er*, iii. 1. *Brise*, breeze (O. E. *briosa*), gad-fly. See *N.E.D.*, s. v. 'Breeze.'

5. *In generall opinion* is run on to line 3 in orig.

It is not known why Jonson omitted this passage on Poetry from the Folio. Mr. A. W. Ward has suggested that it may have been 'a mere stage-cut.' In its place in the Folio, Edward Knowell says, 'Sir, you have saved me the labour of a defence.'

7. *Barathrum* (*βάραθρον*), in the secondary sense of 'The Abyss,' Hell. Cf. p. 301, l. 11.

38. *I, aye*. Cf. p. 390, l. 27.

39. *humor*. See p. 462.

389. 22. *To make a child, now swadled, to proccede*, &c. Cf. i. p. 59, l. 27.

25. *foot-and-halfe-foote*. So the text, in the secondary sense of *Lat. sesquipedalis*, 'of excessive length.' Cf. Horace, *Ars Poet.* 97. Gifford and Cunningham read '*foot and half-foot*.'

26. *Fight ouer*, &c. Critical tradition has found a Shakespearian reference in this line, and an allusion to Marlowe's *Dr. Faustus* in the 'nimble squibbe.' The latter is doubtful, for the 'squib' often assisted in the stage cannonade of an historical play. Cf. also *Returne from Parnassus* (II), iii. 4



(l. 1361). The reference to the 'creaking throne' (*μηχανή*, *machina*) of the early stage is probably general.

37-8. *Comædie . . . an Image of the times*. See Lodge, *supra*, i. p. 81, l. 1, note, and Sidney, i. p. 176, l. 30, note.

890. 10. *Grex*, Chorus. See p. 392, l. 26.

13. The *loci* in the history of the term 'Humour' in its dramatic association are these:—

(a) *Jonsonian*. (1) *Every Man in his Humour* (*passim* and *espec.* iii. 2). (2) *Every Man out of his Humour* (*ante*, and *passim*). (3) *Cynthia's Revels*, iv. i. (4) *The Poetaster*, iii. 1; iv. 4; v. 1. (5) *The Alchemist*, Prologue. (6) *The Magnetic Lady*, or *Humours reconciled* (Induction). (7) *The Case is Altered*, I. i. (8) Mayne's verses in *Jonsonius Virbius*. Cf. also the passage 'De Poetica' in *Discoveries*.

(b) *Contemporary allusions (in titles and by reference)*. (1) Chapman's *Humorous Day's Mirth*, identified by Fleay (*Eng. Drama*, i. 55) with the *Comedy of Vmers* mentioned in Henslowe's Diary, May 11, 1597; printed 1599. (2) Dekker's *Satiromastix, or the Untrussing of the Humorous Poet* (1622). (3) John Day's *Humour out of Breath*, pr. 1608. Cf. also Fletcher's *Humorous Lieutenant* (acted 1619, pr. 1647) and Shirley's *Humorous Courtier* (pr. 1640). For the popular use, against which Jonson protests, cf. especially Shakespeare's *M. W. W.* i. Sc. 1 and 3.

(c) (1) Dryden's *Essay of Dramatic Poesy*, *passim*, especially the 'Examen of the Silent Women.' (2) William Cavendish's (Duke of Newcastle's) *The Humorous Lovers*, and *The Triumphant Widow, or the Medley of Humours*, both printed in 1677, but acted earlier. (3) Shadwell's *Sullen Lovers, or The Impertinents* (Preface), *The Humourists* (Preface and Epilogue), *The Virtuoso* (Epistle Dedicatory and Prologue)—all in vol. i of the 1720 edition. See also the 'Epilogue, spoken by one in deep mourning,' at the end of vol. iv of that edition. (4) Congreve's Letter to Dennis, 'Concerning Humour in Comedy,' July 10, 1695 (*Letters upon Several Occasions*, 1696, pp. 80-96; Dennis's *Select Works*, 1721, ii. pp. 514-25).

27. I, aye. Cf. p. 388, l. 38.

891. 11. *affects*, feelings, desires (cf. i. p. 392). Gifford reads *effects*.





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the same view. 'I am persuaded,' Gifford adds, 'nothing but the ignorance of his numerous editors of the existence of such a passage has prevented its being taken for the motto to his works.'

[*Life II*, iii. 3: 28]

17. *Materiall*, full of matter, full of good sense. Cf. *As You Like It* 6. *Impudent*, 15, *translating*, &c., quoted from Marston, whom Jonson had ridiculed. See note to p. 402, l. 34.

Demetrius is Dekker; Crispinus, Marston. Dekker replied in *Satirastick* (1602). See Jonson's 'Dialogue' and 'To the Reader,' appended to the *Poetaster* (Ed. Gifford and Cunningham, i. pp. 260-70).

297. 3. *old Cato*, i.e. the author of the *Disticha* (see note to i. p. 158, l. 29).

8. *Stout Phantasies*. Cf. i. p. 27.

15. *out-landish Terms*, &c. Cf. i, *passim*. See Introduction.

19. *Some Gallo-Belgick Phrases*. The *Mercurius Gallo-belgicus* was an annual publication, in small octavo, giving accounts in Latin of recent affairs in Europe (Cologne 1588-1603, and thereafter Frankfurt). Cf. Jonson, *Epigrams*, xcii—

'They carry in their pockets Tacitus,  
And the Gazetti, or Gallo-Belgicus.'

298. 29. *swaddles*. *Swad* (lit. a peascod), a country lout or bumpkin. Cf. Greene: 'Let countrey swaines and silly swads be still' (*Privileges*, quoted by Halliwell).

299. 3. *Vatrom iubes*, &c. *Act*. ii. 3.

11. *dranghty*. See p. 400, l. 14, and note to i. p. 140, l. 20.

14. *O friends, no friends*: 'A parody on "O eyes, no eyes," *Span. Trag.*'—Malone's marginal note, quoted by Mr. Macray. See Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy*, iii. 2 (opening lines); also Tomkis's parody in *Albion* (1614), quoted in Mr. Boas's introduction to his edition of Kyd, pp. xcv-xcvi.

15. *bables*, baubles (see note to p. 331, l. 12). Mr. Macray follows the early prints, which read *babies*.

17. *Shnyv rimes*. One of the early prints reads 'Flye my rimes.'

20. *petternels*, petronels, horse-pistols: in transferred sense, a braggart, as in the name 'Sir Petronel Flash.' See Halliwell.

*demilances*, short-shafted lances, or the horsemen carrying these: in transferred sense, a 'light horseman' or 'cavalier.'



28. *soire*, i. e. *soar*: not as in l. 25.

33. *flores-poetarum*. See *supra*, ii. p. 241, l. 21, note.

40. *Belvedere, or the Garden of the Muses*, of which John Bodenham has been credited with the editorship, appeared in 1600. It has been reprinted by the Spenser Society, 1875.

400. 4-5. The arrangement of these lines is from the Halliwell-Phillipps MS., as adopted by Mr. Macray.

7-8. Tibullus, i. 4. pp. 59-60. The motto on the title-page of *Belvedere* (u. s.).

13. *Antony*, presumably Anthony Munday, who may be the 'A. M.' of the prefatory sonnet to *Belvedere*. Mr. Macray proposes '[Bodenham],' but the reference to ballad-writing and the name 'Antony' point rather to Munday, the 'Antonio Balladino' of Jonson's *Case is Altered*.

14. *drafty*. See note to p. 399, l. 11.

The early prints read 'to thy praise are song'; but the line as given here, and first adopted by Mr. Macray, is supported by the line in the First Part of the *Returne* (v. 2 (l. 1534)), 'They maidens shall want sonnets at there pales,' and by that in Hall's *Satires* (iv. 6. 54), apropos of Elderton's drunken muse, 'Sung to the wheele and sung unto the payle.'

15. The sun and laurel constitute the device on the title-page of *Belvedere*.

401. 6. Mr. Macray reads *ere* for *care*, in the early prints.

10. *honours*. Mr. Macray reads *Homer's*, but the application of this epithet to Spenser is unusual. Ascham (see i. p. 30, l. 8, note) calls Chaucer (who is named in the next line) the 'English Homer.' Cf. Nash, *supra*, p. 240, l. 17.

18. *hony dropping*. Cf. note to p. 317, ll. 30-4.

34. *hot house*, brothel.

39. 'and a sooping,' in the early prints.

40. Henry Locke (?1553-?1608). See Grosart's *Miscellanies of the Fuller Worthies' Library*, vol. ii (1871), and *D.N.B.*

Robert Hudson. See *D.N.B.* and Montgomerie's *Poems*, ed. Cranstoun (S. T. S.), p. 337.

402. 6. *Monsier Kyusader*. Marston in his earliest work, *The Metamorphosis of Pigmation's Image* (1598), gives the initials 'W. K.': in his second volume, *The Scourge of Villanie* (1598-



99b he adopts the full form 'William Kinsayder.' See *The Pilgrimage to Parnassus*, ii. 212. See supra, pp. 312, 300.

9, etc. I follow Mr. Macray's allocation of the speeches.

14. *Ram-silly*. A street of some disrepute, running from Fleet Street to the Temple. It gives the title to a comedy by Lodowick Barry (1611).

19. *I, aye*. See supra, p. 388, l. 38, note.

26, etc. Cf. ii. p. 324, l. 25, and note.

31. *driery*, dreary.

34. *by observation*, an echo of Jonson's dispute with Marston and Dekker. He had been characterized as 'a mere sponge, nothing but humours and observation.' See also note to ii. p. 396, l. 6.

41-2. The emendation of these lines is Mr. Macray's, from the evidence of the Halliwell-Phillipps MS. The early prints read 'who loves Adonis love or Lucre's rape.' Line 42 reads 'hart robbing life.'

403. 4. Thomas Churchyard's *Shore's Wife* appeared in 1563.

6. Mr. Macray (perhaps following the Halliwell-Phillipps MS.) reads '[one day]'. The text of the early prints is however quite clear. *Once*='one day' (see *N.E.D.* 'Once' 5); *I*=*aye* (see supra, p. 388, l. 38, note, and infra, l. 9).

8. The form 'Nashdo' in the early prints, which Mr. Macray notes and corrects to 'Nash,' is to be explained as the transfer of a syllable from 'stockado' in the next line, which is correspondingly imperfect.

9. *I, aye*. See note to p. 388, l. 38.

22-3. *learmes to serue the learne*. See note to ii. p. 324.

11. 6-7. One of the early prints reads *serue the turne*.

25. *beare*, in the early prints.

26. Cf. Livy, iv. 28.

28. *Daxter*. See supra, ii. p. 279, l. 4, note.

34. *hard*, harsh, acid.





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